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Well-Being of Youth and Emerging Adults across Cultures

Novel Approaches and Findings from Europe, Asia, Africa and America

Cross-Cultural Advancements in Positive Psychology

Volume 12

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Radosveta Dimitrova
Editor

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To Corrado, Claudia, and Cristina Fumis

Foreword

From the beginning, emerging adulthood was conceived as a cultural theory. When I first began interviewing 18- to 19-year-olds in the early 1990s, the participants in my research were Americans. However, I was among many people who had noticed that the demographic changes that were making the 20s so much different than in the past and so much more compelling to research were taking place worldwide: longer education, later entry into a stable line of work, later marriage, and later entry to parenthood. In the article that first proposed the theory of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000), I emphasized that emerging adulthood was not being proposed as a universal, biologically based theory, but as existing only where cultural and economic conditions made it possible, and I concluded that "The growth and variability of emerging adulthood in countries and cultures around the world would make an important and fascinating topic for a nascent scholarly field of emerging adulthood" (p. 479).

Nearly 20 years later, emerging adulthood is no longer nascent but a well-established field, if still young and growing rapidly. There have been eight conferences on emerging adulthood, each one larger than the last. The Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood (SSEA) was established in 2013 (see www.ssea.org) and includes a flagship journal, *Emerging Adulthood*, that has quickly become the primary venue for studies of 18- to 29-year-olds worldwide. Like the theory, the field and the society have been international from the outset. The presenters at the conferences, the contributors to the journal, and the leadership of the SSEA are from all over the world.

This book represents a major contribution to the field of emerging adulthood and an important step toward expanding international knowledge on emerging adulthood. Its particular focus on well-being, and (in several chapters) on expanding the theory of positive youth development (PYD) to include emerging adulthood, is appropriate and welcome. In my research on American emerging adults, I have learned that well-being during this age period is often complex. In a national survey I directed, 72% of 18- to 29-year-olds agreed that "This time of my life is stressful," yet 83% agreed that "This time of my life is fun and exciting" (Arnett, 2015a). Strikingly, nearly 90% of them believed that "I am confident that eventually I will get what I want out of life." This included many who admitted that, currently, they often feel depressed or anxious.

In this book, aspects of well-being are explored in many different countries, including China, Ghana, and Bulgaria, and several multi-country studies are also presented. The findings are diverse, and together they begin to give us a fuller portrait of well-being during emerging adulthood worldwide. A particularly important section of this book focuses on emerging adults who are ethnic minorities within their countries. The world is in the midst of the largest migration in human history, both within and between countries (UNHCR, 2016). More than any other age group, it is 18- to 29-year-olds who are the migrants (Plane & Jurjevich, 2009). This makes sense, developmentally. Unlike adolescents and younger children, emerging adults are capable of migrating without their parents; unlike older adults, they have not yet put down the deep roots in love and work that impose impediments to moving. For these emerging adult migrants, their well-being, and their success (or lack of it) in finding a place in the economy and society to which they have moved, is a crucial worldwide question and problem for the twenty-first century. There are also many emerging adults who moved with their parents at a younger age and now find themselves entering adulthood in a society that may not be accepting or encouraging of minorities. The chapters in this book make important contributions in this area and include many less-studied minorities, such as Turkish-Bulgarians.

Another important part of this book is that it includes chapters from Africa. Of all the regions of the world, Africa has long been the least represented in psychological research (Arnett 2008). Yet it has an enormous youth population, and, because it has by the far the highest fertility rate of any world region, it will have the fastest-growing youth population throughout the twenty-first century (UNDP, 2017). This demographic future will present both opportunities and perils for young people growing into adulthood in African countries, so it is important to begin now in examining their well-being and other aspects of their development in youth and emerging adulthood.

Several chapters of the book use the positive youth development (PYD) framework proposed by Richard Lerner (Lerner et al., 2006) and its “five Cs” that represent the core competencies of PYD: competence, confidence, character, connection, and caring. The five Cs appear to travel pretty well, judging from the chapters in this book where they are used. Still, it is important to keep in mind that, like emerging adulthood theory, they were developed by an American, based on Americans. It is worth asking: Would they be different if they had been developed by an African or Asian scholar? Where, for example, is duty, which is a primary virtue and a pillar of social and cultural life in nearly the entire world—but not in the USA? What about family obligation, which is also more important globally than in the individualistic USA? As cultural psychologists have stressed (Shweder et al., 2006), it is generally a mistake to take theories and measures developed in one culture and transport them uncritically to other cultures, because every theory and measure is laden with underlying cultural assumptions that may not apply widely.

What, then, are the cultural assumptions that underlie emerging adulthood? I have tried from the outset to make emerging adulthood theory culturally variable and culturally flexible. Specifically, I have emphasized that EA is essentially a

demographic concept (Arnett, 2000, 2015a). That is, it is based on the observation of similar demographic trends occurring worldwide in the 18–29 age group: longer education, later entry to stable work, later marriage, and later parenthood. Under these conditions, there is a gap between the end of adolescence, usually around age 18, when puberty is completed and secondary school ends and a stable young adulthood when adult roles are taken on in love and work. Within this gap is something that is neither adolescence nor young adulthood: the new life stage of emerging adulthood.

Given this demographic outline, emerging adulthood can take many different forms. For example, in the USA and northern Europe, it usually entails leaving home and living independently, whereas in southern Europe, it means staying home even while having a more autonomous life (Douglass, 2007). In most Western countries, having a series of romantic and sexual relationships during emerging adulthood is not only allowed but encouraged, as a way of gaining experience that will form the basis of eventual marriage, whereas in Eastern countries, premarital dating and sex are discouraged, due to a cultural emphasis on education during these years and on female chastity before marriage. Within each country, there are differences as well, by gender, ethnic group, and social class (Arnett, 2015b, 2016).

Nevertheless, I have also hypothesized that there are four interconnected cultural beliefs that may be widely true in emerging adulthood, as the basis of this new life stage (Arnett 2015b): the belief that independence and self-sufficiency should be attained before entering into adult commitments, the belief that romantic love should be the basis of marriage, the belief that work should be an expression of one's identity, and the belief that the years from the late teens through at least the mid-20s should be a time of self-focused leisure and fun. This is, at this point, a recently proposed hypothesis, and none of the studies in this book investigated it. However, it is something to consider for future investigation. Although the world's cultural diversity is vast, it may be shrinking via globalization, as the world's cultures and regions become more intensively connected via economic ties, educational programs, and global media (Jensen & Arnett, 2012).

Another item to place on the agenda for future research is more studies using qualitative and ethnographic methods. All of the studies in this book are quantitative, and they provide many intriguing findings in diverse countries and cultures. However, there is much to be learned from qualitative methods as well. This is particularly true in an area that is new, as emerging adulthood is in most countries worldwide. In such an area, it can be risky to make assumptions about what the range of responses to questions might be, and as noted, questionnaires are always laden with such implicit assumptions. Using qualitative and ethnographic methods, as well as mixed methods that include quantitative dimensions as well, can teach us not just what the range of answers to our questions might be, but what new questions we should ask that had not even occurred to us previously. This book provides an important starting point for future studies using a wider variety of methods.

Conclusion

This book is an important and impressive contribution to the growing international literature on emerging adulthood. I commend the editor and the authors on their diverse and well-crafted chapters. Clearly, the chapters are drawn from lively research programs in many countries, so we can expect to see much more from them in the years to come. Here's hoping that the future of research in these programs and others will include diverse methods and a critical cultural eye on the concepts and measures used.

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Part I
Well-Being of Youth and Emerging Adults from Indigenous Populations

Developmental and Cross-Cultural Considerations in the Study of Well-Being Among Young People

Mariya Petrova and Seth J. Schwartz

Abstract This chapter explores adolescence and emerging adulthood as socially constructed and culturally bound transitional phases between childhood and adulthood. It illustrates how these developmental periods are experienced differently by youth located in "tight" versus "loose" cultures. The authors also offer a review of the central aspects of well-being during these two developmental stages, while recognizing complexity of these stages as being simultaneously universal and contextually bound. The authors argue for a clear distinction between well-being and the absence of pathology and welfare, and they advance recommendations for youth wellness promotion by bringing together the developmental, cultural, and applied approaches to adolescent and emerging adult development. Finally, the authors advocate for the meaningful, active and culturally-sensitive integration of young people within "adult" society to maximize the future of youth throughout the world.

Youth is largely a social construction. We know that children are not "little adults," but at what point does one cease to be a child and start being an adult? On the surface this seems like a facetious question, but in reality there is no single answer – and how we define and treat the "state of being young" can have serious social implications. Some societies and religious groups have specific rites of passage for marking when a young person has reached maturity, such as the Jewish Bar/Bat Mitzvah and the Samoan tattooing ceremony (see Arnett Jensen, 2003, for an extensive review). In other societies, the transition is more gradual and amorphous, such that it is not entirely clear when one has transitioned out of childhood or into adulthood.

We know that childhood exists in all cultural contexts. Babies and young children operate at a level of cognitive maturity that is quite different from that of adults (Pascual-Leone, 1987). Some of these differences in cognitive maturity can be

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explained in terms of brain development – such as the development of white matter, which is associated with rationality, decision making, perspective taking, and logical reasoning (Barnea-Goraly et al., 2005; Lamm, Batson, & Decety, 2007). As such, 4-year-olds would almost never be asked to hold a job and earn a living, would not be expected to engage in intimate relationships, and would not be expected to raise their own children. Such activities are clearly developmentally inappropriate for a young child.

On the other hand, individuals in their 40s and 50s are almost universally expected to contribute to society by working and raising families. Even though living with extended family members is common within some cultural contexts, healthy middle-aged adults are generally not emotionally or instrumentally *dependent* on their parents or other older family members for extended periods of time (Swartz, 2009). So, cross-culturally, childhood and adulthood are fairly universal components of the lifespan – although, of course, there are important cross-cultural variations within childhood and within adulthood (e.g., how elders are cared for; Sokolovsky, 2009).

However, what about the time *in between*childhood and adulthood? Is this time characterized by a period of transition, or is there a specific moment or interval where one moves from childhood into adulthood? This query harkens back to the question we posed at the opening of this chapter – when does childhood end, and when does adulthood begin? Although we can simply point to specific physiological changes that take place during adolescence (cognitive, hormonal, neurological, and sexual maturation), to fully answer these questions, we must consider the specific cultural contexts in which people reside. The traditions and mores within which youth and adults operate dictate the ways in which individuals, families, and other social groups are "supposed" to behave and interact.

Tight Versus Loose Cultures

For a long time, social scientists have been investigating the cultural context of human development. One key observation that has been reported in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is that the world's societies can be roughly demarcated based on how they prioritize the individual person vis-à-vis the social group. Triandis (1995), for example, proposed that "individualist" societies are those where people have a great deal of autonomy and freedom to make their own decisions, and that one's needs and desires generally take precedence over obligations to family, friends, and other important others. On the other hand, "collectivist" societies are those where pleasing, caring for, and remaining loyal to important others is prioritized over the person's individual wishes. Generally speaking, individualist societies are located in Western Europe, North America, Oceania, and other countries or regions where European-descent Whites comprise the majority of the population or dominate the power structure (Hofstede, 2001). Collectivist societies,

generally speaking, are those located in other parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

This dichotomization of the world's cultures into "individualist" and "collectivist" neglects a great deal of heterogeneity among "individualist" societies and among "collectivist" societies. American individualism, for example, may not be equated with British, French, or German individualism, and Peruvian collectivism may be expressed quite differently than Taiwanese collectivism. Hofstede (2001) and Gelfand et al. (2011) have developed rating scales to rank countries in terms of cultural orientation. Gelfand et al. characterize countries in terms of tightness versus looseness, where "tight" cultural contexts are those where the life course is largely scripted (i.e., strict gender role demarcations are enforced, deviance is not tolerated, most people's lives unfold according to normative cultural templates) and a largely poor populace is ruled by corrupt and authoritarian governments.

Vignoles et al. (2016) unpack the individualist-collectivist/tightness-looseness distinction into seven dimensions: (a) self-reliance versus dependence on others, (b) self-containment versus connection to others, (c) individuality versus similarity, (d) self-interest versus commitment to others, (e) consistency versus variability, (f) self-direction versus receptiveness to outside influence, and (g) self-expression versus harmony. Unpacking the singular distinction between individualist and collectivist (or loose and tight) cultural contexts allows us to more precisely define those frameworks in which a "socially invented" transitional period between childhood and adulthood – a period that extends beyond a biological development – would be most likely to exist. That is, although further research is surely needed to support or refute the predictions we advance here, we might propose that a socially induced provisional period between childhood and adulthood may be most likely to emerge or appear in cultural contexts that foster self-direction, individuality, and self-expression. That is, there must be room for the person to *direct her/his own life path* (at least to some extent), to *be different and unique from others and to follow an individualized life path*, and to *express her/himself in ways that may not be entirely consistent with others'expectations or desires*. Côté and Levine (2002, 2015), Erikson (1950), and Lerner and Busch-Rossnagel (1981) provide supportive theoretical and empirical evidence for these contentions.

Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood as Transitional Stages

Adolescence was the first transitional stage proposed to exist between childhood and adulthood. Psychologist G. Stanley Hall (1904) was among the first to hypothesize an adolescent life stage that followed childhood and preceded adulthood (see Arnett, 2006, for an in-depth critical review of Hall's work). Hall believed that adolescence was the time when young people began to think abstractly, to question authority, to prepare emotionally for adult roles, and to evolve physiologically from child to adult. He was clear, however, that adolescents were *not* adults – they were

not ready for semi-permanent life commitments such as marriage, gainful employment, and parenting.

A number of writers (e.g., Erikson, 1950; Piaget, 1977) built on Hall's concept of adolescence by proposing this phase of life as the time when young people began to think counterfactually, to develop a sense of themselves as unique individuals, and to identify their life purpose and direction. Other theorists (e.g., Baumrind, 1989) embedded adolescence within the family context, proposing that adolescents needed their parents to provide support, structure, and guidance so that the youth could become productive and competent adults. That adolescents remained dependent on their parents for guidance and support – and that the absence of such guidance and support appeared to lead to problematic and socially destructive outcomes such as substance abuse, crime, and violence – reinforced Hall's contention that adolescents are not adults and are not capable of functioning independently.

With all of that said, however, one could imagine contexts in which adolescents and adults would be treated similarly and would play similar social roles. For example, in hunter-gatherer tribes, the primary tasks that must be performed involve finding food, caring for children and elders, and identifying or constructing shelter (Hill et al., 2011). Once a young person had matured physically, s/he would assumedly be able to perform duties associated with hunting, collecting food, or caregiving. Preparation for the kinds of permanent adult roles and commitments found in modern societies would likely not be necessary. Present examples of societies that do not distinguish strongly between adults and teens are small cultural groups not integrated into mainstream societies such as the Amish in the U.S., the Maori in New Zealand, the Roma in Romania and Bulgaria, or the Santals and the Lothas in India (Chatterjee, Bailey, & Aronoff, 2001). One might assume, then, that adolescence – at least as conceptualized as a life stage between childhood and adulthood – might not be recognized in all societies. Although hunter-gatherer societies and small, segregated cultures within larger nations are rare in today's world, these examples suggest that adolescence may be thought of (at least in part) as a social construction rather than simply as a biological reality.

As Western societies continued to evolve, especially during the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, the transition between *adolescence* and adulthood became more amorphous and less well defined (Arnett & Taber, 1994; Côté & Allahar, 1994). During the agricultural era, and following the Industrial Revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, young people generally married and settled into adult work roles shortly after finishing formal schooling or apprenticeship. Divorce was uncommon, and many people stayed in the same line of work (and often with the same company or working group) for most or all of their working lives (Cherlin, 2004; Smith, 2010). Although adolescence was characterized by some degree of self-direction, individuality, and uniqueness, the transition to adulthood was fairly standard for most people in Western societies.

As Western countries transitioned to more technology-based economies, and as the sexual revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s ushered in new freedoms and greater equality for women, the transition from adolescence to adulthood became lengthier

and more complex for many people (MacMillan, 2007). The entry-level positions that young people had previously used to enter the workforce were being mechanized or otherwise made obsolete, and college degrees were increasingly required for desirable jobs. Young people were delaying marriage and were spending more time dating and sorting through potential partners – sometimes cohabiting with partners before (or instead of) getting married (Wiik, 2009). In short, rather than entering into permanent adult roles in their late teens and early twenties, youth were spending more time "in between" adolescence and adulthood (Arnett, 1998) – sometimes not entering into marriage and gainful employment until their mid to late 20s.

These changes in the Western transition to adulthood have created a new phase of life. Arnett (2000) has referred to this phase as *emerging adulthood*. Arnett identified five qualities associated with emerging adulthood – instability, self-focus, feeling in between, identity exploration, and possibilities. In other words, he viewed this phase of life as a time when many young people were relatively uncommitted to permanent adult roles and saw the world as wide open to them. Other researchers (e.g., Côté, 2014) disagree with Arnett's optimistic view of this developmental period, but nonetheless view this life phase as distinct from adolescence and from adulthood – at least in Western societies where young people must find their own way into adult roles.

Emerging adulthood, however, is even more culturally bound than adolescence once was (Schwartz, 2016). In societies where young people do not have the option of delaying entry into adulthood, are not encouraged (or permitted) to date freely prior to marrying, or are discouraged from engaging in self-directed exploration prior to "settling down," emerging adulthood may not exist. Particularly in tight cultural contexts where individuality, freedom of expression, and self-direction are discouraged, the goals of emerging adulthood (i.e., identifying a relationship partner, career path, and set of beliefs) may go against cultural norms and expectations. For example, in many Middle and Far Eastern countries, children's marriages are arranged by their families, and children are often expected to join or otherwise support the family business (Myers, Madathil, & Tingle, 2005). So an emerging adult life stage – premised on self-direction, uniqueness, and self-expression – may not exist within tight cultures where these kinds of individualistic value systems are discouraged.

The transitional period between childhood and adulthood, then, is strongly guided and constrained by social and cultural forces. Although there is emerging evidence that rapid and intensive brain development occurs during the teens and 20s, and that this neural evolution supports a range of advanced cognitive, emotional, and relational abilities (see Thompson, 2014, for a detailed review), the sociocultural context appears to dictate how these capabilities are utilized, as well as the extent to which their utilization creates a transitional period between childhood and adulthood.

Well-Being in Adolescence and Adulthood: Universal and Culture-Specific Considerations

Well-being is one of the most commonly studied psychosocial outcomes among children, adolescents, and adults (e.g., Kahneman, Diener, & Schwarz, 2003). Although the precise meaning of "well-being" is elusive, the term generally is taken to refer to indices of positive adjustment, flourishing, and thriving (Linley, Joseph, Harrington, & Wood, 2006) – both physical and psychological. However, the construct of emotional/psychological well-being can be operationalized at several levels, including not only the individual person but also the family, peer group, community, and society as a whole (Evans & Prilleltensky, 2005).

At the individual level, a person might have high self-esteem and feel good about her/his life, and be pursuing clear goals that s/he has established and that are experienced as challenging and rewarding (Waterman, 2008). At the relational level, well-being might be conceptualized as fulfilling ties and bonds between and among people who are close to each other (e.g., friends, family members; Greenfield & Marks, 2006). At the community or societal level, well-being refers to social equality, appreciation for diversity, and affirmation for the various segments of the population (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). Community well-being includes the concept of collective efficacy, where neighborhood residents take ownership of their community, monitor what happens there, and advocate for social change when necessary (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997).

Even within individual approaches to well-being, there may be a demarcation between "individualist" and "collectivist" variants. Many Western societies view the self as contained within the person (i.e., "I" am separate from "you"; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), whereas many non-Western (especially East Asian) cultural contexts generally view the self as interdependent with others. That is, the independent model of selfhood tends to view a person's life as a product of that person's choices, and suggests that "what happens in my life is none of anyone else's business." In contrast, the interdependent model of selfhood holds that each person's choices affect everyone else, and as such, the process of making important life decisions and experiencing their consequences is inherently a collective phenomenon.

In the United States and other Western countries, individual well-being is generally conceptualized in terms of how one is doing in one's life – using indicators such as self-esteem, life satisfaction, a sense of mastery over one's environment, and a feeling of meaning and purpose (Ryff & Singer, 2008). This constellation of indicators is referred to as *psychological well-being* (Ryff, 2014). People with greater well-being are assumed to be better adjusted and better suited to compete for resources such as jobs, relationship partners, memberships in organizations, and so forth (Côté, 1997, 2002).

In contrast, individual well-being in many East Asian cultural contexts is conceptualized as being in touch with the present moment, feeling contented without judging one's circumstances, expressing gratitude, and feeling connected with one's surroundings – both social and physical (Kan, Karasawa, & Kitayama, 2009).

This constellation of indicators is referred to as *minimalist well-being* (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000). The distinction between psychological and minimalist well-being parallels Vignoles et al.'s (2016) dimensions of self-containment versus connection to others, individuality versus similarity, self-interest versus commitment to others, and self-direction versus receptiveness to outside influence. More specifically, psychological well-being implies a sense of the self as contained and separate from others, a focus on one's own needs and desires, concern with oneself as a unique and special individual, and a belief that one is responsible for directing one's own life and for the consequences (for good or for bad) of one's own choices. For example, an item on the Rosenberg (1968) Self-Esteem Scale asks the respondent whether "I view myself as a person of worth"; and two items on the revised Scales for Psychological Well-Being (Ryff & Singer, 2008) ask whether "In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live" and "I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important". In contrast, items on the Minimalist Well-Being Scale ask about the extent to which "I feel grateful that I am alive" and "I feel content in the moment" (Kan et al., 2009).

So what do these diverging conceptions of well-being have to do with adolescence and emerging adulthood? Quite simply, they represent different benchmarks for how well young people are doing in their lives, and for whether individuals, families, communities, and societies have been successful in guiding the next generations of youth. The availability of different benchmarks raises an important question – which benchmarks should be used within which cultural contexts? Should we use one set of benchmarks in Western contexts grounded in individuality and self-directedness, and another set of benchmarks in non-Western contexts grounded in connectedness and inclusion of others within the self? Or should we use both sets of benchmarks within any given cultural context that we study?

The answer to this question is far from straightforward, and at least two perspectives might be advanced in response to the question. From a cultural relativity perspective, individuals within a given cultural context should be provided with resources that are compatible with that context (e.g., Xie, Roy, & Chen, 2006) – and their well-being should be evaluated according to the "rules" underlying which the cultural contexts in which they reside. From a universal, global perspective, multiple components and conceptualizations of well-being are essential (albeit to varying extents) across cultural contexts (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011). Further, a strict focus on comparability across contexts and countries would require that the same indicators be measured within each context *and* that these indicators carry equivalent meanings across contexts (e.g., Chen, 2008; Knight, Roosa, & Umaña-Taylor, 2009).

Empirical comparisons across Western and non-Western (e.g., North American and East Asian) cultural contexts have indicated that both "individualist" and "collectivist" conceptions of well-being are facilitated by fulfilling the developmental tasks of adolescence and emerging adulthood (e.g., consolidating a sense of identity that will help guide one's future path; Sheldon et al., 2004; Sugimura et al., 2016). Further, Kan et al. (2009) found that both subjective and minimalist well-being are endorsed strongly among American and Japanese youth.

In a similar study, Lee, Beckert, and Goodrich (2010) examined the psychological development of Taiwanese rural and urban youth in relation to cultural value orientation (individualism, transitional, and collectivism), uncovered comparable results. Lee et al. concluded that, based on levels of globalization and technology exposure, both urban and rural youth endorsed all three cultural value orientations. Further, all three value systems appeared to promote developmental markers such as identity and cognitive autonomy. Such findings suggest that both psychological and minimalist well-being may be important regardless of the cultural context in question.

Unfortunately, the fact that we are somewhat able to grasp the complexities of well-being as a culturally bound experience does not imply that we have fully mastered the process of nurturing it in our youth. The past couple of decades have been marked by major advances in public health, accomplished within epidemiology through identifying vulnerable populations and developmental periods, and by prevention science through addressing risk and protective factors for various problem outcomes (Sloboda & Petras, 2014). These are important steps for identifying and preventing disease and problem behaviors, but we cannot stop there. Avoiding problems is not necessarily the same as promoting wellness and flourishing.

Put differently, well-being is more than the absence of pathology. The fact that one is not depressed, is not behaving in personally or socially destructive ways, and is not physically ill does not automatically imply that one is "doing well" (Keyes, 2005). Attempts to prevent harmful behavior, substance use, depression, suicidality, and other negative outcomes do not, in and of themselves, automatically promote well-being (Kia-Keating, Dowdy, Morgan, & Noam, 2011). One can easily imagine a person who is not clinically depressed, not using substances, not at risk for suicide, and not actively violating the rights of others but who is nonetheless not especially happy, not pursuing self-fulfilling goals, and not experiencing a sense of mastery over her/his life. As such, we should be clear that well-being involves the *presence of the positive* and not simply the *absence of the negative*, and that efforts to prevent problems may not promote well-being unless well-being is explicitly targeted as a mechanism or outcome (Guerra & Bradshaw, 2008; Youngblade et al., 2006).

The independence of well-being and problematic outcomes is particularly developmentally salient for youth. One of the core assumptions of the prevention science approach is that, when negative behaviors or influences are removed or ameliorated, young people are "doing well." Such an assumption may not be developmentally appropriate: although adults may have flourished or thrived at an earlier point in their lives, the same may not be true for adolescents given their more limited developmental history and the rootedness of their adjustment (or lack thereof) within their families of origin. Because youth may have never learned healthy behavioral patterns, "preventing" or extinguishing their unhealthy behaviors may leave them "stranded" without any behavioral repertoire at all. Most "high risk" youth are fully capable of explaining what depression, anger, abuse, or trauma feel like, but they likely lack an understanding of what healthy functioning – much less thriving or

flourishing – feel like. Thus, in the field of adolescent health, we must emphasize promotion – the instilment of "normality" (and excellence) – in addition to the elimination of abnormality.

Where the Rubber Meets the Road: Promoting Well-Being Across Cultural Contexts

In the remainder of this chapter, we discuss approaches to intervention and ways in which well-being can be promoted within and across cultural contexts. We also review ways in which individual well-being can be used as a mechanism to promote community and societal well-being, and to prevent or offset risks for problematic outcomes.

The social invention of adolescence has led to implications in the way we approach risk prevention and health promotion for teens and young adults. This group of young people, although stuck in "nowhere land" between childhood and adulthood, spend the majority of their waking hours together (Larson & Verma, 1999), growing intragroup norms, creating its own culture and utilizing global communication tools to cross national/cultural boundaries.

Research still supports the notion of forming strong ecologies (families, schools, and communities) that nurture healthy growth and maturation for our youth (Lopez et al., 2010; Prado et al., 2010). However, the idea that people are the passive recipients of scientific knowledge has come under increasing criticism. The idea that young people are producers of their own development (Lerner & Busch-Rossnagel, 1981) suggests that youth, within their families and communities, need to be placed into a position of leadership and expertise vis-à-vis their own empowerment. As such, public health researchers and interventionists are becoming increasingly aware of the need to collaborate *with* young people rather than attempting to act *upon* them (Zeldin et al., 2017). Indeed, the positive youth development movement is based on collaborative approaches to empowerment (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005).

Prevention science has begun to implement this type of approach as well. Youth suicide prevention researchers, for example, are recognizing the power of adolescent peer norms and the need for youth-adult collaboration. The "codes of silence" – the norm to not disclose to adults when a teen friend is at risk for suicide – has been identified as one of the major barriers to saving young lives by connecting them with trusted helpful adults. Data suggest that the old model of training adult gatekeepers to recognize distress and offer help to at risk youth is not producing results and cannot combat the stigma around engaging with adults for help (Wyman et al., 2008). Thus, researchers in the field of youth suicide prevention are designing, implementing and testing school-based programs that empower young people to work together with adult mentors and to establish help seeking from adult as the norm for healthy living (LoMurray, 2005; Wyman et al., 2010).

We are beginning to recognize that youth are often segregated from most adults, whether in schools, in after-school programs, or in peer groups. Although such age segregation is helpful in many ways (e.g., providing dedicated time for education), age segregation also widens the natural gap between generations, eliminates opportunities for mentorship, and may delay the assumption of adult responsibilities (Zeldin, Christens, & Powers, 2013). In the U.S. in 1974, the President's Science Advisory Committee (1974) stated that "What was once done to protect youth from manifest exploitation, now serves to reinforce the 'outsider' status of youth, to the point where they deprive youth of experience important to their growth and development" (PSAC, 1974). Indeed, youth-adult partnerships were the fundamental component of youth prevention policy in the US in the 1970s (Zeldin, Krauss, Kim, Collura, & Abdullah, 2015). Such a collaborative mindset needs to be restored if we are to promote well-being, and prevent personally and socially destructive outcomes, among young people.

Youth-adult partnerships are conceptualized as a developmental process *and* as a form of community practice. This model emphasizes that healthy communities and organizations are dependent on the voluntary contributions of all members. At its best, the youth-adult partnership model underscores mutual responsibility and respect between adults and young people, based on a goal oriented approach characterized by shared leading and learning (Camino, 2000). Youth and adults are challenged to engage their own networks, bring their experiences and critical perspectives. Li and Jullian (2012) and Hamilton and Hamilton (2005) contend that, especially for adolescents, mentoring relationships that maintain a high degree of adult control often lead to tension and lack of engagement among youth. These researchers conclude that youth-adult relationships that provide balance and mutual respect are most likely to promote healthy youth development. Indeed, collaborative relationships with non-familial adult mentors have been found to strongly promote well-being and thriving among youth (Schwartz, Chan, Rhodes, & Scales, 2013). Research also indicates that youth contributions to communities and organizations stimulate not only youth connectedness to prosocial institutions, but also adult and staff positive development and stronger local institutions, policies, and programs (Benson, Scales, Hamilton, & Sesma, 2006; Mitra, 2009; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Zeldin, 2004). Unfortunately, in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, the notion of youth-adult cooperation toward public health promotion was overshadowed by "just say no" and No Child Left Behind types of programs and policies that put adults back "in charge" and further away from youth (Levine, 2007). Indeed, many youth seek to be involved in their own empowerment, rather than being "lectured to" by adults.

Currently, in spite of federal policy setbacks in the United States and elsewhere, a community infrastructure accommodating youth participation is being built by private foundations and corporations. Some have invited youth to serve on their boards of directors, while others have directly involved them in program planning, implementation, and evaluation. Cities like Austin, Texas; Portland, Oregon; and San Francisco

have issued explicit mandates for youth to be involved in policy making and fund allocations (Frank & Dominguez, 2007; Sirriani, 2005).

The Western world is unfortunately not alone in identifying the notion of growing intergenerational isolation as a major primary risk factor for healthy youth development and struggling to legitimize youth-adult collaboration as a necessary component to promoting adolescent well-being. Other traditionally collectivistic societies are tackling similar issues. Malaysia, for example, has experienced alike isolation of teens and young adults from non-familial adults as the country has industrialized and moved toward a technological economy. The transition into a more automated society has also brought a growing sense of youth segregation from decision making, civic engagement and community life connectedness (Zeldin et al., 2015). In 2011, the Malaysian Institute for Research in Youth Development noted increases in conflicts between young people and adults at home, school and in the community, as well as heightened political apathy and alienation in youth. As in the U.S, Malaysian researchers are also looking for ways to bring generations closer together with the aim of ensuring healthy youth development (Zeldin et al., 2015).

Although a full review of the intrapersonal and contextual determinants of well-being is beyond the scope of this chapter, readers are referred to other sources (e.g., Currie et al., 2012). Predictors of well-being that could be targeted in intervention programs include a warm and supportive family environment (Bhana, McKay, Mellins, Petersen, & Bell, 2010), bonding to school and school personnel (Shochet, Dadds, Ham, & Montague, 2006), affiliation with prosocial peers (Buchanan & Bowen, 2008), and availability of neighborhood adult mentors (Schwartz et al., 2013). It may also be important to promote intrapersonal assets such as gratitude (Froh, Sefick, & Emmons, 2008) and self-determination/agency (Véronneau, Koestner, & Abela, 2005). It would be advisable for intervention programs to target each of these variables as mechanisms for increasing well-being and preventing problematic outcomes in adolescents and emerging adults – although as noted earlier, it is critical that youth be viewed as active participants in the program rather than as passive recipients of adult wisdom.

It is also critical to ascertain the extent to which the same risk and protective mechanisms serve to promote well-being and prevent problems across cultural contexts. Even if the same mechanisms do operate across cultures, the ways in which these mechanisms are targeted may need to differ based on the local cultural stream (e.g., Bernal, Jiménez-Chafey, & Domenich-Rodríguez, 2009). For example, individual-based interventions may work in looser cultures but not in tighter cultures, and the target behaviors (e.g., substance use, intimate partner violence) may be more culturally normative – and therefore more difficult to prevent – in some contexts than in others. A guiding principle might be that an emic approach, building off of the assumptions and norms embedded within the target cultural context, is preferable to an etic approach, where an intervention designed for one context is transported to another context with little or no adaptation. Well-being may be at least somewhat culturally bound, and as a result, promoting it among young people will likely involve maximizing the individual's extent of "fit" with the local culture (see Xie et al., 2006, for an empirical example).

In closing, we have reviewed the extent to which adolescence and emerging adulthood represent transitional phases between childhood and adulthood, the extent to which both adolescence and emerging adulthood are culturally bound and socially constructed, and the ways in which well-being is rooted within the cultural-historical assumptions that underlie a given context. However, we also advocated moving beyond the simplistic assumption that "individualist" forms of well-being are most salient in Western contexts whereas "collectivist" forms of well-being are most salient in non-Western contexts. Indeed, it appears that multiple dimensions of well-being are important *across* contexts. We also emphasized the independence of well-being from pathology and that "doing well" is not simply the absence of problems. Finally, we suggested that intervention approaches might consider actively involving youth as agentic participants so as to maintain their interest and engagement, and to help them to believe that they are capable of contributing to – and making a difference in – their own lives (presently as young people and in the future as adults). We ended by suggesting some possible avenues for focusing intervention efforts, while recommending strongly that the delivery of any intervention program must be copasetic with the cultural context in which the target population is embedded. We hope that our recommendations will help to bring together developmental, cultural, and applied approaches to adolescent and emerging adult development. It is through such integrative efforts that the future of our youth might best be maximized.

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The Contribution of Religiosity and Optimism on Well-Being of Youth and Emerging Adults in Italy

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Abstract In line with the Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework positing that religion provides youth with resources to thrive, this chapter presents a contribution analyzing associations between religiosity and well-being among middle and late adolescents and emerging adults in Italy. Italy is a unique context to study this topic due to societal relevance and historical presence of Catholicism. We conceptualized religiosity as religious commitment and well-being as life satisfaction and focused on the mediating role of optimism between these two constructs. A multiple-group path model revealed a direct invariant link between religious commitment and life satisfaction as well as a significant mediating role of optimism in middle adolescents and emerging adults, but not in late adolescents. Conclusions afford implications about why and how religiosity and optimism contribute to PYD in cultural contexts like Italy.

Theoretical Framework and Main Questions

Religiosity, in terms of adherence to religious rituals, values and practices of an institutionalized doctrine (Hill et al., 2000), has been linked to satisfaction with life as a relevant dimension of youth's subjective well-being (Abdel-Khalek, 2012; Kelley & Miller, 2007; King & Roeser, 2009; Yonker, Schnabelrauch, & DeHaan, 2012). However, scholars have questioned direct associations between one's religiosity and life satisfaction by arguing that other social and cognitive factors might mediate such relationship (Hayward & Krause, 2014). In the attempt to shed light on the mechanisms by which religiosity can exert its salubrious effect on life

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satisfaction, some researchers tested models whereby religiosity influences life satisfaction by way of optimism (e.g., Salsman, Brown, Brechting, & Carlson, 2005). In fact, optimism, as a tendency to expect good things in life (Carver & Scheier, 2014), may be both a predictor of satisfaction with life (Mishra, 2013) and a positive outcome of religiosity (Krause, 2002). These potential relationships are partly suggested by recent researches. For instance, Zeb, Riaz, and Jahangir (2015) showed that religiosity, but not optimism, was a positive predictor of mental health. Moreover, Ferguson and Goodwin (2010) found that optimism is positively associated with both subjective and psychological well-being. Although these studies refer to a broader view of well-being, it may be that a similar set of associations is applicable also in the more specific domain of the satisfaction with life. However, further research is needed in the field. In fact, despite the increasing interest of scholars, little is known about the structural relationships amongst religiosity, optimism, and life satisfaction, especially during the passage from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

On the basis of these premises, this chapter presents a study aimed at testing a mediation model whereby religiosity predicted satisfaction with life both directly and by way of optimism in adolescents and emerging adults. The study was framed within the Positive Youth Development perspective (PYD; Lerner, Lerner, von Eye, Bowers, & Bizan-Lewin, 2011) positing religion as a significant ideological and social resource that promotes young people's successful growth (King & Roeser, 2009). In fact, not only religion serves as a meaning-making system helping youth answer existential questions and orient their lives, but it also provides them with worldviews, values, beliefs, and social support, guiding them in the ages of transition from adolescence to adulthood (Barry & Abo-Zena, 2014).

Religiosity, Well-Being, and the Mediating Role of Optimism

Empirical evidence suggests that religiosity is positively associated with psychological well-being of adolescents and emerging adults (e.g., Barry, Nelson, Davarya, & Urry, 2010; Furrow, King, & White, 2004; Kirk & Lewis, 2013; Yonker et al., 2012). Particularly, religiosity was shown to be positively linked to life satisfaction (Abdel-Khalek, 2012; Kelley & Miler, 2007), considered as the conscious cognitive judgment of one's personal well-being (Pavot & Diener, 1993). However, scholars have questioned the direct influence of religiosity on life satisfaction, reporting that religiosity might also work in conjunction with other socio-cultural, cognitive, and individual variables (Hayward & Krause, 2014; Van Cappellen, Toth-Gauthier, Saroglou, & Fredrickson, 2016). For instance, Sabatier, Mayer, Friedlmeier, Lubiewska, and Trommsdorff (2011) showed that religiosity promotes family relationship values and family interdependence (i.e., family orientation) among adolescents, which in turn enhances their satisfaction with life. Moreover, they highlighted that such links are stronger in high religious countries than in secular ones. Also, Steger and Frazier (2005) reported that religiousness provides young adults with meaning in their lives

which, in turn, increases their well-being and psychological health. Nonetheless, more research is needed to explain how and why religiosity can exert its beneficial effects on well-being among adolescents and emerging adults.

In order to clarify this mechanism, it is possible to consider the mediating role of optimism. Indeed, studies have found that optimism is positively linked with markers of psychological well-being, such as life satisfaction, sense of meaning in life, and overall quality of life (Ho, Cheung, & Cheung, 2010; Mishra, 2013), and acts as a positive outcome of religiosity (Krause, 2002). Relatedly, research by Salsman et al. (2005) found that religiousness and prayer fulfillment is associated with satisfaction with life through optimism among emerging adults. However, further studies are needed to take into account the developmental changes youth undergo in the passage from adolescence to adulthood. In fact, this transition period is a time of both great opportunities and vulnerabilities (Dahl, 2004; Kirk & Lewis, 2013), during which religiosity has been shown to play a salient role in protecting individuals against mental illness (e.g., depression, Pearce, Little, & Perez, 2003) and health-risk behaviors (e.g., alcohol use; Jankowski, Hardy, Zamboanga, & Ham, 2013). Also, it prevents destructive behaviors such as violence (Salas-Wright, Vaughn, & Maynard, 2014), delinquency (Johnson, Jang, Larson, & Li, 2001), and aggression (Hardy, Walker, Rackham, & Olsen, 2012). As abundant research pointed out, there are several possible explanations about why religiosity promotes positive youth development (King & Boyatzis, 2015). To mention one, faith based organizations provide adolescents with a set of beliefs and values guiding them during their growth, and exert a certain extent of social control, in terms of moral and normative behaviors (King, 2003).

Relationships Between Religiosity, Optimism, and Life Satisfaction in Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood

Adolescence (approximately from 14 to 19 years old) and emerging adulthood (approximately from 20 to 30 year old) are two critical phases in the life cycle. The former is a period of transition from childhood to adult roles marked by puberty and self-concept formation (Dahl, 2004), while the latter bridges adolescence and adulthood through a protracted exploration and construction of one's identity (Arnett, 2014). Abundant research underlined that adolescents and emerging adults experience religion in different ways (Barry et al., 2010; Chan, Tsai, & Fuligni, 2015). During early and middle adolescence, individuals' images of God begin to be more abstract, internalized and personal than in childhood, but their religious beliefs are still not critically articulated and, to some extent, conform to the ones inherited from parents (Fowler & Dell, 2006). Differently, during the transition from high school to college, adolescents possess a greater set of cognitive capacities helping them to reflect on different aspects of the self and on the culture they live in (Zarrett & Eccles, 2006). As a consequence, they start to search for a beliefs system consistent

with the values they have accumulated (Steinberg, 1999). Once they age into emerging adulthood, individuals tend to disaffiliate from religious practices and communities, and to show a greater interest in exploring their religious identities. This is mainly due to their advancement in pragmatic and rational thinking, to their willingness to be self-sufficient and to form their own beliefs. At this phase, religiosity becomes a private concern, often characterized by mistrust of religious institutions (Arnett & Jensen, 2002; Barry et al., 2010; Chan et al., 2015).

In light of these developmental changes, it is reasonable to suppose that the links among religiosity, optimism, and life satisfaction may change with age according to differences in the ways of experiencing religion. For instance, given that younger adolescents might hold more idealized representations of God as a supporting entity (Fowler & Dell, 2006), they may tend to be more optimistic about life when religiosity is a salient dimension. Contrary, late adolescents may report weaker associations with optimism because of their more probing approach to religiosity, which may not be necessarily seen as something that gives security and positive expectations for the future. In emerging adulthood, instead, the relationships among religiosity, optimism and life satisfaction may be strengthened, since religiosity is now experienced in a more private, individualized way (Magyar-Russel, Deal, & Brown, 2014). Unfortunately, to date, to best of our knowledge, there is no empirical research investigating age related trends in the associations between religiosity, optimism and life satisfaction. Thus, the novel aspect of our study is to fill in this gap. In doing so, we also explored how these associations occur in a particular cultural context like Italy. This is a relevant point considering that culture may play a key role in the association between religiosity and well-being (Diener, Tay, & Myers, 2011).

Context and Cultural Distinctiveness of the Study Sample

Some studies have found that religiosity affects both happiness and life satisfaction of people from different cultures (e.g., Graham & Crown, 2014). However, it might be that religiosity would have a greater effect on people living in countries characterized by a long religious tradition because in these contexts conventional beliefs may act as an anchorage offering security and certainty (Garelli, 2013). For this reason, Italy represents an important context for studying this topic, given that Catholicism is a very influential and salient cultural feature of this country because of social and historical reasons. In fact, differently from other European countries, especially the Northern ones, in Italy young people continue to grow up in a society strongly marked by a long-established religious culture (Garelli, 2007, 2013).

A close look to recent surveys reveals that 62% of Italians declare to be practicing Catholicism, whereas 38% to be non-practicing. With regards to young population, statistics show that 68% of people between 15 and 34 years of age define themselves as Catholic (Doxa, 2014). Nevertheless, this does not means that other youth are unconnected with Catholic religion and its customs because, as noted by

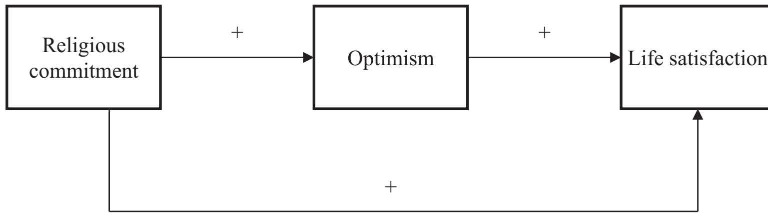

Fig. 1 The theoretical model

Bader, Baker, and Molle (2012), in Italy a form also exists of Catholic religious belonging that is culturally inherited rather than profoundly experienced and manifestly expressed. Also, in the last years Italy is facing a difficult social and economic crisis (e.g., unemployment, limited social policies) which may disorient youth, increase uncertainty toward the future, and negatively affect their well-being (Crocetti, Rabaglietti, & Sica, 2012; Karaś, Cieciuch, Negru, & Crocetti, 2015). In such a context, religiosity may represent a resource for young people to enhance their life satisfaction both directly and indirectly by way of optimism in line with our previous arguments and PYD predictions. Notwithstanding this background, in Italy there is a delay on investigating this topic, compared to other countries like the United States. This lack of studies hinders comparisons between the Italian and other contexts (Laudadio & D'Alessio, 2010) that could be particularly informative about the role of culture in the associations between religiosity and positive functioning of youth.

The Present Study

On the basis of previous research (e.g., Salsman et al., 2005), as well as on the need of a deeper understanding of how religiosity, optimism and life satisfaction relate during adolescence and emerging adulthood, the purpose of the present contribution was to test a partial mediation model (see Fig. 1) whereby religiosity is associated with life satisfaction also by way of optimism in three age groups (middle adolescents, late adolescents, and emerging adults). We conceptualized religiosity in terms of religious commitment that is "the degree to which a person adheres to his or her religious values, beliefs, and practices and uses them in daily living" (Worthington et al., 2003, p. 85). Optimism was conceived as a mental attitude consisting of the tendency to expect good things in life (Carver & Scheier, 2014). Satisfaction with life was defined in terms of judgments individuals make about how much their life, as a whole, is good (Pavot & Diener, 1993). In particular, we tested the following hypotheses.

H1. Religiosity is positively associated with life satisfaction in all age groups.
H2. Religiosity is more positively associated with optimism in middle adolescents and emerging adults than in late adolescents.

H3. Optimism is positively associated with life satisfaction in all age groups.
H4. Optimism has a more relevant mediating role in the relationship between religiosity and life satisfaction in middle adolescents and emerging adults than in late adolescents.

Unique contribution of this study is that it is one of the first to test a clear theoretical model of the joint and relative role of religiosity and optimism in promoting Italian adolescents' and emerging adults' well-being, in terms of life-satisfaction. Moreover, it is the first study to examine these relationships in a cross-sectional developmental study in the Italian context.

Method

Sample and Procedures

Participants were 164 individuals in middle adolescence (146 girls), 131 individuals in late adolescence (109 girls), and 167 individuals in emerging adulthood (153 girls) of Italian origin and living in Palermo, one of the largest cities in Southern Italy. The middle adolescence group included ninth through tenth graders attending Italian high schools. The participants' age of this group ranged from 14 to 16 years ($M = 14.78$, $SD = 0.84$). In terms of religious affiliation, the majority of participants declared to be Christian (78%). Seventy-three percent of their mothers and 72% of their fathers had at least a high school education. The late adolescence group included 12th through 13th graders attending Italian high schools. The participants' age of this group ranged from 17 to 19 years ($M = 17.85$, $SD = 0.82$). In terms of religious affiliation, the majority of participants declared to be Christian (72%). Fifty-eight percent of their mothers and 61% of their fathers had at least a high school education. The emerging adulthood group included undergraduate students attending social sciences classes at the University of Palermo. The participants' age of this group ranged from 20 to 30 years ($M = 22.10$, $SD = 1.88$). In terms of religious affiliation, the majority of participants declared to be Christian (80%). Fifty-nine percent of their mothers and 56% of their fathers had at least a high school education.

The local psychology department's ethics committee approved this study and all procedures were performed in accordance with the Italian Association of Psychology (2015) ethical principles for psychological research. After obtaining written consent from school principals and teachers, university dean and faculties, participants and their parents (in the case of adolescents), a survey assessing different aspects of religiousness and well-being was administered collectively during class sessions under the supervision of one research assistant and one postgraduate student. The survey took no longer than 40 min to complete.

Measures

Socio-demographics Respondents were asked to indicate their age, gender, religious affiliation, and their maternal and/or paternal level of school completed.

Religious Commitment Religious commitment was assessed using the ten-item Religious Commitment Inventory (RCI-10; Worthington et al. 2003). The items (e.g., “My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life”) capture commitment in terms of adherence to one’s religious values, beliefs, and practices. Items were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (*not all true of me*) to 5 (*totally true of me*) and were averaged to create an overall score with higher scores indicating higher levels of religious commitment. The scale was translated from English into Italian following the recommendations of the International Test Commission (2005). Cronbach’s alphas varied between .91 and .95 across age groups.

Optimism Optimism was assessed using the ten-item Italian version of the Life Orientation Test-Revised (LOT-R; Giannini, Schuldberg, Di Fabio, & Gargaro, 2008; Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 1994). The items (e.g., “In uncertain times, I usually expect the best”) capture positive expectations for future outcomes, except for the four filler items that were not scored. Items were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). After reversing the three negatively worded items, responses were averaged to create an overall score of optimism, with higher scores indicating higher levels of the construct. Cronbach’s alphas varied between .63 and .80 across the age groups.

Life Satisfaction Life satisfaction was assessed using the five-item Italian version of the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Goldwurm, Baruffi, & Colombo, 2004; Pavot & Diener, 1993). The items (e.g., “I am satisfied with my life”) capture the perception of one’s quality life. Items were rated on a seven-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) and were averaged to create an overall score of satisfaction with life, with higher scores indicating higher levels of the construct. Cronbach’s alphas varied between .83 and .87 across age groups.

Analytic Plan

A multiple group path analysis was performed using structural equation modeling with age group as grouping variable. All analyses controlled for age within each group and gender (with these two variable assumed as uncorrelated in the model). According to Faraci and Musso (2013), to evaluate model fit different indices were inspected (adopted cut-offs in parentheses): chi-square test with the associated p-value ($p > .05$), comparative fit index (CFI $\geq$.95), and root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA $\leq$.06; RMSEA 90% CI $\leq$.10). Initially, an unconstrained model in which path coefficients were allowed to vary between the three age groups

was tested. Next, a constrained model where all path coefficients were set equal across age groups was tested and compared with the unconstrained model using the chi-square difference ($\Delta\chi^2$), the difference in CFI values (ΔCFI) and the difference in RMSEA values (ΔRMSEA). If $\Delta\chi^2$ had been smaller than the chi-square critical value at the difference in degrees of freedom of the two tested models, ΔCFI >−.010 and ΔRMSEA <.015 (Chen, 2007), the more restrictive model would have been preferred; otherwise, the less restrictive model would have provided a better fit to the data. In the latter case, a partially constrained model would then have been tested.

Results

Descriptive statistics for the key study variables are summarized in Table 1. The initial unconstrained model had a good fit, $\chi^2(3) = 1.66$, $p = .64$; CFI = 1.00; RMSEA = .00 [90% C.I. = .000–.10]. The constrained version of the model had a significantly worse fit compared to the unconstrained model, $\Delta\chi^2(6) = 16.15$, $p < .05$, ΔCFI = −.040, ΔRMSEA = .080. Inspection of modification indices suggested releasing the constraint between religious commitment and optimism for late adolescents. The partially constrained model had excellent fit, $\Delta\chi^2(5) = 6.33$, $p > .05$, ΔCFI = .000, ΔRMSEA = .000. Standardized coefficients for this final model are shown in Fig. 2.

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for study variables

Variable	1.	2.	3.
Middle adolescents (*n* = 164)			
1. Religious commitment	–		
2. Optimism	.33***	–	
3. Satisfaction with life	.35***	.61***	–
M	2.14	3.10	4.20
SD	0.74	0.71	1.47
Late adolescents (*n* = 131)			
1. Religious commitment	–		
2. Optimism	−.01	–	
3. Satisfaction with life	.22*	.49***	–
M	2.10	3.18	4.36
SD	1.01	0.63	1.20
Emerging adults (*n* = 167)			
1. Religious commitment	–		
2. Optimism	.17*	–	
3. Satisfaction with life	.26***	.50***	–
M	2.17	3.18	4.28
SD	1.06	0.68	1.25

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

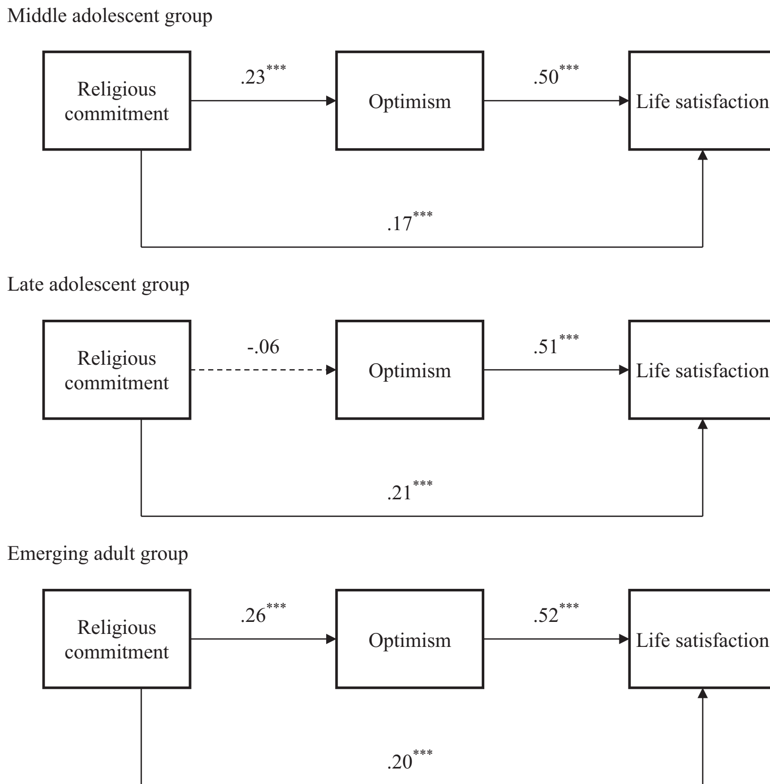

Fig. 2 Multiple-group path model for the relationships between study variables, moderated by age group. *Note:* Maximum likelihood standardized coefficients are shown. *Solid lines* represent significant pathways, *dashed lines* represent nonsignificant relationships. Controlling variables (age within each group and gender) are not presented for reasons of parsimony. $^{***}p < .001$

Within the middle adolescence and emerging adult groups, direct links showed that religious commitment was significantly connected with increases in optimism and satisfaction with life as well as optimism was significantly related with increases in satisfaction with life. Also, there was evidence of mediating positive role of optimism between religious commitment and satisfaction with life (respectively, $\beta = .12$, $p < .001$ and $\beta = .13$, $p < .001$). Within the late adolescence group, direct links showed that religious commitment and optimism were significantly connected with increases in satisfaction with life, but no significant relation emerged between religious commitment and optimism. As a consequence, no evidence of mediating role of optimism in the relationship between religiosity and life satisfaction was found ($\beta = -.03$, $p > .05$).

Discussion

The purpose of our chapter was to better elucidate the relative and combined contribution of religiosity and optimism in promoting adolescents and emerging adults' well-being. Framed within the PYD perspective, the conceptual model we tested assumed that religiosity is linked to positive evaluation of life also through its role in directing one's view of life events in a hopeful way, i.e., optimism. Our study was the first to test such a model in Italy, a cultural context in which religiosity (i.e., Catholicism) is widespread and particularly salient for individuals' life (Garelli, 2013). In addition, another novelty of our contribution consisted in investigating how religiosity, optimism, and satisfaction with life relate to one another in different phases of the life cycle.

In general, results are in line with our predictions. Direct paths from religiosity and optimism to life satisfaction were found in all age groups examined (middle adolescents, late adolescents, and emerging adults). Religiosity was directly and positively associated to optimism as well as indirectly and positively related to life satisfaction among middle adolescents and emerging adults, but not among late adolescents. These findings demonstrated that both adolescents and emerging adults with an increased religious commitment tend to have higher levels of life satisfaction, as suggested by previous works (Kim, Miles-Mason, Kim, & Esquivel, 2013; Abdel-Khalek, 2012). This kind of connection may also be mediated by the role of the optimistic views, but it seems to depend on the particular age characteristics during adolescence and emerging adulthood. In fact, a positive association between religious commitment and levels of optimism was found only among middle adolescents and emerging adults, whereas no significant relationship was found among late adolescents.

From a developmental standpoint, the presence of age-related differences in the association between religiosity, optimism, and life satisfaction may be explained by considering the changes in the ways of experiencing religiosity that occur during adolescence and emerging adulthood. Middle adolescents are more influenced by the religious beliefs and values of their parents and other social agencies (King, Furrow, & Roth, 2002). Also, their conception of religiosity is quite idealized because they are still not able to find their own manner to interpret religious contents due to their level of cognitive and identity development (Fowler & Dell, 2006). Thus, it might be that, in a context like Italy, where a collective dimension of religion is still salient (Garelli, 2007), youth who show high religious commitment rely on practices and communities of their faith to find purpose in life and support. Late adolescents, instead, develop a more critical thinking and stable sense of identity helping them to reflect on the culture they live in and on their religious beliefs (Chan et al., 2015; Zarrett & Eccles, 2006). Thus, they become more able to differentiate diverse domains of their lives, such as religion, family, school/work, and personal relationships. As a consequence, religiosity is not necessarily considered as a dimension that guarantees security and positive expectations for the future; rather it might be questioned and doubted (Chan et al., 2015). For this reason, late adolescents are likely to put their optimistic expectancies of the future in something

different than religiosity, which may be identified in other personal and social resources (Ek, Remes, & Sovio, 2004). Finally, further cognitive and social advances make emerging adults more able to frame their lives through lens of a personal set of religious beliefs that they have matured independently of parents or of the influence of religious institutions (Arnett & Jensen, 2002). Therefore, during this period, religious commitment is experienced with higher awareness and its associations with optimism and positive expectations towards the future are positively reconsidered. This is especially valid in a cultural context like Italy, where religiosity represents a resource in times of struggle that enhances hope that things can get on the right side (Garelli, 2013).

In brief, religiosity seems to be an important positive correlate of well-being in terms of life satisfaction. This link can be both direct and indirect through the mediating role of optimism. However, the latter case depends on age specific developmental characteristics that adolescence and emerging adulthood undergo. Still, these processes are primarily relevant in cultural contexts in which the religious dimension is clearly salient, helping individuals hold religious beliefs, either inherited, or passively accepted or personally chosen.

Although our findings provide interesting insights into the associations between religiosity and well-being among Italian adolescents and emerging adults, they should be considered in light of some limitations. First, the data were cross-sectional and correlational, which hinders our ability to clearly establish the mediating processes. Thus, longitudinally research is needed to determine temporal ordering and causality. Second, the measures were all self-report and, as a consequence, they might lead to social desirability bias. Future studies should adopt mixed methods to provide additional information about the views of adolescents and emerging adults on religiosity and well-being, as well as experimental designs in order to further validate our results. Third, our sample was mostly composed of girls within both adolescent and emerging adult groups. As a consequence, although we inserted gender as a control variable in our model, it was not possible to reliably investigate gender differences in this study. However, as previously suggested, there exist differences in the ways boys and girls approach religiosity (King & Roeser, 2009; Chan et al., 2015), even though such discrepancies might be considered as culture-specific, rather than generalizable (Loewenthal, MacLeod, & Cinnirella, 2002). Also, gender has been found to be a moderator on the association between religiosity and well-being (Maselko & Kubzansky, 2006). Consequently, there is the need to specifically take into account the role of gender in examining the influence of religiosity on well-being. In addition, it would be useful to investigate potential differences emerging when adopting an approach that distinguishes between religious and non-religious people. In this sense, the main question would be whether those declaring to be non-believers would also show a significant relationship between optimism and life satisfaction and have a hopeful and optimistic attitude in life. Although prior works pointed out that optimism is linked to satisfaction with life independently of individuals' religiosity (e.g., Mishra, 2013), next investigations should implement such facets to better elucidate the specific contribution of religiosity and optimism on youth's and emerging adults' good life conditions. Finally,

our research mainly focused on an individual level of analysis while neglecting the impact of social resources, such as family or peers (Barry et al., 2010; King et al., 2002; King, 2003), on the associations between religiosity and adolescents' and emerging adults' well-being. Further studies should also investigate these issues.

Despite these limitations, our study makes a novel contribution to the literature at least in two aspects. First, it highlights that religiosity may be positively associated with youth psychological well-being, although some works show that it can be related to mental health problems such as depression (Cotton, Larkin, Hoopes, Cromer, & Rosenthal, 2005) and negative emotions such as feelings of guilt and alienation (Exline, Yali, & Sanderson, 2000). Second, it extends our understanding of how religion is related to the trajectories of psychological well-being among adolescents and emerging adults growing in contexts where religion is closely aligned with culture. In fact, while some other studies confirmed the mediation role of optimism in the relationship between religiosity, well-being and mental health among emerging adults (Salsman et al., 2005) and adults (Hirsch, Nsamenang, Chang, & Kaslow, 2014), to our knowledge this is the first to address such a topic including adolescents along with emerging adults.

In summary, the questions and the topics so far addressed shed light on the mechanisms by which religiosity may help adolescents and emerging adults enhance their positive expectations about future outcomes and promote their life satisfaction. In addition, the current research highlights that there are age-related changes in these mechanisms. In line with the PYD framework, such findings may be useful to design age-specific intervention considering religiosity as a significant resource promoting young people's successful growth. These interventions may result in an enhancement of optimistic and satisfactory life-styles in youth and in turn, in a potential strengthening of their contribution to self, family, and society as the PYD literature suggests (e.g., Lerner, Alberts, Anderson, & Dowling, 2006). In this sense, religiosity, optimism, and satisfaction with life are significant constructs that can positively contribute to the ecology of youth and emerging adults, in terms of both theoretical explanations and practical interventions.

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Positive Youth Development in China

Bin-Bin Chen, Xixi Li, and Ning Chen

Abstract Recognition of the importance of culture in understanding positive youth development (PYD) has gained an increasing interest in many non-western societies. However, PYD research among Chinese youth is relatively recent. The purpose of this chapter, based on the Five Cs model of PYD, is to provide a comprehensive review on positive developmental outcomes (i.e., competence, confidence, character, connection, and caring) among Chinese youth. It concludes by emphasizing the development of an indigenous or indigenized Chinese model of PYD and the role of social and cultural contexts (e.g., only-child family environment and internet) on positive development among Chinese youth. This review furthers our understanding of the cultural distinctiveness and provides impetus for cross-cultural comparisons on PYD.

Positive youth development (PYD) is the development and cultivation of strengths, competences, and potentials, which ensure youth adapt to systematic adversities. PYD is useful to understand youth in a strengths-based theoretical framework (Benson, Mannes, Pittman, & Ferber, 2004; Damon, 2004; Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003). It provides a multi-dimensional and holistic overview of well-being of youth. Related to the PYD model, the notion of the Five Cs has been proposed to understand positive developmental outcomes. Although previous Chinese literature has noted that the positive development is important for youth (Shek et al., 2014; Wang & Qin, 2012), application of this PYD framework in China has been limited. This chapter therefore aims to enhance our understanding of this framework by focusing on the conceptualization and operationalization of the PYD in China.

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This chapter is structured into four sections. We begin with a short introduction of the Five Cs model of PYD. In the second section, we provide a brief overview of youth in the Chinese cultural context. In the third section, we review empirical studies of positive developmental outcomes (i.e., five Cs) in Chinese youth. In the last section, this chapter informs future research on PYD in China with the special reference to the social and cultural contexts. This review furthers our understanding of the cultural distinctiveness and provides impetus for cross-cultural comparisons in PYD.

The Five Cs Model of PYD

The PYD approach views youth development in a broad and holistic perspective by emphasizing assets and strengths rather than deficits (Catalano, Hawkins, Berglund, Pollard, & Arthur, 2002). One of the most prominent conceptualizations of youths' strengths is provided by Richard Lerner and colleagues Lerner et al. (2005) Five Cs model. The five Cs represent Competence, Confidence, Character, Connection, and Caring, respectively. According to the Five Cs model, competence is defined as an adaptation in domain specific areas (e.g., social and academic). Confidence represents an overall positive self-perception (e.g., self-worth) as opposed to domain specific beliefs. Character represents respect for societal and cultural rules. Connection means positive relationships with people and institutions. Finally, caring represents a sense of social concern and empathy for others. A large body of evidence consistently shows that the Five Cs were positively related to adolescents' contributions to self, family, and community (Lerner et al., 2005; Lewin-Bizan, Bowers, & Lerner, 2010), as well as their self-regulation ability (Gestsdóttir & Lerner, 2007), and negatively related to risky behaviors and mental health problems (Jelicic, Bobek, Phelps, Lerner, & Lerner, 2007; Murry, Berkel, Simons, Simons, & Gibbons, 2014). According to the model, the five Cs are conceptualized as the behaviors and abilities that lead to thriving (Lerner, Brentano, Dowling, & Anderson, 2002). With this foundation established, we briefly present the context of youth in China in the next section.

Youth in China

The concept of youth in Mainland China may have distinctive meanings compared with the one used in other areas such as North America and Europe (Kwong, 1994; Liu, 2011). Youth in Mandarin is *Qing-nian*, which literally means green age. Youth in China commonly represent a broader age range (Xi, 2006), defined as a person aged 14–35 years old. Therefore, the term youth in Chinese contexts is referred to individuals in both adolescence and young/emerging adulthood. In addition, youth in China appear to be more positive than the concept of youth in the western societies (Kwong, 1994; Liu, 2011). Specifically, the term youth in western societies

refers to a transitional period between childhood and adulthood. They are often seen as risk-taking, impulsive, deviant, rebellious, and even dangerous (Amit-Talai & Wulff, 1995; Choi, 2008; Petersen, 1988). It is mainly because the conception of youth has long been influenced by the deficit theoretical view. In contrast, the concept of youth is often associated with positive outlook on life, hope, and responsibility in China. For example, a famous saying, by Chairman Mao Zedong, describes the youth in the bloom of life, like the sun between 8 and 9 am in the morning. This well describes youth with a positive and hopeful character, vigor, and vitality. For another example, “raising children to provide against old age”, as an archaic word, reveals parental expectation of responsibility which children should undertake.

According to the 2015 Statistic Report of Chinese Youth Population and Development, there are about 450 million Chinese youth between 14 and 35 years old (Deng, 2015). Its proportion occupies about 33% of the overall population, which may be surpassing the whole population of most of countries or regions in the world. Given this large population, an organization, Communist Youth League (CYL) was established to promote the youth’s positive and healthy development (Ngai, Cheung, & Li, 2001). The core notions of PYD are embedded in the CYL, encompassing various aspects of academic performance, hard-working, as well as social and moral values and behaviors, which are conceptually similar to the Five Cs theoretical framework. Although the CYL has been conceived by the government, and is not a community-based program as used in academic research context, it still has its mission of enhancing youth optimal development. Therefore, youth in the Chinese social context may have unique positive developmental outcomes.

In addition, the contemporary youth are growing up in an age when China has experienced a rapid and profound change in social, economic, and cultural aspects of the society. For example, the Reform and Opening-Up Policy in China has resulted in a market-oriented economy in the past three decades. At the same time, the more individualistic western values have been introduced in China, especially in urban regions (Chen & Santo, 2016). Youth in modern Chinese society have experienced a mix of international/western and traditional cultural practices. The rapid development of economic and societal systems and the introduction of individualism values in various aspects of life may have formed and established a social-development environment which youth have not experienced before (Sun, 2006; Xi, 2006; Yu, Chen, Zhang, & Jin, 2015). As a result, such unique contexts may lead to both challenges and opportunities for youth and hence influence their positive development.

Positive Development in Chinese Youth

Competence

Within the Five Cs model, this section focuses on the two main domains of competence: academic and social competence. For academic competences, one of the most significant studies comes from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which provides solid evidence about academic skills and knowledge in 15-year-old adolescents by comparing the data across dozens of countries. According to the 2012 PISA report, adolescents in Shanghai, China have outstanding performances in mathematics, reading and science (PISA, 2012). The excellent academic competence for Chinese youth is not surprising because the academic achievement is highly valued and emphasized by both traditional and modern Chinese cultures (Ho, 1986). Because of fewer opportunities to gain a high quality education, learning competition is very intense from primary school to high school in China (Chen, Chang, Liu, & He, 2008). For example, youth experience high stress from teachers, classmates, and parents when they are prepared for the college entrance examinations. High expectation on children and youth's educational aspiration seems the prominent characteristic of Chinese family (Hou, 2002; Tsui & Rich, 2002). A saying, "To learn painstakingly", is one of popular students' learning mottos (Tan, 2012). It means that individuals should endure hardships before they can succeed in an academic setting (Chen, 2016). Furthermore, hard work from youth is commonly matched by teachers' diligence in teaching and parents' involvement and devotion in caring (Tan, 2012).

In addition, there has been an increasing concern about social competence in recent years (Chen, Li, Chen, & Chen, 2011; Chen, Liu, Dan, French, & Chen 2016). When asked what social competence is, Chinese youth think that social competence should include social adaptation and positive social interpersonal interactions such as respecting others, forgiveness, and other-centered interaction (Liu & Zou, 2005). In addition, awareness of social norms is also considered as one of mature social competences in China (Liu & Zou, 2005). Given its positive aspects, social competences in youth are associated with leadership and social participation. For example, in the samples of students in high schools, youth who are selected as leaders in their class are more likely to show mature social skills in their peer group (Liu et al., 1998), and high levels of self-perceived competence (Chen, Rubin, Li, & Li, 1999). For another example, a study, based on the sample of undergraduates, showed that social competences (which reflected assertiveness) were also considered as important when the Chinese youth participate in social activities (Liu & Zou, 2005). Based on the existing literature, we can conclude that Chinese youth in modern Chinese society who show mature social skills are highly involved in social activities.

A study on cross-cultural comparison of social competence in America and China showed that American undergraduate students were rated as having better overall social skills than Chinese undergraduate students. But it should be noted that the social skill was defined by American cultural norms (Ingman, 1999). As some

researchers (Chen, 2015; Chen & French, 2008) suggested, social competences may have different meanings in different cultural contexts. Therefore, Chinese youth's social competence may carry different cultural meanings in terms of two cultural syndromes—individualism and collectivism, compared with those discussed in the western cultures. We elaborate on this issue later.

Confidence

As China has been changing toward a market-oriented system which emphasizes competitiveness and social initiative, confidence is considered as an important attribute in competitive society (Xi, 2006). The competitive and market-oriented society requires individuals to be more self-confident, self-worth, and self-efficacy (Chen, Cen, Li, & He, 2005). In response to these new challenges, children and youth's socialization processes, especially in urban cities, are more likely to be involved with encouragement of self-confidence (Chen, Bian, Xin, Wang, & Silbereisen, 2010; Halstead & Zhu, 2009). There is empirical support for these ideas. For example, Chinese youth's levels of self-worth in both 2008 and 2010 were found to be higher than those in 2003 (Hong, 2010; Yao, 2008). A national survey of youth by the China Youth and Children Study Center reported that about 80% of the youth viewed the realization of self-value as one of important life goal and over half of the youth viewed the realization of self-value as the main motivation for hard work (Xi, 2006).

For Chinese youth, self-worth is also influenced by Chinese traditional values. For example, gendered expectation (e.g., in the domain of career development) in China influences youth's self-worth. Specifically, females have higher levels of self-worth related to family caring, whereas males have higher levels of self-worth related to working achievement (Yao, 2008).

In recent years, contingencies of self-worth have received growing concerns. Research findings demonstrated that there are five sources of self-worth in Chinese adolescents such as interpersonal behavior, appearance, family condition, and family relation (Hu, Zhang, Wang, & Zhang, 2013). It should be noted that, unlike contingencies of self-worth in western societies (Crocker, Luhtanen, Cooper, & Bouvrette, 2003), Chinese adolescents' self-worth is closely related to self-conscious evaluation of the position of the self in the social environment (Earley, 1997; Hwang & Han, 2010). It is mainly because of the "face" which is generally regarded as the public representation of one's self (Hwang & Han, 2010). As one of typical indigenous personality characteristic (Cheung, van de Vijver, & Leong, 2011), Chinese face is tightly linked with the in-group social relationships (especially family). Loss of face means loss of self-worth. Therefore, it suggests that youth's self-worth is not independent with Chinese traditional values.

Character

Starting from kindergarten, students in Chinese schools are required to have regular character education classes/courses in which patriotism, moral, and political principles are systematically taught (Chen et al., 1999). Character education is primary among moral, intellectual, and physical aspects, guided by the educational goals in China. In addition, youth are often required to participate in extracurricular group activities that are organized by schools and the CYL. The purpose of these activities is to cultivate and promote cooperation and prosocial behaviors among peers (Chen et al., 1999). For example, over the past two decades, Chinese Youth Volunteer Campaign, launched by the CYL, has organized millions of prosocial and altruism activities. Based on data from a national survey of youth, nearly 86% of the youth had participated in the volunteer activities (Xi, 2006).

Chinese youth have possession of standards for correct behaviors and a sense of morality. For example, children began to have internal justice at the age of 10 and had such of judgement starting from 14 years old (Cen, 2002). Based on a national sample of over 25,000 Chinese adolescents aged between 11 and 19, research found that the overall moral feelings (e.g., patriotism and affectionateness) were high among Chinese adolescents (Lu, Yuan, Wang, & Chen, 2010). In addition, Chinese youth have profound respect for societal and cultural rules. In a recent national survey, nearly 90% of youth were rated as having good moral characters (Ye, Wang, & Rong, 2014). These moral characters ranged from obeying the societal rules (e.g., traffic rules) to family rules (e.g., respect the aging and young). In sum, it suggest that the formal character education has profound influences on Chinese youth's character development.

Connection

Within the Five Cs model, we discussed connection by focusing on the positive relations with people and institutions that are shown in reciprocal intimate relationships of youth with parents, peers, and teachers/schools. Consistent with the western literature (De Goede, Branje, Delsing, & Meeus, 2009; De Goede, Branje, & Meeus, 2009; Furman & Buhrmester, 1992), the connection between parents and youth in China declined throughout the youth stage. For example, youth's social support from parents (Tian, Chen, Wang, Liu, & Zhang, 2012) and parent-adolescent attachment (Ju, Liu, & Fang, 2011; Liang, Hou, & Tian, 2006) declined over time. Yet, it should be noted that Chinese youth have relatively intense relationships with parents in the terms of both quality and quantity because most of youth born after 1979 are only children in the family (They are the product of China's single-child policy, implemented by the central government, to control the population growth). In addition, they are also the only offspring to take the social responsibility for care of their parents. The sense of responsibility to parents may motivate Chinese adolescents to

work hard in school and workplace to please parents (Pomerantz, Cheung, & Qin, 2012). Filial piety (or *Xiao-shun* in Mandarin), defined as obligations to provide both material and emotional care of aged parents, to ensure prolonging of family lineage, to fulfill ritual responsibility in memory of ancestors, and to earn good fame for family (Ho, 1996; Hwang, 1999; Zhan, Liu, & Guan, 2006), is seen as the first of all virtues in social relationships in China (Yue & Ng, 1999). Given it importance in the Chinese contexts, filial piety seems to be helpful to promote youth's social adjustment. For example, filial piety among early adolescents were found to be associated with life satisfaction and social competence (Leung, Wong, Wong, & McBride-Chang, 2010) and academic functioning (Pomerantz, Qin, Wang, & Chen, 2011).

In addition to parent-child relationships, peer relationship is also one of important connections for youth. Research has indicated that the relationships between youth and peers increased throughout the adolescence (Ju et al., 2011). The main reason is that increased in peer relationships may serve as a compensation for decreased relationships between adolescent and parents. Peer relationship of high quality was found to be negatively associated with mental disorders and positively related to psychological well-being (Tian et al., 2012; Zhang, Zhang, & Ning, 2009). Also it should be noted that Chinese youth may make trade-off decisions about their investment in peer-related and academic-related activities. This seems an interesting and typical phenomena for the friendship development in Chinese youth. In the face of the high academic stress in school (especially when the youth prepare for the college entrance examinations), they decrease interactions with friends (Tian et al., 2012). It seems that the development of academic competences outweighs the development of connection with friends during this stage because the benefits from academic competences may be higher than those from peer connection. It remains unclear whether peer connections serve the instrumental or emotional function for Chinese youth (Chen & Chang, 2012). More studies are needed to clarify this issue.

Lastly, youth connections with teachers or schools in China are pervasively positive. In a national survey, 33.3% of Chinese adolescents reported that they had intimate teacher-adolescent relationships, and 19.9% of them reported that they had teacher-adolescent conflicts (Li, Zou, & Yang, 2005). Positive teacher-adolescent relationships promote youth psychological development (Dong & Chen, 2001; Zhang et al., 2009). One of our studies also found that positive bonds with teachers in schools may have an amplifier effect for the relationships between bonds with other people and adolescent development (Chen, Chen, Wiium, & Dimitrova, 2016). The significant role of school and teachers may be due to the fact that Chinese adolescents spend relatively more time in school than their counterparts in other countries (e.g., United States), and greater emphasis is placed in school achievement (Dong & Chen, 2001).

Caring

Caring is defined as a sense of social concern and empathy for others. Like other collectivistic societies, caring for others is highly valued and encouraged in China (Ho, 1986). Caring as a personal asset is essential for the functioning of the collective welfare (Chen & Chang, 2012; Chen et al., 2002). With the emphasis on moral education, the majority of Chinese youth value caring (Xi, 2006). However, it should be noted that effective moral education requires emotional involvement which can successfully induce adolescents' caring (e.g., empathy) (Li, 1990).

In addition, existing literature focusing on adolescence showed that caring behaviors (including prosocial orientation and empathy) had unique contributions to the prediction of academic achievement and psychological adjustment in both cross sectional (Geng, Xia, & Qin, 2012; Li et al., 2015) and longitudinal research (Chen et al., 2002). Caring behaviors, characterized by concerns and help for others, may be essential for the maintenance of harmonious group relationships; therefore prosocial youth may have high levels of academic achievement and psychological adjustment in such positive social and learning environment.

Future Research and Outlook

Based on the Five Cs model of PYD, the current study provided a review on positive developmental outcomes in Chinese youth. Most of existing research was based on theoretical frameworks of positive psychology. The Chinese literature in this area is still quite recent and continues to develop. There is a very strong need to further examine cultural and contextual factors that may be relevant for understanding PYD in China. Based on this evidence, some relevant considerations may be outlined.

First, although the present review was based on the Five Cs model, some existing research revealed that the core constructs of the PYD might be more than five among Chinese youth (Gai & Lan, 2013; Shek & Ma, 2010). For example, based on the sample of Chinese college students, Gai and his colleagues (2013) found that there are ten positive developmental constructs: active and optimistic view, striving and insistence, leadership, caring, confidence, autonomy, prudence, love of learning, flexibility and innovation, and interests and curiosity. Some are overlapped with the constructs of the Five Cs model (e.g., caring and confidence), but others not (e.g., striving and insistence, and flexibility and innovation). These more indigenous PYD models and measures for Chinese youth with specific reference to the Chinese culture are encouraged, but need more systematical analyses and examination (e.g., measurement invariance across cultures and age groups).

Second, it remains unclear whether the theoretical latent PYD constructs derived from the western individualism societies have the same meaning in collectivism societies such as China. For example, competence (especially social competence) may have culturally-defined functioning and meaning within a specific culture

context (Chen & French, 2008); shyness in traditional Chinese society is considered as an adaptive social competence in youth peer group because it is a modesty strategy beneficial to collective harmony (Chen, Rubin, & Li, 1995; Xu, Farver, Chang, Zhang, & Yu, 2007). Therefore, shy youth are viewed by their teachers and peers as more competent in social and school contexts (Chen et al., 1999). But in most western cultures, shyness is not considered a positive developmental outcome (Chen & French, 2008). Therefore, when we define the PYD, the cultural implication should be considered.

Third, societal changes in China may influence PYD through external developmental assets, which reflect youth positive developmental experiences at the external environmental and contextual levels, such as support, empowerment, and boundaries and expectations (Benson, 2003). For example, most literature reviewed here is based on data from the only-one-child generation. The only-children have much more parental resources than the non-only children; therefore, the former should have more developmental assets than the latter. This may explain why Chinese youth who are the only children have much better abilities in coping with the difficulties and challenges, and have more effective and positive coping skills of behavioral and emotional regulation than those who are not the only children (Zhang, 2010). For another example, internal migration from rural to urban areas to seek job opportunities has become predominant in China. As a result, many adolescents who are separated from their migrant-worker parents have less developmental assets than other adolescents. It is interesting to examine how parental migration status may influence these adolescents' positive development (Wen, Su, Li, & Lin, 2015).

Forth, like youth in other areas or countries around the world, Chinese youth have been predominantly influenced by the Internet (Liu, 2011). They are called as the Internet Generation, who is living in the age of rapid development of digital/Internet technology. According to a survey by the China Internet Network Information Center, by December 2015, there are about 688 million Internet users in China. Among them, over 50% of Chinese Internet users are youth aged between 10 and 29 (China Internet Network Information Center, 2016). It is interesting to examine how Chinese youth interact with Internet, and consequently how it may influence their positive development (e.g., youth's morality on the Internet).

Lastly, design and development of PYD programs may be the next step to promote holistic PYD in China. The present review identified only one program aimed to promote holistic PYD in Chinese societies. This program entitled Project P.A.T.H.S, is conducted in Hong Kong (Shek & Sun, 2009). The P.A.T.H.S Project has received comprehensive evaluations and existing evidence indicates that this program is effective in promoting PYD among youth in Hong Kong. It has been implemented in Mainland China (e.g., Shanghai and Suzhou) (Han, Shek, & Zhao, 2014) and may serve as a starting point for new PYD programs in the cultural and social context in China.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the current chapter provides a review based on the Five Cs model of PYD in Chinese context. Together with future directions, it provides important information to researchers and practitioners who have called for a theoretical framework of strengths that Chinese youth possess. We have begun this process; however, more basic work must be performed before the field is sufficiently mature. Future studies should provide definitional, theoretical, and methodological clarity to the constructs of PYD in Chinese contexts, and examine predictors, correlates, and consequences of PYD. Such work will be helpful to understand and promote positive outcomes and thriving among Chinese youth.

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A Different Pathway to Adulthood? Relationships Between Identity Formation and Positive Psychological Outcomes in Japanese Adolescents and Emerging Adults

Kazumi Sugimura and Kai Hatano

Abstract This chapter addresses whether and how identity formation is associated with positive psychological outcomes in Japanese youth by reviewing research on identity formation and its relationships with well-being. In Japan, there has been an emerging form of "individualistic collectivism," in which young people enjoy individuality within a collectivistic society. If contemporary Japanese society frames the need to develop both individualism and collectivism, how is identity formation – a Western individualistic project – associated with well-being? To answer this question, we first highlight that identity plays an important role in the Western individualistic conceptualization of well-being but less so in the non-Western conceptualization of well-being among Japanese youth. We then provide evidence that the successful school-to-work transition in Japanese youth is based on a complex identity configuration compared to Western youth. These results provide new insights into the role of identity formation in well-being and lead to discover what a successful transition to adulthood means in Japan.

Identity formation is a central developmental task in adolescence and emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2014; Erikson, 1968). In many Western societies, having a coherent sense of identity and finding a niche for oneself in society represent the optimal well-being of young people, such as their clear purpose in life, high self-esteem, and low depression, anxiety, and delinquent behaviors (see Kroger & Marcia, 2011; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Luyckx, Meca, & Ritchie, 2013, for reviews).

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However, whether and how identity formation relates to well-being is not entirely clear outside Western countries. Since there is a cultural diversity in the ways of transition to adulthood (Côté & Levine, 2016), further studies on the relationships between identity formation and well-being across cultures are needed. In this chapter, we address this issue by reviewing research on identity formation and its relationships with well-being, exemplifying the findings from our studies with Japanese youth.

Identity and Well-Being

In his theory of psychosocial development, Erikson (1968) frames the identity stage as "identity synthesis versus identity confusion." In this operationalization, identity synthesis refers to the extent to which various aspects of one's identity fit together, representing a sense of recognition and a feeling that one knows where one is headed. On the other hand, identity confusion represents an unclear feeling as to what one is doing in life, along with being unable to implement and maintain lasting commitments to important life choices.

In many Western societies, individuals are expected to be self-directed and to find their own way of life during the transition to adulthood (Côté & Levine, 2002). Therefore, developing identity has been regarded as the core factor leading to a sense of well-being, and this view has been generally supported by empirical studies (Karaś, Cieciuch, Negru, & Crocetti, 2015; Luyckx et al., 2013; Schwartz, Zamboanga, Wang, & Olthuis, 2009). In Japan, Erikson's perspective on identity has been generally adapted, and similar findings have emerged with Japanese adolescents and emerging adults, such as the positive relationships of a firm sense of identity with adaptive personality (Hatano, Sugimura, & Crocetti, 2016; Hatano, Sugimura, & Klimstra, 2017; see Sugimura & Mizokami, 2012, for a review).

However, less is known regarding the role of identity vis-à-vis broader aspects of well-being among the youth in Eastern societies including Japan. The concept of well-being has been differentiated at least into two dimensions, that is, hedonic and eudemonic well-being (Huta & Waterman, 2014; Ryan & Deci, 2001). The former is conceptualized as subjective well-being which refers to the attainment of pleasure and the absence of distress; this type of well-being is represented by the satisfaction with one's life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The latter is conceptualized as human flourishing which means the degree to which a person is fully functioning; one of the typical conceptions is psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989). Identity formation is viewed as particularly leading to eudemonic well-being since it includes the identification and development of one's best potentials (Waterman et al., 2010). Yet, such a formulation – a coherent sense of personal identity fits with an important developmental goal and is necessary for facilitating well-being – was postulated in Western cultural contexts. The extent to which this theory applies to a non-Western cultural context is not clear, and it is possible that identity is less important among Japanese youth.

Identity and the Transition to Adulthood

As identity is associated with youth well-being and positive psychological functioning, it can work as a resource to become productive members of society. According to Côté and Levine (2016), young people who take a proactive approach to identity formation – involving planning and active exploration and experimentation of their possible future selves – have higher levels of personal agency. Such agentic youth can derive more benefits from a variety of social contexts than non-agentic (i.e., inactive) youth. They are likely to attain a sequential advancement in development. Specifically, active motivation and engaging in academic experiences facilitate higher grades for these young people. All these experiences tend to increase further opportunities such as successful education-to-work transition. Thus, proactivity in identity formation enables youth to make more successful transitions to adulthood, with fewer struggles.

The argument about the importance of identity formation in the transition to adulthood is consistent with the perspective of Positive Youth Development (PYD; Lerner et al., 2015). Indeed, previous studies have found that a positive sense of identity promoted PYD (Crocetti, Erentaite, & Žukauskienė, 2014; Eichas et al., 2010). Specifically, in this perspective five elements (i.e., "Five Cs") have been proposed: Competence, Confidence, Connection, Character, and Caring (Lerner, Lerner, Bowers, & Geldhof, 2005). Youth with high proactivity in identity formation (i.e., information-oriented identity style; Berzonsky, 1989) were found to report high levels of these "Five Cs" and civic engagement (Crocetti et al., 2014). Thus, agency and proactivity in identity formation can be viewed as important resources of a successful transition to adulthood. Again, these formulations have been mainly drawn from studies based on the Western individualistic views of self and social relations. Therefore, they need to be validated in non-Western cultural contexts (Côté & Levine, 2016).

The Japanese Context

Japan has often been referred to as a collectivistic society in which individual and group goals are interdependent with one another (Triandis, 1995). However, since the rapid economic growth in Japan of the 1960s and 1970s, young people have become increasingly individualistic in their interests while retaining some of the more traditional collectivistic cultural values. Developing a sense of autonomy is one of the most important tasks that contemporary Japanese youth face. The emerging individualism of Japanese youth is interwoven with some traditional collectivistic values maintained across centuries, forming the basis of their values and virtues. Sugimura and Mizokami (2012) pointed out that in Japan, in addition to traditional collectivistsocialization processes, there might be an emerging form of "individualistic collectivism" (this term was originally proposed by Matsumoto, 2002), in which young people enjoy individuality within a collectivistic society.

If contemporary Japanese society frames the need to develop both individualism and collectivism, how is identity formation – a Western individualistic project – associated with well-being? Does proactivity in identity formation help young people with the successful transition to adulthood in Japan as those in Western societies? These questions are extremely important because they allow us to understand more diverse and nuanced pictures of the association between identity formation and well-being. Moreover, addressing these questions may unravel the ways in which young people successfully adapt themselves to society or enter into adult society in different cultures.

In this chapter, we first examine the relationships between identity and well-being among Japanese youth, paying attention to broader aspects of well-being. We then explore whether and how proactivity in identity formation has impact on youth's transition to adulthood in Japan, where individualism has been increasingly emphasized as some collectivistic values have been maintained.

Is Identity Important to Well-Being?

In Japan, research on identity formation has been ongoing over the last three decades. However, whereas several studies examined the relationships of identity with personality characteristics (Sugimura & Mizokami, 2012), there has been little research on the relationships with well-being. Recent identity research in Japan has been unpacking the role of identity in broad aspects of well-being. In line with the emerging acknowledgement of a variety forms of well-being across cultures (Dimitrova, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2013; Kitayama, Duffy, & Uchida, 2007), this identity research includes well-being qualities based not only on the Western conceptions of optimal functioning but also on the Eastern ones. According to Kitayama et al. (2007), the Western form of well-being is rooted in the idea of the self as separated from others, and hence, emphasizes positive utilities or one's personal achievements (i.e., both hedonic and eudemonic well-being). On the other hand, the Eastern form of well-being reflects a strong value of social relationships, in which individuals are highly sensitive to others' expectations. Therefore, well-being is not a thing that can be personally maximized but is fluid and transitory within a context in which others' desires take precedence over one's personal needs and interests.

Identity and Western Conceptions of Well-Being

The associations between identity and the Western conceptions of well-being found in Japanese adolescents and emerging adults generally correspond to those found in their Western counterparts (e.g., Karaś et al., 2015). That is, a sense of coherent identity has been found to have a positive relationship with the Western well-being dimensions.

Hedonic Well-Being Two studies have examined the relationships between identity and satisfaction with life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). One study with university students (Hatano, Sugimura, Nakama, Mizokami, & Tsuzuki, 2014) focused on the synthesized and the confused sense of identity measured by Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory (EPSI; Rosenthal, Gurney, & Moore, 1981). Findings indicated that identity synthesis was positively related, and identity confusion was negatively related, to satisfaction with life. The other study with both university students and workers (Sugimura et al., 2015) was based on the three-factor model of identity formation proposed by Crocetti, Rubini, & Meeus (2008). In this model, three identity processes (i.e., commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment) in educational and relational identity domains were assessed by the Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale (U-MICS). In addition to these identity processes, Sugimura et al. (2015) included cultural self-construal (i.e., independence and interdependence; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) to clarify the importance of identity vis-à-vis well-being in the contemporary Japanese culture, wherein both individualism and collectivism are valued. Independence is a view of the self as separated from others which is emphasized in many Western cultures, whereas interdependence is a view of the self as connected with others which is highly valued in Asian cultures. The results revealed that in both educational and relational identity domains commitment was positively related, and reconsideration of commitment was negatively related, to satisfaction with life. These relationships were found even when considering the effects of independence and interdependence.

Eudemonic Well-Being Several studies (e.g., Nakama, Sugimura, Hatano, Mizokami, & Tsuzuki, 2015; Tani, 2001) have found positive relationships of a firm sense of identity with self-esteem. For instance, Nakama et al. (2015) focused on identity status assessed by the Dimensions of Identity Development Scale (DIDS; Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, & Beyers, 2006); this scale includes five identity processes (i.e., commitment making, identification with commitment, exploration in breadth, exploration in depth, and ruminative exploration) and can create identity statuses (Marcia, 1966) through cluster analysis. Nakama et al. (2015) used high school and university students and reported that youth in the achieved identity status scored higher on self-esteem than those in the diffused identity status. Recently, one study (Sugimura et al., 2016) with university students focused on psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989) and unraveled the role of identity synthesis and identity confusion (assessed by EPSI) vis-à-vis broader aspects of eudemonic well-being. Ryff's conceptualization of psychological well-being includes six aspects: autonomy, personal growth, positive relationships with others, purpose in life, self-acceptance, and environmental mastery. Sugimura et al. (2016) demonstrated that identity synthesis was positively associated, and identity confusion was negatively associated, with each of the psychological well-being dimensions. Moreover, these relationships were found to be similar when considering the effect of cultural self-construal (i.e., independence and interdependence).

Identity and Eastern Conceptions of Well-Being

In order to further unravel the relationships between identity and well-being qualities based on non-Western cultural values, Sugimura et al. (2016) also explored the links between identity and the Eastern form of well-being. In this study, the concept of "minimalist well-being" proposed by Kan, Karasawa, & Kitayama (2009), was used as an Eastern form of well-being.

Minimalist well-being is based on the argument that, among Japanese individuals, adherence to strongly interdependent cultural values may be associated with lower well-being when well-being is operationalized at the level of the individual person (Kitayama et al., 2007). This well-being subsumes both *gratitude* and *peaceful disengagement*. According to Kan et al.'s definition, in a context of in which others' desires take precedence over one's personal needs and interests, individuals experience happiness "with a feeling of gratitude for a life that affords the momentary glimpse of happiness" (Kan et al., 2009, p. 303), where such happiness is called gratitude for being. Moreover, individuals tend to experience happiness when they disengage from the realities that constrain their own needs and interests (i.e., peaceful disengagement). This feeling is derived from the notion that realities are constantly changing and that it is extremely difficult to completely adjust oneself to such a fluid situation. In this situation, a moment of happiness can arise from temporarily disengaging oneself from the external reality.

Findings indicated that identity synthesis was positively associated, and identity confusion was negatively associated, with gratitude. However, there was no relationship between identity and peaceful disengagement. These results imply that identity may be less important in the Eastern well-being than in the Western well-being. Moreover, we found evidence for the moderating role of self-construal in the links between identity and well-being. Specifically, high levels of interdependence appeared to decrease the link between identity synthesis and peaceful disengagement. In other words, a poorly synthesized sense of identity (i.e., low scores on identity synthesis) is less likely to hinder peaceful disengagement when interdependent self-construal is high. To put this explanation another way, youth with a high identity synthesis appear to be able to peacefully disengage. However, for youth with a poorly synthesized sense of identity, peaceful disengagement is an option only for those who value interdependence.

Based on the findings from available research on the relationships between identity formation and well-being in Japan, the answer to the question if identity is important to well-being in contemporary Japanese youth is yes and no. First, identity is important vis-à-vis the Western well-being dimensions. Identity formation – a Western individualistic project – seems nicely fitting with the Western forms of well-being. To develop a firm sense of identity is important for optimal functioning in a contemporary Japanese society that is rapidly moving toward more individualism or individualization. Second, identity appears to benefit less the Eastern forms of optimal functioning. Moreover, there is a moderating role of independence in the link between identity and some of the Eastern forms of

well-being. These findings – albeit limited for now – may imply that, for those Japanese young people who endorse interdependence, collective norms and interpersonal relationships valued for centuries in Japan may work as a buffer against a less advanced development of identity. These youth may well function – or at least may not be maladjusted – in the Japanese society where people enjoy individuality but are still deeply embedded in collective norms (i.e., "individualistic collectivism"; Matsumoto, 2002; Sugimura & Mizokami, 2012).

Does Identity Promote Successful Transition to Adulthood?

In cultural contexts where old normative structures have broken down, young people are required to exert personal agency in a variety of settings if they attempt to reach self-chosen goals and become productive members of society (Sugimura & Mizokami, 2012). According to the Identity Capital Model proposed by Côté and Levine (2002), in such contexts, a proactive approach to identity formation (i.e., identity-based agency) is useful for young people to employ in obtaining psychosocial abilities, group memberships, and social status. Japanese youth provide an exemplar for exploring whether identity-based agency is associated with the transition to adulthood in a rapidly changing society toward valuing both individualism and collectivism.

Identity-Based Agency and Future Perspectives

In their cross-cultural studies, Côté and his colleagues have found some differences between Japanese youth and U.S. youth in the role of identity in education-to-work transitions (Côté, Mizokami, Roberts, & Nakama, 2016; Côté et al., 2015). More specifically, these studies have illuminated that proactivity in identity formation (or identity-based agency) might work differently in the transition to adulthood across cultures. Further, Côté et al. (2015) posited the concept of *identity horizons*, a willingness to try new educational and occupational options, and *identity anxiety*, a fear of moving out of the comfort zones of childhood and adolescence. These concepts are rooted in the argument about individual differences in education-to-work transitions among youth. Young people set their educational or career goals in a manner that is beneficial in relation to their personal strengths and abilities. The authors assumed that individual perceptions of benefits of education (e.g., attending graduate schools) or career choice are influenced by the levels of one's own identity-based agency, even when young people have the sufficient academic abilities or financial support to pursue higher educational and career goals. Broader horizons and lower anxiety were thought to increase the possibility of successful school-to-work transitions. In this study with college and university students in Japan and the U.S., Côté et al. (2015) developed scales to measure identity horizons and identity

anxiety, and examined the relationships with identity-based agency measured by identity styles (Berzonsky, 1989). The results indicated that the correlational pattern in identity horizons/anxiety and identity styles was different between Japanese youth and U.S. youth. In the U.S. sample, as expected, identity horizons were positively associated with the informational identity style, and negatively to the normative and diffused identity styles. However, in the Japanese sample, although identity horizons were positively associated with the informational identity style as was found in the U.S. sample, they had no relationships with the normative and diffused identity styles. Switching to identity anxiety, the hypothesized pattern of correlations was found in the U.S. sample; identity anxiety was positively related to the normative and diffused identity styles, and negatively to the informational identity style. On the other hand, in the Japanese sample, identity anxiety was not correlated with the informational identity style, although it was negatively linked to the informational identity style likewise in the U.S. sample.

These results suggest that in Japanese youth non-proactivity in identity formation (i.e., the normative and diffused identity styles) does not undermine identity horizons, and proactivity in identity formation (i.e., informational identity style) does not buffer against identity anxiety. Thus, identity-based agency appears to impact on successful transition to adulthood in a more complex way among Japanese youth than among Western youth.

Required Type of Agency in Contemporary Japanese Society

Given that the benefits of identity-based agency were found to be more nuanced in Japanese youth than in U.S. youth (Côté et al., 2015), it is important to further probe into the relationships between forms of agency and the transition to adulthood in contemporary Japanese society. Côté et al. (2016) focused on several agentic traits assessed by the Multi-Measure Agentic Personality Scale (MAPS; Côté, 1997). The MAPS includes four types of identity-based agency: self-esteem, purpose in life, internal locus of control, and ego strength. This study used Japanese and U.S. college and university students and examined the association between these four types of agency and the levels of progress in entering adulthood and in adapting to stable social roles (assessed by the Identity Stage Resolution Index: ISRI; Côté, 1997).

Findings indicated positive associations between the four types of identity-based agency measured by the MAPS and the transition to adulthood in the ISRI for both the Japanese and U.S. samples. This means that proactivity in identity formation is necessary for Japanese youth to promote their transition to adulthood, as is for U.S. youth. At the same time, however, the most effective types of agency were found to be different between the two samples. Higher internal locus of control (i.e., a belief that life events are caused by one's own actions) is important in the U.S. students, but it had only a minor effect in the Japanese counterparts. Conversely, higher ego strength (i.e., capacity to be tolerant of and to enjoy challenging situations) was more important for the Japanese students than for the U.S. counterparts. These results

indicate that an internal locus of control is more necessary to make progress in their transition to adulthood in the cultural context where young people are demanded to deal with the task of individuation. On the other hand, ego strength seems more important to become productive members in society in the cultural context where young people are expected to deal with both individualism and collectivism.

Based on the evidence presented above, several conclusions can be drawn. To the second question of this chapter as to whether identity promotes successful transition to adulthood in Japanese youth, our answer is generally yes but partially no. First, in Japanese youth active engagement in the task of identity formation (i.e., proactivity in identity formation or identity-based agency) serves as the basis for successful transition to adulthood similar to Western societies. Contemporary Japanese youth have been increasingly required to implement personal agency in a society rapidly changing toward emphasizing individuation and individualism. Second, however, at the same time, findings from cross-cultural studies implied that proactivity in identity work seemed less advantageous and non-proactivity appeared to be less problematic in Japanese youth compared to U.S. youth. In addition, types of agency that affect the transition to adulthood might be different between in Japan and the U.S. A possible explanation for this complex configuration between identity and transition dimensions may lie in the greater level of collectivism which has been maintained in Japan, even though young people have increasingly adapted some of more individualistic values. The transition to adulthood in Japanese youth may be more structured by collective social norms, such as more circumscribed educational paths (Côté et al., 2015), a narrower range of identity exploration (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011), and a belief in the effectiveness of permanent employment and seniority wage systems (Sugimura & Mizokami, 2012), than in Western youth. Such a unique mixture of individualism and collectivism may give a nuanced feature of the role of identity formation in the transition to adulthood to Japanese youth.

Conclusions and Future Implications

In this chapter, we first highlighted that identity plays an important role in the Western conceptualization of well-being but less so in the non-Western individualistic conceptualization of well-being among youth in Japan. We then provided evidence that the successful school-to-work transition in Japanese youth is based on a complex identity configuration – proactive identity formation is less advantageous and non-proactive identity formation is not harmful in Japanese youth compared to Western youth. These results provide new insights into the role of identity formation (i.e., an individualistic project) in well-being and lead to discover what a successful transition to adulthood means in Japan (i.e., a collectivistic or an emerging individualism within collectivism society). For instance, those youth who endorse collectivism may experience some tension between their own needs and the emerging social/cultural demands of individuation. For them, other conceptions of well-being which may reflect more collectivistic values can work as a buffer against the stressful transition

to adulthood. Also, it is possible that they may take a different pathway to adulthood in which they emphasize less on identity formation but optimally function in a contemporary Japanese society that is valuing both individualism and collectivism.

Future research needs to explore optimal well-being dimensions in the context of "individualistic collectivism," and further examine if and how identity is important for these well-being dimensions. Moreover, it is also important to examine the ways Japanese young people exercise to employ certain forms of agency in the transition to adulthood, such as ego strength (Côté et al., 2016), which may nicely fit with the context of "individualistic collectivism" characterized as shifting toward a less controlled, structured, and restricted social structure than the highly traditional collectivistic context. These studies may be useful to understand the variety of forms of the transition to adulthood across cultures. Such attempts may advance knowledge about ways in which individuals are functioning optimally as productive adults in their respective cultures.

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The Relationship Between Well-Being and Value Priorities as Well as Intersubjective Norms Among Emerging Adults in South Africa

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Abstract Emerging adults are at a vital stage in their personal development as they work towards negotiating their personal values and goals with those of their social groups, significant others and the society at large. The chapter examined the association between value priorities and well-being among emerging adults in South Africa, who grow up in a multicultural, multilingual country to which they are exposed to groups who are different to theirs. A total of 192 (35% male, M_{Age} = 20.41 years, SD = 1.76) participants were recruited. Results indicated that personal value priorities correlated significantly with life satisfaction, positive and negative affect but not mental health. Intersubjective norms (perceived value priorities of significant others and society) showed no association with well-being. The effects of incongruence between reported personal value priorities and those of significant others were non-significant. We conclude that, personal values are more important for well-being than perceived values of significant others and larger society.

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Introduction

Well-being has become central to international social and economic research as there is a growing interest in the antecedents and outcomes of quality of life indicators (Fischer & Boer, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Sirgy, 2012). It is an important developmental outcome for both adolescents and emerging adults in psychological research (Adams, 2014; Hoyt, Chase-Lansdale, McDade, & Adam, 2012). Emerging adulthood, which is the stage between adolescence and adulthood, is important for personal developmental (Arnett, 2000) as individuals educate themselves for their future careers or select their life partners. This stage provides individuals opportunities to learn to negotiate values and expectations of their families and groups with their own personal values, expectations and goals, and establish who they are and how they see their future selves. The current chapter investigates the extent to which social-psychological factors influence well-being among emerging adults in South Africa. More specifically, we focus on the influence of value priorities as well as intersubjective norms on well-being. This will provide novel insight into the role values have for our understanding of well-being in non-Western multicultural (e.g., South Africa) compared to Western contexts (e.g., the United States of America). We start by defining and discussing well-being. We then relate well-being to values and intersubjective norms, presenting the hypotheses related to these relationships.

Well-Being

In general, as a representation of a person's perception of their own state of "being", well-being includes aspects of an individual's health, their development, their quality of life, their happiness, as well as their standard of living (Keyes & Lopez, 2002; Sharma & Sharma, 2010). Well-being comprises both physical and psychological health and in this chapter our focus is on psychological health, which considers the mental health, positive and negative affect and life satisfaction. Within the literature, there are often different perspectives for understanding well-being. Within the first perspective, a distinction is made about well-being at either a subjective or a psychological level. The subjective well-being relates to the individual's subjective judgement about their lives, often in comparison with others (Diener & Ryan, 2009). The psychological well-being focuses on well-being as the extent to which the individual functions optimally as a human being (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Within the second perspective, well-being can also be distinguished based on eudiamonic and hedonic principles. The eudiamonic paradigm evaluates well-being as a progressive development towards a state of being truly fulfilled, embodying one's true self, and reaching one's true potential. It is therefore long term oriented and becomes central for how the individual creates meaning about himself/herself (Ryan & Deci, 2001). In contrast, the hedonic paradigm evaluates the fleeting, temporary nature of

positive emotional states more strongly connected to recent and present contextual experiences (Diener, Lucas, & Scollen, 2006).

Although well-being may be argued to focus predominantly on positive aspects of the person's state of being (Seligman, 1998), there are also negative aspects associated with human functioning which must be considered, such as the absence of any subjective, psychological, mental, and/or physical problems, which account for the negative human experience (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Thus, well-being is multidimensional, and includes affective (emotional states) and cognitive (life satisfaction) aspects of positive and negative well-being (Diener, Oishi, & Lucas, 2003; Fischer & Boer, 2011). In this chapter we focus more on the subjective nature of well-being, which comprises satisfaction of life, mental health, and positive and negative affect presented within the hedonic paradigm.

Values and Well-Being

Values are goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives and reflect basic motivations (Burgess, Schwartz, & Blackwell, 1994; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000; Schwartz, 2006). In accordance with Schwartz's theory of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992), there are at least ten distinct value types: power, achievement, hedomisn, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security – clustered into four higher order values – that can be distinguished globally, representing different and empirically validated motives (Liem, Martin, Nair, Bernardo, & Prasetya, 2011; Vauclair, Hanke, Fischer, & Fontaine, 2011). Self-enhancement values emphasize power and achievement, whereas self-transcendence values stress the well-being of close and distant others such as universalism and benevolence. Openness to change is defined by values such as hedonism, stimulation and self-direction, whereas conservative values focus on conforming to and obeying the rules of tradition and emphasize security. While self-enhancement and openness to change are values focused on personal interest, conservation and self-transcendence are socially focused values. Additionally, values may be distinguished based on whether they promote personal aspects (self-transcendence and openness to change) compared to protection against threat (conservation and self-enhancement) (Sortheix & Lönnqvist, 2015).

Values have previously been shown to be associated with well-being (Bobowik, Basabe, Paez, Jimenez, & Angeles Bilbao, 2011; Diener et al., 2003; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). There are two schools of thought regarding the controversial relationship between values and well-being. First, values may promote well-being universally, particularly values related to autonomy, personal direction, and growth (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Therefore, values that promote self-agency and personal achievement are most likely to contribute to well-being. Second, within the context of this study, values may show differential relations depending on the larger context, leading to normative fit (Lu, 2006). In this line of reasoning, self-transcendence

values are considered more important for well-being in Western, industrialized contexts as individuals seek to promote social justice and equality. In contrast, self-enhancement values would provide a greater sense of well-being in non-Western, developing contexts. Here individual success may seek power and wealth as means for not only survival but achieving personal goals and aspirations (Fischer & Boer, 2016; Sortheix & Lönnqvist, 2014).

In South Africa, which has eleven official langauges, more than 80% of the population is of Black African descent. It also has the largest population of White European descentants (approximately 9%) in sub-Saharan Africa (StatsSA, 2014). Due to historical aspects which contributed to these groups' social developments, one would expect that Western values would be more prominent in the White group and non-Western values would be more prominent in the Black group. However, in many non-Western contexts, the changing social and economic landscape, is often less stable and may require individuals to be more open to change, in this sense openness values may be argued to be more important for well-being than one would expect in industrialized nations. In contrast, as these are more traditional societies where security and conformity to larger social groups are valued, conservation values may also play an important role for well-being within non-Western contexts (Fischer & Boer, 2016; Sortheix & Lönnqvist, 2014). Therefore, we would expect that a non-Western, developing context such as South Africa the emphasis on more personal focused and self-protection/anxiety avoidance values would be important for well-being.

Hypothesis 1: Self-enhancing, openness to change, and conservation values are positively related to well-being.

Intersubjective Norms, Values Congruence and Well-Being

Going beyond personal values, an emerging line of research on intersubjective norms, defined as an indication of how perceived values of various reference groups (i.e. family, friends, cultural, and religious groups) may also influence well-being (Chiu, Gelfand, Yamagishi, Shteynberg, & Wan, 2010; Fischer et al., 2009). The study of intersubjective norms allows for the examination of possible congruence effects between personal values as affirmed by the individual and normative values as emphasized by different reference groups (Lu, 2006; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). The assumption is that there is congruence between personal values and the values in the larger context, and that this value congruence leads to well-being (Lu, 2006).

If an individual believes that his/her values are in direct conflict with those in a significant reference group, they are likely to experience alienation and cultural estrangement (Bernard, Gebauer, & Maio, 2006). Therefore, Individuals are assumed to do well when they perceive that their value priorities are in line with those of significant others, and those of the larger community. Some studies report a negative impact of cultural estrangement on well-being (Matsumoto et al., 1999),

but not consistently (Bernard et al., 2006). Typically, perceptions of one's cultural groups are used as intersubjective norms (e.g., Chiu et al., 2010; Fischer et al., 2009). While we would expect that in a multicultural context such as South Africa, that cultural and societal values would be important for informing personal values, we also consider more proximate reference groups, such as friends and family. We are the first to extend this intersubjective norm approach to various reference groups, in relation to well-being.

Hypothesis 2: Intersubjective norms with regards to personal values and values of significant reference groups (significant others and society at large) contribute uniquely to well-being.

Hypothesis 3: Perceived incongruence between personal values and values of significant reference groups (significant others and society at large) negatively impact well-being.

Method

Participants and Procedure

University students from Johannesburg, South Africa, were recruited to take part in this study. A total of 192 (35.42% Male, 66.15% Black, M_{Age} = 20.41 years, *SD* = 1.76), participants completed the questionnaire in English for course credit as part of a learning session on psychological assessment during one of their lectures. All ethnical guidelines as outlined by the APA were taken into account. Students were informed prior to completion of their rights as participants and could withdraw from the study at any time. The questionnaire took 40 min to complete.

Measures

Sociodemographics Previous research indicates that age, gender, and ethnicity are associated with well-being and value priorities. We therefore control for these background factors in our analysis. Ethnocultural group membership was coded as 'Black'[1] (coded 1) or White' (coded 2).

Values Participants scored Schwartz's ten values on their importance using a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Not very important at all)* to 6 (*Extremely*

[1] In line with the South African legislation, Black includes participants of African, Mixed Racial (Coloured), and Indian/Asian descent. Therefore, all participants of non-European descent. Groups are classified in this way to account for their different historical experience that have contributed towards the current social, political asnd economic divisions (Eaton & Louw, 2000; Seekings, 2008)

important) at two levels: firstly to them personally and secondly, on how important these were to South Africans in general as an indication of subjective norms related to the larger society. In addition, they were also asked to indicate to which extent significant others (e.g., family and friends) expected them to pursue these values as an indication of intersubjective norms related to significant others on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Not expected at all*) to 6 (*Very much expected*). Examples of these items include "Achievement: personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" and "Tradition: respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self". For the purposes of the analyses the 10 values were clustered into the four higher order values self-enhancement (power and achievement), self-transcendence (universalism and benevolence), openness to change (hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction), and conservation (confrming to tradition and security) (Boer et al., 2011).

Well-being Well-being was measured using three measures, the twelve-item General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12; Goldberg, 1992), the Brief Multidimensional Students Life Satisfaction Scales –Youth Version (BMSLSS; Zullig, Huebner, Patton, & Murray, 2009), and the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988).

Mental Health To evaluate ***(poor)mental health***, the GHQ-12 (Goldberg, 1992) which measures the mild psychological distress was administered. We asked participants to think about the last 4 weeks and rate how they felt to items such as "Been able to concentrate on what you're doing" on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Better than usual*) to 4 (*Much less than usual*), "Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person", and "Been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities" with higher scores indicate poorer mental health (Cronbach's α = .87).

Life Satisfaction The BMSLSS (Zullig et al., 2009) was used to measure life satisfaction. This is a 9-item measure of life satisfaction in several life domains (e.g., romantic relationships and university experiences). It is rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Terrible*) to 7 (*Delighted*). Items include "I would describe my satisfaction with my family life as" and "I would describe my satisfaction with myself as" (Cronbach's α = .80).

Positive and Negative Affect The 20-item PANAS (Watson et al., 1988) was used to measure positive affect (PA) and negative affect (NA). Participants were asked to indicate how often they have had the feeling described by the terms during the last few weeks on a 5-point Likert- type scale ranging from 1 (*Very slightly/not at* all) to 5 (*Extremely*). Sample items were "interested", "excited" and "enthusiastic" (PA) (Cronbach's α for PA = .85 and Cronbach's α for NA, =.84).

Results

Personal Values and Intersubjective Norms and Well-Being

In Table 1 we present descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) as well as relationships among background variables, personal values, and well-being. Personal values related to almost all aspects of well-being except for mental health. More specifically, all personal values related positively to positive affect, whereas self-transcendence and openness to change related positively to life satisfaction and negatively to negative affect. In Table 2, we present correlations between intersubjective norms and well-being. While we find some relationships between norms related to significant others and well-being, it is evident that norms relating to the country were hardly related to well-being. This might be an artifact of the question, as norms related to significant others were measured in relation to "what they perceive is expected of them", which may be more relevant for emerging adults than "their perception of others' values" as is asked for larger society. We more specifically tested our hypotheses using hierarchical regression, as we tested all three hypotheses in the same analyses, we present a summary how results relate to each hypothesis separately at the end of the results section.

For life satisfaction, we first controlled for the effects of demographic variables, suh as age, gender, and ethnicity, by entering these first, these variables accounted for 4.1% of variance, $F(3171) = 2.43$, $p = .067$. Personal values entered next increased explained variance to 16.5% ($\Delta R^2 = .13$, $p < .001$). Adding intersubjective norms of significant others in step 3 ($\Delta R^2 = .04$, $p = .094$) and intersubjective norms of the larger society in step 4 ($\Delta R^2 = 02$, $p = .382$) did not significantly add to the equation. However, the final model as a whole was significant, $F(15,159) = 3.08$, $p < .001$. Ethnicity ($\beta = .20$, $p = .010$) and personal openness to change ($\beta = .28$, $p = .005$), were significant predictors of life-satisfaction.

For positive affect, demographic variables did not account for any significant amount of variance, $F(3171) = .23$, $p = .879$, $R^2 = .004$. Personal value variables added 12.4% of explained variance in positive affect, $F(7167) = 3.51$, $p < .002$. Adding intersubjective norms of significant others ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $p = .643$) and the larger society ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, $p = .188$) did not improve the regression equation. The final model as a whole was significant, ($F(15,159) = 2.23$, $p = .007$), with self-transcendence ($\beta = .30$, $p = .002$) being a significant predictor of positive affect.

Examining negative affect, demographic variables did not account for any significant amount of variance: $F(3164) = 1.30$, $p = .278$, $\Delta R^2 = .005$. Personal values explained 8.1% of the variance, $F(7160) = 3.08$, $p < .004$. As in previous analyses, intersubjective norms of significant others ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $p = .468$) or the society ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $p = .590$), did not significantly add to the regression. The final model as a whole was significant, $F(15,152) = 1.85$, $p = .032$. Gender ($\beta = .18$, $p = .023$), self-enhancement ($\beta = .26$, $p = .010$) and personal openness to change ($\beta = -.28$, $p < .008$) were significant predictors of negative effect.

Table 1 Correlation between background variables and the four second order values

		Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Well-being												
1	Positive affect	35.67 (6.59)	–									
2	Negative affect	23.25 (7.47)	−.32**	–								
3	Life satisfaction	46.07 (7.67)	.43**	−.42**	–							
4	(Poor) Mental health	12.78 (6.51)	−.47**	.53**	−.50**	–						
Background variables												
5	Age	20.41 (1.76)	.05	.02	−.13	.00	–					
6	Gender	–	−.05	.11	−.06	.16*	−.19**	–				
7	Ethnicity	_	−.01	−.06	.14	−.05	.04	−.15	–			
Values												
8	Self-enhancement	4.58 (0.94)	.18*	.04	.07	−.06	.08	−.02	−.11	–		
9	Self-transcendence	4.95 (0.79)	.30**	−.15*	.25**	−.08	−.01	.18*	−.14	.18*	–	
10	Openness to experience	5.04 (0.73)	.25**	−.20**	.24**	−.08	−.04	.15*	−.25**	.44**	.42**	–
11	Conservation	4.71 (0.84)	.21**	−.13	.19**	−.04	−.08	.18*	−.12	.41**	.46**	.43**

Correlation is significant at the * = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed)

Table 2 The relationship between measures of intersubjective norms and well-being

	Positive affect	Negative affect	Life satisfaction	Poor mental health
Significant others				
Self-enhancement	.15*	−.06	.06	−.02
Self-transcendence	.09	−.15*	.30**	−.05
Openness to experience	.07	−.05	17*	−.05
Conservation	.14*	−.13	.20**	−.03
Society				
Self-enhancement	−.05	.01	.03	.10
Self-transcendence	−.09	−.03	.09	−.09
Openness to experience	−.03	.04	.12	.04
Conservation	−.03	−.01	.17*	−.12

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Finally, poor mental health as measured by the GHQ, was not predicted by any of the values. Although the final model was non-significant, $F(15,159) = 1.01$, $p = .448$, gender had a significant relationship to mental health ($\beta = .16$, $p = .048$). Results indicated that female students were more likely to report mental health problems.

In conclusion, personal openness to change was positively associated with well-being aspects, increased self-enhancement was related to an increased negative affect and increase in self-transcendence was related to increased positive affect. Thus, hypothesis 1 was partially confirmed. With respect to the hypothesis 2, we expected the perceived values of significant others and society to contribute uniquely to well-being. We found no support for this hypothesis.

Value Congruence

To examine the effect of value congruence, we computed similarity profiles between personal values and the two types of intersubjective norms by calculating absolute scores between the personal ratings and the intersubjective norms. Using hierarchical regression, we tested whether similarity profiles would add to the prediction of well-being over and above persoanl values and intersubjective norms. Our final models were non-significant for mental health, $F(15,159) = .01$, $p = .446$ and significant for life satisfaction, $F(15,159) = 2.55$, $p = .002$, and negative affect, $F(15,152) = 1.77$, $p = .044$, however, we found no effects for the preceived value congruence in these models. The final model for positive affect, $F(15,159) = 2.30$, $p < .006$ was significant and we found that the value congruence of transcendence was significantly related to positive affect ($\beta = .19$, $p = .046$). Hypotheses 3 was therefore partially accepted.

Discussion

Emerging adulthood is an important developmental stage where individuals establish their sense of being in line with personal values. These personal values are informed by the values of those within their immediate contexts and society at large. This has been associated with enhanced psychological functioning and well-being (Bernard et al., 2006; Bobowik et al., 2011; Fischer et al., 2009; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). In this chapter, we examined the effects of personal values and intersubjective norms on well-being in an under-researched sample of emerging adults in South Africa. We expected that openness to change, self-enhancement, and conservation values are associated with greater well-being. In addition, we also expected that well-being is a result of individual values being in line with those of the broader context (value congruence).

The results indicate that personal values were more important for well-being, and that value congruence seems to have no influence on well-being. In particular, openness to change was related to positive aspects of well-being of emerging adults, while conservation was not related to well-being. This may be due to South Africa being a developing context still in transition from apartheid to a democratic society, it still faces major and continuous social and economic challenges. As they are becoming more exposed to and engaging with different cultural groups, emerging adults may seek to distance themselves from the traditional values upheld by their parents. Where these values were often based on strong ideological beliefs about different groups of people (Posel, 2001). Emerging adults would therefore require values based on their own experiences.

Self-transcendence promoted positive affect, while self-enhancement was positively associated with negative affect. This suggests firstly, that the well-being of emerging adults may be enhanced by these emerging adults focusing more on meeting the needs of the larger society in comparison to personal needs (Fischer & Boer, 2016). Secondly, self-enhancement values that focus on personal interests such as, status and wealth, and would detract from societal interests, such as equality and social capitol (Sortheix & Lönnqvist, 2014), would have negative consequences for emerging adults in South Africa. This may be due to the fact that a large majority of the population live in poverty, that there is a consciousness surrounding the importance of promoting social and economic equality for all South Africans.

An important question arising from these findings relates to why does value incongruence have a relatively weak impact on well-being. Several potential explanations exist. In the first place, these observations may arise directly from sample characteristics. We sampled university students; they are likely to be among the most ambitious and driven in their age group, hence they would most likely show a stronger leaning towards self-enhancing values. Moreover, research indicates that the negative impact of value incongruence may be moderated by other factors, especially if incongruence serves an adaptive purpose, such as the need for uniqueness (Bernard et al., 2006). This is particularly important in a context where individuals are defining themselves and establishing their values in a completely different society as those of previous generations.

Limitations and Recommendations

In terms of limitations, firstly, due to the sample size in this study, we were unable to access cultural differences across Black and White South Africans in this study. In addition, the sample was also not representative of all cultural groups. Both the Coloured and Indian groups make up substantial populations in the South African. Future research should strive for a more inclusive sample, which would allow for more representative picture of the South African emerging adulthood population. Secondly, while we use the shortened 10-item version of the values measure, we would recommend that the extended versions be considered for future research. This might provide more comprehensive consideration of which values may be important at the individual level as well as in relation to significant others and society. Lastly, the current study used self-reports both for personal values and intersubjective values. This approach is an important limitation of the study. Reports from other informants and other direct measures of value congruence may have enhanced the predictive validity of our measures. Future efforts need to address this limitation.

In conclusion, the current study, from a novel and under researched emerging adulthood sample in South Africa, makes some significant contributions to the literature on the relationship between values and well-being. South Africa is a multicultural context in transition, rife with political, economic and societal challenges. We found in our study that emerging adults seem to be making their own decisions about what aspects are important for how they live their lives and make their decisions. Navigating the complexity of such a developing context requires juggling societal needs and personal ones. It is evident that here, personal values drive these aspects and may be more important for well-being compared to the perceived values of significant others and the larger society.

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Thriving and Contribution among Emerging Adults in Ghana

Nora Wiium

Abstract The Positive Youth Development (PYD) perspective proposes that the experience of internal and external assets is associated with thriving among young people and contribution to the self and society. In this chapter, the experience of different internal and external assets was assessed together with associations with thriving or positive outcomes among 483 emerging adults in Ghana. The results confirm previous findings regarding the relationship between the assets, thriving and contribution. However, the majority of the Ghanaian participants had not experienced external assets such as *support* and *constructive use of time*. Since both internal and external assets are crucial for positive development, initiatives and programmes that make these assets accessible to the youth can be an essential step towards self- and national development in Ghana.

Empowering young people to participate in their contexts can be an essential step towards self- and national development. With a proportion of more than 65% under 30 years, Ghana has been referred to as a youthful population (United Nations, 2015). Young people in Ghana therefore represent potential human resources for the development of the nation. This is especially true for emerging adults who are transitioning into adult roles that will directly impact national development. Current initiatives in Ghana portray a renewed commitment by the government to protect the rights of young people and to enable them contribute to national development (Ghana Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010). Consistent with the Positive Youth Development (PYD) perspective, Ghanaian youth can contribute to national development when they are thriving (Benson, 2007; Lerner, Alberts, Jelicic, & Smith, 2006). However, they will first have to exhibit positive outcomes such as social and academic competence, self-regulatory and leadership skills. Research using the PYD perspective has mainly focused on Western contexts. In this book chapter, this perspective is used to assess and ultimately inform how thriving and contribution can be facilitated among Ghanaian youth.

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The Positive Youth Development Conceptual Framework

A central principle of the PYD is that all young people have strengths. Thus, young people are conceptualised as problem solvers, effective contributors and equal partners in the development of their communities (Lerner et al., 2006). Within the PYD, an alignment of the strengths of young people with the resources in their contexts such as home, school and community, will lead to the development of positive outcomes (see Fig. 1). Development is described as contextual, where young people are both products and producers of their contexts.

Benson (1990, 2007) suggest several strengths and contextual resources that have been developed and validated mainly in the US. Four categories of youth strengths or internal assets have been proposed: *Commitment to learning*, *Positive values*, *Social competencies* and *Positive identity*. Similarly, four categories of contextual resources or external assets have been suggested: *Support*, *Empowerment*, *Boundaries and expectations*, and *Constructive use of time*. The internal assets represent the intrapersonal competencies, skills, and self-perceptions of young people that develop during interaction with their contexts, while the external assets represent the environmental, contextual, and relational features of the socializing systems of young people (Benson, 2007). The developmental assets reflect assets in five ecological contexts: personal (self), social, family, school and community. The more assets young people have, the better the chances of positive development. This has been described as the "vertical pileup" where an important goal of PYD initiatives is to enable young people to experience many of the developmental assets. There is also a "horizontal stacking", where young people are empowered to experience developmental assets aross many contexts. Furthermore, in initiatives that promote "vertical pileup" and "horizontal stacking", the focus is on all young people

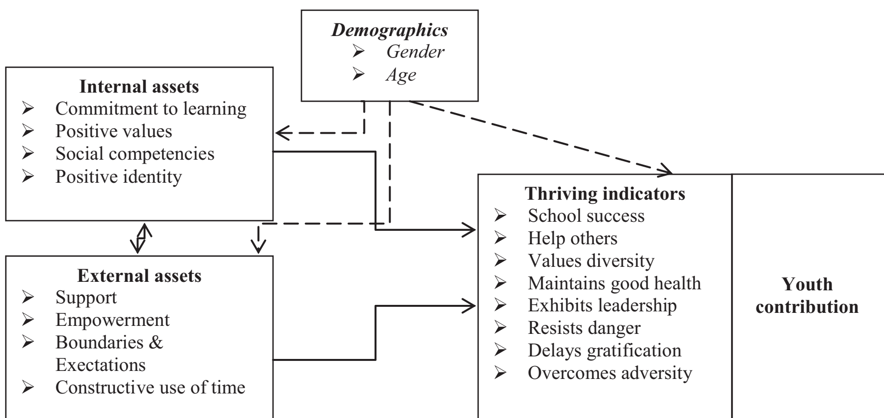

Fig. 1 The conceptual framework based on developmental assets and thriving indicators (Benson 1990, 2007) (*Note*: "Resists danger" as a thriving indicator was not assessed in the present chapter as it overlaps largely with the "Resistance skills" item in Social competencies (internal asset))

(i.e., "developmental breath") and not just those at risk (Benson, 2007). The validity of the developmental assets has been discussed in previous studies (e.g., Leffert et al., 1998).

In the promotion of positive development, an active interaction between young people and their contexts is emphasised, as this constitutes an adaptive developmental regulation process where thriving and contribution to the self and society are facilitated (Brandtstädter, 2006; Lerner et al., 2011). This active role of young people in the interaction with their contexts is an important theoretical theme in PYD and the focus in one variant of the developmental systems theories called "action theories" (Brandtstädter & Lerner, 1999). Young people who adopt an active role in the individual-context interaction are able to seek out, acquire the necessary resources and use them to achieve a desired goal. Thus, they become producers of their own development (Lerner, 1982).

Within the PYD perspective, thriving or positive outcomes have been measured in several ways including the 5Cs (competence, confidence, connection, character and caring) (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005; Pittman, 1999) and thriving indicators such as school success and leadership (Benson, 2007). Contribution has been assessed as an ideology or an action (Lerner et al., 2005). The experience of the developmental assets has been associated with positive outcomes, such as engagement in physical activity (Bleck & DeBate, 2016), academic achievement (Scales, Benson, Roehlkepartain, Sesma, & Dulmen, 2006) and thriving outcomes such as school success, leadership, valuing diversity, physical health, helping others, and overcoming adversity (Scales, Benson, Leffert, & Blyth, 2000). Thriving or positive outcomes in turn has been associated with community contributions (Lerner et al., 2005; Lewin-Bizan, Bowers, & Lerner, 2010) and civic engagement (Sherrod, 2007). In the present chapter, Benson's (2007) thriving indicators are used as measures of positive outcomes, while the contribution indicators are assessed as actions.

The Ghanaian Context, Youth Policy and Positive Development Initiatives

Formerly known as the Gold Coast, Ghana represents one of the most politically stable countries in West Africa since its transition to multi-party democracy in 1992. During the last population census in 2010, more than 60% of the country's total population of 25 million was under age 30 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Ghana has therefore been referred to as a youthful population. Culturally, Hofstede (2012) categorized Ghana as collective, where the individual tends to define him or herself in terms of the social and collective aspects of the self-concept. With the family as an important prototypical relationship, family members with their different positons and roles tend to care for each other, cooperate and work towards common goals (Kim-Prieto & Eid, 2004; LeFebvre & Franke, 2013).

Economically, Ghana achieved a record high Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth of 14% in 2011 (International Monetary Fund, IMF, 2015), which was

attributed to the petroleum exploitation. However, economic growth in recent years has been rather moderate, and the 2015 rate was 3.5%. Despite such moderate economic growth, many young people in Ghana continue to face social and economic challenges such as unemployment, poverty, limited access to education as well as limited access to social and economic participation, with evidence of gender inequality (Amankrah, 2012; Awumbila, 2006); women more than man have limited access to opportunities, capabilities and empowerment programmes. The potential of young people in Ghana, and especially that of young women thus appears to be largely untapped.

Like young people in many developing countries, the challenges that Ghanaian youth face have consequences on their personal, economic and social development. In 2010, Ghana adopted a national youth policy that had as a theme: "Towards an empowered youth, impacting positively on national development". Several priority areas were emphasised including education and skills training, youth and employment, mentoring, sports and recreation, youth, patriotism and volunteerism. These areas were emphasized as strategies and programmes to be implemented to empower Ghanaian youth and to ensure among others, their active contribution to the economic, social, and cultural advancement of themselves, their families, and the nation as a whole (Ghana Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010). Further in 2014, an action plan was launched for the youth policy. The implementation was foreseen in collaboration with different stakeholders and organisations such as parents, the educational system, non-governmental, religious and community-based organizations as well as other private organisations.

The Present Chapter

The prioritised areas in the Ghana national youth policy represents youth strengths and contextual resources that correspond considerably to Benson's (1990, 2007) internal and external assets. Thus, if the implementation of the prioritised areas is followed through, young people in Ghana must to some extent experience assets similar to Benson's developmental assets. Ghana's status as a collective culture may influence the extent to which some external assets are experienced; it is possible that external assets that deal with support will be experienced more often compared to other assets. In Ghana, because youth initiatives are often implemented within formal settings (Sonnenberg, 2012), young people in the educational system including university students, should benefit most from the outcome of the initiatives; and consistent with the PYD perspective, these students should also be thriving and contributing to self and society.

The goal of the study reported in the present chapter is to assess Ghanaian emerging adults' experience of developmental (internal and external) assets and their relations to thriving indicators (Benson, 2007). Furthermore, the association between thriving and contribution is examined. As an additional aim, the associations of age and gender with the developmental assets, thriving and contribution are assessed. In

so doing, the following research questions are investigated: (1)Which developmental assets are reported by Ghanaian emerging adults? (2) How do developmental assets relate to the number of thriving indicators reported among Ghanaian emerging adults? (3) How do the number of thriving indicators relate to the number of contribution indicators reported among Ghanaian emerging adults?

Method

Participants and Procedure

The present study is based on a cross-sectional data collected from 483 first year students during the 2014/2015 academic year at the University of Ghana; 61% of the participants were females. The age range was 16–28, with a mean age of 19.57. Participants were studying at different departments (i.e., Psychology, Political science, Geography and Social work) at the School of Social Sciences. About 57% lived with both parents, 25% with their mothers, 7% with their fathers, and 11% with others that were not specified. Concerning religion, 53% were Pentecostals, 13% Protestants, 13% Catholics, 5% Muslims and 15% were from other religious backgrounds that were not specified. Sixty six percent of the participants reported that the highest educational level of their father was vocational, technical, polytechnic or university while 44% of the mothers had similar level of education.

Data were collected before or after a lecture and lasted for about 40 min each time during a 1-week period. Translation of the original English questionnaire was not necessary as English is the main language of instruction in Ghana. Participants were informed about the goals and procedure of the study and informed consent was sought from all of them before data collection. Research assistants from the Department of Psychology, University of Ghana administered the survey. Participants received a pen as an incentive. The study was approved by the Ethics Committee for Humanities at the University of Ghana.

Measures

Internal and External Assets Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they had experienced different internal and external assets. For the responses of all the items, a 4-point Likert scale was used, ranging from 1 (*not at all or rarely*) to 4 (*extremely or almost always*). Benson (2007) proposed 40 assets, yet in the Developmental Assets Profile (Search Institute, 2007) assets that address multiple contexts (for example home, school and neighbourhood) have been reformulated so that the contexts are addressed separately. The total number of assets that were examined among the Ghanaian sample was 51 items. A list of all the internal and external assets that were studied can be found in Tables 1a and 1b, respectively.

Table 1a Frequency distribution of internal assets among Ghanaian emerging adults

Internal assets	Not at all or rarely	Somewhat or sometimes	Very or often	Extremely or almost always	Total	
					n	%
Commitment to learning						
I am eager to do well at the university	5.2	5.0	15.2	74.6	480	100
I enjoy learning	1.7	18.1	37.9	42.3	480	100
I am trying to learn new things	15.2	6.2	29.3	49.1	481	100
I am encouraged to try to do things that might be good for me	.6	6.0	34.0	59.4	480	100
I do my assignment	.8	7.5	27.7	64.0	480	100
I care about my university	2.1	9.8	32.1	56.0	480	100
I enjoy reading	1.7	16.7	37.1	44.6	480	100
Positive values						
I think it is important to help other people	.4	3.3	24.0	72.3	480	100
I believe that everybody should be treated equally	.6	2.7	11.7	85.0	480	100
I stand up for what I believe in	1.5	7.3	18.3	72.9	480	100
I tell the truth even when it is not easy	3.1	22.7	40.2	34.0	480	100
I take responsibility for what I do	.8	11.0	37.7	50.4	480	100
I tell other people what I believe in	1.3	12.1	31.5	55.2	480	100
I stay away from tobacco, alcohol, and other drugs	6.0	4.6	11.3	78.1	480	100
Social competencies						
I plan ahead and make good choices	2.1	11.3	35.2	51.5	480	100
I build friendships with other people	5.0	17.3	39.2	38.5	480	100
I accept people who are different from me	1.3	14.2	34.6	50.0	480	100
I am able to resist bad influences or avoid things that are dangerous	1.9	10.4	32.3	55.4	480	100
I am able to resolve conflicts without anyone getting hurt	2.9	23.8	40.5	32.8	479	100
I am sensitive to the needs and feeling of others	1.7	9.6	34.2	54.5	479	100

(continued)

Table 1a (continued)

Internal assets	Not at all or rarely	Somewhat or sometimes	Very or often	Extremely or almost always	Total	
					n	%
I express my feelings in proper ways	1.9	15.4	40.8	41.9	480	100
Positive identity						
I feel I have control of my life and future	3.3	16.3	36.3	44.2	480	100
I feel good about myself	1.0	11.0	33.5	54.4	480	100
I feel that ‘my life has a purpose’	1.5	4.6	14.4	79.6	480	100
I feel good about my future	1.3	4.8	18.8	75.2	480	100

Table 1b Frequency distribution of external assets among Ghanaian emerging adults

External assets	Not at all or rarely	Somewhat or sometimes	Very or often	Extremely or almost always	Total	
					n	%
Support						
I have a family that gives me love and support	1.5	12.1	27.2	59.3	481	100
I ask my parents for advice	14.6	39.9	24.3	21.2	481	100
I have support from other adults other than my parents	20.2	35.8	24.3	19.8	481	100
I have good neighbours who care about me	19.0	42.1	25.0	14.0	480	100
I have a department that provides a caring and encouraging environment	10.2	32.4	30.9	26.5	479	100
My parents are actively involved in helping me succeed at the university	.8	8.1	18.1	73.0	481	100
I have parents who are good at talking to me about things	2.7	16.6	29.1	51.6	481	100
Empowerment						
I feel valued and appreciated by others	2.1	21.4	41.8	34.7	481	100
I am given useful roles and responsibilities	4.2	24.5	41.0	30.4	481	100
I am included in family tasks and decisions	6.0	26.0	36.9	31.0	480	100
I feel safe and secure at the university	4.0	23.5	39.7	32.6	481	100
I have a safe neighbourhood	4.2	23.1	38.5	34.3	481	100
I feel safe and secure at home	1.2	11.6	24.1	63.0	481	100

(continued)

Table 1b (continued)

External assets	Not at all or rarely	Somewhat or sometimes	Very or often	Extremely or almost always	Total	
					n	%
Expectations and boundaries						
I have a family that knows where I am and what I am doing	1.5	15.0	29.9	53.6	481	100
I have a department that provides clear rules and consequences	5.0	20.0	38.5	36.5	480	100
I have neighbours who help watch out for me	18.8	32.2	31.0	18.0	478	100
I have adults who are good role models for me	2.7	19.0	32.3	46.0	480	100
I have friends who set good examples for me	3.5	23.3	42.5	30.6	480	100
I have lecturers who urge me to develop and achieve	6.0	19.8	38.3	35.8	480	100
I have a family that provides me with clear rules	4.4	14.6	34.6	46.5	480	100
I have a department that enforces rules fairly	5.6	22.7	42.5	29.2	480	100
I have parents who urge me to do well at the university	3.5	6.9	21.5	68.1	479	100
Constructive use of time						
I am involved in creative things such as music, theatre or other arts	30.3	23.6	14.8	31.3	479	100
I spend time every week in sports, hobby clubs, or organization at the university or my community	42.3	30.0	13.1	14.6	480	100
I am involved in a church, mosque, or other religious group one or more hours every week	17.5	20.6	22.7	39.2	480	100
I go out 2 or fewer nights per week with friends "with nothing special to do"	59.3	20.0	8.6	12.1	479	100

Thriving and Contribution Indicators Benson (2007) proposed eight thriving indicators that young people exhibit when they experience the internal and external assets; seven indicators were examined in the present chapter. For contribution, three items were used to assess contribution to self-development, family and community. The indicators and their definitions can be found in Table 2.

Table 2 Proportion of Ghanaian emerging adults reporting on seven thriving and three contribution indicators

Thriving indicators	Definition	Total sample	Gender	
			Boys	Girls
Succeeds in school	Gets mostly As on report card	15.3	13.7	16.4
Helps others	Helps friends or neighbours one or more hours per week	78.7	82.6	76.2
Values diversity	Places high importance on getting to know people of other racial/ethnic group	38.5	40.8	37.1
Maintains good health	Pay attention to healthy nutrition and exercise	74.1	75.8	73.0
Exhibits good leadership[a]	Has been a leader of a group or organization in the last 12 months	55.8	63.4	51.0
Delays gratification	Saves money for something special rather than spending it all right away	84.5	83.0	85.4
Overcomes adversity	Does not give up when things get difficulty	85.5	86.3	85.0
Contribution indicators				
Contribution to self[b]	Main work gives skills that can be used to get a better job to make more income	63.3	69.1	59.7
Contribution to family[c]	Helps family one or more hours a week	91.6	87.0	94.6
Contribution to community	Volunteer one or more hours a week to make community a better place	48.0	47.8	48.1

N = 482; 187 boys and 295 girls
"Resists danger" as a thriving indicator was not assessed in the present study
[a]Chi square analysis of gender difference in Exhibit good leadership, significant at $p < .01$
[b]Chi square analysis of gender difference in Contribution to self, significant at $p < .05$
[c]Chi square analysis of gender difference in Helps family, significant at $p < .01$

Statistical Analyses

Frequency distribution and descriptive analyses were run on each of the items that were used to assess the developmental assets, thriving and contribution. Composite variables reflecting the number of indicators that were reported for the four categories of the internal assets, the four categories of the external assets, thriving and contribution were created, and frequency distributions were run on each composite variable. Pearson's correlation was used to describe bivariate associations among study variables. Linear regressions were carried out to examine how the internal and external assets were associated with the number of reported thriving and contribution indicators (as standardized scores); because not all values of Skewness and Kurtosis fell within normal distribution range. Gender differences and the influence of age were assessed in all analyses. In preliminary analysis, findings from linear regression analyses using the original scores of thriving and contribution indicators were comparable to findings from analyses using the standardized scores. In the following results section, findings from analysis using the original scores are reported.

Results

Experience of Developmental Assets

Internal Assets For the seven items that were used to assess the *Commitment to learning* category, each of them had been experienced often or almost always by at least 78% of the participants. Similarly, each of the seven items that were used to assess *Positive values* had been experienced often or almost always by at least 74% of the participants. For *Social competencies*, each of the seven items had been experienced often or almost always by at least 73% of the participants, while each of the four items that were used to assess *Positive identity* had been experienced often or almost always by at least 80% of the participants (for details, see Table 1a). Cronbach's alphas for the four internal asset categories ranged from .69 to .80.

External Assets For the seven items that were used to assess the *Support* category, four had been experienced often or almost always by at least 57% of the participants. For *Empowerment*, each of the six items had been experienced often or almost always by at least 68% of the participants. Eight of the nine items that were used to assess *Expectations and boundaries* were experienced often or almost always by at least 71% of the participants. Only one of the four assets that were used to assess *Constructive use of time* had been experienced often or almost always by most of the participants; the remaining assets were experienced by less than 50% of the participants (for details, see Table 1b). The Cronbach's alpha for *Constructive use of time* was quite low (.46), while for the other three external asset categories the Cronbach's alpha ranged from .61 to .76. Cronbach's alphas for the developmental (external and internal) assets in the present study were comparable to those observed by Scales and colleagues (2000) among six ethnic groups in the US (ranging from the .60s to the .80s).

Developmental Assets by Age and Gender Age was not associated with any of the developmental assets (Table 3). In findings not presented in tables, about 44% and 50% of male and female participants, respectively, had experienced all seven items of *Commitment to learning*, often or almost always. For *Positive values*, about 57% and 60% of male and female participants, respectively, had experienced all seven items often or almost always. Forty seven percent of each gender had experienced all seven items of *Social competencies*, often or almost always. As to *Positive identity*, about 79% and 72% of male and female participants, respectively, had experienced all four items, often or almost always. For each of the four categories of the external assets, less than 40% of both male and female participants had experienced all the items that were used in the assessments. No significant gender difference was observed.

Table 3 Descriptive statistics and correlations for study variables

Study variables	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Age[a]	−.18**	.01	.03	.05	−.01	−.03	.04	−.08	.09	−.09	.11*	.12*	.05	.02	−.02	.09	−.01	−.05	.09
2. Gender	–	.15**	.07	.07	.01	.01	.11*	.03	−.07	.06	−.10*	−.03	−.03	−.12**	.03	−.02	−.10*	.16**	−.00
3. Commitment to learn		–	.60**	.50**	.52**	.32**	.39**	.40**	.22**	.20**	.17**	.24**	.18**	.14**	.13**	.14**	.07	.20**	.15**
4. Positive values			–	.62**	.51**	.27**	.38**	.37**	.28**	.14**	.17**	.18**	.14**	.09	.20**	.13**	.14**	.12**	.12*
5. Social competencies				–	.58**	.28**	.21**	.42**	.26**	.05	.25**	.36**	.18**	.09	.09	.19**	.12**	.23**	.18**
6. Positive identity					–	.27**	.34**	.38**	.24**	.23**	.19**	.24**	.17**	.14**	.12**	.23**	.11*	.14**	.12**
7. Support						–	.53**	.54**	.28**	.08	.07	.18**	.11*	.14**	.05	.03	.07	.11*	.08
8. Empowerment							–	.52**	.33**	.09*	.18**	.20**	.08	.15**	.05	.09	.07	.15**	.14**
9. Expectations and boundaries								–	.32**	.10*	.18**	.23**	.15**	.18**	.02	.15**	.10*	.22**	.12*
10. Constructive use of time									–	.03	.15**	.18**	.06	.28**	.06	.05	.05	.09*	.18**
11. School success										–	.02	−.16**	.11*	.02	.09*	.10*	.04	.06	−.02
12. Helps others											–	.21**	.13**	.07	.06	.05	.19**	32**	.42**
13. Values diversity												–	.15**	.03	−.12	.04	.08	.17**	.16**
14. Maintains good health													–	.05	.24**	.16**	.07	.11*	.14**
15. Exhibits leadership														–	.08	.19**	.07	−.03	.23**
16. Delays gratification															–	.30**	.12**	.13**	.08

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

Study variables	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
17. Overcomes adversity																–	.08	.09	−.01
18. Contribution to self																	–	−.03	.19**
19. Contribution to family																		–	.14**
20. Contribution to community																			–
Range	1–2	0–7	0–7	0–7	0–4	0–7	0–6	0–9	0–4	1–8	1–5	1–5	1–2	1–2	1–2	1–2	1–2	1–5	1–5
Mean	1.61	6.00	6.19	5.77	3.54	4.42	4.46	6.71	1.55	5.98	2.69	3.82	1.74	1.56	1.84	1.86	1.63	3.78	1.98
S.D.	0.49	1.33	1.28	1.61	0.97	1.62	1.59	2.12	1.12	1.57	1.28	1.24	0.44	0.50	0.36	0.35	0.48	1.29	1.24

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$ (two tailed)

[a]Age – (range: 16–28; $M = 19.57$, $SD = 1.64$)

Thriving and Contribution Indicators

Concerning thriving, five indicators were reported by most participants (at least 56%): *Helps others*, *Maintains good health*, *Exhibit good leadership*, *Delays gratification* and *Overcomes adversity*. This is true for both males and females. Gender difference was only observed for *Exhibit good leadership* where male participants were more likely than their female counterparts to report that they had been a leader of a group or organization in the last 12 months, $\chi^2(1, 477) = 6.99$, $p < .01$. Only 1.4% of the participants reported all seven indicators of thriving. For contribution, at least 60% of each gender group had contributed to self or family, and about 48% of both male and female participants had contributed to their community. Gender difference was observed for *Contribution to self*, where male participants were more likely to report that their main work gives them skills that can be used to get a better job to make more income $\chi^2(1, 471) = 4.24$, $p < .05$. In contrast, female participants were more likely to help their family one or more hours a week $\chi^2(1, 478) = 8.53$, $p < .01$ (for details, see Table 2). About 25% of the participants reported all three indictors of contribution.

Correlation Among Study Variables

Positive correlations were found among the asset categories with the highest correlation ($r = .62$, $p < .01$) registered between *Positive values* and *Social competencies*. Among the thriving indicators, the highest correlation ($r = .30$, $p < .01$) was between *Delays gratification* and *Overcomes adversity*, while for the contribution indicators, the highest correlation ($r = .19$, $p < .01$) was between *Contribution to self* and *Contribution to community*. Overall, positive correlations were observed between different asset categories and the seven thriving indicators (see Table 3); the highest correlation ($r = .36$, $p < .01$) was between *Social competencies* and *Values diversity*. Positive correlations were also largely observed between asset categories and three contribution indicators with the highest correlation ($r = .23$, $p < .01$) between *Social competencies* and *Contribution to family*. Furthermore, several positive correlations were observed between the thriving and contribution indicators; the highest correlation ($r = .42$, $p < .01$) was found between *Helps others* (indicating friends and neighbours) and *Contribution to community*. No statistically significant correlation was found between two thriving indicators (*succeeds in school* and *overcomes adversity*) and the three contribution indicators.

Predicting Thriving and Contribution

In linear regression analyses, composite variables reflecting the number of thriving indictors and contribution were used as outcomes (Table 4). In the prediction of thriving, age and gender explained only 1% of the variance in the outcome, in step 1. In step 2, the internal assets explained a significant proportion of variance in the thriving scores, $R^2 = .21$, $F(6, 461) = 21.71$, $p < .001$, whereas the external assets only explained 1% of the variance in step 3. In step 3, when all the variables were included, only P*ositive identity* (an internal asset category) increased with the number of thriving indicators that were reported, $\beta = .19$, $t(467) = 3.47$, $p < .01$. *Commitment to learning* and *Positive values* (also internal asset categories) appeared to increase with thriving, although the levels of statistical significance for both variables were borderline ($p = .051$ and $p = .058$, respectively). *Social competencies* (the remaining internal asset category) together with the four external asset categories were not statistically significantly associated with the outcome. Age increased with the number of thriving indictors that were reported but the influence of gender was not statistically significant (see Table 4).

In the prediction of contribution, the number of thriving indicators increased with the number of contribution indicators, $\beta = .35$, $t(467) = 8.10$, $p < .001$ at step 2, when age and gender were controlled for, and explained a significant proportion of the variance in the contribution scores, $R^2 = .12$, $F(3, 464) = 21.99$, $p < .001$ (see Table 5). Age and gender were not significantly associated with the number of contribution indicators that were reported.

Table 4 Summary of linear regression analyses predicting thriving

Step study variables	Change in R^2		Cumulative R^2		
1. Age, Gender	.01		.01		
2. Internal assets	.21		.22		
3. External assets	.01		.24		
	B	*SE B*	β	*t*	*p*
Demographics					
Age	.08	.04	.09	2.17	.030
Gender	−.17	.12	−.06	−1.36	.174
Internal assets					
Commitment to learn	.12	.06	.11	1.96	.051
Positive values	.12	.06	.11	1.90	.058
Social competencies	.06	.05	.07	1.20	.229
Positive identity	.27	.08	.19	3.47	.001
External assets					
Support	.05	.05	.06	1.06	.291
Empowerment	−.01	.05	−.01	−.24	.807
Expectations and boundaries	.04	.04	.06	1.14	.255
Constructive use of time	.09	.06	.07	1.60	.111

The *internal assets*, *external assets* and *thriving* are examined as the number of reported indicators

Table 5 Summary of linear regression analyses predicting contribution

Step study variables	Change in R^2		Cumulative R^2		
1. Age, Gender	.00		.00		
2. Thriving indicators	.12		.12		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*t*	*p*
Demographics					
Age	−.01	.02	−.01	−.28	.783
Gender	.04	.08	.02	.49	.628
Thriving indicators	.21	.03	.35	8.10	.000

Thriving and *Contribution* are composite variables reflecting number of reported indicators

Discussion

General Findings

In general, most of the participants had experienced different internal assets. However, for the external assets, more than 50% had not experienced several of the *Support* and *Constructive use of time* assets. Age and gender were not significantly associated with the developmental assets. Several thriving indicators were reported by both genders; gender difference was only found in the indicator assessing *Exhibits good leadership* where male participants were more likely to report this indicator. Most participants also reported that they had contributed to self-development and the family but less than 50% had contributed to the community. Male participants were more likely to contribute to self-development while female participants were more likely to offer help to their family. While several positive correlations were found between the asset categories and the thriving indicators, only *Positive identity* and to some extent *Commitment to learning* and *Positive values*, increased (in terms of number) with the number of thriving indicators that were reported. The number of thriving indicators in turn increased with the number of the contribution indicators that were reported.

The Experience of Developmental Assets and Predictions of Thriving and Contribution

Although Benson's (2007) developmental assets were developed using US samples, the assets have also been reported among young people in several non-US contexts, such as Japan, Lebanon, Albania, Bangladesh and the Philippines (Scales, 2011). In the present study, several of the assets were reported by the Ghanaian participants, thereby extending the universality of the developmental assets. Participants were more likely to experience internal assets compared to external assets. Scales (2011) found *Constructive use of time* (an external asset category) to be one of the least

experienced assets. This was also observed in the present study; besides being involved in church, mosque or other religions activities, the majority had been involved in little or no creative activities such as music or other arts, and sports. While this is alarming, it could also be that Ghanaian youth engage in other creative activities that were not captured in the developmental assets. Nonetheless, because sports, music and arts are some of the important activities through which positive youth development can be promoted, in the implementation of the initiatives proposed by the Ghana youth policy, such activities can be stimulated among Ghanaian youth with the universities and religious groups to which most of the participants were affiliated, serving as relevant avenues.

Besides *Constructive use of time*, majority of the participants reported that they had experienced little or no support from parents, neighbours or other adults. Considering the collectivistic nature of the Ghanaian culture (Kim-Prieto & Eid, 2004), where group decision making and supporting others are considered important, these findings may seem surprising. However, it could also be that the high educational status of the participants causes them to be rather perceived as benefactors. In Ghana and other African countries, it is not uncommon for parents, siblings and even extended family members to expect financial support (Aboderin, 2004) as well as informational and social support from individuals, such as university students who are often considered as individuals who have progressed in life. For emerging adults such as the University students involved in the present study, support from significant others at home and the University can be a relevant resource that can enhance educational efforts and subsequently, employability.

The PYD perspective that the experience of developmental assets is associated with thriving and that thriving in turn is associated with contribution was evident to a considerable extent in the present study. Weak (but significant) to moderate correlations were found between different asset categories and thriving as well as contribution. However, in regression analysis, only *Positive identity* (an internal asset) was found to increase with the number of thriving indicators that were reported. This is consistent with findings in previous studies involving African participants where internal assets were found to be better predictors of thriving (Drescher, Chin, Johnson, & Johnson-Pynn, 2012).

For the thriving indicators, male participants were more likely to report that they had been a leader of a group or an organization in the last 12 months and they were also more likely to contribute to self-development. In contrast, female participants were more likely to contribute to the family. These findings may suggest the perpetuation of cultural norms and socialization processes that tend to favour the male population in the Ghanaian context (Jayachandran, 2015). In the promotion of positive youth development in the Ghanaian or African context, youth policies seeking to empower young people for national development can be more effective when the impeding effects of such norms and processes are assessed and addressed.

Limitations

The study participants were older (16–28 years) than the samples of adolescents that have usually been focused on in studies using developmental assets. This may have influenced some findings such as those on the *Support* and *Constructive use of time assets*, although no significant correlation was found between age and any of the asset categories. Also, several studies (e.g., Drescher et al., 2012; Scales, 2011) have been successfully carried out with young adults included in the sample. Moreover, positive development during the adolescent years is supposed to facilitate a healthy transition into adulthood. For emerging adults such as the Ghanaian participants in the present study, assets or resources that will facilitate their development and contribution to the society can be equally important to address.

The present study is a quantitative survey where participants were asked to indicate their experience with a number of developmental assets that have been developed using US samples. Despite the universality of the assets, the question of whether other assets that are specific to the Ghanaian context were adequately captured in the developmental assets still remains. The low Cronbach's alpha that was registered for the *Constructive use of time* assets may be a reflection of such assessment limitation although low reliability coefficient has also been found for that asset category in previous studies (Drescher et al., 2012). The marked differences in the social and economic structures of the US and Ghana (i.e., Western vs. non-Western) can determine which developmental assets are available or promoted in the specific context. Future studies that use more open-ended questions or qualitative approach can help uncover such specific developmental assets in the Ghanaian context.

The sample of the present study was university students, which is not representative of the youth population in Ghana. However, because participants were from different academic disciplines and tend to come from different regions of the country, the sample may be representative of the University student population in Ghana. Nevertheless, in the promotion of positive youth development in Ghana, a more representative sample that includes young people from non-university settings and non-educational settings is recommended.

Conclusion

Although the present sample is not representative of the youth population in Ghana, and the experience of developmental assets, thriving and contribution of other youth samples may differ from the present sample, the findings give an indication of resources that are needed to promote thriving and contribution among young people in Ghana and feasibly in other African countries. That young people are the future cannot be emphasised enough especially in African countries where the bulk of the population is made up of young people, and where the retirement age is quite early (Mba, 2010). In the promotion of positive youth development in the Ghanaian and

African contexts, PYD's strategies of *vertical pileup* (where young people will experience many developmental assets), *horizontal stacking* (where young people will experience assets in multiple contexts) and *developmental breath* (where all young people can be targeted) can be integrated in youth policies and programmes to ensure that all young people are empowered to contribute to their own development, their immediate settings and their nation.

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Positive Affect and the Experience of Meaning in Life Among Romanian Emerging Adults

Carmen Buzea and Radosveta Dimitrova

Abstract Meaning in life has been consistently documented as an essential component for a "good life" and a key to positive functioning (Davis, Wortman, Lehman, & Silver, 2000; Scollon & King, 2004). In this chapter, we examined the relationship between positive affect (PA) and the experience of life meaning among emerging adults in Romania. Results showed that PA was positively and significantly correlated with meaning of life and the most consistent predictor of the overall experience of meaning in life. We conclude that positive moods may predispose emerging adults to feel that life is meaningful. These results provide new knowledge on the construct of meaning in life among under investigated cultural sample in Europe in line with renewed attention on psychological strengths in emerging adulthood.

Meaning in life has been consistently documented as an essential component for a "good life" (Scollon & King, 2004). Extant research has identified finding meaning in life as a key to positive functioning (Davis et al., 2000; Janoff-Bulman, 1992) with the implication that perceiving life to be meaningful contributes to a happier life and optimal psychological well-being. This research has also consistently demonstrated that meaning in life was the most consistent predictor of psychological well-being and that this relationship is evident at almost every stage of the life span, from adolescence to late adulthood (Reker, Peacock, & Wong, 1987; Zika & Chamberlain, 1992). In this chapter, we examined the relationship between positive affect (PA) and the experience of meaning - specifically exploring the possibility that PA may enhance the experience of meaning in life among emerging adults in

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Romania. Romania offers novel context to study positive affect in young people as the country has undergone a difficult period of economic and political transition, following the collapse of communism in the late 1980s in Central and South-Eastern Europe. The young generation is therefore faced with past communist history and European Union (EU) transition (Romania joined the European Union in 2007), which are relevant socio-political factors for positive well-being and finding a meaning of own life.

Theory and Research on Meaning in Life

The construct of meaning in life has received renewed attention in the last decades partly due to the increasing interest on positive traits and psychological strengths (Ryan & Deci, 2001; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Various definitions on the construct have been proposed in terms of life coherence (Reker & Wong, 1988), purposefulness (Ryff & Singer, 1998) and finding significance in ones' life (Crumbaugh & Maholick, 1964). Despite such variety of definitions, there is a general agreement that meaning in life is an indicator of well-being (Ryff, 1989) and resource for adaptive coping (Park & Folkman, 1997). Theory and research of well-being focusing on personal growth and psychological strengths uniformly regard meaning in life as crucial to promote such growth and strengths (Kenyon, 2000). Having established meaning in life has been associated with less distress such as depression and anxiety (Debats, van der Lubbe, & Wezeman, 1993), suicidal ideation and substance abuse (Harlow, Newcomb, & Bentler, 1986). Clear meaning in life has also been positively associated to healthy psychological functioning in terms of work enjoyment (Bonebright, Clay, & Ankenmann, 2000), life satisfaction (Chamberlain & Zika, 1988), and happiness (Debats et al., 1993). Relevant research has also demonstrated that there is a strong relationship between positive affect (PA) and meaning in life implying that meaning in life leads to enhanced feelings of happiness. Recent research and theory had shown that the experience of positive affect enhances the feeling that life is meaningful (King, Hicks, Krull, & Del Gaiso, 2006).

Despite increasing research interest in the topic, a shortcoming in the meaning in life literature concerns measures of meaning. In fact, most research has used measures such as the Purpose in Life Test (PIL; Crumbaugh & Maholick, 1964), the Life Regard Index (LRI; Battista & Almond, 1973), or the Sense of Coherence Scale (Antonovsky, 1987). This choice has been criticized because these measures are actually a coping disposition measures (Sammallahti, Holi, Komulainen, & Aalberg, 1996) and many, if not all, could be confounded on an item level with many of the variables they correlate with (Frazier, Oishi, & Steger, 2003). Recent research sought to address these concerns by developing a new measure of meaning in life defined as the sense made of, and significance felt regarding the nature of one's existence. This new Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ) applies this definition in an effort to encompass all of the major definitions of meaning by allowing respondents to use their own criteria for meaning. This approach is consistent with

"relativistic" theory of meaning in life suggesting that no predetermined constraints are to be placed on how people define meaning in their lives (Battista & Almond, 1973) and each individual uniquely constructs his or her own life's meaning (Frankl, 1966). A recent validation study has investigated the internal consistency, temporal stability, factor structure, and validity of the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ), a new ten-item measure of the presence of, and the search for, meaning in life (Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006). The results demonstrate excellent psychometric properties of the MLQ in terms of convergent and discriminant validity across time and informants. The study reported in the present chapter applied this new measure of life meaning to explore its relationships with positive affect in a sample of emerging adults in Romania.

Theory and Research on Positive Affect

Positive affect (PA) has been defined as "the extent to which a person feels enthusiastic, active, and alert" (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988, p. 1063). Persons with high PA have high energy, concentration and engagement, while those with low PA experience lethargy and sadness. PA has been investigated and measured along with negative affect (NA), theorized as a distinct dimension (not opposite to PA) which expresses subjective distress (Watson et al., 1988). Both affective states have been considered to be short-lived reactions, moods or emotional states related to one's experience or specific events (Khosla, 2006). Large body of literature measured PA-NA dichotomy in relation with a wide range of variables in clinical, developmental or organisational psychology, based on different scales, from which Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) developed by Watson et al. (1988) is the best known. We therefore apply this theoretical approach to investigate relationships of PA and meaning in life in Romanian emerging adults.

The Present Chapter

The study reported in this chapter was carried out in Romania, a former post-communist Eastern European country. The communist regime was greatly oppressive and vastly interconnected with the socialist values and unity (Verdery, 1991). After the collapse of the communism, the country is redefining own identity and finding new meanings of revived national pride (Kaneva & Popescu, 2011). Therefore, Romania offers a novel context in which to study well-being and meaning of life, as it has undergone difficult periods of economic and political change. The young generation has faced a past communist history and is now facing new democratic transitions that without a doubt are having profound effects on well-being and ability to develop a meaning of life. Previous studies explored some characteristics of Romanian emerging adults aged 18–27 years who reported to be quite

optimistic about their careers, relationships, finances, and overall quality of life and considered relational maturity, financial independence, and norm compliance the most important criteria for adulthood (Nelson, 2009).

Meaning in life has been studied in Romanian youth samples in relation to psychological health and parental support. Overall, it has been found that meaning in life has a protective role with regard to health risk behaviors (Brassai, Piko, & Steger, 2011) and is positively related to the feeling that one's parents are supportive and responsive (Brassai, Piko, & Steger, 2013). Negru (2012) showed that for both high-schools and university Romanian students, high self-focus (i.e., focus on own development, occupational and professional choices) is a positive predictor for satisfaction with life. On the other hand, positive affect has been scarcely studied in Romania and existing studies have focused on a particular group of children, i.e., the institutionalized children. For example, Ghera et al. (2009) measured positive affect in a laboratory setting and found that family environment produces rapid increases in expressed positive affect of institutionalized children.

The study reported in this chapter examined associations between meaning in life and positive affect among emerging adults from Romanian society in transition that has been underscored in prior work. First, we sought to investigate associations between meaning in life and positive affect among these young adults. Next, we tested the predictive role of positive affect on meaning in life. In line with conceptual considerations and prior empirical work (Steger et al., 2006), we hypothesized that positive affect would have significant positive influence on one's own meaning in life and would lead to increased experience of profound life meaning.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 182 emerging adults in Romania (mean age 20.72, SD = 2.78) (see Table 1). They were recruited with on online survey as part of a larger project on well-being among emerging adults across Europe. The measures used in this study were translated from English into Romanian by four bilingual speakers while adhering to the standard guidelines for linguistic equivalence (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). In addition, a focus group of young people was involved in assessing the appropriateness of the translated measures. Prior to the data collection, participants were informed about the purpose and methods of the study and assured their formal signed consent. Participants of this study were sampled from the city of Brasov in the Central-Western region of Romania.

Table 1 Sample characteristics

	Sample (n = 182)	Reliability coefficient
Age (in years)		
M (*SD*)	20.74 (2.68)	
Gender, %		
Boys	17	
Girls	83	
Measures, *M (SD)*		
Positive affect	3.80 (0.49)	α = .75
Search for meaning	5.25 (1.04)	α = .82
Presence of meaning	5.03 (1.08)	α = .80
Overall meaning in life	5.16 (.82)	α = .75

Measures

Sociodemographic data. A set of items about self-reported ethnicity and nationality, gender, age, and place of residence was administered.

Meaning in life. The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ) developed by Steger et al. (2006) was used. The questionnaire is composed by two factors- presence of, and the search for, meaning in life. There were ten items rated on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 (*absolutely untrue*) to 7 (*absolutely true*). Sample items were "I understand my life's meaning", "My life has a clear sense of purpose", "I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful" (presence of meaning), "I am searching for meaning in my life" (search for meaning). Evidence from several studies demonstrates that the two subscales of the MLQ represent reliable, structurally sound measures of the presence of meaning and the search for meaning (Steger et al., 2006). Internal reliability of the scale and the two factors were very good in the present sample (see Table 1).

The Positive Affective Schedule (Watson et al., 1988) was applied to measure positive affect (PA). It consists of ten positive mood descriptors (e.g., "enthusiastic, proud, and active") and their occurrence during the past 2 weeks is rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*very slightly*) to 5 (*extremely*). Internal reliability of the measure in the present sample was very good (see Table 1).

Results

Preliminary analyses examined relationships of PA and MLQ with demographics. Scores on the PA and MLQ Presence and Search subscales did not differ across gender. Neither subscale was related to age. We then proceed with testing of our main hypotheses. In order to address our first goal (associations between meaning in life and positive affect), we ran Pearson bivariate correlations. Results showed positive, significant and consistent associations among study variables, which are in

Table 2 Bivariate correlations for study variables

	1	2	3	4
Measures				
1. Positive affect	–			
2. Search for meaning	.16 n.s	–		
3. Presence of meaning	.53**	.19*	–	
4. Overall meaning in life	.42**	.76**	.79**	–

n.s. non significant
*$p < .01$; **$p < .001$

Table 3 Linear regressions of positive affect on meaning in life

	β	t- value	F
Search for meaning	.12	1.46 n.s	2.13 n.s
Presence of meaning	.52	7.56*	57.19*
Overall meaning in life	.42	5.86*	34.56*

n.s. non significant
Note: *$p < .001$

line with the expected relationships (see Table 2). Next, we addressed our second goal on the predictive role of positive affect on meaning in life. We examined associations between meaning in life factors and PA by means of linear regression models. The results showed significant positive relationship between PA and the presence of meaning in one's life only, $\beta = .52$, $p < .001$ (Table 3). We can conclude that PA was positively and significantly correlated with meaning of life and particularly with the presence of meaning of life. Regression analyses showed that PA was the most consistent predictor of the overall experience of meaning in life and the presence of meaning of life. No prospective relationships between measures of PA and search of meaning of life emerged. We therefore conclude that positive moods may predispose emerging adults to feel that life is meaningful.

Discussion

We examined the relationship between positive affect (PA) and meaning in life in a sample of 182 emerging adults in Romania. It was found that PA was positively and significantly correlated with meaning of life, being the most consistent predictor of the overall experience of life meaning. This result adds to the literature in several ways, being useful for both scholars and professionals. First, focusing on PA occurrence and maintenance might be beneficial for adolescents' development and well-being, educators and school counselors having the possibility to apply specific techniques to generate PA: positive reappraisal (reframing an event in a more positive light), finding meaning in ordinary events, focusing in achievable goals (Khosla, 2006) or other methods derived from cognitive behavioral therapy

practice. Second, new insights about meaning in life mechanism have been found in an under-researched population of young adults from an Eastern European country, with a recent history of social movement and transition from communism and centralized economy to democratic values and free market economy. Third, new scales were translated and tested in Romanian population to be used in future research on PA and meaning in life.

The current study is not without limitations. The findings draw attention to meaning in life as a factor promoting positive affect only. Future research may explore such protective/resilience effects on adolescent mental health and health-related behaviors to better understand meaning in life as a protection in positive youth development. Only one study we are aware of, investigated meaning in life as a protective factor in a large sample of Romanian adolescents ($N = 1977$) in a multidimensional assessment of health-related variables (substance abuse, health risk behaviors, psychological health). The authors conclude that meaning in life is a protective factor against health risk behaviors and poor psychological health in Romanian adolescents (Brassai et al., 2011). We build on this prior work but more efforts are needed to further extend the multidimensional study of meaning in life as a health-protective factor in emerging adult samples. Additional shortcoming regards the cross-sectional design of the study and the use of self-report methods which limit our ability to determine whether meaning in life predicts or causes better positive affect, or vice versa and how this relationship occurs in actual psychological functioning of our emerging adult sample. For instance, we know that good psychosocial functioning may stimulate, as well as be stimulated by, feelings of presence of meaning (Luyckx, Schwartz, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, & Goossens, 2010). Thus, longitudinal study designs are needed to clarify the direction of these relationships. Relatedly, the sole reliance on self-reports may lead to overestimation of some of the correlations among variables due to shared method variance (Podsakoff, McKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Using significant others as informants or qualitative measures (e.g., in depth questionnaires and interviews) on meaning of life and well-being might help in this direction. While novel in its use of rare sample of Romanian emerging adults, this study is limited to the specific cultural context which poses doubts on its generalizability. Replication of the current findings with culturally diverse samples is an important future step.

Conclusion

A relevant implication of the study reported in this chapter is that meaning in life as a possible protective factor among young people should be a priority in health and well-being research. We add to previous literature in Western populations in that meaning in life acts as a protective factor for good well-being in a largely neglected sample of Romanian emerging adults. We also add new knowledge to the challenge of replicating previous research results in a sample of less investigated Eastern European samples, by providing a novel integration of meaning in life and

well-being health-related variables in one study, namely, positive affect. These results are particularly valuable in providing new knowledge on the construct of meaning in life among under investigated cultural sample in Europe in line with renewed attention on this topic in conjunction with a growing focus on positive traits and psychological strengths in emerging adulthood.

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Goal Orientation Profiles, Academic Achievement and Well-Being of Adolescents in Greece

Stefanos Mastrotheodoros, Michael A. Talias, and Frosso Motti-Stefanidi

Abstract Adolescents differ in the way they motivate themselves, and the way they choose, perceive, and approach their goals. Goal orientations have been proposed to be a significant aspect of individual differences. In general, some students aim at gaining a higher level of skills, whereas other students aim at showing a high level of performance in relation to their classmates. This chapter aimed at exploring the links between goal orientation profiles and psychological well-being in adolescent students in Greece. Using a sample of 576 high-school students ($M_{age} = 15.2$, 44% girls), person-centered analyses were performed on goal orientations scales whereas GPA, self-esteem and symptoms were used to measure adaptation and psychological well-being. Four profiles emerged, on the basis of the scores on the four goal orientation dimensions. Statistically significant mean differences were found between the four groups on all measures of adaptation. Mastery-oriented students were found to show the best adaptation, overall. The results support the notion that approaching learning tasks for the sake of learning and the resulting personal development is a strong indicator of positive adaptation.

Goals are an important part of human motivation. They guide young people's cognition and affect, and instigate, direct and maintain their behavior particularly as they become involved in academic work (Elliot & McGregor, 2001; Kaplan & Maehr, 2007). A highly influential framework that relates to the scientific study of goals is Achievement Goal Theory, or Goal Orientation Theory (Elliot & McGregor, 2001; Kaplan & Maehr, 2007). Goal orientations refer to the reasons why young people

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engage in learning. Their importance lies in that they predict youth'sacademic achievement and well-being (see Wigfield, Eccles, Fredricks, Simpkins, Roeser, & Schiefele, 2015). They are also linked to youth's goals for the future (e.g., Lee, McInerney, Liem, & Ortiga, 2010). Setting goals for the future is an integral part of identity formation, a key developmental task during the period of adolescence (Motti-Stefanidi, 2015). They predict youth's long-term quality adaptation and wellbeing (Motti-Stefanidi, 2015; Salmela-Aro, 2009).

The present chapter examines goal orientations of upper high school adolescents living in Greece. The study presented follows a person-focused approach. It was conducted in the Greater Athens area during the great economic crisis. It has two main goals. First, Greek and immigrant students' goal orientation profiles were identified. Second, their link with youth's academic achievement and well-being was examined.

Goal Orientation Theory

According to Achievement Goal Orientation Theory, some students aim at acquiring a higher level of skills, whereas other students aim at achieving a high level of performance in relation to their classmates. These two goal orientations are called mastery and performance, respectively. People who endorse mastery goal orientations rely on a self-referent standard for judging competence, whereas those who endorse performance goal orientations judge their competence in relation to external standards (Ames, 1992; Kaplan & Maehr, 2007).

A significant distinction has also been drawn between the approach-avoidance quality of both mastery and performance orientations. This has led to a four-orientation typology: mastery-approach, mastery-avoidance, performance-approach, and performance-avoidance (Elliot & McGregor, 2001). Students who endorse the mastery-approach orientation judge their competence referring to intrapersonal standards. They aim to learn new things and develop new skills. Students who endorse mastery-avoidance orientation are motivated by a need to avoid losing abilities and by perfectionism. Students who are motivated by performance-approach goals are mainly trying to show competence in relation to others. They strive to outperform others. Finally, students who endorse performance-avoidance orientation, are mainly motivated by a need to not appear incompetent (Elliot & McGregor, 2001; Senko, Durik, & Harackiewicz, 2008).

A slightly different conceptualization of mastery goals entails the distinction intrinsic-extrinsic, leading to mastery-intrinsic and mastery-extrinsic goal orientations. Mastery-intrinsic goal orientations refer to students who try to develop new skills and master the task at hand with an intrapersonal standard of competence (as in the mastery-approach orientation); mastery-extrinsic goal orientations refer to

students who want to do well at a task but judge their performance based on external standards, e.g. grades, or time spent to complete a task, but without referring to others' performance (Niemivirta, 2002; Tuominen-Soini, Salmela-Aro, & Niemivirta, 2012).

Finally, according to the so-called multiple goals perspective (Pintrich, 2000), people can hold simultaneously mastery and performance goal orientations. Thus, some people may strive both to learn and master new skills, and to achieve a good level of relative performance on what they do. For example, Pintrich (2000) showed that adaptation of students who endorsed both performance and mastery goals (multiple goals) was better than that of students who endorsed one but not the other.

In sum, achievement goal orientations refer to the way youth approach their learning (Kaplan & Maehr, 2007). Individual differences exist in why and how students engage in learning tasks, and these differences are linked to youth's academic achievement and well-being.

Goal Orientations, Adaptation and Well-Being

The relationships of goal orientations with different indices of adaptation and well-being have been the focus of much scientific enquiry. In general, mastery-approach goals are associated with better academic outcomes, higher persistence (Linnenbrink-Garcia, Tyson, & Patall, 2008), more positive and fewer negative emotions (Pekrun, Elliot, & Maier, 2006, 2009). On the other hand, performance-avoidance goals are linked to lower academic achievement and higher negative emotions (Sideridis, 2005).

Meta-analyses have helped clarify the pattern of results in what concerns the link between achievement goal orientations and academic achievement (Huang, 2012; Hulleman, Schrager, Bodmann, & Harackiewicz, 2010; Wirthwein, Sparfeldt, Pinquart, Wegerer, & Steinmayr, 2013). It is now clear that, notwithstanding the small effect sizes, mastery-approach and performance-approach orientations are positively related to academic achievement as measured by school grades (Wirthwein et al., 2013).

The link between achievement goal orientations and wellbeing has also been studied extensively. For example, mastery orientations promote over time positive, and inhibit negative emotions (Pekrun et al., 2006, 2009), and are linked to higher self-esteem. In contrast, performance-avoidance orientations are linked to lower self-esteem (Tuominen-Soini, Salmela-Aro, & Niemivirta, 2008). On the other hand, the presence of performance goals, even along with mastery goals (i.e. multiple goals), may be maladaptive, as it is linked with higher anxiety and distress (Tuominen-Soini et al., 2008).

The link between achievement goal orientations and self-esteem is bidirectional. Self-esteem was found to longitudinally protect against maladaptive developments in goal orientations (Meier, Reindl, Grassinger, Berner, & Dresel, 2013). Thus, higher self-esteem predicts a longitudinal increase in mastery goals, and negative self-esteem predicts a longitudinal increase in performance-avoidance goals (Meier et al., 2013).

To summarize, different achievement goal orientations have been linked in theoretically meaningful ways to several indices of adaptation and well-being. However, those links can be affected by context, and therefore can be different in different cultural contexts.

Cultural Aspects of Goal Orientations

Kaplan and Maehr (2007) called for more cross-cultural research, in order to help us better understand the meaning of achievement in different settings. However, still today research on achievement motivation continues to be predominantly conducted in the so-called WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) countries (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; King & McInerney, 2016a).

Relevant to the need to expand achievement motivation studies to countries other than the WEIRD countries, is the increasingly adopted universalist perspective, which endorses both etic (phenomena that are common to most countries) and emic (studying phenomena which are characteristic of a country) approaches to the study of psychological phenomena (King & McInerney, 2016a; Zusho & Clayton, 2011). In other words, there are both universal aspects in motivation, and aspects that are strongly shaped by the cultural context. For example, whereas student school engagement has been found to develop in common ways across countries (etic aspect) (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi, Masten, & Asendorpf, 2015), parental support is more important for school engagement of students living in collectivist countries than in individualist countries (emic aspect) (Lam et al., 2016). The study of patterns of relations between different goal orientations and adaptation are another example where this universalist perspective can be applied, as it entails both etic and emic aspects.

More specifically, the relation between achievement goal orientations and different (mal) adaptive outcomes has been found to show commonalities as well as differences between countries. A relatively common aspect in many cross-cultural studies is the finding that mastery-approach orientations are generally positively associated with academic achievement, as well as different affective and cognitive aspects of motivation. On the other hand, an example of differences between cultures is the finding that performance-avoidance goals are not as maladaptive in collectivist cultures, as they have been shown to be in more individualistic ones (Elliot, Chirkov, Kim, & Sheldon, 2001; King, 2016). In a recent meta-analysis the relationship between performance-avoidance and achievement outcomes was significant in

both western and Asian cultures, but the direction of the relationships was the opposite (Hulleman et al., 2010). In western cultures the link was negative, whereas in Asian cultures this link was positive. This difference can be at least partly attributed to cultural differences in the dimension of individualism-collectivism (King, 2016).

Goal Orientations in Greek Context

The present study was conducted in 2012 when the economic crisis was in full swing in Greece. According to a UNICEF (2014) report child poverty increased dramatically between 2008 and 2012. The number of children whose families are income-poor (income below the poverty line), as well as those who are severely materially deprived (e.g., cannot afford to pay rent, heat their home, eat meat or proteins regularly etc.) doubled. The percentage of young people who are not participating in education, employment or training (NEET) also doubled (from 11.7 to 20.6%) during this period. Youth unemployment reached 60% and about 223,000 young people left Greece between 2008 and 2016 to find work in other countries.

Greece is considered a non-WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic; Henrich et al., 2010) cultural context in motivation research (King & McInerney, 2016b). Studies of goals in this context have supported the universalist perspective, as both culturally invariant as well as idiosyncratic findings have emerged. On the one hand, performance-avoidance and mastery-avoidance goals have been shown in agreement with goal orientation theory to relate to negative outcomes, such as negative affect, cognitive and somatic anxiety among Greek students (Sideridis, 2005; Sideridis, 2008). On the other hand, idiosyncratic patterns of goal orientations relations to adaptation have been also observed in Greek students, such that achievement outcomes were higher when teacher instructions emphasized performance rather than when they emphasized mastery (Efklides & Dina, 2007). In the same experimental study, mastery instructions were detrimental to the achievement of students with performance-avoidance personal orientations.

Person-Centered Approaches to Goal Orientations Research

Students may have more than one reason why they engage or do not engage in different tasks. For example, a student may consider a task as interesting in its own sake (endorsement of mastery orientation) and at the same time consider success in this task when compared to others as important (endorsement of performance orientation). This idea is also integrated in the multiple goals perspective (Pintrich, 2000). However, most research on goal orientations focuses on the correlates and effects of each goal dimension alone, or in interaction with each other. Although such research greatly helps us understand the nature and the processes of goal orientations, it still

leaves open the question *who* has more chances of showing positive adaptation. Such questions can better be answered by person-centered approaches.

Few studies have used this approach in the goal orientations field (Bråten & Olaussen, 2005; Daniels et al., 2008; Tuominen-Soini et al., 2008, 2012). The number of resulting goal orientations profiles differs depending on the measures used and the samples studied. For example, a study that differentiated between mastery and performance orientations resulted in four groups (Daniels et al., 2008). Also, two Finnish studies, which used the same instrument and included same-age participants as we did, resulted in different number of profiles (Tuominen-Soini et al., 2008, 2012). Therefore, it is interesting to see what profiles of goal orientations are formed in a culturally different context.

The Present Chapter

The aim of the study reported in the present chapter is twofold. The first goal is to identify achievement goal orientation profiles that characterize high-school students in in the Greek context during the economic crisis. The second goal is to examine whether and how achievement goal orientation profiles are linked to academic achievement and to indices of well-being.

We expected based on the literature that meaningful goal orientation profiles will emerge. However, since the two previous Finnish studies that have used the same instrument (Tuominen-Soini et al., 2008, 2012) have resulted in different numbers of profiles, no specific hypotheses regarding the number and content of profiles can be made. We also expected that these profiles would be differentially related to academic achievement and well-being. Profiles high in mastery intrinsic orientation will be linked to high well-being (high self-esteem, and low psychological symptoms) and academic achievement. Profiles high in performance approach orientation will show high GPA, high self-esteem, but are also expected to be linked to higher symptoms of anxiety. Profiles high in performance-avoidance are expected to show the worst academic achievement and well-being.

Method

Sample and Procedure

This study is part of a larger field study of adolescent adaptation, which was conducted at the Department of Psychology, of the University of Athens, Greece.The total sample consisted of 576 adolescent students (45.3% female, $M_{age} = 15.2$, $SD = 0.54$), attending upper high school of eight public schools in the greater area of Athens, Greece. Most of the students ($n = 408$, 70.8%) had both parents born in

Greece, whereas 91 students (15.8%) were of Albanian descent. Seventy seven students were either of "Other" ethnicity (6.4%), or had one parent born in a country other than Greece (labelled "Mixed ethnicity", 6.9%).

Permission to collect data from these schools was granted by the Greek Ministry of Education. We collected data from eight high-schools from different parts of Athens metropolitan area, corresponding to different socio-economic strata: three schools from the center of Athens (low/lower-middle class), three schools from middle-class areas (western, southern, and eastern parts of the city), one school from an upper middle-class suburb (north), and one school from a less-urbanized middle class town outside Athens (east).

Measures

Achievement Goal Orientations Achievement goals orientations were measured using part of the Goal Orientations and Motivational Beliefs scale (Niemivirta, 2002). Four subscales were used: Mastery-extrinsic ($\alpha = 0.78$), mastery-intrinsic ($\alpha = 0.80$), performance-approach ($\alpha = 0.68$), and performance-avoidance ($\alpha = 0.51$). Each of the five subscales were measured with three items, answered on a 7-point likert scale. Example items are "*My goal is to succeed in school*" (mastery-extrinsic), "*To acquire new knowledge is an important goal for me in school*" (mastery-intrinsic), "*An important goal for me in school is to do better than other students*" (performance-approach), and "*I try to avoid situations in which I might fail or make a mistake*" (performance-avoidance).

Academic Achievement Academic achievement was measured by means of Grade Point Average on five main subjects: Mathematics, Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Physics, and History, retrieved from school records. Each of those subjects is rated on a 20-point scale. GPA is also measured on a 20-point scale.

Psychological Symptoms The Greek version of the Symptoms Checklist 90 – Revised (Derogatis & Unger, 2010; Donias, Karastergiou, & Manos, 1991) was used to measure general symptoms as well as symptoms of depression and anxiety. The general symptoms is the mean of all 90 items ($\alpha = 0.96$). Depression was measured with 13 items ($\alpha = 0.84$), on a 5-point Likert scale (e.g. "How much were you bothered by feeling low on energy or slowed down"). Anxiety was measured with ten items ($\alpha = 0.79$), on a 5-point Likert scale (e.g. "How much were you bothered by nervousness or shakiness inside").

Self-Esteem The Greek Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Galanou, Galanakis, Alexopoulos, & Darviri, 2014; Rosenberg, 1965) was used to assess self-esteem. The scale consists of ten items ($\alpha = 0.84$), on a 5-point Likert scale. Example item is "On the whole, I'm satisfied with myself".

Results

Preliminary Analyses

We performed a Little's MCAR test for missingness. In the goal orientations scales a maximum 5.9% of values ($N = 34$) was missing. The pattern can be assumed to be Missing Completely At Random, χ^2 (23) = 20.71, $p = 0.60$. Therefore, the missing values mechanism can be assumed to be negligible, and we relied on robust methods for estimation of the goal orientations profiles.

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of the main variables can be seen in Table 1. Please comment a bit if you leave it as a section.

Person-Centered Analyses: Achievement Goal Orientation Profiles

To answer our research question regarding the goal orientations profiles that characterize high-school students in Greece, we first applied a two-step clustering technique in SPSS 22 (IBM Corp, 2013) using the standardized scores of the four goal orientations dimensions. Four groups emerged and the classification quality was fair (average silhouette = 0.4). We then tried to replicate this solution in a latent framework, using Latent Profile Analysis in Mplus 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015). We compared solutions with 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 latent profiles, based on the Bayesian Information Criterion and the Akaike's Information Criterion where lower is better, Entropy which should be as closest to 1.0 as possible, the Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin test which is a p value that tests the null hypothesis that adding more groups adds no more explanatory power (therefore a model with VLMR $p < 0.05$ should be preferred), as well as inspecting the interpretability of the profiles. The four-classes solution was favoured strongly (see Table 2, and Fig. 1).

The results resemble those of another study conducted in Finland and using the same instrument (Tuominen-Soini et al., 2012). Therefore, we apply the same labels with this study. The first profile ($N = 194$, 33.7%) had the highest standardized scores on all measures, showing its peak on performance-approach ($z = 0.92$) and its lowest score on performance-avoidance ($z = 0.64$). Therefore, it was called *success-oriented.* The second profile ($N = 156$, 27.1%) scored below the mean on both mastery orientations ($z = -0.79$ and $z = -0.52$ for mastery-intrinsic and mastery-extrinsic respectively) and slightly above the mean on performance orientations ($z = 0.03$ and $z = 0.22$ on performance-approach and performance-avoidance

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of study variables

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Mastery-intrinsic	5.25	1.36	–							
2. Mastery-extrinsic	5.20	1.41	0.65***	–						
3. Performance-approach	4.28	1.39	0.32***	0.48***	–					
4. Performance-avoidance	3.90	1.36	0.11*	0.26***	0.54***	–				
5. GPA	14.1	2.92	0.30***	0.36***	0.10*	−0.04	–			
6. General symptoms	0.83	0.51	−0.08	0.01	0.12**	0.23***	−0.11**	–		
7. Depression	0.95	0.66	−0.08	−0.01	0.09*	0.20***	−0.06	0.89***	–	
8. Anxiety	0.82	0.62	−0.09*	0.01	0.09*	0.18***	−0.11*	0.88***	0.74***	–
9. Self-esteem	3.74	0.69	0.24***	0.17***	0.01	−0.18***	0.10*	−0.45***	−0.50***	−0.37***

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

Table 2 Fit indices of the latent profile analyses of the 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 profiles models

Number of classes	BIC[a]	AIC	Entropy	VLMR	Group sizes
2	17227	17198	0.897	0.560	197, 359
3	16676	16637	0.867	0.004	172, 171, 213
4	16068	16019	0.901	0.001	62, 156, 144, 194
5	15847	15787	0.908	0.279	42, 146, 43, 183, 142
6	15704	15634	0.887	0.640	41, 111, 46, 98, 138, 122

[a]Sample-adjusted BIC

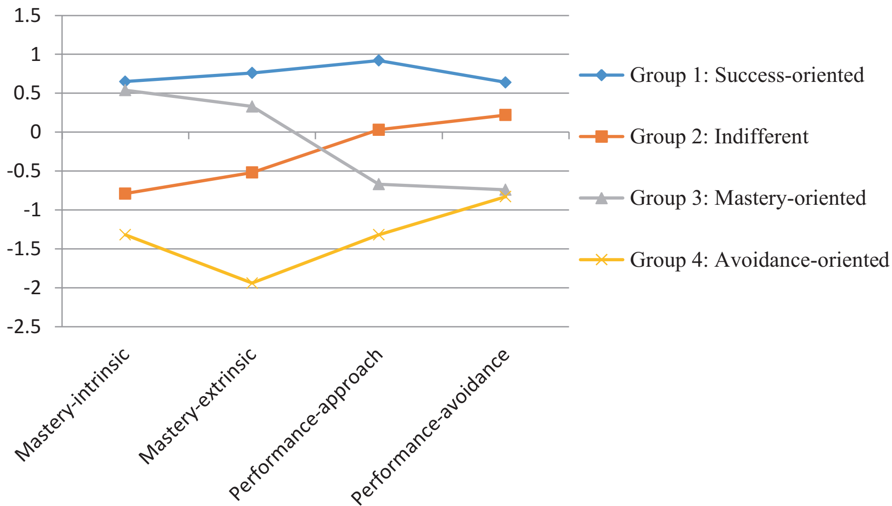

Fig. 1 Goal-orientation profiles (Latent Profile Analysis)

respectively) and was called *indifferent*. The third profile (*n* = 144, 25%), had above the mean on both mastery measures (z = 0.54 and z = 0.33 for mastery-intrinsic and mastery-extrinsic respectively) and had the lowest scores of all students on performance orientations (z = −0.67 and z = −0.74 on performance-approach and performance-avoidance respectively) and was labelled *mastery-oriented*. Finally, the fourth profile (*n* = 62, 10.8%) had very low scores on all goal-orientations and were therefore called *avoidance-oriented*.

School Achievement and Psychological Well-Being of Different Goal-Orientations Profiles

We compared the means on GPA, psychological symptoms, and self-esteem of the four goal-orientations profiles by means of univariate ANOVA. Post-hoc comparisons were done with the Bonferroni criterion. In accordance with previous studies,

Table 3 Mean comparisons of school achievement and psychological well-being between the goal-orientations profiles

	Goal orientations profiles					
	Success-oriented	Indifferent	Mastery-oriented	Avoidance-oriented		
	M	M	M	M	df	F
GPA	14.7_{b}	13.1_{a}	15.2_{b}	12.2_{a}	3/542	27.34***
Psychological symptoms	0.88_{a}	0.88_{a}	0.68_{b}	$0.84_{a,b}$	3/550	5.37***
Depression	0.99_{a}	1.01_{a}	0.79_{b}	$0.94_{a,b}$	3/552	3.60*
Anxiety	0.81_{a}	0.86_{a}	0.66_{b}	$0.87_{a,b}$	3/550	3.99**
Self-esteem	$3.79_{a,c}$	3.59_{b}	3.92_{c}	$3.54_{a,b}$	3/551	8.20***

Note: means with common subscripts do not differ significantly

we found that the four profiles differed statistically significantly in all those indices of adaptation. Regarding school achievement, both success-oriented (M = 14.7, SD = 2.8) and mastery-oriented (M = 15.2, SD = 2.7) had significantly higher GPA than indifferent (M = 13.1, SD = 2.7) and avoidance-oriented (M = 12.2, SD = 2.6) students, F (3, 542) = 26.34, p = 0.00.

Astery-oriented students showed significantly fewer psychological symptoms in general (M = 0.68, SD = 0.5) than both success-oriented (M = 0.88, SD = 0.5) and indifferent (M = 0.88, SD = 0.5), whereas the avoidance-oriented group (M = 0.84, SD = 0.5) did not differ significantly from none of the other three groups, F (3, 550) = 5.37, p = 0.001. The same pattern of results was found for both symptoms of depression and anxiety: Mastery-oriented students had lower means than both success-oriented and indifferent, whereas avoidance-oriented students did not differ significantly from any of the other groups (see Table 3). Finally, regarding self-esteem the mastery-oriented group had the highest mean (M = 3.92, SD = 0.6).

Discussion

The goal of this study was to investigate the goal orientation profiles of adolescent students in Greece, and to compare those profiles in terms of indices of adaptation.

Four Goal Orientations Profiles

Four profiles emerged, bearing striking resemblance to previous studies using the same instrument but in a different cultural setting (Tuominen-Soini et al., 2012). The most frequent profile was the success-oriented profile, which described students who had the highest scores on all four goal orientations dimensions compared to students with other profiles. These students showed their peak score on

performance-approach, and their lowest score on performance-avoidance. Their scores on mastery orientations were in the middle. These students are mainly motivated by their need to perform better than other students, whereas at the same time they aim at getting good grades, as a sign of high mastery (mastery-extrinsic) and at mastering the task so that they feel they develop their skills (mastery-intrinsic).

The second commonest profile was the indifferent. We used this term in order to be in accordance with previous studies that have used the same instrument and similar analytic procedure (Tuominen-Soini et al., 2012). The profile of these students did not show any prominent peak and/or nadir. They were characterized by scores around the group mean on all four dimensions.

The third profile described one quarter of the students and was characterized by a clear prominence of mastery orientations in comparison to the performance orientations. These students were mainly motivated by trying to enrich their skills and get good grades as a sign of mastering well the task at hand, whereas they saw interpersonal comparison (performance goal orientations) as much less motivating (if at all).

Finally, 10.8% of the sample was characterized by very low scores on mastery orientations, and a peak on performance-avoidance. These students were mainly motivated by their need to not do worse than others. These results are very similar to those of Tuominen-Soini et al. (2012). Although those authors used one more scale to produce their profiles (avoidance-orientation scale), we were able to replicate their solution with four goal orientations dimensions.

When we compared the percentages of the students in each profile between that study and the current, some interesting results emerged. In both studies, the most common profile was the success-oriented, and the percentage of this profile in the current study (33.7%) did not differ significantly from the percentage of success-oriented students in the Finnish study (35.5%). However, all other percentages differed significantly. Fewer Greek (27.1%) than Finnish (36.4%) students belonged to the indifferent group, more Greek (25%) than Finnish (21%) belonged in the mastery-oriented group, and, finally, more Greek (10.8%) than Finnish (7.2%) students belonged in the avoidance-oriented group. It seems that, the fewer indifferent students in Greece are split between the mastery and the avoidance profiles.

These similarities in profiles mean that in culturally different settings, like the Finnish and the Greek, students are grouped in very similar constellations of goal orientations. Therefore, the underlying motivating mechanisms that are responsible for how individuals approach school may not be culture-specific. However, the distribution of students in these profiles differs between those countries, which might reflect societal differences. First, education is very important in the Greek value system, and it is considered a vehicle to upward social mobility. Furthermore, success in school reflects not only on the individual student, but also on the family as a whole (Charalambis, Maratou-Alipranti, & Hadjiyanni, 2004). These conditions may make school more salient in Greece, and, therefore, fewer students approach school without a specific goal (fewer indifferent students).

One main conclusion of these results is that even during a vast and enduring economic crisis in the society, more than half of the students belong to an adaptive

profile (either success-oriented, or mastery-oriented). This study was conducted during 2012, when the Great Economic Recession in Greece was already established. For example, according to Eurostat the unemployment rate for youth under age 25 was 55.3% during 2012, whereas at the same time the European-28 unemployment rate was 23.3%. It is notable that even under those demotivating conditions, most students are still motivated to succeed in school. Although this study did not investigate crisis effects, its results are in accordance with other studies that did so, in the same context (Motti-Stefanidi & Asendorpf, 2017).

Differences in Adaptation of the Four Goal Orientations Profiles

In the current study, mastery orientations were found to be important agents of positive adaptation, as the mastery-oriented profile which was characterized by a dominance of mastery orientations, showed the most adaptive pattern. Students in this profile had the highest school achievement coupled with the best psychological well-being. Therefore, promoting a task-related view where students approach a learning task with the main goal of learning and developing themselves (in contrast to performing better than others) seems to be conducive to positive adaptation.

In previous Greek studies of university students avoidance orientations were found to be more strongly related to sadness than approach orientations, regardless the distinction mastery-performance (Sideridis, 2008). The current study replicates this result in a younger sample. Both success-oriented and indifferent profiles, had higher psychological symptoms than mastery-oriented students. Although the success-oriented students had high scores on mastery orientations, their relatively high score on performance-avoidance may be responsible for their low psychological well-being. Although they had a high GPA, they also had lower psychological well-being, which may indicate that their relatively high achievement comes with a cost.

Previous Greek studies have speculated on the possible not-so-negative effect of performance-approach orientation in Greece (Efklides & Dina, 2007), because in countries "that still have characteristics of a collectivist culture …, the meaning of performance-approach goal orientation is not necessarily one that builds on competition and outperforming others but one that builds on the sense of competence and enjoying doing well at school" (Efklides & Dina, 2007, p. 134). The current results do not support this idea. First, although small, there were significant negative correlations between performance-approach orientation and psychological well-being. Second, the profiles that were higher on this dimension (i.e. success-oriented and indifferent) showed worse psychological well-being than the mastery-oriented profile (although not worse adaptation than the avoidance-oriented profile). Hence, although performance-approach may not be catastrophic, it has rather negative effects on psychological well-being.

It is important to stress the fact that this study was conducted amidst a great economic recession. Although crisis effects were not studied explicitly, the current

results reflect studies that did so. For example, in the same context, Motti-Stefanidi and Asendorpf (2017) compared the adaptation and well-being in the school context of two cohorts of Greek and immigrant early adolescents; one cohort was in middle school before the economic crisis (assessed in 2005) and the other during the crisis (assessed in 2013). Despite the fact that conduct problems increased during the crisis, some students of the crisis-cohort showed significantly better academic achievement compared to their pre-crisis counterparts. Furthermore, behavioral school engagement did not differ between the two cohorts, whereas crisis cohort students did not report lower self-esteem or higher depression and anxiety, compared to students of the pre-crisis cohort. These findings corroborate the main finding of the current study, that even amidst the crisis, most students adopt a healthy motivational profile, and approach school in an adaptive manner.

Conclusions and Implications

The current results indicate that the patterns of goal orientations that students follow may not be affected by the cultural environment. Furthermore, students who are mainly motivated by learning-oriented goals, have the highest chances of showing positive youth development, since they depict high academic achievement along with a positive psychological well-being. Please elaborate more on the points above (see also my prior emails with guidelines about points to address).

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Part II
Well-Being of Youth and Emerging Adults from Ethnic Minority and Immigrant Populations

Intersectionality and Well-Being Among Racial/Ethnic Minority and LGB Youth: Extended Family Members as Support Against Negative Parental Reactions to Coming Out

Jose-Michael Gonzalez, Katerina O. Sinclair, Anthony R. D'Augelli, and Arnold H. Grossman

Abstract Past research generally assumes that non-normative identities lead to pathology and victimization. Studies examining family influences on development of racial/ethnic and lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) youth have mostly used a nuclear family paradigm and deficit model. In cross-cultural psychology, however, taking a person-centered approach addresses both strengths and challenges of living with stigmatized identities and diverse family structures. Therefore, we analyze how extended family member presence and support moderates the association between parental reactions to coming out and youth's internalizing and externalizing behaviors among 499 LGB-identified youth aged 15–19 in a major U.S. metropolitan city. We draw upon a cultural strengths perspective to consider how familism and extended kinship presence ameliorates adjustment problems for youth whose parents react negatively to coming out, and how these connections contribute to positive youth adjustment and well-being for ethnic/racial and sexual minority youth.

Research and scholarship in the field of positive psychology from a cultural perspective are increasingly concerned with the effects of multiple identities and experiences on optimal well-being in youth and emerging adults (Pedrotti and Edwards,

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2010). Examinations of race/ethnicity, gender, social status, sexuality, and other diverse experiences require a person-centered approach, as the co-occurring nature of these experiences influences the mechanisms of intra- and inter-variation in development. Therefore, this chapter is centered on expanding the understanding of intersectorial, multilevel, and multicomponent experiences that align with assets of youth and emerging adults from historically marginalized groups to promote positive health and well-being outcomes, as well as, to inform research and methods applicable to intervention and prevention policy and practice.

Family processes do not occur in isolation from individual identity development (Para, 2008). Families are primarily based on connections involving interdependent members and interacting social contexts whose functioning may be altered by changes in the behavior or relationships of other extended and non-family members. For example, the Latino-American community value of familism, the strong ties to immediate and extended family members, has been found to be protective of their well-being (Parsai, Voisine, Marsiglia, Kulis, & Nieri, 2009). Similarly, the African-American community value of kinship networks, the adaptable and flexible response by extended and non-family members to elevated need brought on by times of social and economic positions has been found to be a protective factor of their well-being (Ashcraft & Belgrave, 2005). The unique consideration of family processes among these racial/ethnic minority groups is centered around a communality of cultural marginalization that contribute to their ability to navigate the sometimes conflicting demands of their culture and dominant white culture, as well as, their heterosexual and gender expected norms. Therefore, we present these key characteristics of Latino- and Black-American family structure to highlight the complexity of family configurations and arrangement that are ethnically and racially unique to our study sample.

In extension, previous research established that youth/emerging adults also encounter intersectional experiences of simultaneous impact of being a double minority, by being a racial/ethnic minority and a sexual minority (Johnson & Keren, 1998 p. 322), contributing to further marginalization from society and family and psychological risk. Additionally, research showed that lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals as a minority culture are stigmatized, misunderstood, and oppressed to perhaps a greater extent than racial/ethnic minorities (Canino & Spurlock, 2000; Mallon, 2005). Also, LGB individuals who do not usually share the sexual orientation status of the rest of their families can experience difficult conflicts within the family of origin, with some cases leading to family rejection once a social orientation disclosure is made (Hershberger & D'Augelli, 2000). Thus, unique to our study sample is the shared dynamics of experiencing an intersectional identity that couples cultural influences with the process of coming out (disclosing an LGB identity) or not to parents. The decision of whether or not to come out to parents is complex and stressful for many LGB youth/emerging adults, however, further research found that racial minority adolescents may experience more stress and anxiety over coming out with a sexual minority identification than Caucasian youth (Mallon, 2005). Earlier findings suggest that parental understanding and

acceptance is the strongest predictor of favorable adjustment for an LGB child (Savin-Williams, 2003). In light of parental support, for racial/ethnic minorities who also identify as a sexual minority, their unique social position and cultural ties may serve a particular protective role. Understanding these processes and relationships are particularly important for racial/ethnic and sexual minority youth/emerging adults as powerful assets in adjusting to coming out.

Research, policy and practice stand to gain much from positive psychology perspectives that address family processes in a variety of contexts. This chapter highlights the contemporary complexities associated with youth and emerging adult development from the unique ethnic/racial and sexuality marginalized intersectional experience. Accordingly, our main goal is to address from a cross-culturalpositive psychology perspective whether in the present data set, there was evidence for the theoretical expectation that strength-based developmental assets of Positive Youth Development (PYD) in the form of Connection (see Lerner, 2005) was positively related to specific racial/ethnic considerations of successful adjustment (e.g., extended family availability and supportiveness) and negatively related to adolescent risk and problem behaviors (e.g., losing one's family/family rejection, betraying the ethnic group, losing one's ethnic identity) particularly among ethnic/racial minority and LGB identified youth who are engaged in the identity development process of coming out. Therefore, our driving research question is centered on the role of extended family networks, whether extended family members impact positive adjustment among racial/ethnic minority youth/emerging adults to negative parental reaction to coming out.

We highlight the role of extended family members as important PYD assets with implications for successful adjustment and positive well-being for ethnic/racial marginalized youth experiencing intersectional identities. As such, this knowledge of PYD in cross-cultural and cross-national contexts may help to establish the contributing role of extended family members in community-based youth development (YD) programs, as such programs are regarded as a key resource in the ecology of youth (Benson, 2006), purportedly linked to PYD (Roth & Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Scales, Benson, Leffert, & Blyth, 2000). Thus, we draw upon the applicability of the following frameworks to youth and emerging adults that may inform interventions centered on well-being outcomes that are intersectorial, multilevel, and multicomponent.

Theoretical Perspectives

Positive Youth Development (PYD) There are about 1.8 billion youth globally, the largest youth population ever, and more than half of the global population is urban (Mabaso, Erogbogbo, & Toure, 2016). A deficit perspective would focus on the rise of young people's experiences in inequalities based on diverse social order experiences with intersectional ethnic/racial minority and LGBTQ individuals disproportionately experiencing systematic oppression and vulnerability. For a long period of

time, this deficit perspective has dominated research and practice concerning youth and adolescents, and young people's weaknesses or what they lack rather than what they have, has been the main focus (Damon, 2004; Lerner, 2005). In contrast, a strengths-based perspective has concentrated on inherent personal strengths and is respectful toward and empowering for those oppressed and vulnerable (Benson, Scales, Hamilton, & Sesma, 2006; Damon, 2004; Lerner, 1982).

The evolving strengths-based perspective in research and practice is toward a person-centered approach. Central to the person-centered approach is the key assumption that individuals have within themselves vast resources for self-understanding, for altering the self-concept, basic attitudes, or his/her self-directed behavior, and that relationships foster growth promoting climates (Rogers, 1979). PYD principles emphasize a person-centered approach, resulting from positive experiences + positive relationships + positive environments, that considers individual assets (e.g., Connection) as protective factors promoting healthy social integration and well-being in a young person's environment. Here, we specifically consider Connection, which refers to membership and belonging (i.e., being a participating member of a community, being involved in a lasting relationship with another person) and also having a sense of safety and structure (i.e., being provided with adequate food, shelter, and a sense of security, including protection from injury and loss; Lerner, 2005).

Intersectionality Applications of intersectionality as a theoretical perspective can guide data interpretation and methodological considerations. Centered on feminist and social justice principles, it compels us to examine the process by which individuals negotiate competing and harmonious social identities, as well as the fluidity, variability, and temporality of interactive processes that occur between and within multiple social groups, institutions, and social practices (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Few-Demo, 2014; Hancock, 2007). In feminist research on the intersection between ethnic/racial and lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) identities, theorists have generally discussed inequalities in terms of how youth deviate from patriarchal and heteronormative social norms (Ferguson, 2004). Cohen (2005) calls for research beyond this dualistic view, allowing operations from the unique perspective of racial/ethnic minority youth. For the field of cross-cultural psychology, intersectionality addresses the combination of strengths and challenges of living with stigmatizing identities and family processes, with the goal of developing successful youth adjustment.

Thus, based on the family and cultural-based influences unique to racial/ethnic and sexual minorities, our study is framed in the intersectionality perspective and PYD principles that converge to address the strengths of youth living with stigmatized identities, toward research and practice with global implications for positive youth social integration and well-being. Our study investigates the following questions:

1. Are negative parental reactions to coming out associated with adjustment problems for LGB youth/emerging adults?
2. Do supportive extended family ameliorate this association?

3. Is this moderation the same for Latino-, African-American, and White youth/emerging adults?

Drawing upon Lerner's 6 C's of Positive Youth Development, we adapt Connection and apply familism and extended kinship support to explicate exchanges between the individual and their family in which both parties influence positive youth development and promote successful adjustment.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 528 LGB-identified youth ages 15–19 from three sites in a major metropolitan area who completed self-assessments and a structured interview with a masters-level clinician. A complete description of study procedures and participant demographics are found in D'Augelli and Grossman (2006). Youth who were Native American ($n = 7$) and Asian/Pacific Islander ($n = 17$) were dropped because of low frequency. Reductions due to the absence of parents, detailed below, resulted in a final sample of 499 youth/emerging adults.

Measures

Identifying Parents We use a broad definition of "parent" determined by youth's answer to the question, "Who raised you?" Specifically, if youth reported having a mother (biological, adoptive, step or foster) who raised them, she was considered to be "mother." If no mother was present, but a grandmother was present, she was considered to be the "mother." If the youth reported someone other than their biological parents raised them, they were asked about their biological parents as well, so if no mother or grandmother raised the youth, but information on a living biological mother was reported, she was considered to be the "mother" ($n = 12$ youth who have no other mother figure than living biological mothers who did not raise them). Similar logic follows for "father" ($n = 163$ youth who have no other father figure than living biological fathers who did not raise them). One White and one Black youth reported no mother or father figure and no biological parent known to be living and were dropped from analyses.

Parental Knowledge of Youth's Sexual Orientation Youth responded to the question "Does [person's name] know that you are LGBT?" with the response options of 1 (*definitely*), 2 (*probably*), 3 (*probably not*), and 4 (*definitely not*).

Parental Reactions to Youth's Sexual Orientation Youth whose parents were "probably" or "definitely" aware of their sexual orientation reported their parents'

current reactions to their sexual orientations on a scale from 1 (*very positive*) to 4 (*very negative*) with an additional indicator for "no reaction." If youth reported "no reaction," then they reported what they thought their parent was feeling. Youth whose parents "probably" or "definitely" did not know about their sexual orientation were asked what their parents' reactions would be if they found out on a scale from 1 (*very positive*) to 4 (*very negative*) with an additional indicator for "no reaction." As with actual reactions, youth who thought their parents would have no reaction were asked what they thought the parent would be feeling. Final indicators for mothers and fathers, separately, were calculated combining parents' current or anticipated reactions into one variable.

Extended Family Extended family members were identified in two ways: (1) after being asked about parents and siblings, youth were asked to name up to four other family members who were "very important" to them and (2) for youth who had two family members of the same sex who raised them (e.g., mother and grandmother), the non-immediate or non-biological family member was considered an extended family member. Youth reported extended family members' knowledge of and reaction their sexual orientation in an identical fashion as parental reports. Mean responses for reactions were used in analyses.

Close Friends Following questions about extended family members, youth were asked about similar questions about up to four friends who were "very important" to them. These friends' knowledge of and reactions to the youth's sexual orientation were asked identically to parents and extended family members. Mean reaction responses were used.

Adjustment Youth completed the Youth Self-Report (YSR), and internalizing, externalizing, and total problem behaviors were used as adjustment indicators in this investigation (Achenbach, 1991).

Results

Descriptive Analyses

Identifying Parents White youth were less likely than other youth to have no father figure, $\chi^2(2) = 9.47$, $p < .01$; no racial/ethnic differences were found in having a mother figure, $\chi^2(2) = 0.78$, $p = .68$. Frequencies are shown in Table 1.

Parental Knowledge of Youth's Sexual Orientation There were significant differences between races/ethnicities in parental knowledge of sexual orientation (maternal knowledge: $\chi^2(6) = 24.69$, $p < .001$; paternal knowledge: $\chi^2(6) = 15.36$, $p < .02$) with White youth being more likely to have parents who definitely know than Black or Latino youth and with Latino youth having a disproportionate amount of mothers who definitely did not know. See Table 2 for frequencies of parental knowledge by race/ethnicity.

Table 1 Parental presence and absence by race/ethnicity

	Latino	Black	White
Mother figure	200	162	135
No mother	1	1	0
Father figure	162	135	125
No father	39	28	10
Total	201	163	135

Table 2 Parental knowledge of youth's sexual orientation by race/ethnicity

		Latino	Black	White
Mother knows	Definitely	130	92	93
	Probably	4	20	6
	Probably not	11	17	11
	Definitely not	54	32	25
Father knows	Definitely	67	45	58
	Probably	5	8	14
	Probably not	8	8	8
	Definitely not	74	60	37

Table 3 Parental reaction to youth's sexual orientation by race/ethnicity

			Latino	Black	White
Current	Mother reaction	Very positive	41	32	31
		Positive	53	45	45
		Negative	25	20	15
		Very negative	13	7	2
	Father reaction	Very positive	16	8	14
		Positive	29	26	23
		Negative	14	7	20
		Very negative	10	7	5
Anticipated	Mother reaction	Very positive	2	4	1
		Positive	18	16	17
		Negative	23	10	10
		Very negative	20	18	6
	Father reaction	Very positive	0	1	1
		Positive	15	12	9
		Negative	23	18	15
		Very negative	38	31	17

Parental Reactions Frequencies by race/ethnicity for current and expected parental reactions to sexual orientation are shown in Table 3. There were no racial/ethnic differences in parental reactions: maternal reaction: $\chi^2(6) = 6.13$, $p = .41$; paternal reaction: $\chi^2(6) = 7.92$, $p = .24$. There were no racial/ethnic differences in expected parental reactions when four levels of reactions were used (expected maternal reac-

tion: $\chi^2(6) = 9.70$, $p = .14$; expected paternal reaction: $\chi^2(6) = 2.65$, $p = .85$) or when responses were recoded to either positive or negative (expected maternal reaction: $\chi^2(2) = 4.22$, $p = .12$; expected paternal reaction: $\chi^2(2) = .27$, $p = .87$).

Extended Family There were no racial/ethnic differences in the number of important extended family members reported, $F(2, 496) = .39$, $p = .68$. See Fig. 1 for frequencies by race/ethnicity. There were no racial/ethnic differences in extended family members' awareness of the youth's sexual orientation, $F(2, 318) = 2.23$, $p = .11$. There were no racial/ethnic differences in extended family member reactions, $F(2, 254) = .47$, $p = .63$. See Fig. 2 for a histogram of mean extended family member reactions by race/ethnicity. Due to non-normality, an inverse of this variable was used in analyses.

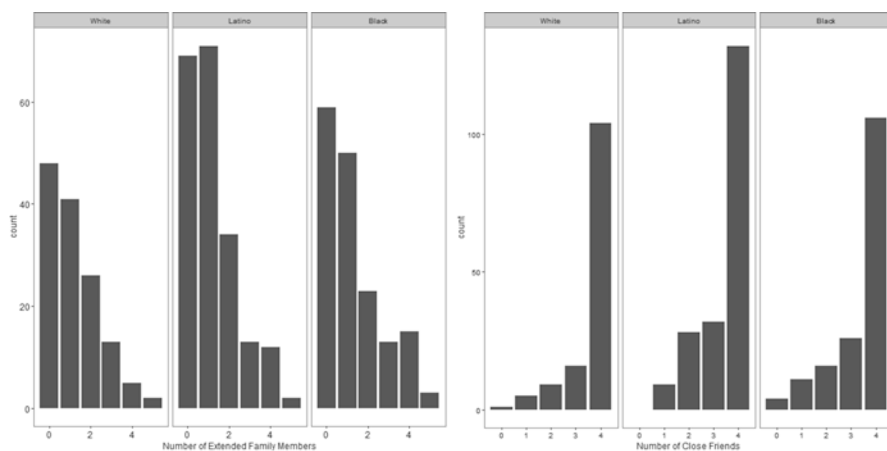

Fig. 1 Number of extended family members and close friends by race/ethnicity

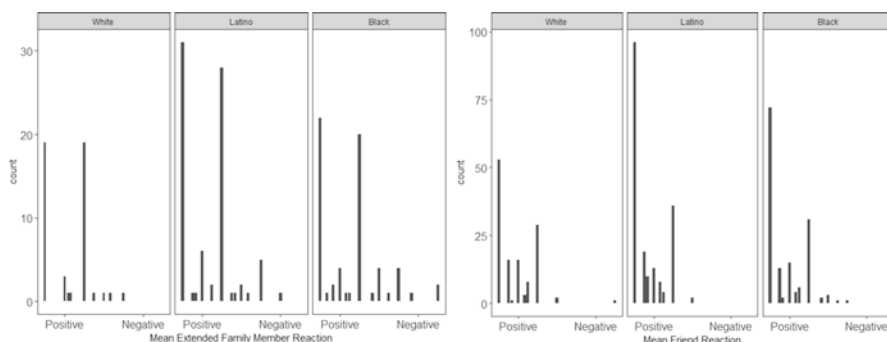

Fig. 2 Mean extended family member and close friends' reactions to youth's sexual orientation by race/ethnicity

Friends There were no racial/ethnic differences in the reported number of important friends, $F(2, 496) = 3.02$, $p = .05$. See Fig. 1 for frequencies by race/ethnicity. There were no racial/ethnic differences in friends' awareness of the youth's sexual orientation, $F(2, 491) = .63$, $p = .53$. There were no racial/ethnic differences in friends' reactions, $F(2, 464) = 2.13$, $p = .12$. See Fig. 2 for a histogram of mean friends' reactions by race/ethnicity. Due to non-normality, an inverse of this variable was used in analyses.

Adjustment The sample was highly skewed to the left in comparison to the national normative values for the YSR (median percentiles: internalizing = 81; externalizing = 79; total = 81). Because the focus of this investigation was within-sample differences in adjustment, t-scores, which were normally distributed within the sample, for each scale were used rather than percentiles.

Internalizing Problems The internalizing problems t-scores were normally distributed amongst participants, $M = 57.97$, $SD = 10.2$, and significant racial/ethnic differences in scores were found, $F(2495) = 3.67$, $p < .03$. Follow-up analyses using Tukey's HSD found significant differences between Black ($M = 56.28$, $SD = 9.82$) and White ($M = 59.33$, $SD = 10.63$) participants (95% CI of M difference [−5.83, −0.27]), but neither Black nor White youth significantly differed from Latinos ($M = 58.43$, $SD = 10.08$; 95% CIs of M difference: [−.37, 4.66], and [−3.57, 1.75], respectively).

Externalizing Problems The externalizing problems total scores were normally distributed amongst participants, $M = 58.43$, $SD = 8.87$, and no racial/ethnic differences in scores were found, $F(2495) = 1.20$, $p = .30$.

Total Problem Behaviors The total problem behaviors total scores were normally distributed amongst participants, $M = 58.41$, $SD = 9.78$, and significant racial/ethnic differences in scores were found, $F(2495) = 4.36$, $p < .01$. Follow-up analyses using Tukey's HSD found significant differences between Black ($M = 56.75$, $SD = 9.32$) and White ($M = 60.04$, $SD = 10.28$) participants (95% CI of M difference [−5.95, −0.64]), but neither Black nor White youth significantly differed from Latinos ($M = 58.66$, $SD = 9.62$; 95% CIs: [−0.50, 4.32], and [−3.93, 1.16], respectively).

Regression Analyses

We conducted a series of regressions predicting internalizing, externalizing and total problem behaviors using (1) maternal or paternal reactions, (2) extended family or friend reactions, and (3) race and ethnicity to answer our three main questions.

First, we found in this study that negative maternal reactions predicted internalizing behaviors and negative paternal reactions predicted total problem behaviors, shown as Models 1 in Tables 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. When extended family and friends' reactions were added, in Models 2 and 4 in Tables 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, significant

Table 4 Regressions predicting internalizing problem behaviors using maternal reactions by race/ethnicity and extended family and close friends' reactions

Parameter	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Intercept	55.49	(1.18)	62.78	(5.59)	69.06	(12.46)	65.60	(4.89)	78.17	(9.29)
1. Maternal reaction	1.12*	(0.48)	−0.62	(2.24)	−4.16	(6.21)	−12.40*	(5.75)	−9.79*	(3.90)
2. Mean family/ or friend reactions			−10.46	(7.40)	−11.69	(16.17)	−2.63	(1.90)	−23.04*	(11.39)
1 × 2			3.09	(3.09)	6.81	(8.28)	4.68*	(2.29)	12.39*	(5.08)
3a. Latino vs. white					−4.75	(15.01)			−11.55	(12.43)
3b. Black vs. white					−7.44	(15.92)			−18.37	(12.25)
1 × 3a					3.79	(6.92)			8.38	(4.92)
1 × 3b					3.41	(7.38)			8.99	(5.05)
2 × 3a					2.06	(19.47)			10.82	(14.83)
2 × 3b					−10.39	(21.06)			11.13	(14.81)
1 × 2 × 3a					−5.63	(9.29)			−9.58	(6.18)
1 × 2 × 3b					0.93	(9.95)			−8.10	(6.37)
r^2	0.01		0.04		0.12		0.02		0.07	
F	5.45		2.24		2.26		3.41		2.85	
Df	1471		3183		11,175		3444		11,436	

Model 1 includes only maternal reactions, models 2 and 3 include maternal and extended family reactions, and Models 4 and 5 include maternal and close friends' reactions. $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

Table 5 Regressions predicting externalizing problem behaviors using maternal reactions by race/ethnicity and extended family and close friends' reactions

Parameter	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Intercept	57.61	(1.03)	57.64	(4.58)	63.81	(10.59)	68.72	(4.21)	80.54	(8.09)
1. Maternal reaction	0.35	(−0.42)	1.06	(1.84)	−1.60	(5.28)	−3.03	(1.64)	−9.40**	(3.39)
2. Mean family/or friend reactions			−2.86	(6.07)	−6.63	(13.74)	−13.20**	(4.96)	−25.10	(9.92)
1 × 2			0.64	(2.54)	3.41	(7.04)	3.93	(1.97)	11.25*	(4.42)
3a. Latino vs. white					−6.89	(12.75)			−17.62	(10.83)
3b. Black vs. white					−9.68	(13.53)			−13.64*	(10.67)
1 × 3a					2.86	(5.88)			8.56	(4.28)
1 × 3b					3.88	(6.27)			8.06	(4.40)
2 × 3a					2.00	(16.54)			18.24	(12.92)
2 × 3b					7.60	(17.89)			11.68	(12.90)
1 × 2 × 3a					−2.22	(7.90)			−9.65	(5.38)
1 × 2 × 3b					−4.47	(8.45)			−8.84	(5.55)
r^2	0.00		0.03		0.06		0.02		0.04	
F	0.71		2.01		0.98		2.95		1.75	
Df	1471		3183		11,175		3444		11,436	

Model 1 includes only maternal reactions, models 2 and 3 include maternal and extended family reactions, and Models 4 and 5 include maternal and close friends' reactions. $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $+p < 0.1$

Table 6 Regressions predicting total problem behaviors using maternal reactions by race/ethnicity and extended family and close friends' reactions

Parameter	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Intercept	56.67	(1.13)	59.04	(5.25)	71.76	(11.85)	67.87	(4.65)	86.71	(8.79)
1. Maternal reaction	0.78	(0.46)	0.53	(2.11)	−5.32	(5.91)	−3.03	(1.81)	−12.16**	(3.69)
2. Mean family/or friend reactions			−4.63	(6.95)	−16.45	(15.38)	−13.62*	(5.46)	−31.99**	(10.77)
1 × 2			1.41	(2.90)	9.32	(7.88)	4.64*	(2.17)	14.93**	(4.80)
3a. Latino vs. white					−12.24	(14.28)			−21.93	(11.76)
3b. Black vs. white					−20.85	(15.14)			−26.55*	(11.59)
1 × 3a					5.85	(6.59)			11.13*	(4.65)
1 × 3b					8.76	(7.02)			12.06*	(4.78)
2 × 3a					11.59	(18.52)			23.22	(14.03)
2 × 3b					14.62	(20.03)			21.07	(14.02)
1 × 2 × 3a					−8.66	(8.84)			−13.03*	(5.85)
1 ×2 ×3b					−9.22	(9.46)			−12.00*	(6.02)
r^2	0.01		0.03		0.09		0.02		0.07	
F	2.91		1.60		1.66		3.06		3.05	
Df	1471		3183		3444				11,436	

Model 1 includes only maternal reactions, models 2 and 3 include maternal and extended family reactions (as Parameter 2), and Models 4 and 5 include maternal and close friends' reactions (as Parameter 2). $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

Table 7 Regressions predicting internalizing problem behaviors using paternal reactions by race/ethnicity and extended family and close friends' reactions

Parameter	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Intercept	54.67	(1.56)	68.68	(7.01)	66.45	(13.07)	60.89	(6.87)	76.73	(11.95)
1. Paternal reaction	0.91	(0.53)	−3.24	(2.35)	−3.62	(4.74)	−0.83	(2.29)	−8.01*	(3.97)
2. Mean family/or friend reactions			−21.12*	(8.70)	−17.13	(16.06)	−7.68	(7.94)	−25.08	(14.04)
1 × 2			6.84*	(2.96)	8.80	(6.02)	2.21	(2.66)	11.04*	(4.84)
3a. Latino vs. white					3.24	(16.81)			−18.65	(16.66)
3b. Black vs. white					2.96	(19.32)			−28.65	(16.87)
1 × 3a					0.89	(6.02)			10.28	(5.57)
1 × 3b					0.16	(6.52)			11.01	(5.61)
2 × 3a					−7.04	(20.83)			19.68	(19.15)
2 × 3b					−6.33	(23.81)			30.91	(19.94)
1 × 2 × 3a					−2.32	(7.51)			−11.75	(6.54)
1 × 2 × 3b					−2.03	(8.41)			−13.72*	(6.77)
r^2	0.01		0.08		0.13		0.01		0.06	
F	2.93		4.00		1.83		1.56		1.96	
Df	1356		3140		11,132		3338		11,330	

Model 1 includes only maternal reactions, models 2 and 3 include paternal and extended family reactions (as Parameter 2), and Models 4 and 5 include paternal and close friends' reactions (as Parameter 2). $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

Table 8 Regressions predicting externalizing problem behaviors using paternal reactions by race/ethnicity and extended family and close friends' reactions

Parameter	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Intercept	55.87	(1.35)	59.88	(5.86)	64.83	(11.08)	69.08	(5.86)	75.01	(10.29)
1. Paternal reaction	0.75	(0.46)	−0.46	(1.96)	−2.78	(4.02)	−2.89	(1.95)	−5.91	(3.42)
2. Mean family/or friend reactions			−8.48	(7.27)	−12.28	(13.62)	−15.79*	(6.77)	−20.39	(12.09)
1 × 2			3.13	(2.47)	6.01	(5.10)	4.29	(2.27)	7.45	(4.17)
3a. Latino vs. white					−1.78	(14.25)			1.48	(14.34)
3b. Black vs. white					−17.38	(16.38)			−19.43	(14.52)
1 × 3a					1.79	(5.10)			0.43	(4.79)
1 × 3b					6.27	(5.53)			8.71	(4.83)
2 × 3a					−2.21	(17.66)			−4.35	(16.49)
2 × 3b					18.52	(20.19)			18.24	(17.18)
1 × 2 × 3a					−1.58	(6.37)			0.17	(5.63)
1 × 2 × 3b					−8.23	(7.13)			−9.67	(5.83)
r^2	0.01		0.06		0.10		0.03		0.06	
F	2.64		3.24		1.26		3.05		1.78	
Df	1356		3140		11,132		3338		11,330	

Model 1 includes only maternal reactions, models 2 and 3 include paternal and extended family reactions (as Parameter 2), and Models 4 and 5 include paternal and close friends' reactions (as Parameter 2). $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

Table 9 Regressions predicting total problem behaviors using paternal reactions by race/ethnicity and extended family and close friends' reactions

Parameter	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
Intercept	54.79	(1.48)	62.98	(6.64)	66.77	(12.35)	66.75	(6.46)	81.32	(11.25)
1. Paternal reaction	1.09*	(0.50)	−1.45	(2.22)	−2.88	(4.48)	−2.24	(2.15)	−8.49*	(3.74)
2. Mean family/or friend reactions			−14.12	(8.23)	−18.26	(15.18)	−14.36	(7.47)	−30.22*	(13.21)
1 × 2			4.98	(2.80)	8.44	(5.68)	3.99	(2.51)	11.86*	(4.56)
3a. Latino vs. white					−2.58	(15.88)			−9.39	(15.68)
3b. Black vs. white					−11.16	(18.26)			−33.34*	(15.87)
1 × 3a					1.31	(5.69)			5.78	(5.24)
1 × 3b					3.90	(6.16)			12.35*	(5.28)
2 × 3a					0.10	(19.69)			9.71	(18.02)
2 × 3b					14.63	(22.50)			35.48	(18.77)
1 × 2 × 3a					−2.80	(7.10)			−7.05	(6.15)
1 × 2 × 3b					−7.94	(7.95)			−15.10*	(6.37)
r^2	0.01		0.08		0.14		0.03		0.07	
F	4.68		4.21		1.94		3.10		2.36	
Df	1356		3140		11,132		3338		11,330	

Model 1 includes only maternal reactions, models 2 and 3 include paternal and extended family reactions (as Parameter 2), and Models 4 and 5 include paternal and close friends' reactions (as parameter 2). $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.1$

interactions were found wherein positive maternal and friend reactions predicted fewer internalizing, externalizing, and total problem behaviors and positive paternal and extended family reactions predicted fewer internalizing behaviors.

Finally, there were significant three-way interactions, as shown in Tables 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, between race/ethnicity, parental reactions, and friend reactions. An unexpected pattern was found for friend reactions, internalizing and total problem behaviors and fathers' reactions and friend reactions, total problem behaviors and mothers' reactions. White youth with positive parents but negative friends had more behaviors than White youth with both parents and friends being negative. Racial/ethnic minority youth followed the expected pattern with youth with negative fathers and non-supportive friends having higher internalizing and total problem behaviors than those with more supportive fathers. White youth with supportive friends showed expected patterns with increased behaviors with parental negativity and racial/ethnic minority youth showed a moderating effect wherein parental negativity had relatively little effect when friends were highly positive.

Discussion

The current study reveals cross-cultural similarities and differences in our examination of the role of extended family networks, in whether extended family members and fictive kin impact positive adjustment among racial/ethnic minority youth. Overall, we find that extended family members and close friendships are a key developmental asset, and those connections play an important protective role in diverse families of racial/ethnic and sexual minority contexts. First, we found that Black and Latino youth with positive close friends had significantly fewer total problems than White youth as maternal negative reactions increased. Second, we found that having positive close friendships mitigates the association between negative parental reactions and problem behaviors for racial/ethnic minority youth. These findings address a significant gap in the literature on culturally diverse family processes in minority and marginalized families. For paternal reactions, however, no significant differences were found between White and Latino youth. In addition, there was an unexpected finding wherein White youth with positive fathers and negative friends reported more internalizing and total problem behaviors than White youth with negative fathers and negative friends.

Latino American Cultural Familism As one of the fastest growing populations in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014), Latinos have been historically subjected through media, political, and social ideology as an undeserving population (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguineti, 2013). When adding an LGB identity, this already vulnerable population has intersecting experiences that directly contribute to further resource inequality and lack of institutional support. For Latino Americans, connections between parent-child relationship characteristics and their extended families highlight cultural values, beliefs, and practices that emphasize

close and promotive relationships. For example, compadres, aunts, cousins, siblings, and family friends are sources of support. Thus, a cultural strengths perspective recognizes that support, loyalty and interdependence among extended family members, captured in the construct of familism, characterizes Latino family life (e.g., Baca Zinn, 1994; Cauce & Rodriguez, 2001; Marin & Marin, 1991) and that extended family relationships can be a critical asset for Latino LGB-identified youth who experience further marginalization.

From a psychological point of view, familism refers to a normed cluster of values, beliefs, and attitudes that emphasize the relevance of the family for personal and social life, the development of a feeling of duty among the members of the family group, and the belief that having children is a requirement for personal and social realization (Popenoe, 1988; Gundelach & Riis, 1994). Past research between groups of European American descent and Latino adults found that Latinos report higher values of family support and obligations to family members (Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987). In addition, research by Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam (1999) found that in comparison to European American youth, Latinos placed significantly higher value on family assistance, support, and future obligation. Furthermore, Rosario, Schrimshaw, and Hunter (2004) explain that Latino culture is characteristically familism, in which the close and extended family stick together through challenges, continuously supporting all members in spite of the normative disruptions caused by disclosures of sexual orientation. From a positive psychology perspective and in line with Rosario et al. (2004), Latino LGB-identified youths may feel comfortable with seeking out extended family members support for their sexual orientation because they know that they will not be totally abandoned.

Black American Kinship Networks Similarly, for Black Americans, connection emphasized by multigenerational, interdependent kinship systems highlights a sense of mutual aid and obligation toward relatives that extend beyond blood and geographical ties and that are concerned with the welfare of members and family maintenance. For example, the definition of family is broad and suggests that extended kin such as siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents, as well as, fictive non-relative kin members such as friends and religious community members are also sources of support. Thus, a cultural strengths perspective recognizes that the extended family network keeps families in touch with each other, maintains a sense of solidarity and provides members in time of adversity the basic necessities for survival (Martin and Martin, 1980) and that connection to others who share their particular racial/ethnic, cultural background and a sense of connectedness, are an important asset that can lead to positive psychological adjustment and wellbeing.

From a psychological point of view, the expectation of Black American family kin networks is that flexible and permeable boundaries allow continued care and support to family members. For example, Taylor (2010) found that fictive kinship social support moderated the relation between Black mother-child communication problems and adolescent internalizing (e.g., anxiety, withdrawal) and externalizing (e.g., conduct disorder) problems. Also, racial and religious communities and fictive kinships provide Black Americans with a connection to others who share their

ethno-racial background and a sense of connectedness, which in turn has been shown to lead to positive psychological well-being (Follins, Walker, & Lewis, 2014). Therefore, the concept of cultural kinship networks as related to Black American families is characterized as one of dynamic change and adaptation due to historical poverty and joblessness, high incarceration of males, high single-mother led households, and a growing older population. In line with Dilworth-Anderson (2001), the history of threats and adaptive coping to issues of status, situation, and condition has contributed to the resilient socio-demographic characteristic of Black American extended kin networks. Thus, the extended kin network is a powerful asset for youth/emerging adults through grandparent role models and less-rigid and more diverse family arrangement configurations (e.g., Families of Choice).

Furthermore, regarding cultures who may not benefit from the protective role of high familism or kinship collective/fictive networks (e.g., White-American), social and cultural ties may come in the form of parental and non-parental role models, the individual youth look up to that may contribute to adjustment and well-being. From a compensatory view, regardless of the source (e.g. family member, neighbor, school teacher), research has found an association between having adult role models and positive externalizing and internalizing outcomes. Yancey, Siegel, and McDaniel (2002) found that youth with an identifiable role model received higher grades, had higher self-esteem, and reported stronger ethnic identity than their counterparts who lacked role models. Hurd, Zimmerman and Xue (2009) found that having a role model contributed to more positive internalizing, externalizing, and school outcomes. Oman et al. (2004) found that having non-parental adult role models protected low-income, inner-city youth. In addition, challenging the notions of family beyond the household in which one lives in, emphasizes the fluidity of families over time and the flexibility of family to encompass other people not bounded by the household or geographical area from other social groups (Ribbens McCarthy, Edwards, & Gillies, 2003). Therefore, families may be constituted not so much by the individuals that form part of them, but by the evolving character of the family relationship brought on by shifts in social change.

Limitations and Next Steps

We caution the reader against generalizing our findings and discussion as representing the experiences of all Latino or Black LGB youth, but encourage the reader to consider the unique strengths and challenges that are suggested by their cultural membership. We recommend that further studies focus on the ameliorating role of parental and non-parental role models among racial/ethnic and sexual minorities with intersectional experiences, specifically with a focus on gendered experiences. Further research should apply the strengths-based perspective to ethnic/racial and LGB minority individuals; given that family rejection challenges get highlighted quite a bit for minority youth, this perspective suggests alternative areas to seek support, especially from a clinical psychology perspective. Just as family processes are

multifaceted among racial/ethnic minorities, further examination of youth with a sexual minority identification will highlight the link between both relationships and social processes and reflect how, when faced with adversity, the relationships with any positive individual (within or outside cultural group) over time can transform based on friendship, caring, concern, and commitment.

In the spirit of extending research, policy and practice in positive psychology, we recommend future studies build upon the scope and approach of the strengths-based perspective and person-centered approach that includes a paradigm shift from examining deficits of minority populations to focusing on individual assets (e.g., Connections found in Extended Family Networks). Adopting a strengths-based intersectional worldview has key implications for intervention, policy, and practice concerned with positive youth development (PYD). PYD examines how youth develop the skills and attitudes they need to take positive roles in society, now and in the future, as well as, how government and society can cultivate strategies and create safe spaces to improve the lives of young people.

Finally, as part of a broader global discourse in developmental and positive psychology, we postulate that examinations of adjustment and well-being require a post-modern paradigm shift, a lens that departs from the assumption that non-normative identity leads to pathology and victimization (Damon, 2004). This perspective is important and uniquely relevant to the marginalized co-existing ecology of racial/ethnic and non-normative identified individuals, of which the context of this example is sexual minority.

Thus, future research, policy and practice, may consider methods based on the intersectionality, person-centered, strengths-based approach as applied. For example, Grünenfelder and Schurr (2015) describe a three-step categorization approach to how we examine an individual based on basic categories, complexities of living within the cultural group, and discussions of inter- and intra-categorical complexities. Positive Youth Development (PYD) emphasizes a person-centered approach and is the result of Positive Experiences + Positive Relationships + Positive Environments. PYD in combination with intersectionality approach considers ethnic minorities themselves, their multiple identities, and their individual assets (e.g., Connection- with extended family) as promoters of healthy social integration and well-being in a young person's ecology.

Conclusion

We conclude that studies of ethnic/racial minority and LGB youth and their parents that have heretofore excluded extended family networks and fictive kin have done a disservice by adopting a deficit model rather than reflecting the complex family structures in which these youths live and are supported. Youth also encounter the simultaneous impact of being a double minority, by being an ethnic minority and a sexual minority, contributing to further marginalization. In addition, family processes do not occur in isolation, as families are primarily based on connections

involving interdependent members and interacting social contexts whose functioning may be altered by changes in the behavior or relationships of other extended and non-family members, which, for ethnic/racial and sexual minority youth/emerging adults, are powerful assets in adjusting to "coming out." Uncovering family processes that occur in one context, may serve to inform family processes that occur in another, and in cultures that demonstrate similar child-parent and extended family relational characteristics. Although there is little research on the unique experiences of racial/ethnic minority and sexual minority parental experiences with coming out, this study hopes to increase knowledge of the complexities of each identity and bring more awareness to the unique experiences that such differences among cultural groups that can inform extension and intervention/prevention policy and practice.

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Positive Affect and School Related Outcomes: Feeling Good Facilitates School Engagement Among Turkish-Bulgarian Minority Adolescents

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Abstract Fredrickson's (Rev Gen Psychol 2:300–319, 1998, Am Psychol 56:218–226, 2001) Broaden and Build Theory (BBT) proposes that experiencing positive affect results in broadened thoughts and behaviors, which facilitate adaptive responses to various environmental conditions. The present chapter tests the applicability of this theory for school engagement in an acculturation context and examines whether or to what extent positive affect also facilitates school engagement for 201 Turkish-Bulgarian adolescents (59% male) aged 14–19 years. Results showed that experiencing positive affect was positively related to school engagement among Turkish-Bulgarian youth, and thereby provide support for the applicability of Fredrickson's theory in an acculturation context. Findings highlight the role of positive affect for school engagement and can be used to facilitate the adaptation process of youth by promoting the creation of environments in which the experience of positive affect is fostered.

Psychologists have long been interested in studying factors that promote school engagement among youth. While factors such as achievement motivation, self-efficacy and attributional processes have been extensively studied in the past years (e.g., Skinner, Wellborn, & Connell, 1990; Wang & Eccles, 2013), recent research

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focused on the facilitative and catalytic effects of positive affect. Building on Fredrickson's (1998, 2001) broaden and build theory (BBT), it has been proposed that experiencing positive affect results in thoughts and behaviors, which facilitate adaptive responses to various environmental conditions. In the academic setting, applicability of the theory has been supported by work showing that experiencing positive affect increased students' academic engagement (King, McInerney, Ganotice, & Villarosa, 2015; Reschly, Huebner, Appleton, & Antaramian, 2008). However, a test of positive affects' influence on minority youths' school engagement who are exposed to unique and comparably more difficult environmental conditions than mainstream youth, has not been conducted so far.

The present chapter fills this gap by examining the influence of positive affect on school engagement among Turkish-Bulgarian youth. Turkish immigration to Bulgaria started generations ago (Petkova, 2002) accompanied by severe assimilation campaigns such as enforcing Bulgarian names (Dimitrov, 2000). Even today, Turks in Bulgaria represent a stigmatized group; they are confronted with prejudice and experience persistent discrimination (Petkova, 2002). Hence, Turkish-Bulgarian youth are exposed to an unsupportive context for cultural diversity and minority rights. It has also been documented that the Turkish young generation has lower job and education prospects compared to the majority population. For instance, generally low education levels (e.g., secondary and high school) and high unemployment rate with up to 98% in some rural areas characterize this minority (Maeva, 2005). The present study examines whether or to what extent positive affect facilitates school engagement in such "severe" setting, when adaptive responses are even more crucial.

The Broaden and Build Theory

For years, it has been thought that positive emotions are the signals or indicators of health and well-being, implying that positive affect represents the outcome of desirable conditions or circumstances (e.g. Diener, 2000; Kahneman, 1999). However, Fredrickson (2001) stated that these emotions also *generate* health and well-being. By taking such an approach, she proposed the Broaden and Build Theory (BBT) which states that positive emotions such as joy, interest, contentment and love seem to broaden individuals' momentary thought-action repertoires and thereby promote the establishment of sustained personal resources (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001, 2004). In other words, positive emotions extend people's scopes of attention, cognition, and action, and construct their physical, intellectual, and social resources. Propositions of this theory have been tested in various studies, and results were found to be supportive of the BBT: Positive emotions extend people's attention and cognitive abilities (Fredrickson & Branigan, 2005; Isen, 2000), undo lingering negative emotional stimulation (Fredrickson & Levenson, 1998; Fredrickson, Mancuso, Branigan, & Tugade, 2000), fuel psychological resiliency (Fredrickson, 2000), build enduring personal resources (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002), and stimulate upward spirals for future well-being (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002; (Fredrickson, 2004).

Relatedly, Lyubomirsky, King, and Diener (2005) extensively reviewed the literature on positive emotions and concluded that there is obviously a link between positive emotions and socially valued successful outcomes such as health, marriage, income, and so on. Notably, and in line with the BBT, the authors also stated that it seems likely that positive emotions cause later success (rather than success, health and marriage leading to positive affect).

While the premises of the BBT and the beneficial role of positive affect on cognitive, health-related, and attentive processes have been widely tested and corroborated (e.g. Fredrickson, 2001; Fredrickson & Branigan, 2005; Isen, 2000), a number of studies, mainly US and Western-Europe based, conducted on the BBT in school context, focusing on positive emotions and school outcomes, seems rather limited. One of these few studies is the research by Pekrun, Elliot and Maier (2009), which suggests that positive achievement emotions promote students' success on an important exam. More specifically, the authors showed that hope and pride are positive predictors of academic performance among undergraduate students. Similarly, Pekrun, Goetz, Titz, and Perry (2002)) found that positive emotions predict higher school achievement. We build on this prior work to extend the study of positive emotions among hardly investigated cultural and adolescent sample from Eastern Europe.

Positive Affect in the School Context: School Engagement

A crucial and influential concept in the school context is school engagement. School engagement has been proposed to be a multidimensional construct, consisting of behavioral, emotional and cognitive components (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004). Behavioral engagement includes attendance, assignment completion, school achievement, and active participation in class activities. Emotional engagement comprises positive or negative reactions to teachers, school friends, and school. Finally, cognitive engagement includes future aspirations, relevance of, and interest in courses, and willingness to exert the required effort (Christenson et al., 2008; Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004). In terms of antecedents of school engagement, research findings indicate that a smaller school size (Finn & Voelkl, 1993), a communal structure within the school setting (i.e., shared responsibility and participation in decision making processes) (Lee & Smith, 1995), higher support from teachers (Marks, 2000) and peers (Kindermann, 1993), a positive classroom climate, and task characteristics that allow to satisfy the needs for relatedness, autonomy and competence (Fredricks et al., 2004) positively influence school engagement.

The study (and promotion) of school engagement has a wide coverage within the school setting and is both of scientific and practical relevance. Most importantly, school engagement has been found to be significantly related with numerous academic and socio-emotional outcomes (e.g., Bond et al., 2007; Finn & Rock, 1997; Fredricks et al., 2004). For instance, research by Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie, and Gonyea (2008) demonstrates that university students, who report higher levels of school engagement in previous school, also achieve higher course grades and show

higher levels of persistence to the second year of college. Furthermore, school engagement is considered as a primary asset for students to prevent school dropout and to promote the completion of the educational track (Christenson et al., 2008). This is relevant issue in the context of the study reported here, given the generally low education prospects and school drop out of Turkish minority youth in Bulgaria (Maeva, 2005). Yet, research on school engagement, especially on the link between positive affect and school engagement, is relatively limited. An exception is the research by Reschly et al. (2008). The authors utilized the BBT and examined the link between positive emotions and school engagement. Their findings are in line with the BBT and show that the frequency of experiencing positive affect was positively related with students' levels of school engagement. Research by Steele and Fullagar (2009) further supported the BBT and offered it as a possible explanation for the positive relationship that they found between school engagement and student's well-being, especially physical well-being. Also, the cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental studies conducted by King et al. (2015), dependably supported the notion that positive affect predicts school engagement of students.

Challenges of Minority Youth in the School Context

The overall evidence suggests that the BBT offers a sound perspective for examining and promoting students' school engagement which in turn, seems to promote positive school related outcomes (e.g., Connell, Spencer, & Aber, 1994; Kuh et al., 2008; Marks, 2000) and prevent negative outcomes such as school dropout (Fredricks et al., 2004). Yet, the effects of positive emotions on minority youths' school engagement who are – compared to their mainstream peers – at higher risk to dropout from school (Steinberg, Blinde, & Chan, 1984), more likely to have disadvantaged peer social capital and to get lower school grades (Ream & Rumberger, 2008), more frequently experience difficulties in the school context (Borman & Rachuba, 2001), more often confronted with discrimination (Ruck & Wortley, 2002) and more likely to suffer from lower academic self-efficacy and exposed to less conducive school environments (Borman & Overman, 2004) have not been examined so far.

As outlined above, ethnic minority youth are exposed to disadvantaged and problematic conditions within the school context. While these issues (i.e., minority youths' deficits and disadvantages) have been ranked high in the agenda of psychological studies, there is scarce research that focused on minority youth's potentials and their resources that could help them to face, buffer and overcome their disadvantageous starting point. The study of positive affect's influence on school engagement among minority youth therefore seems to be an urgent need that has to be addressed by scientists and practitioners. Taking a positive psychology perspective and focusing on the positive resources of such disadvantaged samples offers important implications for enhancing adolescents' engagement in school and for promoting their overall adaptation in the school environment. The present research

aims to address this gap and will be the first to test the premises of the BBT in a sample of Turkish-Bulgarian minority youth.

Turkish Minority in Bulgaria

Turks in Bulgaria represent the largest ethnic minority group in the country, constituting almost 10% of Bulgaria's seven million total population, with a different culture, language, and religion than the mainstream Bulgarians (National Statistics Institute, 2004). Most of the Bulgaria's ethnically Turkish inhabitants are Muslim, while Christian Orthodoxy is the country's official religion (Eminov, 2007). Turkish migration to Bulgaria started centuries ago (Petkova, 2002) and was accompanied by severe assimilation policies, such as renaming campaigns in the late 1980s in which almost one million Turkish people were forced to change their names (Dimitrov, 2000). Even though the situation today has improved, and Turks nowadays represent a recognized ethnic minority group, Turkish-Bulgarians are still a strongly stigmatized and disadvantaged group. The Turkish-Bulgarian community is still confronted with prejudice, persistent discrimination (Petkova, 2002), and inhabits disadvantaged areas of the country with high unemployment rates, a poor infrastructure, and low educational and professional opportunities (Maeva, 2005). For these peculiar socio-cultural and historical features, this group is of particular relevance to study as to advance new knowledge on how to promote success in the new generation of youth and young adults.

The Present Chapter

The present research is the first to test Fredrickson's (1998, 2001) Broaden and Build Theory (BBT) with a sample of ethnic minority youth. More specifically, we examine whether and to what extent the experience of positive affect can promote school engagement among Turkish-Bulgarian minority youth who are faced with more challenging conditions compared to their mainstream peers in terms of school adaptation (Dimitrova, 2014). Assuming the applicability of Fredrickson's theory and building on previous research that highlights the catalytic and facilitative effects of positive affect in the school context (e.g., King et al., 2015; Reschly et al., 2008), we propose that positive affect will equally enhance school engagement among Turkish-Bulgarian youth. In doing so, we take a positive psychology perspective and draw attention to the catalytic effects of positive affect that will create opportunity for discovering minority youth's potential and for promoting their academic adjustment, even in an extremely unsupportive immigration context. Hence, findings from the present study might also be applied to other minority groups and could be used to facilitate their adaptation process by promoting the creation of environments in which the experience of positive affect is fostered.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Our sample consisted of 201 Turkish-Bulgarian adolescents (59% male), aged between 14 and 19 years, with a mean age of M_{age} = 16.5 years (SD = 1.23). The majority of these adolescents and their parents were born in Bulgaria (at least 96%). Participants were recruited from Krumovrgad, Kardjali and Haskovo, which are Bulgarian towns with high number of Turkish-Bulgarian inhabitants. These are all middle size towns close to the Bulgarian border with Turkey. Recruitment took place in schools during class hours with the help of bilingual research assistants. Informed consent was acquired from local authorities and school officials and paper pencil questionnaires were distributed during regular class hours. All schools had very high presence of Turkish-Bulgarian students (up to 99%) and the response rate was very high (98%) due to long term collaboration with the research team. Adolescents were informed about the purpose of the study and the fact that participation is voluntary. All participants were compensated with a small gift in return for their participation.

Measures

All measures that are used in the present study were translated from English into Bulgarian by bilingual research assistants following the guidelines of linguistic equivalence (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The questionnaire was only presented in Bulgarian, since Turkish-Bulgarian youth exclusively acquire literacy skills in Bulgarian (Rudin & Eminov, 1993).

Demographic Characteristics Participants were asked to report their age, gender, own and their parents' country of birth. Additionally, adolescents were asked to indicate their mothers' and fathers' highest level of education on a scale ranging from 1 = *no education,* 2 = *primary school education,* 3 = *secondary school education,* 4 = *high school education,* 5 = *university degree*, to 6 = *MA or PhD degree*.

Positive Affect Adolescents' positive affect was assessed by using the Positive Affective Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Adolescents were asked to indicate the extent to which they experience ten different descriptors of positive affect (e.g., "strong", "proud") rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. The mean score of all ten items was employed as an indicator of positive affect. The internal consistency was high with Cronbach's α = .87.

School Engagement . Participants' school engagement was measured with the School Engagement Inventory (Salmela-Aro & Upadaya, 2012) that consists of

nine items. Sample items are "My schoolwork inspires me" or "I feel like going to school when I get up in the morning". All items were presented on a scale between zero and six, with 0 = *never,* 1 = *a couple of times a year,* 2 = *once a month,* 3 = *a couple of times a month,* 4 = *once a weak,* 5 = *a couple of times a week* and 6 = *daily.* The mean score of all nine items was utilized as an indicator of school engagement. The internal consistency was high with Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Exploration of the descriptive statistics revealed a mean score of $M = 3.37$ ($SD = .67$) for positive affect and $M = 3.64$ ($SD = 1.17$) for school engagement, indicating that in both cases, scores that are slightly above the scale means were reached. In terms of parental education, descriptive statistics indicate that adolescents' mothers and fathers held a medium level education, with scores between secondary school and high school education for mothers M=3.58 ($SD = .90$), and for fathers $M = 3.64$ ($SD = .84$). Bivariate correlations between socio-demographic variables, positive affect and school engagement revealed that age was negatively related with positive affect, and that both maternal and paternal education was positively related with positive affect and school engagement. Adolescents' gender was neither related to positive affect nor to school engagement (see Table 1). Hence, when testing the relationship between positive affect and school engagement, effects of adolescents' age and parental education have been controlled for.

Hypothesis Testing

We employed hierarchical linear regression to examine whether positive affect predicts Turkish-Bulgarian youths' school engagement. In the first step, adolescents' age and the educational level of both mothers and fathers were entered as predictors of school engagement to the regression model, in the second step, positive affect was added. Results of the hierarchical regression analysis show that the model involving positive affect is significant, $F(4, 186) = 15.24$, $p < .001$, $R^2_{\text{Adjusted}} = .23$, $\Delta R^2_{\text{Adjusted}} = .20$. Examination of the regression coefficients indicates that across age, parental education and positive affect, only the effect of positive affect on school engagement reached significance, standardized $\beta = 0.46$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2). This indicates that positive affect predicted Turkish-Bulgarian youths' school engagement above and beyond the effect of socio-demographical variables. Hence, the higher adolescents' level of positive affect experience, the higher was also their level of school engagement.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics and correlations of socio-demographic variables, positive affect and school engagement

	Age	Gender	Maternal education	Paternal education	Positive affect	School engagement
M (SD)	16.5 (1.2)		3.6 (0.9)	3.6 (0.8)	3.4 (0.7)	3.6 (1.2)
Age	1	.13	.17*	.22**	−.14[a]	.06
Gender		1	.19**	.17*	.01	.04
Maternal education			1	.72***	.22**	.20**
Paternal education				1	.17*	.19**
Positive affect					1	.47***
School engagement						1

PA: [a]$p = .053$
$*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; $***p < .001$

Table 2 Standardized regression coefficients of socio-demographic variables and positive affect for predicting school engagement

	School engagement	
	Standardized β	*P*
Age	0.10	.144
Maternal education	0.04	.707
Paternal education	0.07	.450
Positive affect	0.46	.000

Discussion

The present chapter commenced to reveal how positive affect facilitates and catalyzes school engagement among Turkish-Bulgarian minority youth by making use of the BBT (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001, 2004). The BBT posits that the experience of positive affect broadens and extends individuals' thoughts and behaviors; thereby highlighting the catalytic function of positive affect, which facilitates the adaptation to a variety of conditions. Assuming the mechanisms proposed by the BBT to hold true in an immigration setting (in which successful adaptation is highly crucial), we proposed that the experience of positive affect will enhance Turkish-Bulgarian adolescents' level of school engagement. By that, the present research is the first that tests the applicability of the BBT among minority youth, and thereby essentially extends the existing literature.

Our analyses confirmed the BBT and demonstrated that positive affect predicted Turkish-Bulgarian adolescents' school engagement above and beyond socio-demographic background variables. More specifically, positive affect uniquely explained up to 20% of Turkish-Bulgarian minority youths' school engagement. Hence, the higher students' experience of general positive affect, the higher was also their engagement in school. Notably, and as stated previously, school engage-

ment represents an asset in the school context. Previous research demonstrated that higher school engagement leads to better academic performance (e.g., Bond et al., 2007; Kuh et al., 2008) and prevents from school dropout (Christenson et al., 2008).

Implications

Studying the concept of school engagement in a sample of ethnic minority youth is crucial. These youth usually have to deal with, and adapt to relatively more problematic circumstances due to discrimination and marginalization (e.g., Ream & Rumberger, 2008; Steinberg et al., 1984), they are exposed to more negative experiences both in and outside of the school context (e.g., Borman & Rachuba, 2001; Ruck & Wortley, 2002). Highlighting how positive affect enhances students' engagement in school – even if they belong to an ethnic or religious minority – offers a promising direction for scientists and practitioners that deal with ways to facilitate (minority) students' process of adaptation. The study reported in the present chapter further exemplifies the utility of taking a positive psychology approach. It focuses on minority adolescents' potential and their affective resources (instead of focusing on their deficits and disadvantages), and outlines the impact of positive affect for increasing adolescents' school engagement. Using these findings, it can be proposed that creating more opportunities for minority youth to accumulate positive affective experiences (e.g., by sportive, musical or other artistic activities) will facilitate their adaptive process and promote their engagement and commitment to school.

Limitations and Future Research

The present study has important limitations. First, it is of cross-sectional nature and therefore is not indicative of a causal relationship between positive affect and school engagement. While we acknowledge this limitation, it should still be noted that the review by Lyubomirsky et al. (2005) supported a view of positive affect to be the source (rather than the outcome) of success and health-related accomplishments. Based on these conclusions and on the assumptions of the BBT, it seems likely that also in our research positive emotions were the cause rather than the consequence of school engagement. Yet, to gain more clarity regarding this issue, future research that employs a longitudinal or experimental design is needed.

A further limitation of this study relates to issues of generalizability. As data was collected only from Turkish-Bulgarian youth, it is unclear to what extent the findings also hold true for other ethnic minority groups. Notably, even though Turkish immigration to Bulgaria is tainted with severe assimilation pressures, it is unclear to what extent current Turkish-Bulgarian youth would have been affected by this. For instance, it is likely that these youth may not experience the same adaptive difficulties as their grandparents did, and therefore might not be exposed to

very severe conditions of adaptations. Further research in different countries, with different ethnic minority groups would be needed to clarify this issue. To extend the literature, and for testing whether the premises of the BBT also can be applied in acutely severe contexts, it may be beneficial to test the BBT and the role of positive affect in a sample of refugee youth in the light of the current refugee crisis across Europe. If similar findings can be confirmed in the field of forced migration, both the generalizability of the BBT would be further supported, and – more importantly – respective opportunities for facilitating refugee youths' adaptation to school could be created.

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Only Real When Shared: Social Well-Being, Collective Efficacy, and Social Networks Among Immigrant Emerging Adults in Spain

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Abstract Achieving satisfactory levels of social well-being may be challenging for minority groups and especially for immigrant youth. This chapter aims to compare levels of social well-being between female and male host national and immigrant emerging adults in Spain. We also analysed the role of perceived collective efficacy and social networks for immigrants' perceptions of discrimination and social well-being. A sample of 232 young immigrants from Latin America, Africa, and Romania living in Spain, as well as their 49 host national counterparts, filled in a questionnaire measuring perceived personal and group discrimination, ethnic and host support networks, collective efficacy, and social well-being. We found that young Romanian females reported higher social contribution compared to young host national females. Also, young Romanian females reported higher social acceptance compared to their African counterparts. Among males, *host* support networks, low perceived group discrimination, and collective efficacy were positively associated with immigrants' social well-being. In contrast, among females, *co-ethnic* support networks, low perceived group but also personal discrimination was linked to social well-being. Perceived collective efficacy and *host* (but not *co-ethnic*) support networks were negatively related with perceived discrimination and thus positively associated with young immigrants' social well-being. Together, this chapter expands research on social well-being across ethnic minorities.

Social well-being was so far scarcely covered in research on ethnic monitories (Keyes, 2009; Ryff, Keyes, & Hughes, 2003). Empirical investigation of social well-being among foreign-born immigrants is practically inexistent (Bobowik,

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Basabe, & Páez, 2015; Joshanloo, Bobowik, & Basabe, 2016). Making reference to the appraisal of one's circumstances and functioning in the society (Keyes, 1998), social well-being is undoubtedly worthy of special attention among foreign-born immigrants because it refers to social tasks that could be particularly challenging for a newcomer in a new community.

Until now, scarce research has examined the effects of immigrant status on social well-being among emerging adults or the determinants of social well-being of young immigrants in Spain. In this chapter we aim to contribute to existing research on social well-being among ethnic minorities by expanding it to foreign-born immigrant youth in a different and relatively understudied context (i.e., Spain). We also propose that social support networks and collective efficacy may be particularly important for young immigrants' social well-being. Thus, the aims of this chapter were twofold: (1) to compare levels of social well-being between female and male host national and immigrant emerging adults in Spain, and (2) to examine the role social support networks and collective efficacy play for perceptions of discrimination and social well-being among young immigrants in Spain.

Immigration and Social Well-Being

The well-being of ethnic minority youth has been mostly measured in negative terms such as depressive mood (Fenta, Hyman, & Noh, 2004; Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Mesch, Turjeman, & Fishman, 2008; Walsemann, Gee, & Geronimus, 2009), poorer mental and physical health (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003), or distress (Huynh & Fuligni, 2010; Moradi & Risco, 2006). However, the literature on resilience suggests that people have the ability to maintain relatively stable and healthy levels of psychological and physical functioning, despite being exposed to adverse situations that threaten their integrity (Bonanno, 2004; Rutter, 1993). In this way, successful adaptation is possible even under circumstances of psychosocial risk such as poverty or social violence (Bonanno, 2012). In the same vein, ethnic minorities, if equipped with necessary coping and emotional regulation resources (Miller & Kaiser, 2001; Bobowik, Basabe, & Páez, 2014a, 2014b), may develop personal or collective resilience and thus thrive from their migratory experience. Thus, increasingly more studies address ethnic minorities' psychological or social well-being (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Keyes, 2009; Ryff et al., 2003) as possible outcomes of their resilience and personal growth in face of challenging socio-cultural circumstances. Psychological and social well-being, as two facets of eudaimonic well-being, make reference to personal and public aspects of human potential and the art of living, respectively. However research on eudaimonic well-being of foreign-born immigrants is practically inexistent. Few studies have focused on minorities' social well-being (Keyes, 2006) and even less research examined these aspects of well-being among immigrant emerging adults. Social well-being is the appraisal of one's circumstances and functioning in the society (Keyes, 1998, 2006), and embraces five domains. *Social integration* refers to feeling of belongingness; *social acceptance* includes an accepting view of human

nature and trust in others; *social contribution* reflects one's social value; *social actualization* means believing in society's potential and growth; and *social coherence* refers to an understanding of social life (Keyes, 1998, 2006). Empirical evidence suggests that members of ethnic minority groups show an advantage over their majority peers in social coherence, actualization and integration, after adjustment for perceived discrimination (Keyes, 2009). Minority groups also showed a more subtle advantage over the majority in terms of social contribution, though not in terms of social acceptance. In the same vein, in the study by Ryff et al. (2003), minority status was associated with higher eudaimonic well-being. In addition, younger ethnic minority adults enjoyed higher levels of purpose in life and personal growth than elderly members of minority groups.

Discrimination and Young Immigrants' Well-Being

Faced with a range of life challenges and changes, young immigrants report experiences of distress, instability, lack of competence and sense of belonging, injured pride, and feelings of being unwanted, different, and misunderstood (Walsh, Shulman, & Maurer, 2008). Further, surveys have confirmed that foreign-born immigrant and other ethnic minorities in Europe indeed feel discriminated against with younger reporting higher levels of discrimination than older respondents (European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010). Such ethnic or racial discrimination is detrimental to the psychological functioning of devalued group members (Pascoe & Smart-Richman, 2009; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). The relationship between perception of discrimination and adaptation partially explains the lower levels of well-being and/or health among young immigrants (Walsemann et al., 2009). There is evidence for heightened exposure to discriminatory treatment among young immigrants and its detrimental effects on their well-being, also in the Spanish context (Briones, Verkuyten, Cosano, & Tabernero, 2012; Pantzer et al., 2006). However, scarce research on eudemonic well-being among ethnic minorities has shown that minority groups in fact show an advantage in their levels of psychological and social well-being after controlling for perceived discrimination (Keyes, 2009; Ryff et al., 2003). That is, when discrimination is accounted for, levels of psychological well-being would be even higher for minority than majority groups, again confirming the minority resilience hypothesis. Even though, existing empirical evidence points to the role of perceived (based on ethnic origin) *personal* discrimination for minority groups' eudaimonic well-being. Still, little is known about the effects of perceptions of *group* discrimination on facets of psychological functioning such as social well-being. Previous research indeed suggests that personal and group discrimination may work as two independent mechanisms among members of minority groups (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990). Therefore, the present investigation aims to further expand previous literature through testing the relationship between both *personal* and *group* discrimination and social well-being of foreign-born immigrants in Spain. Importantly, members of ethnic minority groups need to be empowered with sufficient resources

for confronting the difficulties they face in a dominant culture (Noh & Kaspar, 2003). Social support networks may be helpful in confronting both personal and group discrimination and thus fostering their social well-being.

Social Support Networks as Means for (Re)constructing Social Well-Being

Social relationships are of great relevance for physical and mental health (for a review see Berkman, Glass, Brissette, & Seeman, 2000), including immigrants' successful adaptation. Empirical evidence has confirmed the crucial role of perceived social support for minority groups' well-being (e.g., Finch & Vega, 2003; Noh & Kaspar, 2003: Vega, Kolody, Valle, & Weir, 1991). Importantly, different types of social networks as a source of social support may play different role in fostering immigrants' adjustment. Scholars have made a distinction between *ethnic* and *host* social support networks (see Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006) that may show distinct patterns in relation to immigrants' well-being. Research has shown that social support from the members of both ethnic (e.g., Birman & Trickett, 2001; Birman, Trickett, & Vinokurov, 2002; Finch & Vega, 2003; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Noh & Kaspar, 2003) and host community support networks (e.g., Hernández-Plaza, Pozo-Muñoz, Alonso-Morillejo, & Martos-Méndez, 2005; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Martínez-García, García-Ramírez, & Maya-Jariego, 2002), but also social support provided by ethnic networks abroad (González-Castro & Ubillos, 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006), may be crucial for immigrants' positive functioning. However, some scholars emphasize that sticking to ethnic social networks and the experiences of discrimination may reinforce each other (e.g., Birman et al., 2002). Therefore, a greater importance is being ascribed to networks formed by majority representatives. Indeed, inter-ethnic relationships foster positive intergroup relations between minority and majority groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and thus should foster minority groups' adjustment. Confirming this, frequency of positive contact with natives has been shown to be an important predictor of immigrants' trust towards the majority group (Koopmans & Veit, 2014). Accordingly, a study carried out in the Spanish context showed that the number of Spaniards in the support network was a relevant determinant of psychological well-being among immigrant women (Martínez-García et al., 2002). Finally, Jibeen (2011) found that higher perceived social support reduced acculturative stress and enhanced psychological well-being. Importantly, these processes may also work differently for males and females. Previous research has shown that social support might be of particular importance to psychological well-being of females as compared to males (Furnham & Shiekh, 1993).

Finally, according to social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986), people's shared beliefs in their collective power to produce the desired results through joint effort (collective efficacy beliefs) may influence the way group members perceive challenges. This process may be particularly relevant when facing migration. In this

sense, we conceptualize collective efficacy as the perception of the collective capacity to gather necessary recourses (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), for example, the capability to organize and execute specific actions required to enforce social change through joint effort. Research has confirmed that group efficacy beliefs are positively related to collective action intentions and behavior (e.g., Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), and reinforced during optimal experiences (Zumeta, Oriol, Telletxea, Amutio, & Basabe, 2016). That is, feeling part of a group reinforces group's performance and collective efficacy (Salanova, Rodríguez-Sánchez, Schaufeli, & Cifre, 2014; Swann, Polzer, Seyle, & Ko, 2004). Therefore, we postulated that collective efficacy contributes to the insertion in society and social well-being of immigrants.

Context and Aims of the Chapter

The present study is situated in one of the European countries with substantial immigration rates. In the last decades, Spain has experienced large-scale immigration, mostly from Africa, Latin America, and Central and Eastern Europe. Recently, the immigration population in Spain has decreased to 10.7%, and in the region of the study, the Basque Country, to 6.3%. Most of the predominant immigrant groups vary in terms of their cultural proximity to the host national population. In 2011, the major immigrant groups in Spain included Romanians, Moroccans, Ecuadoreans, Colombians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Bolivians, Peruvians, and Africans (Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2011). Also, the groups selected for this study occupy different positions in the status hierarchy among immigrant groups in Spain and have different type and quality of social support networks. Existing evidence from the Spanish context suggests that Latinos are a group with relatively higher status compared to Romanians and Africans. For instance, a recent study in the Basque context (Sevillano, Basabe, Bobowik, & Aierdi, 2014) showed that African immigrants presented relatively negative social situation in terms of lower levels of net household income and education, as well as the percentage of being undocumented. In contrast, Latino (particularly Colombian) immigrants presented a more favorable group status in terms of higher income and level of education (Sevillano et al., 2014).

African immigrants are culturally most distant from the host society because most of them, unlike Spaniards, are Muslims. In addition, both Africans and Romanians are less likely to have ties with Spaniards compared to Latinos (de Miguel & Tranmer, 2010; The Basque Observatory of Immigration, 2009). In contrast, Latinos and Romanians are culturally less distant from host nationals compared to Africans (Basabe, Aierdi, Páez, & Jimenez-Aristizabal, 2009). Although Romanians do not share the language with the host society, they learn it quickly because Romanian and Spanish both belong to the same linguistic category. In addition, they share rather similar values with the host society and are legally privileged

as EU citizens. On the other hand, Latinos share the cultural background with the mainstream society, including both the language and religion.

As a consequence of differences in cultural proximity, socio-economic status and perception/experience of discrimination, immigrants' well-being may vary as a function of their ethnicity. For instance, a report from the Basque Country (Basabe et al., 2009) revealed that Latinos report the highest levels of mental health, positive affect and satisfaction with life and economic status, whereas Africans and Romanians are the groups with the lowest emotional well-being. Furthermore, among immigrant adolescents in Spain, Latino immigrants report better psychological adaptation and higher life satisfaction than Africans (Briones et al., 2012). However, scarce research compared eudaimonic, and particularly social well-being of different groups of immigrants and their host national counter-parts. Thus, this chapter addresses three novel research goals: (1) to compare levels of social well-being between female and male host national and immigrant emerging adults in Spain; (2) to analyze the relationship between perceived collective efficacy, social networks, and social well-being among young female and male immigrants in Spain; (3) to examine the role of perceived collective efficacy and social networks in reducing perceived discrimination and thus fostering immigrants' social well-being.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

The data were obtained as part of a larger survey including 1250 immigrants and 500 host nationals with age ranging from 18 to 60 years. The survey was based on a probability sampling procedure by ethnicity, with stratification by age and sex. For the purpose of this study, we selected all participants aged between 18 and 24. This way, we obtained a sample of 232 young immigrant persons from Latin America (Bolivia and Colombia, $n = 87$), Africa (Morocco and Sub-Saharan African countries, $n = 89$), and Romania ($n = 56$) as well as their 49 host national Spanish counterparts. Within the immigrant sample, 46.6% of the participants were female and the mean age was 21.3 years ($SD = 2.08$) and did not differ across groups. Mean length of residence was 4.62 years ($SD = 3.23$), with Africans living shorter in Spain ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 2.38$) compared to Romanians, $M = 5.30$, $SD = 4.22$. Latino young immigrants did not differ in their length of residence from the other two groups, $M = 4.67$, $SD = 2.21$. More detailed socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrant sample by country of origin are presented in Bobowik, Basabe and Páez (2014a). As regards host national young adults in this study, 53.8% of the participants were male and the mean age was 21.1 ($SD = 2.05$) years. Participants took part in a face-to-face interview with trained bilingual (Spanish- and English- or French-speaking) interviewers. Nevertheless, considering that the vast majority of the

respondents did not report language difficulties, interviews were conducted in Spanish (for more details about the procedure applied see Bobowik et al., 2014b, 2015; Sevillano et al., 2014).

Measures

Perceived Personal Discrimination Personal experience of discrimination among immigrants was captured with five items developed in a prior study (Basabe et al., 2009). Participants were asked to indicate on a scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*), how frequently, during their time in Spain: "Spanish people made them notice that they are an economic threat to them (taking away jobs, taking advantage of medical care benefits)", "have felt discriminated against (noticing looks, hearing negative expressions or attitudes) due to your physical appearance", or "have suffered aggressions, insults and threats". This scale formed a reliable measure ($\alpha = .88$). Previous research has also confirmed measurement invariance of this scale across the groups under study (Bobowik, Martinovic, Basabe, Barsties, & Wachter, in press).

Perceived Group Discrimination Perceived group discrimination was operationalized with the following single item: "By discrimination we mean when somebody is treated less favorably than others because of a specific personal feature, such as minority background. In your opinion, in the Basque Country, how widespread is discrimination because of ethnic or immigrant origin?" Participants were asked to respond on a scale ranging from 1 (*very rare*) to 4 (*very widespread*).

Social Networks Immigrants' social networks were measured with three ad hoc created items. Participants were asked to respond on a 5-point scale from 1 (*none*) to 5 (*lots*), how many friends they had from their own country (*co-ethnic* social support networks), from other countries and ethnic groups (*inter-ethnic* social support networks with other minority groups), and who are Basque and/or Spanish (*host* social support networks).

Social Well-Being A total of 14 items of the Social Well-being Scale (for construct validity and invariance of tripartite model of well-being among immigrants and host nationals see Bobowik, Basabe, & Páez, 2015; Joshanloo et al., 2016; adapted from Keyes, 1998, 2007), with response options ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*fully agree*), were used to assess five aspects social well-being: social contribution (e.g., "I have something important to contribute to society"), social integration (e.g., "I feel I belong to something I'd call a community"), social actualization (e.g., "Our society is becoming a better place for people like me"), social acceptance (e.g., "People are basically good"), and social coherence (e.g., "I cannot make sense of what's going on in the world"). Each subscale consisted of three items, except for social coherence (one item was removed due to low factorial loading and low

reliability). We calculated both mean scores for each of the dimensions and a mean total score of social well-being with satisfactory reliability ($\alpha = .84$).

Results

Social Well-Being Among Immigrant and Host National Emerging Adults

First, we compared levels of social well-being between female and male host national and immigrant emerging adults in Spain. In Table 1 we present marginal estimated means for five dimensions of social well-being among females and males from all groups under analysis. The ethnicity by sex analysis of covariance, controlling for income and education, revealed that there was a significant interaction effect between ethnicity and sex in explaining levels of social contribution, $F(3, 208) = 3.59$, $p < .015$, $\eta^2 = .05$. In order to disentangle this interaction, we ran ANCOVA for females and males separately. Post hoc Bonferroni comparisons revealed that young Romanian females reported stronger feelings of having something to contribute to society than young host national females, $F(3, 108) = 2.90$, $p < .039$, $\eta^2 = .08$, but no differences were found among males. An interaction effect was also found for social acceptance ($F(3, 208) = 3.38$, $p < .019$, $\eta^2 = .05$); young Romanian females reported higher levels of an accepting view of human nature compared to their African counterparts, $F(3, 108) = 2.41$, $p = .072$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Regarding social coherence we found a main effect of sex ($F(3, 208) = 4.78$, $p < .030$, $\eta^2 = .02$), with young males scoring higher than females.

Table 1 Marginal estimated means of well-being dimensions

		Integration		Contribution		Actualization		Coherence		Acceptance	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Host nationals	*M*	4.14	4.01	3.92	3.59	3.03	3.01	3.30	3.27	3.05	3.03
	SE	0.16	0.17	0.13	0.16	.203	0.24	0.23	0.27	0.17	0.19
Latino	*M*	3.91	3.78	4.08	4.01	3.21	3.23	3.28	2.50	3.08	3.12
	SE	0.15	0.12	0.13	0.11	0.20	0.17	0.23	0.19	0.17	0.13
Romanian	*M*	3.99	3.86	3.75	4.23	3.19	3.18	3.38	3.07	2.76	3.33
	SE	0.13	0.15	0.11	0.13	0.17	0.20	0.20	0.23	0.14	0.17
Africans	*M*	3.81	3.55	3.97	4.07	3.31	3.20	3.44	3.08	3.11	2.57
	SE	0.16	0.20	0.15	0.18	0.22	0.27	0.25	0.31	0.18	0.22

Note. M Mean, *SE* Standard Error

Social Support Networks, Perceived Group Efficacy, Discrimination, and Social Well-Being Among Immigrant Emerging Adults

Next, we performed multiple regression analyses for male and female participants separately, while controlling for income and education. We regressed immigrants' social well-being on co-ethnic support networks, inter-ethnic support networks with people from other countries and ethnic groups, host support networks, perceived personal and group discrimination, and collective efficacy. Among young males, host support networks ($\beta = .20$, $t = 2.00$, $p < .049$), low perceived group discrimination ($\beta = -.36$, $t = -2.84$, $p < .006$), and perceived collective efficacy, ($\beta = .40$, $t = 4.18$, $p < .001$) were positively associated with immigrants' social well-being. In turn, among females, co-ethnic support networks ($\beta = .33$, $t = 3.01$, $p < .003$), low perceived group ($\beta = -.22$, $t = -1.86$, $p = .067$) but also personal discrimination ($\beta = -.31$, $t = -2.65$, $p < .010$) were positively related to social well-being of young immigrants.

Mediation Analysis

In order to test the mediation effects, we used the SPSS macro for bootstrapping indirect effects (Hayes & Preacher, 2014), which provides indirect effect estimates for multiple mediators, standard errors (SEs), and the confidence intervals (CIs) derived from the bootstrap distribution. Bootstrapped confidence intervals are superior to the standard forms of estimating standard errors of indirect effects (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). An indirect effect is significant if the CI does not include the 0 value. We used social well-being total score for parsimony of the results.

Mediation analyses (see Fig. 1) only partially confirmed the expected indirect effects of social networks and perceived group efficacy on social well-being through reduced personal and group discrimination. We found that reduced perceptions of personal discrimination mediated the relationship between host national social networks and social well-being ($B = 0.02$, $SE = .01$, CI [.0003, .041]) and between perceived group efficacy and social well-being ($B = 0.04$, $SE = .02$, CI [.003, .092]) but not the relationship between co-ethnic social network and well-being. Further, reduced perceived group discrimination mediated the relationship between perceived group efficacy and social well-being ($B = 0.07$, $SE = .03$, CI [.027, .128]) but not the relationship between social networks and social well-being. That is, above all, perceived group efficacy among young immigrants was associated with lower perceptions of both personal and group discrimination and thus with higher social well-being. Further, *host* (but not co-ethnic) support networks were related to lower perceptions of personal discrimination and higher social well-being.

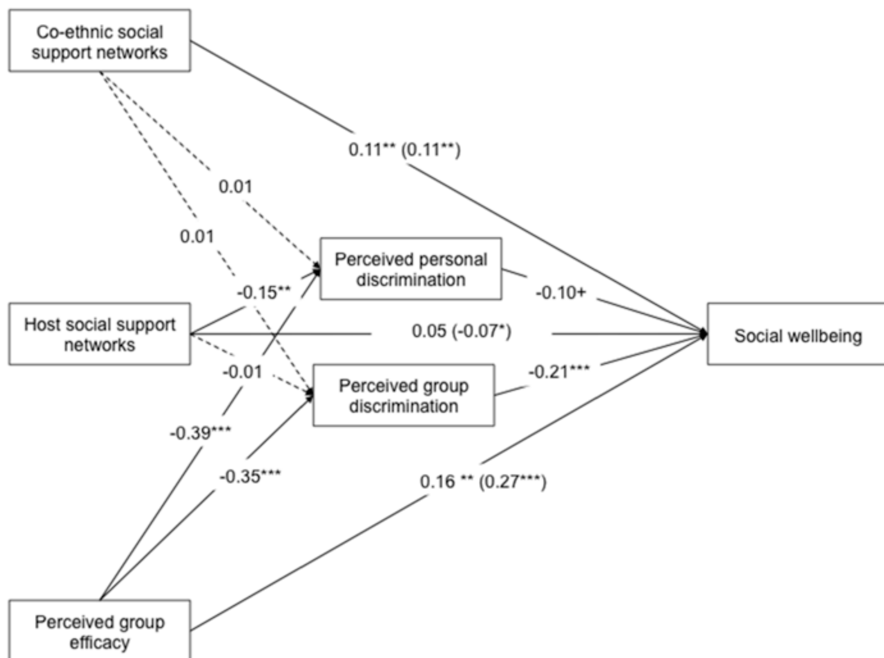

Fig. 1 Mediation analysis on the effect of co-ethnic and host national social networks and perceived group efficacy on social well-being through reduced perceived discrimination

Discussion

By breaking the mold of traditional focus on negative symptoms and hedonic well-being, the present chapter makes room for the consideration of eudaimonia in the context of immigrant youth in Spain. This chapter emphasizes that immigrant emerging adults do not necessary have lower levels of social well-being compared to their host national counterparts, confirming existing previous research (Bobowik et al., 2015; Keyes, 2009; Ryff et al., 2003). In fact, we found that young Romanian females reported stronger feelings of having something to contribute to society compared to young host national females, but also showed higher levels of an accepting view of human nature compared to their African counterparts. These results are in line with previous research showing that Romanians mobilize more coping resources compared to other immigrant groups (Bobowik et al., 2014a, 2014b) and probably reveal higher levels of eudaimonic well-being, underexplored in previous research aspects of individual's psychological functioning. Another possible explanation of some of these findings is shorter length of residence of African immigrants compared to Romanians. That is, because their process of cultural learning and adaptation has been longer, Romanian young immigrants compared to Africans may thrive from higher social well-being.

Moreover, we found that among males host national support networks, low perceived group discrimination, and perceived collective efficacy were significant predictors of social well-being. In turn among females, co-ethnic support networks, low perceived group but also personal discrimination predicted social well-being. In contrast to previous empirical evidence (Martínez-García et al., 2002), we did not find effect of host social support on immigrant female well-being. This finding means that among immigrant young males developing social relationships with their host national peers is the key to feeling well within their community, whereas for young immigrant females, their co-ethnic social networks determine how they feel within and perceive their community.

Importantly, the findings of the present chapter reveal that perceived collective efficacy plays a key role in fostering young immigrants' social well-being, expanding previous research in that collective efficacy is correlated with well-being and social integration among host national population (Zumeta, Basabe, Wlodarczyk, Bobowik, & Páez, 2016). Further, this relationship is explained by reduced experience of perceived personal and group discrimination among immigrant young adults. That is, the stronger the perception of group efficacy, the less discriminated young immigrants feel and the less group discrimination they perceive, and in consequence report higher levels of social well-being. That is, collective efficacy is a crucial component for fostering immigrants's successful functioning within a new society because it implies belief that discrimination can be confronted with.

Further, reported *host* support networks, but not co-ethnic support networks, were associated with lower perceived personal (but not group) discrimination and thus higher social well-being. Those findings are in line with previous empirical evidence on beneficial effects of host national relationships for minority groups (Hernández-Plaza et al., 2005; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Koopmans & Veit, 2014; Martínez-García et al., 2002; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Previous research has already demonstrated that positive contact with the representatives of the majority group has a significant impact on intergroup relations between minority and majority groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), as well as social trust (Koopmans & Veit, 2014), and well-being (Martínez-García et al., 2002). In this regard, our findings confirm a greater importance of inter-ethnic networks as compared to co-ethnic friendships.

Future research should further examine the role of support networks among immigrant youth across diverse cultural contexts, addressing the shortcomings of this study. Because of the cross-sectional character of the present data, we cannot draw any conclusions about causality of the effects, and longitudinal and/or experimental studies are therefore necessary to further investigate the role of social support networks for well-being of ethnic minorities. The issue of the cross-cultural generalizability of the present research needs also to be addressed in future studies. Finally, given the small sample size, we were not able to test whether the relationship between host and co-ethnic support networks and social well-being is moderated by participants' gender.

General Conclusion

Contemporary societies are increasingly multi-ethnic and thus inter-ethnic relationships are the basis for the construction of an inclusive and peaceful global community. Strengthening young immigrants' social support, particularly inter-ethnic, networks should be a key aspect of immigration policy-making and interventions oriented towards immigrant youth. Together, this chapter contributes to the advancement of previous research on social well-being among ethnic minorities by examining the differences in well-being across three different groups of foreign-born young immigrants and their host national counterparts in Spain, and by exploring the role of social support networks and collective efficacy for enhancing social well-being. Importantly, this research emphasizes that immigrant emerging adults do not necessary have lower levels of social well-being compared to their host national counterparts and that social support networks and perceived collective efficacy play an important role in reducing their perceptions of discrimination and shaping their well-being. Therefore, empowering young immigrants should be a key aspect of immigration policy-making and interventions oriented towards immigrant youth.

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Overall and Contextually-Bound Well-Being: Life Satisfaction of Romanian Migrant Emerging Adults as the Outcome of a Mediated Association Acculturation-Adaptation

Adrian Stanciu

Abstract In addition to developmental challenges, migration during emerging adulthood can pose unique obstacles to individuals' positive well-being. This chapter proposes distinguishing between two types of migrant emerging adults' (MEAs) well-being (overall and contextually-bound) as one way to examine the influences of these interferences. A brief review of the literature and empirical support is provided for this claim among samples of Romanian MEAs in Europe (*N* = 215), an ethnic group that is under-represented in the literature. The overall well-being of MEAs can be studied as a result of an association between acculturation orientation and adaptation (as contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural), two variables especially relevant for MEAs living in culturally distant host societies. The findings suggest there may be different templates of well-being depending on whether migrants live in similar or distant host cultures compared to their home cultures. Furthermore, the role of context is discussed in light of the distinction between the two types of well-being that can provide a more accurate insight for practitioners with regards to whether age-related or migration-related issues are problematic to migrants' well-being.

One of the core missions of positive psychology is to improve individuals' well-being, broadly defined as an overall emotional inner-state (Diener, 1984). Research in the context of migration seeks to identify and emphasize factors that contribute to well-being of migrants, and their ability to overcome migration-related life-disruptive events in terms of psychological adaptation (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Scholars have also proposed that migrants' satisfaction with life is a manifestation of their well-being (Koydemir, 2013). This chapter argues that these

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interchangeable approaches pertain, in fact, to two distinct types of well-being of migrants: life satisfaction pertains to their overall well-being and psychological adaptation pertains to their contextually-bound well-being. Because migration to other countries can be challenging, particularly during emerging adulthood, a developmental stage when individuals begin to gain a sense of control over their own life (Erikson, 1993), the chapter proposes that the disentanglement of the two types of well-being is highly pertinent to migrant emerging adults (MEAs). The chapter argues that contextually-bound well-being acts as a psychological intermediate between MEAs' acculturation orientation and their overall well-being. In other words, life satisfaction of MEAs is an outcome of their acculturation orientation and adaptation. The goal of the chapter is to show how this disentanglement may help identify different "templates" of well-being for MEAs living in distant and similar host cultures and could inform the development of targeted integration policies.

A current challenge in psychological research is to study individuals across societies and cultural contexts in an equitable manner (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). This chapter focuses on Romanians in Europe, an ethnic group that is highly under-represented in the literature. Despite the fact that Romanians represent a majority of migrants in several European countries (Eurostat, 2016) and are among the most negatively perceived groups of migrants, after Africans and South-Americans (EU-MIDIS, 2011), the literature provides only scarce accounts of their well-being (González-Castro & Ubillos, 2011). This chapter also contributes to the literature on well-being of MEAs in general, by applying the distinction between contextually-bound and overall well-being in a study conducted with Romanian MEAs in six European countries.

MEAs in Culturally Distant Countries

Whether people chose to emigrate because of personal reasons or precarious living conditions in their home societies (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002), their well-being is influenced by their new living context. For example, migrants have fewer adaptation difficulties in societies where policies encourage the maintenance of home cultural values, aspects that can be beneficial to migrants' satisfaction with life (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). Furthermore, migrants' adaptation experiences are influenced by the level of differences between their host and home cultures – i.e., cultural distance (Bar-Yosef, 1968). Migrants who re-locate to culturally distant countries have, on average, more difficulties maintaining a desired well-being (Chirkov, Lynch, & Niwa, 2005) whereas similarities across a variety of indicators, such as language and value climate, pose little interference to migrants' adaptation. The greater the cultural distance between migrants' home and host countries, the more challenging it is for them to adapt (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). However, migrants' adaptation to a host culture is affected only if they *perceive* cultural differences. For example, Geeraert and Demoulin (2013) were unable to show any relations between cultural distance and migrants' distress because, as the authors

argued, they assessed cultural distance via objective indicators like the Human Development Index (HDI). Therefore, migrants have more difficulties in adapting in culturally distant countries (especially when they perceive these differences) and because of this they might have poorer well-being compared to migrants in culturally similar countries.

The relationship between cultural distance and adaptation is perhaps most pertinent to MEAs who experience the challenges of living successfully in two cultures in addition to the developmental challenges that are characteristic of this age group. Emerging adulthood (approximately between ages of 18 and 29) is a defining stage in development (Erikson, 1993) wherein individuals' well-being is most vulnerable because they emerge from parental protection but are not yet fully immersed into the societal structures of adults (Arnett, 2007). For migrants, however, the relocation to other countries adds an extra layer of life-disrupting events. Research is needed to understand how the manner in which MEAs deal with these acculturation-relevant and age characteristic challenges might have lasting effects on their well-being. This chapter proposes disentangling overall and contextually-bound well-being as a step towards achieving this goal.

Overall and Contextually-Bound Well-Being

In the literature, there are two major approaches to the assessment of migrants' well-being. The first assumes that migrants' self-reported life satisfaction is an indicator of their overall well-being (Koydemir, 2013). Although this may be the case, life satisfaction is mostly an indicator of individuals' self-acceptance (positive evaluations of self and one's past life) which represents only one dimension of overall well-being (Ryff & Keyes, 1995, p. 724). For instance, Safi (2010) used the European Social Survey (ESS) data and showed that the life satisfaction of first and second-generation migrants was equally poor across 13 countries, and that a longer period of stay in the host country was not associated with an improvement in their life satisfaction.

The second approach to the study of migrants' well-being is represented by work on psychological adaptation in which it is assumed that the life-disruptive events associated with migration cause migrants to experience depression and anxiety (Berry, 1992). Well-being of migrants is conceptualized as a lack of depressive symptoms on an assessment (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) or measured with instruments like the Brief Psychological Adaptation Scale (BPAS) (Demes & Geeraert, 2015a). A recent meta-analysis of 51 studies ($N = 224.197$) showed that immigrant children and youth in Europe have, on average, more psychological distress when compared to their host national counterparts (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, & van de Vijver, 2016). A study conducted with approximately 2500 students in over 50 countries showed that longer periods of stay in host country were associated with increased psychological adaptation, as measured by the BPAS (Demes & Geeraert, 2015b). Together, these studies suggest that immigrants' well-being is more precarious

when compared with their native counterparts, and that a longer period of stay in the host country is not always associated with an improvement in their well-being. Moreover, there is evidence that the concept of well-being is used interchangeably in the literature with other concepts such as life satisfaction, psychological adaptation, and depression, which may lead to confusion about effects of various experiences on well-being.

There is precedence for disentangling the concepts of life satisfaction and psychological adaptation in assessing migrants' well-being. In contrast to the approach whereby life satisfaction is an overall indicator of migrants' well-being, the BPAS was created to provide a contextually-bound assessment of their well-being (Demes & Geeraert, 2015a). Initial studies showed that life satisfaction and psychological adaptation were positively, yet minimally, related. After all, whereas satisfaction with life is a "global assessment of a person's quality of life according to his [her] chosen criteria" (Shin & Johnson, 1978), migrants' psychological adaptation refers to their negative psychological reactions that occur *in* the process of acculturation (Berry, 1992). This distinction may explain why a longer period of stay in the host society is not always associated with an improvement of migrants' well-being. Whereas it may appear that migrants become more psychologically adapted to their host countries over time, their life satisfaction is not necessarily changing. Research that examines how migrants' adaptation to host countries shapes their life satisfaction may prove useful in providing policy makers with valuable insights for developing strategies for improving well-being of migrants.

Acculturation Orientation and Adaptation Predict Migrants' Overall Well-Being

The disentanglement of overall and contextually-bound well-being is relevant to research on adaptation of migrants. For instance, Demes and Geeraert (2015a) found, among 1900 international students in 51 countries, that, in addition to psychosocial adaptation, a higher sociocultural adaptation (i.e., the acquisition of skills necessary to navigate the social life in host countries) was associated with increased life satisfaction. In fact, this corroborates other findings suggesting that life satisfaction is adaptive in nature (Pavot & Diener, 2008). Whereas the baseline is to have a satisfactory life, life-changing events can modify individuals' degree of satisfaction with life (Diener & Lucas, 2006). People who seek social support, in the form of friendships or romantic relations, are more likely to remain happy. In other words, in the context of acculturation, the manner in which migrants maintain an overall satisfactory life is dependent on their ability to adapt psychologically and socioculturally to the experience of life-disrupting events (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

The degree to which migrants adapt to a new culture is also associated with their acculturation orientation. Berry (1992) suggests that, depending on the degree of importance that individuals attribute to their home and host cultures, there can be

four acculturation orientations: integration (both cultures are important), assimilation (host culture is preferred), separation (home culture is preferred), and marginalization (both cultures are unimportant). Some researchers argue that these four acculturation orientations should be measured with independent scales (4-scale method) (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Other researchers criticize this approach in that acculturation should be examined across a variety of life domains, according to how important migrants consider their home and host cultures (bi-dimensional method) (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2007). Contrasted with the 4-scale method, which uses median split to approximate the four-acculturation styles, and thus discards relevant measurement information (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2007), the bi-dimensional method uses full measurement information, and thus offers a more detailed account of migrants' adaptation. Research using the bi-dimensional approach has shown that greater interest in the host culture is associated with better adaptation whereas a desire to maintain the home culture is associated with a worse adaptation (Demes & Geeraert, 2015a).

This evidence converges to indicate that migrants' acculturation orientations influence their degree of adaptation to the host culture, which, in turn, affects their overall well-being. For instance, in a study on the adaptation of elderly Iranian migrants in Canada, Moztarzadeh and O'Rourke (2015) showed that acculturation orientation was a positive predictor of migrants' life satisfaction, whereas depressive symptoms were a negative predictor. The central proposition of this chapter is that both psychological and sociocultural adaptation explain (i.e., mediate) the association between acculturation orientation and life satisfaction. In line with the bi-dimensional model of acculturation orientation, a desire to maintain the home culture predicts lower contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural adaptation; and both factors predict higher overall well-being. Furthermore, the chapter argues that an interest in the host culture predicts higher contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural adaptation; and both factors predict a higher overall well-being. Especially for migrants in culturally distant host societies, disentangling their contextually-bound and overall well-being could provide insights into how sociocultural adaptation overrides any negative carry over effects that a lack of psychological adaptation may have on overall well-being of migrants.

Well-Being of Romanian MEAs in Europe

Romania is a middle-sized country in South-East Europe. The home of approximately 20 million people (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2011), Romania has a mixed Latin-Communist culture that is unique in the European context. For instance, Romanian language is the only Latin based language among the countries from the former Eastern-European Communist bloc. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, the Romanian culture has been described as accepting of hierarchical order, highly uncertainty avoidant, collectivistic, highly cynical, favoring caring for others and quality of life values, and endorsing mixed impressions about the past and

future (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkow, 2010). In 2007, Romania became a member of the European Union, which has allowed massive emigration to other European countries. During 2000–2015, Romania had the second largest growth rate of emigration in the world (United Nations, 2016). Between 2007 and 2015, there have been approximately 554,396 Romanian MEAs (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2016) who predominantly chose Italy and Spain as destination countries (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2011).

Overall, there has not been much research on well-being of Romanian migrants in European countries; a few studies report about Romanian youth and adolescents (Hernando, Nunes, Cruz Torres, Lemos, & Valadas, 2013) and some about adults over age 40 (Marcu, 2014). The literature on well-being of Romanian MEAs in Europe is scarce, un-systematic, and centered on two prevailing countries of destination: Italy and Spain. For instance, a study by The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (2013) indicated that Romanian MEAs in Italy were more likely to settle permanently compared to younger and older co-nationals because of their higher life satisfaction. Sevillano, Basabe, Bobowik, and Aierdi (2014) showed that Romanian MEAs in Spain reported poorer mental health compared to locals. However, Villarroel and Artazcos (2012) revealed that Romanian MEAs in Spain had slightly better mental health compared to migrants from five Latin-American countries and a similar well-being compared to locals. Furthermore, González-Castro and Ubillos (2011) compared Romanian and Ecuadorian MEAs in Spain and showed that Romanians had a considerable improvement in overall well-being compared to when they were still in their home country, which was not the case for Ecuadorians. The authors argued that discrimination (against Ecuadorians) explained the precarious life satisfaction of migrants and not the cultural differences between their host and home countries as expected. The message from this brief overview is thus a straightforward one – systematic research is still needed to achieve a better understanding of how Romanian MEAs in Europe deal with the acculturation experience with a special emphasis on their overall well-being. To meet this challenge, the following sections describe a study about well-being of Romanian MEAs in six European countries.

The Current Chapter

This chapter tested three well-being related hypotheses on Romanian MEAs in similar and distant European host societies. In defining similar versus distant host societies, the Hofstede's cultural dimensions describing the Romanian culture as highly accepting of social inequalities as a societal norm was used. Romanian culture has been classified as similar with the Latin cultures and dissimilar to the Anglo-Saxon cultures (Hofstede et al., 2010). Based on these classifications, France, Italy, and Spain were considered examples of culturally similar societies and England, Germany, and the Netherlands as examples of culturally distant societies.

First, the limited literature on how Romanian migrants are embedded in local communities in the host targeted countries is reviewed. In France, Romanian migrants who feel rejected by locals are less likely to adopt an integration orientation (Badea, Jetten, Iyer, & Er-Rafiy, 2011). In Spain, Romanians were the major immigrant group in 2007 with locals being less prejudiced about Romanians compared to other migrant groups (Rojas, Navas, Sayans-Jimeney, & Cuadrado, 2014). In Italy, locals were more likely to perceive Romanian migrants as immoral compared to their own co-nationals on social issues such as stealing and drug usage (Passini & Villano, 2013). In the UK, the mass media generally portrays Romanians as a threat to the local job market ("EU tries to calm fears" 2014). Surprisingly, Germany, where they are also considered a threat to the local job market ("EU tries to calm fears" 2014), was the preferred destination of approximately 135,416 Romanians in 2013 (Hanganu, Humpert, & Kohls, 2014), whereas the Netherlands represents one of the least preferred destinations for Romanian migrants, the local population and mass media still hold negative views about them (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2015). Overall, across these six countries, Romanians are generally perceived in a negative manner and there is limited evidence about their well-being. This study aims to provide the first empirical evidence about well-being of Romanian MEAs across these contexts, by including both similar and distant host countries.

The first hypothesis (Hypothesis 1) is that there is a small correlation between contextually-bound well-being, as measured by BPAS, and overall well-being, as measured by Satisfaction with Life scale, for MEAs in both culturally similar and distant host countries. The second hypothesis (Hypothesis 2) is that, particularly for MEAs in culturally distant countries, an interest maintaining their home culture will be associated with lower levels of adaptation (contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural), which in turn will predict overall well-being. The third hypothesis (Hypothesis 3) is that for migrants in culturally distant countries, a desire to adopt the host culture will be associated with higher levels of adaptation (contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural) which will predict overall well-being.

Method

Participants and Procedure

As part of a larger study about Romanian migrants, data were collected during the period October 2014–March 2015. Participants were Romanian nationals living in six European countries ($N = 215$; $M_{age} = 31.33$, $SD_{age} = 8.02$; 72% females; 27% students) which were grouped as culturally similar (France, Italy, and Spain) or distant (England, Germany, and the Netherlands). With exception of Italy, where female participants were over-represented, the samples were balanced in terms of female and student proportions (see Table 1). Participants were recruited via mass

Table 1 Descriptive statistics, separate for culturally distant and similar samples

	n	% Female	% Student	Age *M* (*SD*)	Duration *M* (*SD*)
Culturally distant					
England	27	66.67	70.40	25.37 (6.33)	3.39 (3.35)
Germany	74	65.75	12.30	32.89 (8.09)	4.77 (6.65)
the Netherlands	45	73.33	28.60	30.69 (6.50)	5.37 (4.07)
Total	146	68.23	28.20	30.82 (7.91)	4.70 (5.46)
Culturally similar					
France	23	65.22	30.40	31.35 (9.17)	6.80 (5.60)
Italy	24	95.83	16.70	34.21 (7.49)	9.97 (4.86)
Spain	22	77.27	27.30	31.50 (7.91)	7.49 (4.09)
Total	69	79.71	24.60	32.39 (8.21)	8.12 (5.02)
Grand total	*215*	*71.96*	*27.00*	*31.33 (8.02)*	*5.80 (5.55)*

Note: Culturally distant = countries that are dissimilar compared to Romania; culturally similar = countries that are similar with Romania; duration = length of stay in host country, values are in years

online advertising and recommendations received by the author from members of the Romanian diaspora. The study questionnaire was administered via an online research platform (EFS Survey v.10.4, Unipark).

Measures

Unless indicated otherwise, all study materials were successfully translated into Romanian for the purpose of this research (Hambleton & Zenisky, 2010). First, a total of four bilingual Romanian-English academics (including the author) independently translated the study materials from English. Then, the author reviewed the translated materials and upon full agreement, confirmed a successful translation. The translated materials that were in disagreement were then submitted to a session of discussions wherein each translator explained his/her choice of translation. The materials reported here achieved unanimous agreement. All measurement descriptions are summarized in Table 2.

Acculturation Orientations Acculturation orientations were measured using the bi-dimensional model (Galchenko & van de Vijver, 2007). Participants were asked to think about the stay in their host countries and express the degree to which they preferred their home and host cultures in ten different domains of life, such as politics and food. In total, there were 20 items for which answers were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 *strongly disagree*, 7 *strongly agree*). Of these, ten items measured how much participants liked their home culture and ten items measured how much they liked their host culture. The former ten scores were aggregated to give each participant's preference for home culture maintenance. Examples of items

Table 2 Scale reliabilities and correlation coefficients for culture distant and similar samples

	Variable	Scale reliabilities	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1	Interest host	.61/.79	4.79/5.46	.75/.80		.69**	.18	.15	.13
2	Maintain home	.80/.86	5.15/5.29	.91/.98	.56**		−.22ᵗ	−.13	.10
3	Contextually-bound well-being	.87/.76	4.83/4.97	1.19/.95	.04	−.46**		.59**	.31*
4	BSAS	.88/.88	4.83/5.27	1.13/1.00	.17*	−.23**	.53**		.48**
5	Overall well-being	.83/.88	4.83/4.83	1.17/1.17	−.12	.18*	.38**	.32**	

Note: Left side "/" = values for culture distant sample; *right side* "/" = values for culture similar sample; *left side main diagonal* = values for culture distant sample; *right side main diagonal* = values for culture similar sample; interest host and maintain home anchors, 1 – *strongly disagree*, 7 – *strongly agree*; contextually-bound well-being = brief psychological adaptation scale, anchors, 1 – *never,* 7 – always; *BSAS* Brief Sociocultural Adaptation Scale, anchors, 1 – *very difficult,* 7 – *very easy*; overall well-being = satisfaction with life scale, anchors, 1 – *strongly disagree*, 7 – *strongly agree*

[t]$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .001$

include: "I like Romanian food" and "I like to speak Romanian." The latter ten scores were aggregated to indicate each participant's interest in the host culture. Example of items include: "I like German food" and "I like to speak German." Depending on the host country, "German" was replaced with "English," "Dutch," "Italian," "French," and "Spanish."

Contextually-Bound Well-Being Contextually-bound well-being was measured with the Brief Psychological Adaptation Scale (BPAS) (Demes & Geeraert, 2015a). Participants were asked to think about the stay in their host countries and express how frequently they experienced a number of emotion-like states in the 2 weeks prior to the study. In total, there were seven items evaluated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 – *never*, 7 – *always*). For example, participants were asked how often they felt "excited about living in Germany" and "out of place, like you don't fit into Germany." The scores were aggregated across items to calculate each participant's level of psychological adaptation. Depending on the host country, "Germany" was replaced with "England," "the Netherlands," "Italy," "France," and "Spain."

Sociocultural Adaptation Sociocultural adaptation was measured using the Brief Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (BSAS) (Demes & Geeraert, 2015a). Participants were asked to think about the stay in their host countries and to express how easy or difficult it was for them to adapt to varying social and environmental realities. In total, there were twelve items evaluated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 – *very difficult*, 7 – *very easy*). For example, participants were asked to evaluate how easy/difficult it was to adapt to "social environment (size of community, pace of live, noise)," "values and beliefs (what people think about religion and politics, what people think is right or wrong)," and "climate (temperature, rainfall, and humidity)." The scores were aggregated across items to calculate each participant's level of sociocultural adaptation.

Overall Well-Being Overall well-being was measured with the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The five items composing the scale were evaluated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 – *strongly disagree*, 7 – *strongly agree*). The version of the scale that had previously been adapted into Romanian was used (Lambru et al., 2012). Item examples are “I am satisfied with my life” and “So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.” The scores were aggregated across items to calculate each participant’s degree of satisfaction with life.

Perceived Cultural Distance Perceived cultural distance was assessed with the Perceived Cultural Distance scale (Suanet & van de Vijver, 2009) which consists of fifteen items evaluated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 – *very different*, 7 – *very similar*). Item examples are: “How similar or different do you find the food in Germany compared to Romania?” and “How similar or different do you find the public manners in Germany compared to Romania?” The scores were aggregated across items to calculate each participant’s degree of perceived cultural distance between their home and host cultures. Depending on the host country, “Germany” was replaced with “England,” “the Netherlands,” “Italy,” “France,” and “Spain.”

Results

Confirmation of Country Grouping

The grouping of the host cultures according to the proposed criteria was tested against migrants’ perceptions of cultural distance (scale internal consistency, $\alpha = .88$). Results of an independent *t*-test confirmed that, grouped together, the Latin cultures were seen by participants as more culturally similar to Romania than the Anglo-Saxon cultures, $M_{\text{Latin}} = 2.96$, $SD = 0.98$ vs. $M_{\text{Anglo-Saxon}} = 2.49$, $SD = 0.77$, $t(213) = 3.78$, $p < .001$; the mean difference being highly relevant for these participants, Cohen’s $d = .53$. Therefore, the results confirmed the grouping of similar versus distant countries in relation to Romanian migrants.

Main Results

All means and inter-correlations among study variables are presented in Table 2. The study hypotheses were examined by means of mediation analyses using PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2013). To correct for any biases that might have occurred due to the inter-relation between the psychological and sociocultural adaptation, parallel mediation analysis was preferred over two ordinary mediation analyses. Importantly, analyses were conducted for interest in host culture and interest in maintaining home culture as predictors separately for participants in similar and

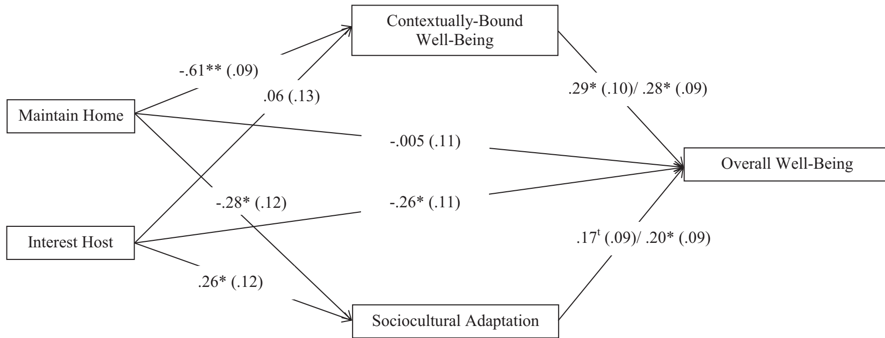

Fig. 1 Parallel mediation analysis of the effects of acculturation orientations and adaptation types on life satisfaction of Romanian MEAs in culturally distant countries (*Note:* maintain home and interest host = two dimension of acculturation; overall well-being = life satisfaction; contextually-bound well-being = psychological adaptation; numbers in-between brackets = standard errors; after "/" = values for interest host; the coefficients on the *direct lines* from maintain home and interest host to life satisfaction indicate indirect effects (i.e., effect that remains after the effect of the explanatory factor is ruled out); $N = 146$; $^{t}p < .10$; $^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .001$)

distant countries. There were no mediation effects of adaptation for participants in similar countries.

With regards to Hypothesis 1, the correlation between contextually-bound well-being and overall well-being was below $r = .39$, $p < .05$, in samples from both culturally distant and similar host societies. This indicates that, although there was an association, the two types of well-being as measured by psychological adaptation and life satisfaction refer to distinct psychological concepts within this sample of Romanian migrants.

With regards to Hypothesis 2, adaptation to host culture fully mediated the effects of interest in maintaining home culture on life satisfaction (see Fig. 1). Treating contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural adaptation as mediators led to significant explanatory power for the variance in life satisfaction of migrants, $R^2 = .16$, $p < .001$. The results revealed that maintaining home culture predicted lower contextually-bound well-being ($F(1, 144) = 39.82$, $b = -.61$, $p < .001$), and lower sociocultural adaptation, $F(1, 144) = 7.89$, $b = -.28$, $p < .001$. Together, both factors predicted overall well-being ($F(3, 142) = 9.34$, $p < .001$), in terms of contextually-bound well-being ($b = .29$, $p < .004$), and sociocultural adaptation, $b = .17$, $p < .07$.

With regards to Hypothesis 3, there was a partial mediation effect of adaptation for the association between interest in host culture and overall well-being, providing partial support for the hypothesis that contextually-bound well-being explains the association between acculturation and overall-well-being. The model in which contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural adaptation were included as mediators explained a significant proportion of the total variance, $R^2 = .19$, $p < .001$. Findings showed that interest in host culture predicted greater sociocultural adaptation ($F(1, 144) = 4.38$, $p < .03$), but did not predict contextually-bound well-being,

$F(1, 144) = .20$, $p = .65$. In turn, both factors predicted overall well-being ($F(3, 142) = 11.25$, $p < .001$) in as regards to contextually-bound well-being ($b = .28$, $p < .003$), and sociocultural adaptation, $b = .20$, $p < .03$.

Discussion

Previous studies have been limited in measurement of migrants' well-being: some have assessed it as migrants' psychological adaptation (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999), whereas others have assessed life satisfaction (Koydemir, 2013). This chapter proposes that, instead, there may be two different types of well-being: overall and contextually-bound, and that disentangling these two types of well-being is important for investigating migrant emerging adults (MEAs) living in culturally distant host societies. By separating the effects of developmental and migration-related factors for MEAs' well-being, this distinction could potentially contribute to more effective interventions.

Context, Context, Context

The living contexts of migrants affect their well-being. However, this effect is strongly contextually-bound compared to overall well-being. There was a minimal correlation between overall well-being, as measured by life satisfaction scale, and contextually-bound well-being, as measured by a psychological adaptation scale, which suggests migrants' overall and contextually-bound well-being are two distinct concepts. In line with Galchenko and van de Vijver (2007), the results shows that Romanian migrants in similar host cultures reported slightly higher psychological and sociocultural adaptation when compared with Romanian migrants in distant host cultures. In other words, it was easier for Romanian MEAs to adapt to host societies that are similar to their home country than to host societies that are dissimilar. However, as other research has found (González-Castro & Ubillos, 2011), the results suggest that Romanian MEAs in distant and similar cultures were equally satisfied with their life.

Romanian MEAs in similar and distant host cultures were equally satisfied with their life perhaps because of a fit between the value climate in their host countries and their personal values (Schiefer, Möllering, & Daniel, 2012). The hypothesis that there is self-selection in migration (Nakosteen & Zimmer, 1980) – migrants rationally decide on their country of destination depending on their interests – would predict that migrants achieve a satisfactory life when their personal values are in line with the values of the host country.

Different Templates for the Overall Well-Being in Distant and Similar Host Cultures?

By differentiating two types of well-being, the results identified one possible template for Romanian migrants' life satisfaction. Acculturation orientation influences contextually-bound well-being of migrants which in turn shapes their overall well-being. However, the results support this template only for Romanian migrants in host cultures that are dissimilar to their home cultures. Perhaps for Romanian migrants in host cultures that are similar to their home culture, there is a distinct template for their life satisfaction. Generally speaking, because in similar cultures migrants have fewer significant burdens of adaptation (e.g., learning a local language that is similar to the migrants' mother tongues), there may be other factors more pertinent to overall well-being, such as perceptions of discrimination (González-Castro & Ubillos, 2011) or a lack of accomplishments (Stefenel, 2012). Further research is needed to understand the manner in which the two types of well-being are influenced by societies' contexts of migration and person-relevant factors.

Implications for Research on Well-Being of Romanian MEAs

Since Romania became a member of the European Union in 2007, there has been a massive out flux of migration with an (under-) estimated number of two million migrants (Institutul Național de Statistică, 2013). During this time, the preferred European destination countries were Italy and Spain (Fundația pentru o Societate Deschisă, 2006). Perhaps for pragmatic reasons, previous researchers also followed this pattern of migration and focused on studying Romanians in Italy and Spain. Although this research was a reflection of the contemporary social reality, there have been a number of recent social events that could affect, either in a positive or negative manner, well-being of Romanian MEAs in Europe. For example, the work restrictions within the European Union were officially lifted for Romanians (and Bulgarians) on January 1, 2014 ("Romania and Bulgaria restrictions lifted," 2014). On the one hand, this event has allowed Romanian MEAs to seek a better education and economic status in more developed European countries. On the other hand, the event has created a climate of prejudice and potential discrimination ("EU tries to calm fears," 2014) that might harm migrants' satisfaction with life over time. Events like this and factors that are relevant for this migrant group in each European country (e.g., Brexit in the UK) may provide insights into how contextual characteristics affect well-being of Romanian MEAs. To avoid a biased view of well-being of Romanian MEAs, future research should consider the role of contextual factors in a more systematic manner. One approach is to separate contextually-bound

well-being from overall well-being, examine possible discrepancies among the two, and determine the degree to which these discrepancies are caused by migration-related and/or age-related factors.

Implications for Research on the Well-Being of Youth and MEAs

In the past, researchers have used terms like well-being, psychological adaptation, life satisfaction, as well as depressive symptoms interchangeably to describe well-being of migrants. The literature is at times inconsistent as to whether there is a more or less adjustment of youth migrants' well-being compare to natives (Dimitrova et al., 2016). This chapter provides empirical support for one way to reconcile these inconsistencies by having a more nuanced view of the concept of well-being: differentiating between migrants' overall and contextually-bound well-being. While contextually-bound well-being takes into account the effect of acculturation process on migrants' well-being, overall well-being is a general representation of migrants' satisfaction with life. This distinction provides a more accurate account of which aspect of migrants' well-being is problematic, and may contribute to the development of more focused intervention strategies. For instance, the strategy of facilitating adaptation may be more appropriate for individuals who show signs of poor contextually-bound well-being. Poor well-being among migrants may have nothing to do with acculturation process and instead be the result of depressive symptoms. Some individuals (migrant or not) are more likely to suffer from chronic depression than others (Klein, Kotov, & Bufferd, 2011). Wrongly targeting these individuals with strategies developed to facilitate adaptation to their host societies may not provide the desired effects.

Perhaps the strongest implication of this chapter is the suggestion that migration and age-related factors might have different effects on MEAs' well-being. For example, migration-related factors (e.g., learning a new language) may affect MEAs' contextually-bound well-being, whereas age-related factors (e.g., emerging from the parental protection) may affect their overall well-being. Re-location to other countries at an age when individuals have not reached full maturity can pose additional burdens to their satisfaction with life. One such burden is the need to balance cultural elements from both home and host societies in an attempt to establish an identity, a process highly common among individuals with two cultural affiliations (Dimitrova, Bender, Chasiotis, & van de Vijver, 2013). Therefore, the present chapter suggests distinguishing between factors which contribute to migrants' contextually-bound and overall well-being. As a result, future research could identify which migration and age-related factors should be emphasized in interventions for improving well-being of youth and MEAs.

Although the present study was on one specific group of migrants (Romanian MEAs), the results are also applicable to other ethnic groups. According to positive

psychology assumptions, youth and MEAs should have similar levels of life satisfaction regardless of moving to distant or similar host countries. The present chapter suggests that it is MEAs' contextually-bound well-being and not their overall well-being that is dependent on cultural differences between home and host countries. The finding that adaptation to host culture explains the associations between acculturation orientation and life satisfaction brings insights into how negative effects of migration-related distress may be overcome by learning sociocultural skills of host societies. For instance, migrants can greatly benefit from learning the local language and developing a friendship network including members of the local community (Fowler & Mumford, 1999). At the same time, this separation between contextually-bound and overall well-being provides a more detailed approach to studying migrants' well-being by combining migration and age-related literature.

Conclusion

The present chapter attempted to reconcile mixed evidence about well-being of migrants during their acculturation process. A distinction between life satisfaction as overall well-being and psychological adaptation as contextually-bound well-being was introduced. In the current study, Romanian migrant-emerging-adults' life satisfaction (overall well-being) was predicted by their acculturation orientation as explained by the degree of adaptation to host societies (contextually-bound well-being and sociocultural adaptation). Moreover, migrant and age-related factors influence MEAs' different types of well-being. Furthermore, the chapter suggests that cultural differences between migrants' host and home countries affect their contextually-bound (but not overall) well-being. However, because the two are associated, it becomes clear that factors influencing contextually-bound well-being could affect migrants' overall well-being as well. A number of theoretical directions were introduced with the hope of developing more specifically tailored intervention strategies for MEAs.

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Collective Identity Resources for Positive Well-Being Among Turkish-Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian Minority Adolescents in Bulgaria

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Abstract This chapter advances research in understudied minority groups in Eastern Europe by providing empirical evidence on a novel approach that examines collective identity assets for optimal well-being of youth. We apply collective identity perspective conceptualized in terms of strong relationships among ethnic, familial, and religious group memberships in comparing adolescents from two stigmatized ethnic minority groups and their mainstream Bulgarian peers. Turkish-Bulgarians and Muslim-Bulgarians historically experienced continuous assimilation attempts and severe discrimination, effectively limiting their religious and ethnic minority rights (Vassilev R, Glob Rev Ethnopolitics 3:40–51, 2004). This chapter furthers our understanding of multiple identity resources as core component of well-being of ethnic minority youth with Turkish-Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian background. These results further extend findings on identity and well-being conducted in Western European and American settings to the unique and scarcely researched context of long-term acculturating ethnic minority groups in Eastern Europe.

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A dominant developmental task for ethnic and religious minority adolescents is to successfully negotiate multiple social identifications in the domain of ethnicity, family, and religion. However, research has generally focused on the importance of these sources of identification for identity formation as separate domains. There is scarce empirical work that investigates these aspects of development in conjunction as they shape identity. Much work has addressed dimensions and correlates of ethnic identity (Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001); in our view, we need to move beyond this work and push the field toward a more inclusive approach that examines the combined influence of ethnic identity with other aspects of identity development (e.g., religious, familial) in shaping psychological well-being. In addressing this gap, we are interested in how multiple identifications that revolve around ethnic, familial, and religious groups may impact well-being. In so doing, we adopt a collective identity perspective to study ethnic, familial, and religious identity because they represent affiliative and communal sources of identification for ethnic minority youth.

Our conceptualization of collective identity draws from the definition of Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) that includes the affective commitment to other members of the category as well as behavioral implications that emerge from that commitment. In this chapter, we advance a new conceptualization of collective identity which *includes* specific components related to ethnicity, family, and religion. We suggest that each of these elements of collective identity (ethnic, familial and religious) is used by youth as resource for well-being.

We focus specifically on youths' collective identity in ethnic minority groups in an Eastern European post-communist context. This constellation creates unique conditions to advance the study of well-being and identity. Turkish-Bulgarians and Muslim-Bulgarians were exposed to extensive and rapid assimilation policy actions, which forced nearly one million people to change their names and religion (Dimitrov, 2000). As a psychological consequence, members of these ethnic minority groups also have to carefully negotiate their collective identity and sense of belonging, which, as we suggest, are related to well-being. Addressing the relationship between collective identity and well-being is critical for interventions that aim to promote adolescents' well-being among Turkish-Bulgarians and Muslim-Bulgarians. Nevertheless, until now, the majority of research on identity focuses predominantly on short-term ethnic minority groups in other European countries (Yagmur & Van de Vijver, 2012). Therefore, ethnic minority groups in Eastern Europe (most notably Turkish) have been in the area for centuries, unlike immigrants who arrived in the late 1960s in the Netherlands, U.K. and Germany. Considerably less is known about ethnic minority groups with a much longer history of settlement in Eastern Europe (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2012).

Conceptualization of Collective Identity

We focus on components of collective identity represented by ethnic, familial, and religious identity because they provide important sources of identification and their associations with well-being have been widely documented in ethnic minority youth (Lopez, Huynh, & Fuligni, 2011). For each of the collective identity components, five subcomponents have been taken into account. We follow the literature in suggesting that each collective identity component comprises self-categorization, evaluation, importance, attachment, and behavioral involvement (Ashmore et al., 2004). *Self-categorization* regards identifying oneself as a member of a social group; *evaluation* concerns the positive or negative attitude toward the social grouping; *importance* refers to the degree of salience of a group membership to self-concept; and *attachment* captures the emotional or affective involvement felt with a group. *Behavioral involvement* refers to the extent to which a person engages in behaviors related to a given identity component. These collective identity subcomponents are represented in the measures of ethnic, familial, and religious identity in the present chapter.

Collective Identity and Well-Being

The study described in this chapter is based on our previous research in long-term acculturating ethnic minority groups in Europe. In this research, we focused on ethnic, familial, and religious identity components; their central role for youths' identity processes is well established in the literature. Specifically for ethnic minority youth, higher levels of ethnic, familial, and religious identity have been found to be associated with higher well-being and better coping with acculturative stress (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2013a, Furrow, King, & White, 2004).

Ethnic identity is a central issue for minority adolescents as a means of maintaining positive feelings that accompany a sense of ethnic group belonging (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Overall, ethnic identity belonging is likely to be stronger for ethnic minority than mainstream groups, as a result of contextual pressures to assimilate to the mainstream culture (Phinney et al., 2001) or when there is hostility towards minority groups (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). Additionally, across various ethnic groups, a strong sense of ethnic identity belonging has been associated with enhanced life satisfaction (Yap, Settles, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2011), and adaptive psychosocial functioning (Smith & Silva, 2011).

Familial identity represents the most proximal context in the lives of children and adolescents, and is thus of critical importance to youth themselves and to researchers who study them (Güngör, Fleischmann, & Phalet, 2011; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Particularly in ethnic minority settings, the family provides a primary source of identification with a strong impact on adolescent identity (Hughes et al., 2006;

Verkuyten, Thijs, & Stevens, 2012). The literature on familial identity is rather scarce as most work has focused largely on one's values regarding family obligation, relatedness, and commitment to the family (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2008), which in turn is associated with positive adjustment (Vazsonyi & Pickering, 2003) and health-protective behaviors against negative effects of stress (Cleveland, Feinberg, & Greenberg, 2010). One exception to the scarce attention on familial identity is the study by Kiang et al. (2008) who used a person-centered approach to the study of ethnic, family, and religious identities among ethnic minority youth in the U.S. The results confirmed that high levels of all identity components were associated with more positive affect and self-esteem, and less negative affect. We draw from this prior work in taking into account extant evidence that for ethnic minority groups, a sense of identification with family members is vitally important to persevere in the face of adversity.

Religious identity represented by feelings of belonging and attachment to a religious group is at the core of an individual's self-concept (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009). A strong religious identity has been shown to foster positive well-being, including low levels of disruptive behaviors (Udel, Donenberg, & Emerson, 2011) and internalizing and externalizing problems (Bartkowski, Xu, & Levin, 2008).

The Present Chapter

This study reported in this chapter was carried out in Bulgaria, which, like other Eastern European countries, is experiencing marked political and economic instability due to the shift from a communist to a capitalist economy. The biggest ethnic minority groups are Turkish-Bulgarians and Muslim-Bulgarians.

Turkish-Bulgarians represent nearly 10% of the total population of nearly seven million people (National Statistics Institute, 2011) and inhabit mainly the South-Eastern parts of the country close to the Turkish-Bulgarian border. They are the largest ethnic minority group with a separate language (Turkish), religion (Islam), and culture (Turkish) in the Christian Orthodox Bulgarian context. They have lived in Bulgaria for centuries and faced much discrimination and assimilation in the late 1980s with severe restrictions to education, language, and expressions of cultural identity through a name-changing policy (Dimitrov, 2000).

Muslim-Bulgarians are Bulgarians who converted to Islam during the Ottoman Empire (1299–1923). Their group has been estimated as comprising up to 4% of the total national population (Konstantinov, Alhaug, & Igla, 1991). Similar to the Turkish-Bulgarians, Muslim-Bulgarians faced prolonged assimilation campaigns (Eminov, 2007) but belong to a Muslim community that speaks Bulgarian as their mother tongue.

In summary, both the Turkish-Bulgarians and Muslim-Bulgarians historically experienced continuous assimilation attempts and severe discrimination, effectively limiting their religious and ethnic minority rights (Dimitrov, 2000; Vassilev, 2004). We were prompted to study collective identity in these target groups because ethnic,

familial, and religious components are particularly relevant in the context of their history and acculturation. Specifically, in addition to ethnic and familial identity, religious identity is the distinctive feature of the Muslim-Bulgarian as well as Turkish-Bulgarian ethnic minority. A collective identity approach that explores these three components is also a necessity to understand the local conditions and acculturation experiences of these populations as well as to advance ethnic identity research and theory toward a more global perspective and integration of multiple identities in young people's lives. Additionally, studying the relation between collective identity components and well-being in such marginalized groups may contribute to insights that will foster psychological well-being among young ethnic minority group members.

Hypotheses

The main goal of the present study is to highlight the strengths of investigating the contribution of three identity dimensions (i.e., ethnic, familial, religious) to well-being using a collective identity approach, since most prior work investigated these identities separately (Ashmore et al., 2004). In so doing, we adopt two specific steps in testing (a) mean differences in identity components and (b) the contribution of these three identity dimensions to well-being. Following prior research (Verkuyten et al., 2012) we suggest that it is important to explore differences in salience of the three collective identity components in the particular context of our ethnic minority groups. Therefore, we compared ethnic, familial, and religious identity among adolescents from two stigmatized minority groups (Turkish-Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian adolescents) and their mainstream (Bulgarian) peers. In addition, we investigated the widely reported relationship between identity and well-being (Smith & Silva, 2011) by testing a model of collective identity in which different identities influence well-being.

We advance four specific hypotheses. First, because previous studies showed relatively greater relevance and salience of ethnic heritage than mainstream identity in marginalized ethnic minority groups (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999), we expected Turkish-Bulgarian youth to show a stronger ethnic Turkish than Bulgarian identity (*Hypothesis 1*). Second, the Muslim-Bulgarian ethnic minority is ethnically Bulgarian like the mainstream society but religiously Muslim in contrast to the predominant Orthodox religion in Bulgaria. Therefore, their ethnic identity is not bicultural as is the case for Turkish-Bulgarians but mainly ethnic Bulgarian. Because of this specific context, we do not expect differences in ethnic identity between Bulgarians and Muslim-Bulgarians as their ethnic identity is Bulgarian like the identity of the mainstream Bulgarians. Therefore, we expect that Muslim-Bulgarian and Bulgarian youth, because of their monocultural ethnic background, reveal a stronger Bulgarian identity compared to their Turkish-Bulgarian peers (*Hypothesis 2*). Third, because religious identity is particularly important for Muslim groups (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009), our third hypothesis is that both Turkish-Bulgarian and

Muslim-Bulgarian youth would show a stronger religious identity than the mainstream Bulgarian group, in which a generally less pronounced religiousness has been documented also due to the anti-religion policy during the communist era (Halman & Petterson, 2001) (*Hypothesis 3*). Fourth, drawing on our conceptualization of collective identity, we model together the contribution of identity components (i.e., ethnic, familial, and religious) and its association with well-being. Our fourth prediction is that these three identity dimensions are all positively related to well-being in both ethnic minority and majority groups (*Hypothesis 4*).

Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants were 366 adolescents aged 16–18 years ($M = 16.72$, $SD = 0.71$), attending various schools in the South Central and South-Western regions of Bulgaria. This sample included Turkish-Bulgarian ($n = 145$), Muslim-Bulgarian ($n = 85$), and (majority group) Bulgarian ($n = 136$) youth (see Table 1). The three groups did not differ with respect to gender ($\chi^2(2, N = 366) = 5.59$, $p = .06$) but there were age differences, with Bulgarians being about four months younger than ethnic minority youth, $F(2, 365) = 5.28$, $p < .001$. Cultural groups differed with respect to parental education and occupation ($\chi^2(4, N = 361) = 112.87$, $p < .001$), with Bulgarian youth obtaining higher scores.

Table 1 Sample characteristics by ethnic group

	Turkish-Bulgarian ($n = 145$)	Muslim-Bulgarian ($n = 85$)	Bulgarian ($n = 136$)
Age (in years)			
Range	16–18	16–18	16–18
M (*SD*)	16.66 (0.72)	16.93 (0.66)	16.65 (0.70)
Gender			
Boys	83 (57.2%)	37 (43.5%)	80 (58.8%)
Girls	62 (42.8%)	48 (56.5%)	56 (41.2%)
Parental education and occupation			
Low	116 (82.3%)	65 (77.4%)	39 (28.7%)
Middle	24 (17%)	19 (22.6%)	62 (45.6%)
High	1 (0.7 %)	–	35 (25.7%)
Collective, *M (SD)*			
Turkish	3.48 (0.73)	–	–
Bulgarian	$2.80 (0.72)_a$	$3.54 (0.71)_b$	$3.85 (0.62)_b$
Familial	$3.71 (0.69)_a$	$4.38 (0.51)_b$	$4.36 (0.48)_b$
Religious	$3.35 (0.60)_a$	$3.36 (0.71)_a$	$3.11 (.87)_b$

Means with different subscripts differ significantly among ethnic groups

Prior to the data collection, local school authorities and parents were informed about the study. Participants were sampled from seven public schools in the Central-South and South-Western regions of Bulgaria. The majority of the mainstream Bulgarian sample was recruited from the capital city (Sofia). Specifically, there were three ethnically mixed schools with Turkish-Bulgarian, Bulgarian, and Muslim-Bulgarian students. Two schools consisted of students from Muslim-Bulgarian backgrounds only. There was one school primarily with Turkish-Bulgarian students and another one with Bulgarian students, respectively. We checked whether the school composition had any effect on the collective identity components by running a MANCOVA with school (four levels – mixed, Turkish, Muslim-Bulgarian and Bulgarian composition) as independent factor and the overall scores of ethnic, familial, and religious identity as dependent variables. The results revealed a significant group effect for Bulgarian, $F(3, 330) = 18.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .15$, familial, $F(3, 330) = 9.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .082$, and religious identity, $F(3, 330) = 8.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .073$. Only students from Muslim-Bulgarian schools revealed higher scores of Bulgarian, familial, and religious identity compared to their peers from mono-ethnic schools. Significant results emerged for Turkish ethnic identity ($F(3, 330) = 5.30$, $p < .025$, $\eta^2 = .429$), which was more pronounced in students from mixed schools. All subsequent analyses controlled for school type, age, parental education, and occupation effects.

Prior to the study that yielded the above analyses a pilot study with mixed ethnic participants was carried out to assure the clarity of the translated measures according to the recommended procedures for the establishment of linguistic equivalence (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The pretest involved a total of 152 adolescents who were not included in the present study, and revealed good psychometric properties of the measures (internal reliability ranging from .78 to .95). For the present study, data were collected in a classroom setting during regular class hours. Filling out the questionnaire took approximately 30–45 min. All measures were presented only in Bulgarian, because in the pilot study (in which versions in all languages were available) all Turkish-Bulgarian students chose the Bulgarian language version, possibly because they receive formal schooling only in Bulgarian (Rudin & Eminov, 1993).

Measures

Sociodemographic Questionnaire A short questionnaire had items about self-reported ethnicity and nationality, parental occupation and education (as a proxy for SES), gender, age, place of birth, and religious affiliation. A proxy for SES was computed by using a composite score of both parental education (primary, secondary, and university degree) and occupation (unskilled, semi-professional, and professional job), coded into three levels of low, middle, and high scores.

Collective Identity We used a comprehensive measure of identity consisting of adolescent self-report questionnaires previously applied in a sample of youth in

Bulgaria (Dimitrova et al., 2013a). The collective identity scales (ethnic, familial, and religious) were created by generating items based on identity components of self-categorization, attachment, evaluation, importance, and behavioral involvement (Ashmore et al., 2004). All measures have been applied in our prior research with various ethnic minority groups across Europe and have shown strong psychometric properties in terms of internal consistency and scalar invariance across cultural groups (Dimitrova, Aydinli, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2015; Dimitrova et al., 2013b, 2013c). Four measures of collective identity were used (Bulgarian mainstream, Turkish ethnic, familial, and religious) and for each, an average score of items represented the scale for each identity component, with higher scores indicating stronger endorsement. The Turkish ethnic identity scale was administered only to the bicultural Turkish group. In sum, there were three overall scores (i.e., Bulgarian mainstream, familial, and religious identity) for the Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian groups and four overall scores (i.e., Bulgarian mainstream, Turkish ethnic, familial, and religious) for the Turkish-Bulgarian group.

Bulgarian Mainstream Identity Scale This identity measure investigated mainstream identity with 21-items such as "I consider myself Bulgarian" (self-categorization), "I am proud to be Bulgarian" (evaluation), "Being Bulgarian is important for me" (importance), "I feel strongly connected to Bulgarian people" (attachment), and "I participate in Bulgarian cultural practices" (behavioral involvement). The answers were given on a 5 point Likert scale, ranging from *completely disagree* to *completely agree*. An overall score was created based on the composite average score of self-categorization, attachment, evaluation, importance, and behavioral involvement. Across ethnic groups, internal consistencies for the scale ranged from $\alpha = .87$ to $\alpha = .93$.

Turkish Ethnic Identity Scale This scale was developed to investigate Turkish ethnic identity using 21 items including "I consider myself Turkish" (self-categorization), "I am proud to be Turkish" (evaluation), "Being Turkish is important for me" (importance), "I feel strongly connected to Turkish people" (attachment), and "I participate in Turkish cultural practices" (behavioral involvement). The answers were given on a 5 point Likert scale (which was also used for the other identity scales), ranging from *completely disagree* to *completely agree* with an internal consistency of .88. This scale was applied only to Turkish-Bulgarian youth as they hold a bicultural ethnic identity represented by ethnic Turkish and mainstream Bulgarian, contrary to Muslim-Bulgarians who are monocultural and hold a Bulgarian identity only.

Familial Identity Scale This scale adopted the same format as the ethnic and mainstream identity scales. Examples of the 21 items evaluating familial identity were "I see myself as a member of my family" (self-categorization), "I am proud to be a member of my family" (evaluation), "Being a member of my family is important for me" (importance), "I feel strongly connected to my family" (attachment), and "I help my family" (behavioral involvement). The internal consistencies ranged from $\alpha = .91$ to $\alpha = .93$.

Religious Identity Scale This measure was developed for ethnic minority groups in Eastern Europe (Dimitrova et al., 2015, 2013b, 2013c) and contains 21 items again adopting the previously reported format of ethnic and familial identity scales with questions referring to religious identification. Sample items were "I see myself as a member of my religious community" (self-categorization), "I am proud to be a member of my religious community" (evaluation)," Being a member of a religious group is important for me" (importance), "I feel strongly connected to my religious group" (attachment), and "I have spent much time exploring my religion (e.g., its rituals, history and traditions)" (behavioral involvement) ($\alpha = .89$ to $\alpha = .96$).

Well-Being The Positive Affective Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) was applied to measure positive affect (PA). It consists of ten positive mood descriptors (e.g., "enthusiastic, proud, active"); their occurrence during the past two weeks is rated on a five-point scale (ranging from *very slightly* to *extremely*) ($\alpha = .73$ to $\alpha = .90$).

Results

Identity Salience Across Ethnic Groups

In order to test our first hypothesis (stronger ethnic Turkish than Bulgarian mainstream identity for Turkish-Bulgarians), we ran a paired sample *t* test to compare Turkish and Bulgarian components of ethnic identity within the Turkish-Bulgarian group. Results for the Turkish-Bulgarian group revealed that the Turkish identity is more salient than the Bulgarian identity ($t(141) = 8.17$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .93$), which is in line with our prediction that ethnic heritage identity would be more salient in ethnic minority group members than their mainstream identity.

In order to test our second and third hypotheses, we explored mean differences in identity components in a MANCOVA with group (three levels) as independent factor, with age, school type, parental education and occupation as covariates, and the overall scores of mainstream Bulgarian, familial, and religious identity as dependent variables. The multivariate test of group was significant, Wilks' Lambda = .57, $F(2, 326) = 34.00$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. The univariate analyses revealed a significant group effect for Bulgarian, $F(2, 326) = 58.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .27$, familial, $F(2, 326) = 38.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .19$, and religious identity, $F(2, 326) = 3.06$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Bonferroni post hoc comparisons revealed that Turkish-Bulgarian youth scored lower on Bulgarian and familial identity than both Muslim-Bulgarian and Bulgarian youth. As predicted, both the Turkish-Bulgarians and the Muslim-Bulgarians scored higher on religious identity compared to their mainstream peers.

Identity and Well-Being

In a first step, preliminary analyses were conducted to examine the measurement model of the collective identity three-dimensional latent construct of ethnic, familial and religious identity. Exploratory factor analyses were conducted with the three identity measures (Bulgarian, religious, and family) in the Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian group; the measure of Turkish identity was added in the Turkish-Bulgarian group. In each analysis a strong first factor was found, explaining 63% of the variance in the Turkish-Bulgarian, 59% in the Bulgarian, and 58% in the Muslim-Bulgarian groups. Therefore, we found support for the identity dimensions loading onto one latent construct of collective identity.

In a second step, we tested our fourth hypothesis that deals with the role of collective identity on well-being in a path model in AMOS (Arbuckle, 2009). Fit indices adopted to interpret the model fit were the χ^2 statistic, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; recommended value $\leq$.08) and the comparative fit index (CFI; recommended value $\geq$.90) (Marsh, Hau, & Grayson, 2005). The model tested direct associations among one latent factor of collective identity (i.e., ethnic, familial, and religious components), and a manifest well-being variable (PA average scores) across ethnic groups. We chose to test this model as it supports our reasoning about our collective identity approach (comprising life domains that are relevant for a sense of self) and its central role for well-being. Moreover, as we argued in the introduction, this model is more parsimonious than the alternative model in which each identity would have its independent contribution to well-being. Therefore, we used a latent factor for collective identity because we were interested in the way the three identity components (ethnic, familial, and religious) jointly relate to well-being.

A first model tested these relationships in the Muslim-Bulgarian and the Bulgarian group as their collective identity was represented by ethnic Bulgarian, familial, and religious components. The structural covariances model was the most restrictive model with a good fit, $\chi^2(6, N = 221) = 18.31$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .080, and CFI = .912. As can be seen in Fig. 1, the model supports our expectations regarding the relationship between collective identity components and well-being of youth. Ethnic, familial, and religious identities were significantly and positively associated with well-being across both groups. Therefore, we can conclude that our hypothesis on ethnic, familial, and religious identity as important components and predictors of well-being for the Muslim-Bulgarians and Bulgarians was confirmed (upper panel of Fig. 1).

An analogous path model was tested for the Turkish-Bulgarian group with four identity domains (Turkish, Bulgarian, familial, and religious) as predictors of well-being. The model showed an excellent fit ($\chi^2(1, N = 278) = .223$, $p = .636$, RMSEA = .000 and CFI = 1.000), providing support for our hypothesis that the structural relationship between collective identity components and well-being is similar across groups. It is important to note that despite strong factor loadings onto one collective identity factor, when related to well-being, the loading of Bulgarian identity on the latent construct was not significant; so, for Turkish-Bulgarian youth,

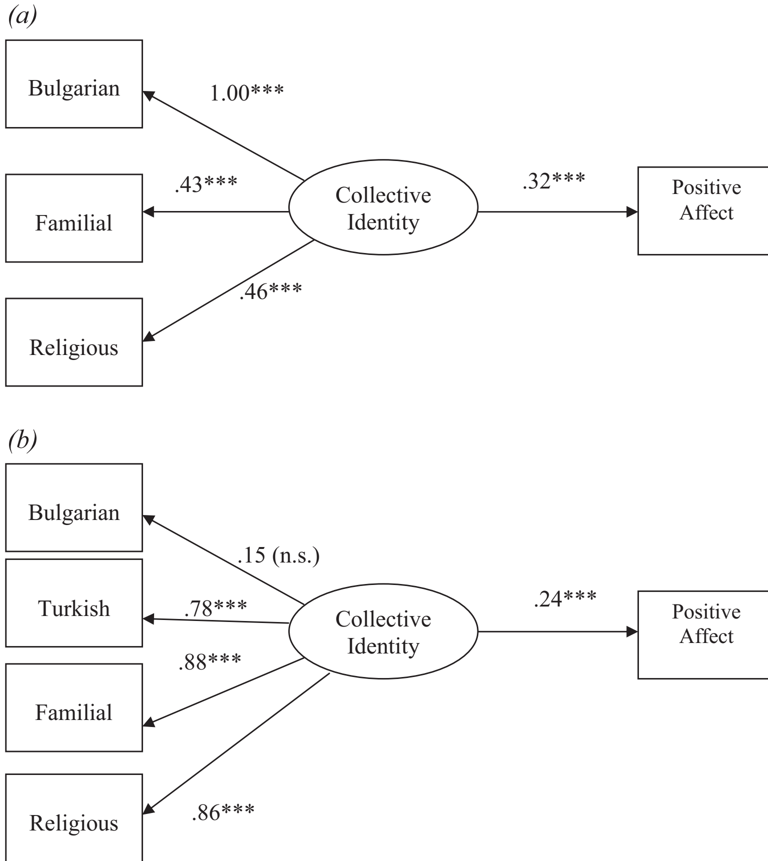

Fig. 1 Path model of collective identity and well-being. (**a**) Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian Adolescents (Multi-Group Path Model). (**b**) Turkish-Bulgarian Adolescents. Note. The coefficients represent average loadings for Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian adolescents in the structural covariances model (upper panel of the figure). Bulgarian identity was fixed at one in the unstandardized solution model. ***$p < .001$. *n.s.* nonsignificant

Bulgarian identity is not a relevant part of the their collective identity when related to well-being; only ethnic Turkish, familial, and religious identity are salient for their well-being (lower panel of Fig. 1).

Discussion

This chapter aimed at advancing research in important, yet understudied minority groups in Eastern Europe by providing empirical evidence on a novel approach that examines collective identity comprising ethnic, familial, and religious identity in Turkish-Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian ethnic minority and mainstream

Bulgarian youth. Our results support the relation between collective identity (i.e., ethnic mainstream, familial and religious) and well-being among Muslim-Bulgarian and Bulgarian youth. The study of the long-term length of residence of our target groups is an important addition to the literature on the acculturation of the ethnic minority groups in Western European context that often have a much shorter history in their new countries.

Collective Identity Differences Across Ethnic Groups

In our first hypothesis, we expected Turkish ethnic identity to be stronger than Bulgarian mainstream identity for Turkish-Bulgarians. Our results were according to expectations and also in line with prior work documenting the salience of ethnic identity in the context of pressure to assimilate into the mainstream culture (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Phinney et al., 2001) and hostility towards minority groups (Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999), as is the case for our target groups. Accordingly, we found a stronger Turkish than mainstream identity in the Turkish-Bulgarian participants. Hence, ethnic and mainstream identities may receive different levels of endorsement, with the Turkish identity being more relevant than the Bulgarian identity. The Turkish identity that makes Turkish-Bulgarians unique in their context is relatively strong. Having a strong Turkish identity makes these adolescents distinct from the other ethnic groups, while simultaneously preserving the ties within their own ethnic group.

In line with our second prediction, we found that both Muslim-Bulgarian and Bulgarian youth hold stronger Bulgarian mainstream identity than their Turkish-Bulgarian peers. Compared to the Turkish-Bulgarian community, the Muslim-Bulgarian community has a less widespread socioeconomic, political, and cultural network, which is less ethnically vital and tends to conform more to the mainstream culture (Dimitrova et al., 2012). This result points to the critical importance of considering contextual factors in the study of ethnic identity. In a context of extreme marginalization and assimilation pressure, ethnic minority youth endorse more strongly their mainstream identity as a resource that fosters psychological well-being (Dimitrova et al., 2013b). In fact, we found support for the construct of collective identity being related to well-being in both groups (i.e., Muslim-Bulgarian minority and Bulgarian mainstream), even though they differ in religious affiliations (Muslim and Christian Orthodox, respectively) and socioeconomic positions within the Bulgarian society. Therefore, our results are intriguing within the debate on Islam in many Western countries that has doubted the joint existence of a strong religious and national identity of Muslim minority groups (Verkuyten, 2005). The same issue has also been raised currently in the US where members of Muslim minority groups with a strong national identity have been reported to show elevated levels of discrimination, particularly when they have a strong religious identity (Awad, 2010).

In line with our third hypothesis, we found that both Turkish-Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarians hold stronger religious identity than mainstreamers. These findings are concordant with prior work showing that Muslim youth have a stronger religious identity than their non-Muslim peers (Saroglou & Galand, 2004). The strong religious identity of our ethnic minority groups may also be viewed in the context of discrimination and assimilation in Bulgaria. A strong sense of religious identity (i.e., self-categorization, belonging, importance, evaluation, and behaviors) may develop in response to hostility towards the religious affiliation of the Turkish-Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian communities in Bulgaria. Accordingly, ethnic minority youth of devalued Muslim groups like the ones in our study tend to endorse their religious identity as a core feature of their distinctiveness from the Bulgarian group (Eminov, 2007).

Identity and Well-Being

Consistent with our fourth hypothesis, our results suggest that psychological well-being is affected by collective identity in all ethnic groups. Consistent support was provided for our model in which three aspects of collective identity – ethnicity, family, and religion – work together to predict well-being. However, important differences also emerged with regards to the contribution of mainstream ethnic identity to well-being of Turkish-Bulgarian youth. It was interesting to observe that Bulgarian identity of Turkish-Bulgarians was not significantly related to their collective identity. Social context factors of discrimination and assimilation history of the Turkish-Bulgarian group may be responsible for the fact that Bulgarian identity was not a salient identity for this ethnic minority youth. This finding has conceptual implications in that not all social categories will provide sources of identification that are part of a collective identity fostering well-being. Knowledge of the local context is needed to appreciate which social categories can be expected (not) to contribute to collective identity. This further confirms the need to examine collective identity at an integrated level rather than a collection of identities at a single level to understand its relationship with well-being across diverse groups. Similar findings also emerged in Roma, Muslim-Bulgarian, Turkish-Bulgarian, and mainstream groups across different European countries, thereby confirming the applicability of the collective identity model to youth from very different ethnic backgrounds (Dimitrova et al., 2015, 2012, 2013b, 2013c). The findings reported in the present chapter add to these prior results in supporting the notion of the psychologically beneficial effects of identity in that a strong ethnic, familial, and religious identity creates a sense of belonging that enhances well-being.

Strengths of Collective Identity Approach

We see various strengths in the joint study of ethnic, familial, and religious components of collective identity. First of all, only scarce attention has been devoted to the influence of collective identity components on well-being of youth. Our approach addresses this important literature gap by exploring these multiple identities and their influence on well-being. As the field of positive youth development flourishes among scholars and policy makers, growing attention has been given to protective factors that promote positive development. In this pursuit, a collective identity approach that highlights the contributions of multiple identity domains is relevant for well-being.

Another important strength of our approach regards the measurement of ethnic identity. Most research has applied a unidimensional perspective, referring to heritage or mainstream identity only (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Ethnic identity incorporates both heritage identity associated with the immigrant culture as well as the mainstream identity of the dominant culture. Ethnic identity, viewed here as an individual's sense of belonging and commitment to a group or culture (Phinney, 1990), is part of the acculturation process and refers to a two-dimensional process (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Therefore, we suggest that it is important to assess both heritage and mainstream (i.e., Turkish and Bulgarian) identity as salient ethnic identity components in youth.

Finally, an advantage of the collective identity approach lies in its potential for stimulating developmental research in a more holistic direction by focusing on multifaceted identity process in multilevel contexts (Ashmore et al., 2004). We also explored identity across different school contexts that pointed to the role of identity differences with regards to the school's ethnic composition. We found that school context plays a role in shaping ethnic identity such that strong Bulgarian mainstream identity emerged in schools with monocultural composition of the students, whereas Turkish ethnic identity was more pronounced in students from mixed schools (i.e., Muslim-Bulgarian, Bulgarian, and Turkish-Bulgarian). Our approach helps to set up an agenda for future research that addresses ethnic minority youth's identity within the context of fine-grained analyses of their multiple socialization experiences in increasingly diverse adolescent populations across cultures and school settings. Research adopting a collective identity approach can stimulate further insights into multifaceted identity components and advance our understanding of today's culturally diverse and complex adolescent development.

Limitations

Our approach has an important methodological limitation. A potential for the collective identity approach is to adopt qualitative methods that will provide additional insights into the complexity of collective identity in adolescence. Additional studies

may want to consider including qualitative methods by employing interviews, focus groups or collective identity maps (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Further, the assessment of identity needs to take into account other potential factors for ethnic identity. It could be that ethnic identity is also related to ethnic discrimination as one source of stress for ethnic minorities and that this stress may affect their well-being over time. The use of measures of discrimination in relation to identity and psychological health in future work may be beneficial for a clearer picture about how identity affects well-being. Another limitation is that we focused on adolescents within a small age range, which limits the generalizability of our results to other age groups. Our study covered late adolescence, a period in which youth are coping with pervasive individual changes and social challenges. Finally, our findings on unique sedentary minority groups are thus limited to the Eastern European context. Therefore, future studies may want to extend this approach to other ethnic minority groups in other acculturating contexts.

Conclusion

This chapter furthers our understanding of collective identity assets of ethnic minority and mainstream youth. Our approach shows the relevance of collective identity as a useful notion for the study of ethnic identity of ethnic minority youth with a diverse ethnic background in post-communist European context. Conceivably, collective identity is a complex process embedded in specific cultural setting and involving a considerable variation among ethnic groups. Salient aspects of ethnic identity (e.g., strong ethnic and weak mainstream identity) reflect universal and common experiences of minority groups in how they face and deal with the demands and challenges in their mainstream cultures. Thus, collective identity may not only be important for well-being, but may also explain salient ethnic differences among adolescents' from ethnic minority groups, who, independently of prolonged ethnic strife and assimilation, are quite distinct from the mainstream Bulgarian culture. Our results further extend findings on identity and well-being conducted in Western European and American settings to the unique and scarcely researched context of long-term acculturating ethnic minority groups in Eastern Europe.

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Positive Youth Development Among Chinese Migrant Youth: The Protective Roles of Future Orientation and Social Support

Shaobing Su, Haiying Guo, and Danhua Lin

Abstract The current chapter applies the Five Cs model of Positive Youth Development (PYD) to investigate if and how future orientation (individual strength) and social support (contextual asset) are related to PYD among migrant youth in China. Participants were 672 migrant youth who completed measures of the 5Cs of confidence, character, competence, caring, and connection, future orientation, and social support. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) showed that the Five Cs structure fit the data well. Linear regression models showed that after controlling for key demographics and characteristics of migration, (1) control over the future was positively associated with all the 5Cs; future expectation predicted confidence and character; hopefulness about future was positively associated with character; (2) social support predicted confidence, character, caring, and connection. Implications of these findings for PYD and optimal well-being and functioning among migrant youth in China are discussed.

Urbanization and industrialization are rapidly occurring in today's China (Wen, Su, Lin, & Li, 2015). According to recent estimates, there were about 280 million of rural-to-urban migrants in China in 2015, about 3.5 million more than that estimated in 2014 (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Repulic of China, 2016). Among these migrants, about 20.8% were children under age 14 (National Committee on Family Planning, 2010). The number of school-age rural children who are migrating with parents or relatives grows to about 13 million by 2015 (Ministry of Education of China, 2015). This large group of youth population is called migrant children and youth, referring to rural youth who are between 6 and 14 years old and

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are migrating with parent(s) or relatives in urban areas for at least 6 months (Zhang, 2003). This youth population grows dramatically and has drawn increasing attention from the Chinese government, researchers, and practitioners. Most existing studies and public media focused on risk and maladaptive development among Chinese migrant youth (Chen, Su, Li, Tam, & Lin, 2014; Guo, Chen, Ye, Pan, & Lin, 2017; Zhou, Gao, Sun, & Luo, 2011), whereas relatively less work emphasized the potentials of this population and positive outcomes. For example, Zhou et al. (2011) found that migrant youth are likely to have undesired developmental outcomes as a result of exposure to multiple developmental risks (e.g., low SES, and high frequency of moving and school transfer). Although some evidence of positive development in migrant youth indicated that better educational outcomes emerged when migrant youth had higher levels of family social support (Wu, Tsang, & Ming, 2014), less work has simultaneously examined the roles of both individual and contextual strengths in PYD among migrant youth. The current chapter fills in this gap through exploring the associations among individual strengths, contextual assets, and PYD.

Five Cs Model of PYD: A Relational Developmental Systems Model

In developmental science, the relational developmental systems (RDS) metatheory frames theories that focus on describing, explaining, and optimizing human development across the life span (Overton, 2015). The RDS approach rejects splits between the individual and the context and conceptualizes development as the result of mutually influential individual ←→ context relations (Overton, 2015). Framed by the RDS metatheory, the Five Cs model of positive youth development (PYD) seeks to understand and enhance the lives of diverse youth based on the relations between strengths of youth and assets within the contexts in their ecology (e.g., families, schools, and out of school programs) (Lerner, Lerner, Bowers, & Geldhof, 2015). The core hypothesis of the Lerner and his colleagues (Lerner et al., 2015) five Cs model of PYD is that, if the strengths of youth (e.g., having hope for the future), can be aligned with the resources for positive growth found in the person's ecological contexts (e.g., adult support in family, school, or community), then young people's positive development may be optimized. The PYD perspective has been adopted in studies that seek to understand thriving in different socio-cultural contexts (e.g., Wen et al., 2015). A handful of studies on PYD have been conducted among diverse groups of youth and have generated findings that enlighten further research and practice for these youth (e.g., Conway, Heary, & Hogan, 2015; Wen et al., 2015). However, no study has verified the measure of the Five Cs model of PYD among Chinese youth. As such, the first purpose of this chapter is to test the structure of the Five Cs model among migrant youth in China.

A key goal of researchers and practitioners focusing on PYD is to identify strengths of young people that help predict and explain young people's positive

development (Callina, Mueller, Buckingham, & Gutierrez, 2015). Youth's goals, expectations, and emotions about the future are strong forces in shaping their development (Callina et al., 2015). Across numerous studies in youth development, future orientation has been considered as an important individual strength that leads to positive development, especially for adolescents who are faced with a number of normative age-specific tasks that may influence their later adult life (Nurmi, 1991; Seginer, 2003). Future orientation is defined as a person's perception regarding their future. Whitaker, Miller, and Clark (2000) conceptualized future orientation as a combination of three components: perceived control over future, future expectation, and hopefulness. Future orientation provides the bases for setting goals and planning, exploring options and making commitments, and consequently guides the person's developmental course (Seginer, 2003). Prior research has found that future orientation was negatively associated with youth's deficit development, such as academic failure, delinquent behavior, substance use, and sexual risk behaviors (Zhang et al., 2009). Although some studies indicated that higher future orientation was related to better developmental outcomes among children and adolescents (Sun & Shek, 2012; Zhang & Fishbach, 2010), relatively fewer studies have examined these relationships among Chinese migrant youth. In this chapter, we consider future orientation as an important individual strength that may be beneficial to the positive development of migrant youth in China.

According to PYD perspective, the mutually beneficial relations between individual strengths and contextual assets foster PYD (Lerner et al., 2015). Social support has represented a contextual asset that may promote youth's ability to achieve desired outcomes (Wang & Eccles, 2012). For example, research reveals that social support is positively associated with school engagement (Wang & Eccles, 2012), resilience and employability (Di Fabio & Kenny, 2015), and psychological adaptation (Zeng, 2011). A few studies examined the association between social support and youth psychological and behavioral development among migrant youth in China. For example, Zeng (2011) found that social support significantly predicts migrant youth's psychological adaptation (psychological and behavioral problems), and, as well, moderates the relationships between stress and psychological adaptation. However, few studies have simultaneously examined the effects of future orientation and social support on PYD among migrant youth in China. A strength-based RDS approach that emphasizes individual ⇔ context relations in youth development would enable the investigations of the associations among future orientation, social support, and positive development of migrant youth in China.

In this chapter, we adopted the Five Cs model of PYD to examine PYD among migrant youth in China. Specifically, first, we tested the structure of the Five Cs among migrant youth. In addition, we investigated whether and how future orientation (individual strength) and social support (contextual asset) are related to PYD of migrant youth. It is hypothesized that: (1) The Five Cs model of PYD is applicable to assess positive development of migrant youth; (2) higher future orientation and social support are related to better youth development among migrant youth.

Method

Participants and Procedure

In the current chapter, participants were 672 migrant youth in fourth and fifth grades (M_{age} = 10.97, SD_{age} = 1.00), including 375 boys and 297 girls in two private primary schools and one public primary school from Beijing, China in 2014. There were 456 participants from private primary schools (250 boys and 206 girls; M_{age} = 11.09, SD_{age} = 1.06), and 216 participants from the public primary school (125 boys and 91 girls; M_{age} = 10.74, SD_{age} = 0.84). Table 1 shows the demographical characteristics of the sample. In this sample, over 50% of migrant youth's parents have received middle school education or less; 46.3% reported less than 4000 CNY (about $607) in their family's monthly income.

After acquiring permission from the school principals to conduct the survey in their schools, eligible children and youth were asked to complete a series of questionnaires after providing consent to participate in this study. Participants completed the questionnaires in the classroom. All measures used in the current chapter were translated to Chinese and retranslated to English. An English native speaker was invited to compare the translated English version and the original version to ensure comparability in meaning. The research team provided necessary clarification to participants who had questions. Each participant received an age-appropriate gift (i.e., notebooks or pens) as a token of appreciation after finishing the survey. All

Table 1 Sample characteristics

Characteristics	n (%) or *M (SD)*, range
Age	10.97(1.00), 9–16
Gender	
Male	375 (55.8%)
Female	297 (44.2%)
School type	
Private school	216 (32.1%)
Public school	456 (67.9%)
Father's educational level	
Primary school or lower	96 (15.4%)
Middle school	264 (42.3%)
High school or higher	264 (42.3%)
Mother's educational level	
Primary school or lower	148 (24.1%)
Middle school	260 (42.3%)
High school or higher	206 (33.6%)
Economic status	
less than 4000 CNY	285 (46.3%)
4000 CNY and more	330 (53.7%)

study procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China.

Measures

Positive Youth Development We measured PYD (operationalized by five Cs) using the 34-item self-report Positive Youth Development Short Form scale for younger adolescents (PYD-SF; Geldhof et al., 2014). *Competence* was measured with six items asking participants to select the type of person they were more like between two choices (e.g., "Some kids feel that they are just as smart as other kids their age (4 = *really true,* 3 = *sort of true*)," BUT "other kids aren't so sure and wonder if they are as smart" (1 = *really true,* 2 = *sort of true*). Each item was scored from 1 to 4, with four reflecting higher perceived competence. *Confidence* was measured with four items asking participants to select the type and to decide the level (e.g., "Some kids like the kind of person they are (4 = *really true,* 3= *sort of true*)," BUT "other kids often wish they were someone else (1= *really true,* 2 = *sort of true*) and two items (e.g., "How much do you agree or disagree with the following? All in all, I am glad I am me") with response options ranging from *1 = strongly disagree* to *5 = strongly agree*. *Character* was measured with two items asking participants to select the type and to decide the level (e.g., "Some kids usually act the way they know they are supposed to (4 = *really true,* 3= *sort of true*), BUT "other kids often don't act the way they are supposed to (1 = *really true,* 2 = *sort of true*) and six items (e.g., "How important is each of the following to you in your life? Helping to make the world a better place to live in") with response options ranging from *1 = not important* to *5 = extremely important*. *Connection* was also measured with eight items (e.g., "How much do you agree or disagree with the following? In my family, I feel useful and important.") on a 5-point Likert scale with response options ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to *5 = strongly agree*. *Caring* was measured with six items (e.g., "When I see someone being picked on, I feel kind of sorry for them") with response options ranging from 1 = *not like you* to 3 = *really like you*). All items were rescaled from 0 to 12 as follows: (1) for items originally ranging from 1 to 4: 1 = 0, 2 = 4, 3 = 8, 4 = 12; (2) for items originally ranging from 1 to 5: 1 = 0, 2 = 3, 3 = 6, 4 = 9, 5 = 12; (3) for items originally ranging from 1 to 3: 1 = 0, 2 = 6, 3 = 12. The mean of each subscale was calculated after rescaling. In the current sample, the Cronbach's alphas for five Cs were .78, .71, .70, .82, .80, respectively, and for the total scale .89.

Future Orientation A modified version of the children future expectation scale (Wyman, Cowen, Work, & Kerley, 1993), hopefulness about future scale (Bryan, Aiken, & West, 2004), and perceived control over future scale (Whitaker et al., 2000) were used to assess future orientation. Future expectation scale included seven items (e.g., "What do you think your life will be like when you grow up?") on a 5-point scale of perceived positiveness (1 = very negative to 5 = very positive).

Hopefulness about future comprised four items (e.g., “ How likely do you think it is that you will get a good job someday?”) on a 4-point scale of perceived possibility (from 1 = impossible to 4 = extremely possible). Perceived control over future included seven items (e.g., “My future is what I make of it.”). A Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) was used to score responses. In this study, alpha coefficient of the three subscales (i.e. future expectation, hopefulness about future, and the perceived control over future) were .81, .87, and .63, respectively.

Social Support We revised the Chinese version (Chou, 2000) of the multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, & Farley, 1988) by adding four items to measure support from teachers. This questionnaire included 16 items (e.g., “There is a special person who is around when I am in need”) measuring four sources of support, namely, family, friends, teachers, and significant Other. All items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*completely agree*). In terms of the internal reliability in current study, the alpha coefficient was .94 for the total scale, and .82, .83, .82, .81 for four sources of support (family, friends, teachers, and significant other) respectively.

Analyses

We evaluated our primary hypotheses using three procedures in data analyses. First, we used Confirmatory Factoring Analysis (CFA) to test if the constructs of the five Cs model of PYD is applicable in a Chinese setting. Second, we examined correlations among social support, future orientation (i.e., future expectation, hopefulness about future, and perceived control over future), and PYD (i.e., competence, confidence, character, caring, and connection). Third, we used multiple linear regression models to examine if future orientation and social support can significantly predict PYD after controlling a few key demographics. Specifically, demographics (i.e., age, gender, parental education, family income) and key characteristics of migration were entered into the first block before adding future orientation and social support to the second block. All the statistical analyses were performed using SPSS 21.0 and Mplus 7.11.

Results

Verification for the Five Cs Model of PYD

Confirmatory factoring analysis (CFA) showed that the five Cs model fit the data well, $\chi^2 = 1247.18$, $df = 489$, $p < .001$, CFI = .89, TLI = .87, RMSEA = .05. Item loadings can be seen in Model A in Fig. 1. However, the loading of one character

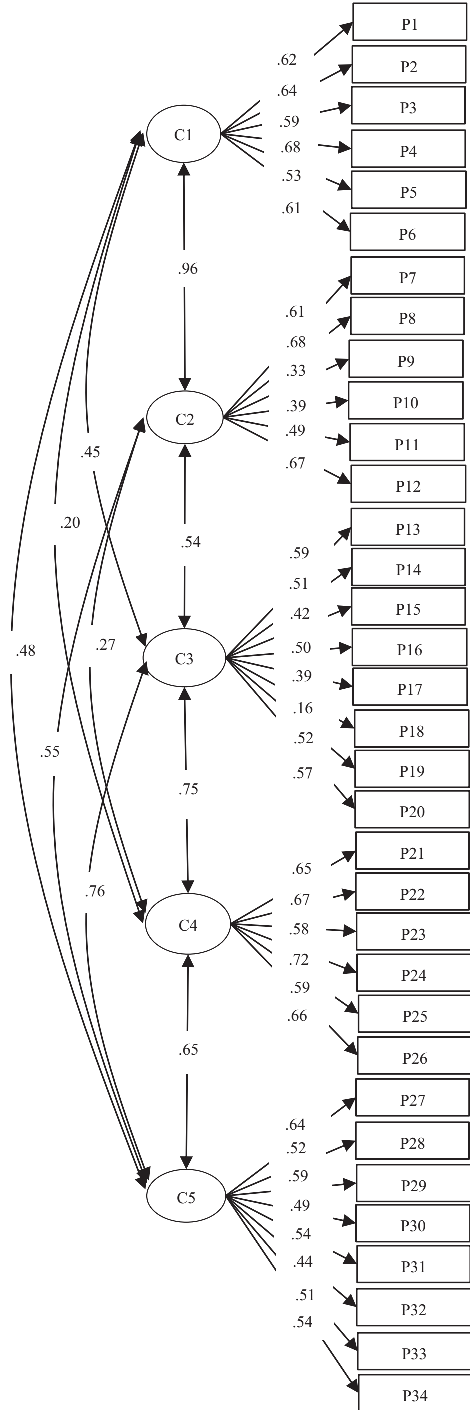

Fig. 1 The Five Cs model with standardized maximum likelihood estimates (Model A). Note: C1: Competence (indexed by P1–P6); C2: Confidence (indexed by P7–P12); C3: Character (indexed by P13–P20); C4: Connection (indexed by P21–P26); C5: Caring (indexed by P27–P34). Item loadings on each C were ranged from 0.16 to 0.72. The correlations between Cs are between 0.20 and 0.96. All estimates are significant at the .01 level

item (P18) was .16, which was too small. Therefore, we deleted this item and estimated the five Cs model again (Model B in Fig. 2). The result showed that the new model fit the data better (χ^2 = 1118.71, *df* = 459, $p < .001$, CFI = .90, TLI = .88, RMSEA = .05), and the range of loadings was 0.33–0.72 (Fig. 2).

Correlations

Correlation coefficients among all variables were showed in Table 2. Results showed that, social support was significantly and positively correlated with competence, confidence, character, caring, and connection (*rs* ranged from .19 to .50); perceived control over the future, future expectation, and hopefulness were significantly correlated with five Cs (*rs* ranged from .21 to .44); social support and three components of future orientation were significantly and positively correlated (*rs* ranged from .40 to .61).

Regression Model of PYD on Social Support and Future Orientation

Linear regression models (Table 3) were conducted to examine the association between social support, future orientation, and each C (dependent variable) respectively. Results showed that after controlling for demographics, including age, gender (0 = female; 1 = male), father's educational level (0 = middle school or lower; 1 = high school or higher), mother's educational level (0 = middle school or lower; 1 = high school or higher), family monthly income (0 = less than 4000 CNY; 1 = 4000 CNY and more), and key characteristics of migration (school type: 0 = public school; 1 = private school), social support significantly predicted character ($\beta = .16$, $p < .001$), caring ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$), and connection ($\beta = .35$, $p < .001$); perceived control over the future significantly predicted competence ($\beta = .19$, $p < .001$), confidence ($\beta = .25$, $p < .001$), character ($\beta = .20$, $p < .001$), caring ($\beta = .12$, $p < .01$), and connection ($\beta = .14$, $p < .01$); future expectation was positively associated with confidence ($\beta = .14$, $p < .01$); hopefulness about the future was positively associated with character ($\beta = .12$, $p < .01$) and caring ($\beta = .11$, $p < .05$). Gender had significant covariate effect on caring ($\beta = -.15$, $p < .001$) and connection ($\beta = -.08$, $p < .05$); school type had significant covariate effect on confidence ($\beta = .09$, $p < .05$); mother's educational level was significantly associated with confidence ($\beta = .15$, $p < .01$) and family monthly income was significantly associated with competence, $\beta = .09$, $p < .05$.

Fig. 2 The Five Cs model with standardized maximum likelihood estimates (Model B). Notes: C1: Competence (indexed by P1–P6); C2: Confidence (indexed by P7–P12); C3: Character (indexed by P13–P17, P19–P20); C4: Connection (indexed by P21–P26); C5: Caring (indexed by P27–P34). Item loadings on each C were ranged from 0.33 to 0.72. The correlations among Cs are between 0.20 and 0.96. All estimates are significant at the .01 level

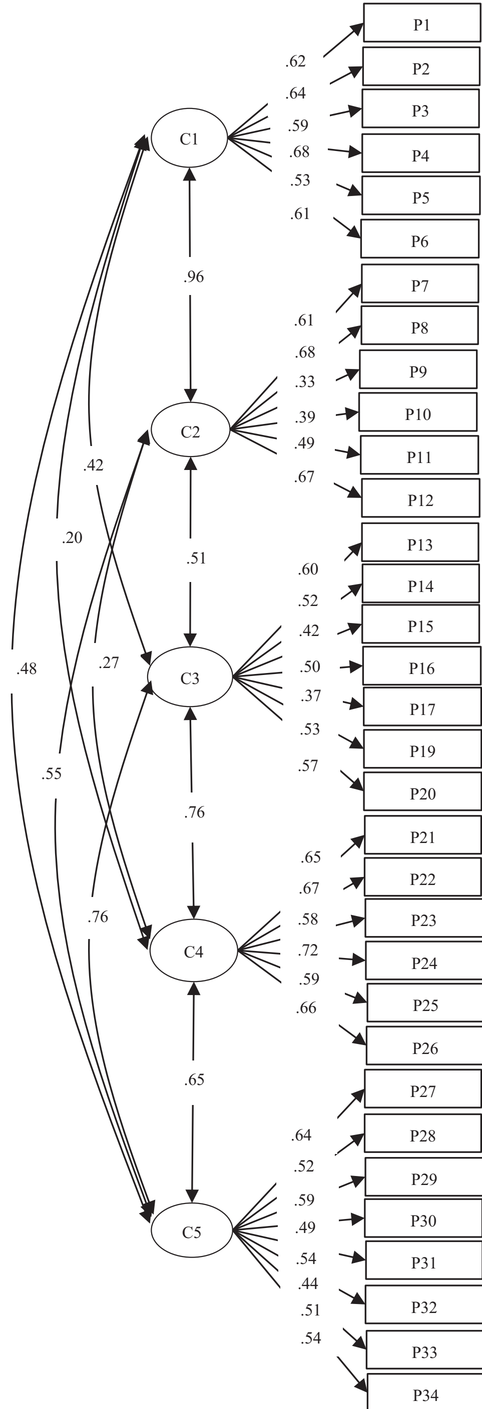

Table 2 Means, standard deviations, and correlations between future orientation, social support and the 5Cs

	M	SD	SS	HE	PCF	FE	COMP	CONF	CHAR	CARI	CONN
SS	3.68	.94	1.00								
PCF	3.50	.93	.53***	1.00							
FE	3.15	.69	.39***	.61***	1.00						
HF	2.74	.46	.40***	.47***	.49***	1.00					
COMP	8.01	2.66	.19***	.30***	.25***	.21***	1.00				
CONF	7.83	2.43	.28***	.37***	.33***	.25***	.64***	1.00			
CHAR	8.26	2.09	.40***	.44***	.37***	.35***	.31***	.46***	1.00		
CARI	8.27	2.62	.36***	.31***	.22***	.24***	.11**	.27***	.55***	1.00	
CONN	8.03	2.43	.50***	.40***	.32***	.29***	.32***	.45***	.53***	.49***	1.00

SS refers to social support, *HF* refers to hopefulness about future, *PCF* refers to perceived control over future, *FE* refers to future expectation, *COMP* refers to competence, *CONF* refers to confidence, *CHAR* refers to character, *CARI* refers to caring, *CONN* refers to connection

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

Table 3 Regression models of the 5Cs on future orientation and social support

	Competence	Confidence	Character	Caring	Connection
Control					
Age	.03	.02	.04	−.04	−.03
Gender	.02	.01	−.01	−.15***	−.08*
School type	−.00	.09*	−.07†	−.08	.01
father's educational level	−.07	−.05	.03	−.02	−.01
mother's educational level	.06	.15**	.05	−.01	.03
family monthly income	.09*	.06	.05	−.01	.04
Direct effects					
Social support	.04	.07	.16***	.19***	.35***
Perceived control over future	.19 **	.25 ***	.20 ***	.12*	.14 **
Future expectation	.10	.14**	.09	−.01	.07
Hopefulness about future	.07	.05	.12**	.11*	.04
Adjusted R^2	.12	.20	.25	.16	.27
F	8.49***	15.20***	19.82***	11.54***	22.10***

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

Discussion

The major goal of this chapter was to test the construct of the five Cs model of PYD among migrant youth in China, and to explore the associations between future orientation, social support, and PYD among these youth. The present study demonstrated that the constructs and measure of five Cs are adaptable to Chinese migrant youth. Results also reveal that future orientation, especially perceived control over future, is an important individual strength for PYD of Chinese migrant youth. In addition, social support represents an essential contextual asset associated with character, caring, and connection.

Among several PYD frameworks that have been posited over the past few decades, the Five Cs model of PYD (Lerner et al., 2015) is the most widely used and empirically supported PYD framework to date (Heck & Subramaniam, 2009; Petersen et al., 2017). The current chapter provides empirical evidence to the application of the Five Cs constructs in Chinese migrant youth. Through this investigation, we were able to assess PYD and explore strengths and assets that are associated with positive development among Chinese migrant youth.

Informed by the individual ⇔ context relations that have been discussed in the Five Cs model of PYD (Lerner et al., 2015), research has sought to identify youth strengths that, when aligned with assets in the ecology, provide the bases of PYD (Lerner, Phelps, Forman, & Bowers, 2009). Using the PYD approach, the current chapter identified that future orientation is a key strength for the positive development of Chinese migrant children. Specifically, the results show that higher scores in perceived control over future was related to higher scores in all five Cs, higher scores in future expectation was associated with higher scores in confidence,

and higher scores in hopefulness about future was related to higher scores in character and caring. Prior PYD studies found that youth who are feeling hopeful about their future are likely to thrive (Callina et al., 2015; Schmid et al., 2011). For example, Schmid et al.'s (2011) study found that youth with hopeful future were significantly more likely to have higher levels of PYD. The present study extended the literature by adding empirical evidence regarding the association between specific components of future orientation and PYD in Chinese migrant youth. The findings suggest that PYD promotion programs need to foster young people's perception of being able to control over the future, to improve young people's future expectation and hopefulness about future as to promote positive attributes in young people.

In addition, the current chapter identified social support as an important contextual asset for the positive development of Chinese migrant youth. The results indicate that receiving better social support was significantly associated with higher scores in confidence, character, caring, and connection. These findings are consistent with prior PYD research, which has found that caring adults, peers, teachers/mentors, and other adults provide essential support that may promote thriving in youth through positive adult-youth relationships and peer relationships (e.g., Bowers, Johnson, Warren, Tirrell, & Lerner, 2015). The current chapter tells us that future research and practices need to explore effective programs to enhance the social support system in the ecology of young people to promote their positive development.

Several potential limitations of this study are worth noting. One key limitation of these findings is that the cross-sectional design was not able to provide sufficient evidence to illustrate the bidirectional relations between individual strengths and contextual assets on PYD. Future studies are needed to apply longitudinal approach to understanding the bases for the Five Cs of PYD. In addition, the current chapter did not compare PYD between migrant and non-migrant youth. Future studies need to examine PYD in Chinese youth who are not in a migration setting and compare if migrant youth develop as positively as other Chinese youth. Moreover, despite the efforts to ensure the representativeness of the sample, the participants were conveniently chosen from three schools in Beijing, China, thereby limiting our ability to generalize the findings to migrant youth in other cities of the country. Finally, although the empirical study shows that the constructs of the Five Cs have good validity in Chinese migrant youth, it is not sufficient to indicate that the Five Cs model of PYD is conceptually applicable to Chinese culture. Future qualitative or mix-methods research are needed to further verify the constructs of the Five Cs in Chinese youth.

Despite these potential limitations, the results have significant implications to research and programing on PYD. The first essential point for applications is to focus on helping migrant youth build a positive view about their future and improve skills that are necessary for their future development. In addition, it is important to build supportive contexts with caring and trusted others in their ecology (i.e., family, school, community, and the civic society), to enhance their strengths, skills, and positive attributes of PYD. Moreover, the findings from the current chapter may provide novel insights to PYD research in different socio-cultural contexts. Researchers focusing on applying the Five Cs model of PYD to other cultures need to evaluate if the model is adaptable to these cultures. Future research may

examine the associations among future orientation, social support and PYD in other Chinese youth and identify if these strengths/assets serve the same roles in the development of these youth as that in Chinese migrant children. In sum, this chapter improves the understanding of the roles of future orientation and social support in predicting positive development in Chinese migrant youth, and provides important implications to youth-development programs and other social and educational pratices on PYD.

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Part III
Well-Being of Youth and Emerging Adults in a Comparative Perspective

Relationships Between Religiousness and Life Satisfaction Among Emerging Adults in Mexico and Nicaragua

Radosveta Dimitrova and Alejandra del Carmen Domínguez Espinosa

Abstract This study examines relationships between religiousness and life satisfaction among 571 emerging adults (*M* age 29.94, *SD* = 2.93) from Mexico and Nicaragua. Based on the four-factor religiousness model (Saroglou V, J Cross-Cultural Psychol 42:1320–1340, 2011), we investigated the interplay of believing (beliefs relative to external transcendence), bonding (rituals and emotions), behaving (adherence to norms) and belonging (social group cohesion) and their relation to life satisfaction. Participants completed the Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale (4-BDRS; Saroglou V, J Cross-Cultural Psychol 42:1320–1340, 2011) and the Life Satisfaction Scale (SWLS; Diener E, Emmerson RA, Larsen RJ, Griffin S, J Pers Assess 49:71–75, 1985). We tested measurement invariance and associations of religiousness and life satisfaction models across groups. Findings indicated good measurement invariance for both measures and that life satisfaction was consistently associated with high endorsement of all four religiousness domains.

Extant research has consistently shown strong relation between religiousness and higher levels of life satisfaction (Hackney & Sanders, 2003). This chapter extends this prior work in emerging adults in Mexico and Nicaragua by addressing several gaps in the literature. We test a recently developed model by examining believing, bonding, behaving and belonging as important religiousness domains (Saroglou, 2011) and apply a proper instrument to assess the model, namely the Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale (4-BDRS). The 4-BDRS is a newly developed instrument to assess four components of religiousness defined as believing (beliefs relative to external transcendence), bonding (rituals and emotions), behaving (adherence to norms and moral arguments), and belonging (community and social

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group cohesion) (Saroglou, 2011). This four-factor structure has been confirmed across some European populations showing good reliability across different cultural groups (Dimitrova, 2014; Saroglou, 2011). However, the psychometric properties of the 4-BDRS have not yet been tested in Mexican and Nicaraguan samples. This chapter also investigates this model in relation to life satisfaction in emerging adulthood – a period in which religiousness plays important role in the development of self-processes (Barry & Nelson, 2008). We focus on Mexico and Nicaragua being among the top ten countries in the world for religious involvement and the largest Spanish speaking countries in Latin America accounting for nearly 130 million people (Population Reference Bureau, 2015). Among the key influences shaping the life of people in these countries are the experiences of religiousness and salience of religion (INEGI, 2015a, b).

The Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness

The current chapter is based on the model of the Big Four Dimensions of Religiousness (Saroglou, 2011) distinguishing four components of religiousness corresponding to psychological dimensions: believing (beliefs relative to external transcendence), bonding (rituals and emotions), behaving (adherence to norms and moral arguments), and belonging (community and social group cohesion). These religiousness factors are being assessed with Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale (4-BDRS) but regrettably, studies on the psychometric properties of the instrument are still emerging, particularly with non-US samples. Only one study we are aware of applied the 4-BDRS with Dutch and Italian samples (Dimitrova, 2014). We therefore expand on this prior work by providing new evidence and advance understanding of how positive psychological outcomes can be sustained through religiousness in emerging adulthood.

We were interested in examining the 4-BDRS in relation to life satisfaction of Mexican and Nicaraguan samples for several reasons as to add novel approaches and knowledge in the field. First, the 4-BDRS allows for more multifaceted assessment of religiousness, reflecting the complex mixture of social, spiritual, and cognitive aspects of religious experience. It is a novel measure that takes into consideration the joint contribution of religious believing, bonding, behaving and belonging in contrast to prior work on these dimensions in a separate fashion. Second, we extend research on well-being by empirically testing a recently developed model of religiosity in a Latin culture. To best of our knowledge, there is no prior empirical investigation of the model examined here in these cultural samples. Third, most prior work has tested the individual contribution of different religiousness dimensions (beliefs, customs, doubts, practices) to life satisfaction or overall well-being. We address this gap by adopting a multidimensional definition of religiousness (i.e., the simultaneous examination of believing, bonding, behaving and belonging to religion as important correlates to psychological well-being).

Concomitantly, we examine relationships between religiousness domains as measured by the 4-BDRS and life satisfaction. This is also a relevant step towards advancing the study on measures of religiousness and well-being. We therefore apply these measures to samples in Mexico and Nicaragua for the first time. These two contexts provide an excellent framework to study religion and well-being in cultural contexts characterized by extremely high religiousness making both countries particularly relevant setting to study as discussed in the next section.

Life Satisfaction and Religiousness in Mexico and Nicaragua

Subjective well-being is generally conceptualized as multifaceted construct with both affective (positive and negative affect) and cognitive components (life satisfaction) (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999). Life satisfaction has been identified as a distinct construct of a cognitive and global evaluation of the quality of one's life (Pavot & Diener, 1993) and much international research progress has been made over the past three decades to measure life satisfaction.

Hence, international research among 27 nations indicates cultural differences in well-being, happiness and life satisfaction in that there are different ways to be happy (Park, Peterson, & Ruch, 2009; Seligman, 2002). Populations in different countries may differ with respect to their orientations to happiness, implying that a single ranking of nations misses an essential point about the complexity of psychological well-being. For example, samples from Mexico have been found to have the highest positive affect, those from Canada reported the lowest negative affect, whereas samples from Switzerland reported extremely high life satisfaction but neither particularly high positive nor particularly low negative affect (Kuppens, Ceulemans, Timmerman, Diener, & Kim-Prieto, 2006). Similar study among samples in Mexico and Nicaragua find more similarities than differences in life satisfaction among the samples investigated (Dimitrova & Dominguez, 2015). Relatedly, it has been suggested that cross-cultural research tends to emphasize differences over similarities, whereas a more balanced approach taking into account both similarities and differences to the study of life satisfaction is desirable (Park et al., 2009).

Empirical work on the relationship between religiousness and subjective well-being or life satisfaction suggests inconsistent findings. On one hand, quantitative and qualitative reviews across variety of countries indicate that in Western contexts, religiosity has a small and positive relationship with well-being and life satisfaction (Hackney & Sanders, 2003; Keonig & Larson, 2001). On the other hand, studies vary in their findings showing that religiousness is beneficial (Maltby & Day 2000), detrimental (Schaefer, 1997), or has no relationship to subjective well-being (Lewis, Lanigan, Joseph, & Fockertde, 1997). Two explanations have been offered to these findings. One concerns the variety of operationalizations of "religiousness" (George, Larson, Koenig, & McCullough, 2000). Another is that most research has examined only main effects on the relationship between religiousness and well-being by neglecting relevant factors (e.g., ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status)

intervening on this relationship (Hackney & Sanders, 2003). We build on this prior work by taking in consideration all these issues in the present samples.

Latin America including Mexico and Nicaragua is home to more than 425 million Catholics, representing nearly 40 % of the world's total Catholic population (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). Both countries, like other Latin American countries, have received scarce attention in the international literature, despite their highly religious population. Nearly all citizens in these countries report a religious preference, with 89 % identifying themselves as Catholic and 50 % reporting to attend church services weekly (INEGI, 2011). This places these countries in the top ten lists in the world for religious involvement where the importance of religion within a person's life is very high (Camp, 1994; INEGI, 2015a, b). Religion is a central part of these cultures as testified by the Virgin of Guadalupe, historically used as a religious icon and a sign of patriotism (Benedetti, 2013; Magana & Clark, 1995). Therefore, the study of religiousness in these populations as a way of providing valid knowledge on relationships with enhanced life satisfaction is vital.

This Chapter

The purpose of the current chapter was to explore relationships between religiousness and life satisfaction in emerging adults in Mexico and Nicaragua. First, we tested the original factor structure and measurement invariance of our measures between Mexican and Nicaraguan samples. We compared religiousness and life satisfaction models to test measurement invariance across groups using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA).We followed multiple hierarchical steps (Byrne & van de Vijver, 2010) by testing configural (same number of factors and estimated parameters across groups), metric (equivalence of factor loadings) and scalar invariance (equivalence of factor loadings and item intercepts). Next, assuming that cross-national measurement invariance would be found, we tested a model of relationships between religiousness and life satisfaction across groups. We hypothesized that religiousness would be significantly related to life satisfaction in that a high level of believing, bonding, behaving and belonging would lead to increased life satisfaction.

Sample and Measures

Participants were 571 emerging adults (*M* age 29.94, *SD* = 2.93) recruited via snow bowling method (Table 1). A chi-square test revealed a significant difference in ethnic groups for gender (χ^2 (1, N = 571) = 6.26, p < .01, η^2 = .150), with more males in the Mexican sample. An ANOVA indicated that Mexicans were approximately 3 year older than their peers from Nicaragua, F(1, 566) = 30.93, p < .001, η^2 = .052. The measures were translated from English into Spanish by four bilingual

Table 1 Samples

	Mexico (*n* = 340)	Nicaragua (*n* = 231)
Age, *M* (SD)	22.21 (2.83)	21.54 (3.04)
Gender, % females	55	58
Catholic religion, %	66	69
4-BDRS, *M* (SD)		
Belonging	2.89 (1.04)	3.47 (1.02)
	α = .88	α = .76
Bonding	2.98 (1.01)	3.50 (.95)
	α = .83	α = .73
Believing	3.09 (.99)	3.62 (.94)
	α = .82	α = .73
Behaving	2.84 (1.06)	3.44 (1.01)
	α = .86	α = .76
SWLS	3.68 (.78)	3.71 (.76)
	α = .81	α = .70

4-BDRS Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale, *SWLS* Satisfaction with Life Scale, *α* Cronbach's coefficient

speakers ensuring linguistic equivalence (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997) and showed good reliability (see Table 1).

Religiousness

The Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale (4-BDRS; Saroglou 2011) examines religious belonging ("In religion, I enjoy belonging to a group/community"), behaving ("Religion helps me to try to live in a moral way"), bonding ("Religious rituals, activities or practices make me feel positive emotion"), and believing ("I feel attached to religion because it helps me to have a purpose in my life") with a total of 12 items answered on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 *(strongly disagree)* to 7 *(strongly agree).*

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) consists of five items (e.g., "The conditions of my life are excellent", "I am satisfied with my life") answered on a five point Likert scale from 1 *(strongly disagree)* to 5 *(strongly agree).* The SWLS is extensively studied across nations with good psychometric properties including validity, internal consistency, and test–retest reliability (Diener et al., 1985; Pavot, Diener, Colvin, & Sandvik, 1991; Lucas, Diener, & Suh, 1996; Pavot & Diener, 1993). A recent study investigated the factorial structure and invariance of the scale across three cultural groups from Argentina, Mexico and Nicaragua. Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) conducted separately for each cultural group provided support for the one-factor structure of

the instrument. Additional path models showed good configural, metric and scalar invariance models, indicating similar patterns and strengths in factor loadings, means and intercepts across cultural samples. The authors conclude that the SWLS is a brief and valid measure of life satisfaction that can be used for cross-cultural comparison with samples from Argentina, Mexico and Nicaragua (Dimitrova & Dominguez, 2015).

Results

Preliminary analyses examined relationships of religiousness and life satisfaction measures with socio-demographic variables. We run a Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA) with four religiousness domains (i.e., believing, bonding, behaving, and belonging) and life satisfaction as dependent variables and gender as the independent variable. Scores on the religiousness believing, bonding, behaving, and belonging and life satisfaction scales did not differ across gender. Neither sub-scale was related to age. We then proceed with testing of our main hypotheses. We tested the factor structure of both measures across groups by assessing model fit with the Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; recommended <.08), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; recommended >.95) and change in CFI and RMSEA (recommended <.010) (Hu & Bentler, 1999). For the 4-BDRS model, we tested a solution with four latent variables (believing, bonding, behaving, and belonging) and obtained very good fit for Mexico ($\chi^2(340) = 1.26$, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .028) and Nicaragua, $\chi^2(231) = .282$, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .000). For SWLS, we tested a solution with one latent variable and five observed items showing good fit for Mexico (χ^2 (340) = .372, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .000) and Nicaragua, χ^2 (231) = 6.88, CFI = .991, RMSEA = .056). A multi-group CFA for both measures showed good fit (Table 2). Finally, a model examining associations

Table 2 Invariance models of the multigroup analyses

	Model fit				Model comparisons	
4-BDRS	χ^2 (df)	$\Delta\chi^2$ (df)	RMSEA	CFI	ΔRMSEA	ΔCFI
Configural invariance	1.54 (2)	–	.000	1.000	–	–
Metric invariance	*7.38 (5)*	*5.84 (3)*	*.019*	*.998*	*.01*	*.00*
Scalar invariance	61.51 (10)	54.13 (5)	.101	.961	.08	−.03
SWLS						
Configural invariance	6.86 (4)	–	.035	.998	–	–
Metric invariance	*12.92 (8)*	*6.06 (4)*	*.033*	*.996*	*−.00*	*−.00*
Scalar invariance	75.68 (13)	62.76 (5)	.092	.948	−.05	−.04

4-BDRS Four Basic Dimensions of Religiousness Scale, *SWLS* Satisfaction with Life Scale, χ^2 Chi-Square, *df* degrees of freedom, *CFI* Comparative Fit Index, *RMSEA* Root Mean Square Error of Approximation, Δ Change in the parameter. Selected model is printed in italics

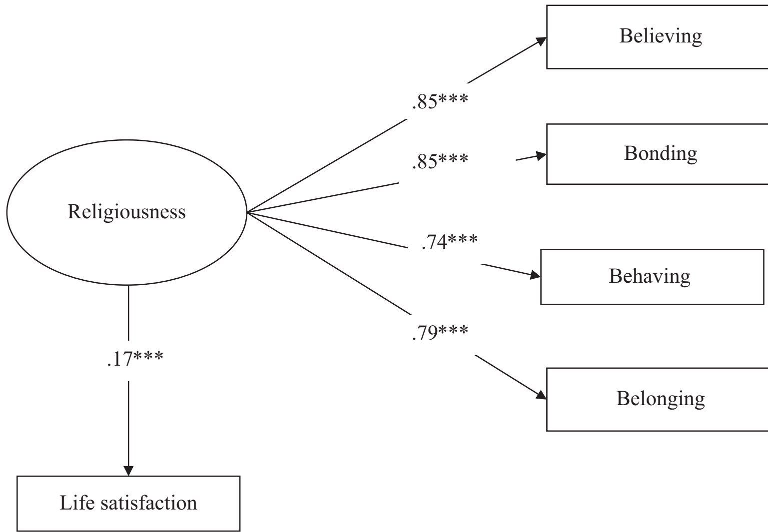

Fig. 1 Standardized solution of religiousness and life satisfaction model note. coefficients represent standardized estimates for the measurement residuals model, χ^2 (571) = 46.55, CFI = .980, RMSEA = .050, *** $p < .001$

between religiousness and life satisfaction fitted the data well, indicating that life satisfaction was consistently associated with high level of religiousness (Fig. 1).

Discussion and Conclusions

We investigated relationships between religiousness and life satisfaction among emerging adults from Mexico and Nicaragua based on the four-factor religiousness model (Saroglou, 2011). In line with expectations, we found good measurement invariance for religiousness and life satisfaction measures across cultural groups and that life satisfaction was consistently associated with high endorsement of all four religiousness domains. Our results reveal that the four dimensions of believing, bonding, behaving and belonging are most informative in assessing religiousness in both samples.

In examining the relation between religiousness and life satisfaction, highly significant and positive correlations emerged among all 4-BDRS factors for both samples with stronger associations between life satisfaction, religious behaving and believing. These findings are in line with prior work showing that various domains of religiousness are positively and significantly related to life satisfaction of youth and emerging adults. In a variety of cultures and societies, religiousness has been shown as most beneficial for people by helping them to cope with difficult circumstances and life contexts (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2007). The small

amount of research conducted in Mexico also indicates that greater religiousness is associated with greater well-being and less risky behaviors among Mexican adolescents (Benjet et al., 2007; Marsiglia, Ayers, & Hoffman, 2012). Our study adds to such evidence by reporting a significant relation between ones' feelings of life satisfaction and strongly developed religiousness in emerging adults in Mexico and Nicaragua.

A limitation of this study is that full scalar invariance was not established limiting examination of mean level differences in religiousness and life satisfaction across groups. Although results can be generalized with confidence to the population of interest, future studies, employing large community samples may improve confidence in the current findings. Furthermore, this study was cross-sectional and because religiousness may change across time (Stoppa & Lefkowitz, 2010), longitudinal works would be of interest. Nevertheless, the study reported in this chapter is the first step in testing relationships of religiousness and life satisfaction using a newly developed religiousness model in Mexico and Nicaragua. Our results add to the increasing interested in understanding ways in which well-being is influenced by religiousness in emerging adulthood across cultural contexts.

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Parenting and Positive Adjustment for Adolescents in Nine Countries

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Abstract This chapter describes the theoretical background, methodology, and select empirical findings from the Parenting Across Cultures project, a longitudinal study of mothers, fathers, and youth in nine countries (China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and United States). The design of the study is well suited to addressing questions regarding within-family, between-family within-country, and between-country predictors of youth outcomes. Positive development may be characterized in unique ways in different countries, but adjustment outcomes such as social competence, prosocial behavior, and academic achievement also share features and parenting predictors in different countries. Combining emic (originating within a culture) and etic (originating outside a culture) approaches, operationalizing culture, and handling measurement invariance are challenges of international research. Understanding culturally specific and generalizable features of positive youth development as well as how youth are socialized in ways to promote positive adjustment are advantages of comparative international research.

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Countries around the globe have made a great deal of progress in reducing infant and under-five mortality, increasing enrollment in primary school, and improving other aspects of child development, but adolescents between the ages of 10 and 19 years have lagged behind (UNICEF, 2012). Adolescents face many challenges related to sexual risk taking, substance use, and other problem behaviors, which may differ or show commonalities across countries. Despite these challenges, adolescents also represent a resource to be cultivated through educational opportunities and vocational training to move them toward economic independence, through initiatives to improve reproductive health, and through positive interpersonal relationships to help them avoid risky behaviors and make positive decisions about their futures. This chapter presents cutting-edge research on adolescent development that we have conducted as part of the Parenting Across Cultures (PAC) project. This research suggests aspects of positive adjustment during adolescence that are fostered by positive parenting across countries, as well as nuances in how to approach research on both parenting and youth adjustment in an international framework.

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Theoretical Framework, Goals, and Main Questions

The PAC project is a longitudinal study that began by recruiting a sample of 1417 children (who were 8 years old, on average) and their mothers and fathers from 13 cultural groups in nine countries (Jinan and Shanghai, China; Medellin, Colombia; Naples and Rome, Italy; Zarqa, Jordan; Kisumu, Kenya; Manila, Philippines; Trollhättan/Vänersborg, Sweden; Chiang Mai, Thailand; and African, European, and Hispanic Americans in Durham, North Carolina, United States). These countries were selected because they vary widely in parenting practices, cultural norms, and contexts for adolescent development. The families have been assessed annually through interviews with mothers, fathers, and children about the parent-child relationship, the child's adjustment, attitudes and beliefs, and cultural values. The children have transitioned into adolescence and are 16, on average, as of 2016. This project advances understanding of positive adjustment during adolescence by broadening the base of participants in research and enabling tests of how culture and parenting are jointly related to processes involved in adolescent adjustment.

Different aspects of the project have been guided by different theoretical frameworks. For example, analyses of how attributions and beliefs are related to subsequent behavior have been guided by social information processing theory (Crick & Dodge, 1994). This theory posits that individuals who encode relevant information from social situations, make benign attributions about others' intent, generate many possible competent responses to challenging social situations, and positively evaluate the benefits of avoiding aggressive responses are more likely to behave in socially competent, prosocial ways than are individuals who do not take in relevant information from social situations, make hostile attributions, generate few socially competent responses, and positively evaluate aggressive responses.

PAC analyses of how reward systems and cognitive control operate in relation to adolescents' behavior are guided by the dual systems model (Steinberg, 2008). This theory proposes that adolescence is a period of heightened risk-taking because of differences in the timing of development of brain regions responsible for processing rewards and regions responsible for controlling impulses. In the PAC project, we have been guided by this theory in proposing models of how puberty, parenting, and culture jointly affect adolescents' behavior. Analyses of how parents' warmth and acceptance are related to other aspects of parenting and youth adjustment have been guided by parental acceptance-rejection theory (Rohner, 2004). According to this theory, all children and adolescents need to feel loved and accepted by their parents, and love and acceptance are universally predictive of better youth outcomes. We have been guided by this theory in examining links between parental acceptance and other aspects of parenting such as control and expectations regarding family obligations and between parental acceptance and positive youth development.

Selection of positive aspects of adolescent adjustment has been guided by the Five Cs theory of positive youth development (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005). The five Cs included in this theory are competence, confidence, connection, character, and caring/compassion. In PAC, we have examined how different aspects

of parenting and culture are related to aspects of these five Cs such as academic and social competence, confidence in one's ability to regulate emotions, connection with parents and peers, and caring as evidenced in prosocial behavior. The entire project is grounded in bioecological theory, which situates the study of development over time within proximal family and more distal cultural contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Within this theoretical framework, PAC captures microsystems of parent-child relationships, macrosystems related to cultural norms, and chronosystems as the project has followed participants longitudinally from childhood to adolescence. Although many studies acknowledge the importance of these different systems of influence, few incorporate them empirically.

In the first 5 years of the PAC project, our goals involved understanding how corporal punishment operates across cultural groups, whether the association between corporal punishment and children's adjustment is moderated by its cultural normativeness or parental warmth, and whether the effect of corporal punishment on children's aggressive behavior and anxiety is mediated by children's cognitive and emotional appraisals regarding its use. In the next 5 years of the project, our goals turned to testing a model of how biological maturation and socialization interact in the development of adolescents' behavior; testing how psychological processes of reward-seeking, self-regulation, and social information processing patterns mediate the impact of puberty, parenting, and culture on adolescents' behavior; and testing the hypothesis that cultural normativeness of parenting behaviors and culturally shaped opportunities moderate the relation between parenting and adolescents' behavior.

Our main research questions have involved trying to understand both positive and negative aspects of parenting and youth adjustment. Although individuals in different cultures may define optimal development in different ways (Bornstein, 1995), we have addressed research questions regarding three main aspects of positive youth development (i.e., social competence, prosocial behavior, and academic achievement) that were relatively consistent across the nine countries in the PAC study. Interpersonal skills are an important part of youth adjustment and are related to subsequent outcomes into adulthood (Greenberg et al., 2003), suggesting the importance of social competence to positive youth development. Social competence may encompass different behaviors in different cultural groups, so our operationalization in PAC has included factors such as understanding others' feelings that are likely to be valued across groups, even if the way that the competence is demonstrated varies across groups. Prosocial behavior (i.e., voluntary, desirable actions aimed to help others) is important because these are positive deeds in their own right, and children's prosocial behavior promotes future positive adjustment (see Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Knafo-Noam, 2015). Academic achievement is emphasized more in some countries than in others; in Africa alone, the percentage of the population indicating that education is the most important resource for someone to succeed in life ranges from a low of 13% in Ivory Coast to a high of 73% in Botswana (Crabtree, 2014). Nevertheless, across countries, academic achievement is a marker of success in a major life domain during adolescence that predicts occupational and financial success as well as health into adulthood (e.g., Robert Wood Johnson

Foundation, 2013). Although we have focused on social competence, prosocial behavior, and academic achievement as positive youth outcomes, other research has demonstrated that particular cultural groups may highly value certain behaviors or skills that are perceived to indicate positive adjustment within that context, even if those behaviors or skills do not hold particular status in other contexts. For example, high jumping is a valued skill for adolescent and young adult Maasai males, with elevated status conferred on those males who can jump higher (Sobania, 2003). Anthropological, qualitative, or mixed methods research is important to identifying aspects of positive youth development that may not generalize across cultural groups.

Context: Cultural Distinctiveness of the PAC Sample

The countries represented in PAC vary in important ways that alter the context in which adolescents develop. First, they vary in access to opportunities for both risk-taking and experiences that would be expected to foster positive adjustment. For example, the legal age for driving and access to motor vehicles vary across countries, with opportunities for risky driving more prevalent in countries with younger driving ages and more access to motor vehicles. Second, the countries vary in terms of resources to prevent risky behavior and promote positive adjustment. For example, condoms and comprehensive school-based sex education are both more widely available to adolescents in Sweden than in the United States, providing different contexts of resources to promote reproductive health (United Nations Statistics Division, 2006). Third, the PAC countries differ in cultural norms about the acceptability of particular behaviors during adolescence. For example, alcohol use is relatively rare in Jordan, where Islamic principles forbidding the use of intoxicants are the norm (Haddad, Shotar, Umlauf, & Al-Zyoud, 2010). In contrast, the use of alcohol and illicit drugs is common among U.S. American adolescents (Johnston, O'Malley, Miech, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2016). Fourth, the PAC countries differ in values, beliefs, and attitudes related to parents' relationships with their adolescent children, and these variations may alter the impact of parenting on adolescents' adjustment across countries (e.g., Lansford, Bornstein et al., 2016). Fifth, according to a Gallup poll, the countries vary in how, on average, they reply to the question "Is religion important in your daily life?" from a low of 17% yes in Sweden through 65% in the United States, 72% in Italy, and 83% in Colombia to highs of 96% in the Philippines and 97% in Thailand (Crabtree, 2010).

Given the wide diversity of the countries in this project, the study contributes to new knowledge in understanding the role of culture and parenting in positive youth development. In contexts in which more opportunities for risk-taking exist, to keep their adolescents on a positive trajectory, parents may need to be more vigilant about monitoring their adolescents' activities and whereabouts than in contexts in which there are fewer opportunities for risk-taking. Similarly, in contexts where fewer protective resources exist, parents may need to be more individually respon-

sible for promoting positive youth adjustment. Parents who behave in ways that are more consistent with the values, beliefs, and attitudes that are normative within a particular cultural context may be more likely to promote positive youth adjustment than parents whose behavior is less aligned with the broader cultural context.

The design of our study, with family members nested within families nested within cultural groups, is well suited to addressing questions about the extent to which youth outcomes are predicted by factors that vary between cultural groups, between families within a cultural group, between family members within a family, or different combinations of these (Lansford et al., 2015). Although we have conducted between-group comparisons, we also have tried to “unpack” culture into measurable contextual components and to understand specific characteristics of culture (e.g., beliefs, values, norms) that affect parenting practices and children’s interpretations of them. Operationalizing culture is a key challenge of international, comparative research (Lansford, Bornstein et al., 2016). In some ways, individuals from different countries may be culturally distinct, but in other ways, individuals from different countries may share cultural similarities.

Why the Parenting Across Cultures Study Is Important

Given the range of topics we have investigated in the PAC project, the study reported in this chapter is important in several domains. We provide illustrations using our findings related to corporal punishment. Our research on corporal punishment in different cultural contexts is important given the international mobilization to promote the rights of children and adolescents and to protect them from all types of abuse and exploitation to maximize their positive development. For example, as of 2017, 53 countries have outlawed corporal punishment in all settings (including by parents in the home), and our work facilitates more informed policy-making, particularly in relation to potential barriers to child protection because of culture-specific definitions of child maltreatment. Central to legislation to outlaw corporal punishment has been the rights of children and adolescents to be treated with dignity and respect and scientific research demonstrating detrimental effects of corporal punishment on youth adjustment. Our research has shown that experiencing corporal punishment is related to more youth aggression and anxiety across countries, even though this link is weaker in countries where corporal punishment is more normative (Lansford et al., 2005). In addition, parental warmth does not attenuate the link between corporal punishment and worse youth outcomes (Lansford et al., 2014). Thus, interventions and legal movements to protect children and adolescents from corporal punishment have the potential to promote positive youth adjustment.

Furthermore, our findings regarding mechanisms through which parenting affects youth adjustment have the potential to influence interventions designed to promote positive parenting and optimal youth adjustment. Our study is well suited to addressing questions regarding what proximal family, parenting, and individual

mechanisms mediate links between more distal cultural factors and youth outcomes. For example, we have found that country differences in children's hostile attributions account for a significant portion of country differences in aggressive behavior problems (Dodge et al., 2015). We presented children with ten hypothetical vignettes depicting an ambiguous situation and asked them to attribute the likely intent of the provocateur (coded as benign or hostile) and to predict how they would respond in that situation (coded as non-aggression or reactive aggression). Mothers and children independently rated the child's aggressive behavior. In every cultural group, in those situations in which a child attributed hostile intent to a peer, that child was more likely to report that he or she would respond with reactive aggression than in situations when that same child attributed benign intent. Across children, hostile attributional bias scores predicted higher mother- and child-rated aggressive behavior problems, even controlling for prior aggression. Cultural-group differences in the tendency for children to attribute hostile intent statistically accounted for a significant portion of group differences in aggressive behavior problems, suggesting a psychological mechanism for group differences in aggressive behavior.

Using the PAC sample, we also have been able to address research questions that are more salient in one locale than in others. For example, we added a detailed measure of child agency in Sweden, but not in the other countries, because child agency is a particularly important issue in Sweden, with widespread endorsement of children's equality with adults and belief in the rights of children. Using this measure, we found that Swedish parents' warmth is directly related to subsequent perceptions of children's agency, which in turn are related to subsequently lower child externalizing and internalizing problems and higher academic achievement (Gurdal, Lansford, & Sorbring, 2016). Thus, the PAC study is important both in cross-national comparative research as well as in single-country investigations around meaningful topics within a particular context.

Novelty: Insights into Culture-Specific and Universal Positive Psychological Outcomes

What constitutes positive parenting may be similar or different across countries (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010). In the PAC study, parental warmth and acceptance (as opposed to rejection, neglect, and hostility) have been found to predict more positive youth adjustment, including more prosocial behavior, better school performance, and fewer internalizing and externalizing behavior problems (Putnick et al., 2015). Children's prosocial behavior also elicits more positive parenting (Pastorelli et al., 2016). Others have also posited theoretically and found empirically that parental warmth and acceptance are universally related to more positive youth adjustment (e.g., Rohner, 2004). However, the specific ways in which warmth and acceptance are expressed may differ across countries. For example, Chinese immigrant mothers in the United States are more likely than European American mothers

to express warmth through meeting needs for daily routines (e.g., preparing favorite foods) and through providing learning opportunities, whereas European American mothers are more likely than Chinese immigrant mothers to use physical (e.g., hugging) and verbal (saying "I love you") expressions of warmth (Cheah, Li, Zhou, Yamamoto, & Leung, 2015). Thus, although the form may differ, the function of warmth may be universally positive across cultures (Bornstein, 2012). One of the novel aspects of the PAC project is that with its multinational design, it is possible directly to compare relations between parenting and positive youth development across countries in a way that is not feasible with a single-country design.

Other aspects of parenting may have more culturally variable effects on youth adjustment. For example, in the PAC study, correlations between parental warmth and control are not the same across countries; rather, in Kenya and Jordan, parents who are warm are also likely to be controlling, whereas in Sweden and European American families in the United States, parental warmth and control are unrelated or negatively related (Deater-Deckard et al., 2011). This suggests one reason that in some cultural groups, more parental control may be related to better youth adjustment, whereas in other cultural groups, more parental control is related to worse youth adjustment. Part of the explanation for these differences may stem from parents' and adolescents' beliefs regarding what is expected and normative. For instance, increases in adolescents' autonomy in decision making between seventh and eighth grades have been found to be related to more improvement in emotional functioning in the United States than in China, perhaps because increases in adolescents' autonomy were more normative in the United States than in China (Qin, Pomerantz, & Wang, 2009). Therefore, universal versus culture-specific relations between parenting and positive youth adjustment may depend, in part, on the normativeness of particular beliefs and behaviors.

Operationalizing "culture" in international research is a challenge. One way we have attempted to handle this issue in PAC is by asking parents and youth to complete measures that assess attitudes and beliefs about a range of topics that have been conceptualized as construing cultural values. For example, parents completed a measure that assessed their expectations regarding children's obligations to provide help, support, and respect to different family members, and children completed a comparable measure that asked them to report on their parents' expectations regarding children's family obligations (following from Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). We found that parenting behaviors that were warmer, less neglectful, and more controlling as well as parenting attitudes that were more authoritarian were related to higher expectations regarding children's family obligations (Lansford, Godwin et al., 2016). These effects held both between families within cultures as well as between cultures, meaning that, for example, parents within a cultural group who were warmer and less neglectful had higher expectations regarding their children's family obligations than did parents within that cultural group who were less warm and more neglectful and that in cultural groups that were warmer and less neglectful, parents had higher expectations regarding children's family obligations than in cultural groups that were less warm and more neglectful.

Expectations regarding family obligations are grounded in larger cultural contexts. In research with immigrant families in the United States, Wu and Kim (2009) found that Chinese American adolescents who were language brokers for their family (i.e., served as interpreters) were more likely to experience this obligation as a burden if they felt disconnected from their Chinese heritage and that they did not matter to their parents; however, adolescents who felt connected with their parents and their heritage were more likely to perceive language brokering as a source of efficacy rather than a burden. In a study of Ngecha children in Gikuyu, Kenya, children were more likely to demonstrate prosocial behavior in situations involving family obligations, such as caring for younger siblings, doing household chores, and engaging in other types of labor for the benefit of the family, than in situations that did not involve family obligations (de Guzman, Edwards, & Carlo, 2005). Therefore, youth without family obligations may be deprived of an important arena in which to develop prosocial behaviors and competence in tasks that are important for family functioning.

Method, Procedures of Data Collection, and Adaptation of Measures in New Cultures

Since recruiting the PAC sample through schools when children were 8 years old, on average, we have conducted annual quantitative interviews with mothers, fathers, and children. Initially, the interviews were conducted in homes, schools, community centers, or other places convenient to the families, with each family member interviewed privately so they could not hear or see one another's responses. As the children have matured into adolescence, the interviews have increasingly been conducted in writing rather than orally and online when possible. Interviews are still conducted orally for parents and youth for whom literacy is a concern. Because institutional review boards (IRB) that have reviewed the ethical treatment of participants in each site as well as the logistics of different local environments have differed, we have needed to balance standardization and flexibility in data collection. For example, IRBs in the different countries have distinct guidelines for the payment of research participants, so in some PAC countries, families are paid modest amounts or children are given small gifts as compensation for their time, whereas in other sites, payments to families have not been allowed, so instead, compensation is paid to children's schools. Allowing this kind of flexibility within the project enables us to be appropriately sensitive to the needs of local communities while also maintaining a great deal of similarity across sites in the procedures and measures.

In the PAC project, measures have been administered in the predominant language of each country, following forward- and back-translation and meetings to resolve any item-by-item ambiguities in linguistic or semantic content (Erkut, 2010). In addition to translating the measures, translators note items that do not translate well, are inappropriate for the participants, are culturally insensitive, or

elicit multiple meanings and suggest improvements. Country coordinators and the translators review discrepant items and make appropriate modifications.

These procedures are fairly standard in international, comparative studies, but they do lead to two primary concerns. First, to what extent are the most important factors related to parenting and adolescent development in a given cultural context captured by measures that originate in one place and are adapted for use in another? In essence this concern raises the issue of taking an emic versus etic approach to data collection. Using an emic approach, researchers from within a particular cultural group create measures that are specific to that group, which has the advantage of being sure to characterize aspects of parenting and development that may be culture specific but the disadvantage of making it more difficult to generalize or compare across groups. Using an etic approach, researchers from one cultural group apply concepts and measures developed elsewhere to study new cultural groups, which has the advantage of lending itself to the search for cross-cultural similarities and universals but the disadvantage of risking the loss of concepts that are unique to particular cultural groups. In PAC, we have attempted to balance these two approaches by creating a collaborative team of researchers from all nine countries who meet in person annually (rotating the meetings among the nine participating countries) so that we have an emic perspective provided by colleagues from each country but also an etic approach in trying to administer a set of adapted measures in each of the nine countries.

A second concern raised by translating measures to use in many different groups is that methodologically, it is important to demonstrate that the measures are operating similarly across groups (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000; Widaman & Reise, 1997). Establishing measurement invariance is challenging even with just two groups and becomes much more difficult with a large number of groups (Huang et al., 2012; Putnick et al., 2015). Standard tests may be too restrictive, particularly when attempting to establish invariance across 13 cultural groups as in PAC (e.g., Borsboom, 2006; Marsh et al., 2009). As an alternative, we have used a meta-analytic approach because meta-analyses do not assume that the same measures have been used in all studies, making it possible to obtain an overall effect as well as variance of the effect that might be attributable to measurement (Lansford et al., 2014). We also have assessed measurement invariance with the alignment method in Mplus V.7.31 (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2014), which uses an iterative procedure to determine the largest “set” of groups that contains no significant difference on a given parameter (Icenogle et al., 2017).

Another methodological challenge is that self-report data can be compromised by factors such as social desirability biases that might differ across countries. For both mothers and fathers in all nine PAC countries, we found that socially desirable responding was in the upper half of the possible distribution, and countries varied minimally (although China was higher than the cross-country grand mean and Sweden lower; Bornstein et al., 2015). Measuring and controlling for social desirability biases is one way we have tried to address this concern.

Most of the publications that have resulted from PAC are cross-site papers that include data from all nine countries, but sometimes the emic perspective results in site-specific papers that reflect issues that are important in one place but not others

(e.g., Alampay, 2014). For example, a disputed political election in Kenya in 2007 resulted in widespread community violence. In PAC, we added a measure of parents' and children's exposure to the political violence that we did not add in the other sites because the issue was not relevant there. As a result, we learned that children's exposure to short-term but severe politically motivated violence was related to more child externalizing behavior problems (Skinner, Oburu, Lansford, & Bacchini, 2014).

Take Home Message and Recommendations

Findings from the PAC project suggest at least three conclusions regarding positive outcomes and well-being of youth across cultures. First, social competence, prosocial behavior, and academic achievement are aspects of positive development that are fostered by parental warmth and acceptance across countries. Second, positive youth adjustment elicits more positive parenting. Third, some aspects of positive youth adjustment are more salient in particular cultural groups than in others.

Moving forward, it will be important for the field of developmental science to grapple with both methodological and conceptual issues to advance understanding of positive youth development across countries. Methodologically, ongoing challenges involve handling measurement invariance and biases, disentangling within- and between-country effects, balancing emic with etic perspectives, and operationalizing culture to move beyond social address models of simply comparing one group with another to understanding how values, beliefs, and behaviors that constitute "culture" are related to positive youth adjustment. Conceptually, future research will benefit from attempting to understand both culturally specific and generalizable features of positive youth development, as well as what parents and other members of a culture do to socialize youth to be well adjusted within that culture.

In practice, interventions designed to promote positive youth development will benefit from consideration of socialization goals within particular cultural contexts as well as understanding of culturally-grounded parenting beliefs and behaviors. Previous research has demonstrated that using culturally-tailored interventions can promote positive parenting (Coard, Foy-Watson, Zimmer, & Wallace, 2007). Building specifically on the PAC findings, for example, interventions might focus on helping parents demonstrate warmth and acceptance in ways that will be perceived by adolescents as being loving within the broader cultural context and to exercise control in ways that provide structure and guidance in ways that will be consistent with adolescents' expectations based on the norms of their culture. At times, intervening to change parents' beliefs is a precursor to changing parents' behaviors, but at other times, it may be possible to change parents' behaviors directly, particularly with an understanding of the cultural context in which parents and adolescents are situated. The robustness of theories of parenting and positive youth development, as well as theories related to behavior change, can be tested be assessing the degree to which the theories hold in diverse cultural contexts around the world.

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Measurement Invariance of the Satisfaction with Love Life Scale Among Emerging Adults in Angola, Brazil, East Timor, Macao, and Portugal

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Abstract The current chapter evaluates the measurement invariance of a recently developed instrument, the Satisfaction with Love Life Scale (SWLLS, Neto. Meas Eval Couns Dev 38:2–13, 2005) in a cross-sectional study sampling 1113 emerging adults from Angola, Brazil, East Timor, Macao, and Portugal. A multigroup confirmatory factor analysis showed a good fit of a configural, measurement weights and partial scalar invariance model, indicating similar patterns and strengths in factor loadings, means and intercepts across samples. We conclude that the SWLLS shows brief and valid test scores of love life satisfaction that is suitable for use in cross-cultural survey with emerging adults.

Love contains a web of cognitive, affective and behavioral facets (Hatfield, Rapson, & Martel, 2007). Domain satisfaction is a relatively under-researched topic in subjective well-being research (Bardo & Yamashita, 2014). Love satisfaction is an important facet of life satisfaction specifically, and of subjective well-being more generally. Love satisfaction concerns all persons (Hatfield & Rapson, 1995) and constitutes a preeminent ingredient of subjective well-being for most people (Salvatore & Munoz Sastre, 2001). Satisfaction with love life can be defined as a global cognitive evaluation by a person of his or her love life in which the criteria for judgment are up to the individual (Neto, 2005). Love satisfaction represents an important component of psychological well-being among adolescents and young adults and is traditionally associated with a variety of health and educational

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outcomes (Graham, 2011; Neto, 2012; Neto & Pinto, 2015). Love life satisfaction is important for close relationship research because it provides a mechanism through which to observe the relations between partners (Hendrick, Dicke, & Hendrick, 1998). Therefore, satisfaction with love life is a construct strongly related to a diversity of close relationships and holds relevant implications for studies in applied psychology, marital counseling and educational programs.

Satisfaction with life is included in positive psychology but more efforts are needed on the diversity of the world's cultures and values reflected through research, both within and beyond the United States (Rich, 2003). This chapter forms part of a broader project on subjective well-being in regions with historical links to Portugal. As most of the research on love has been conducted with samples from Western cultures (Hatfield, Bensman, & Rapson, 2012), the generalization of findings to people from other cultures remains largely unknown. This chapter attempts to overcome this issue by looking at love satisfaction in emerging adults in five geographically disperse cultural groups. Arnett (2000) argued that emerging adults are neither adolescents nor adults, but they are different "demographically, subjectively, and in terms of identity explorations" (p. 469). This age period is "a time of frequent change as various possibilities in love, work, and worldviews are explored" (Arnett, 2000, p. 469). The current study explores cross-culturally the area of love in this relevant age period.

Assorted measures have been used in various contexts to assess experiences of love (Hatfield et al., 2012), but due to time and resource constraints in large-scale surveys, and to solely encompass the judgmental quality of love life satisfaction, a short scale to measure overall satisfaction with love life was proposed (Neto, 2005). The Satisfaction with Love Life Scale (SWLLS) contains five items that assess global love life satisfaction as a cognitive-judgmental process. The tool was designed around the idea that one needs to ask respondents for an overall judgment of their love life in order to measure the construct of satisfaction with love life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The reliability of the SWLLS was assessed in a sample of undergraduate students in Portugal ($N = 230$) showing evidence of internal consistency for the five-item scale scores ($\alpha = .91$) (Neto, 2005). Construct validity of the SWLLS was assessed through a principal component analysis resulting in one factor and accounting for 73.7% of the variance. Evidence of convergent validity was also found between scores on the SWLLS and other indicators of love, social relationships and affective states ($r = .15–0.77$, $p < .01$ to .001) (Neto & Pinto, 2015).

The SWLLS can be used in several ways for both research and clinical purposes (Neto, 2005). For example, the measure can be appropriate for research evaluating how partners experience love during major life transactions, and for research on infidelity. The instrument can also be used by professionals/therapists, for example, to monitor change throughout the course of therapy. Bradley, Cunningham, and Gilman (2014) outlined the role that psychological assessment plays in research and clinical assessment as well as the increased attention to the comparison of concepts across cultures. In this vein, it seems to be of utmost importance to assess identical constructs across cultural groups.

The scarce available data indicates that the SWLLS has good psychometric properties. Evidence was gathered to support internal consistency, construct, criterion and discriminant validity of test scores (Neto, 2005). Despite its potential usefulness as a brief and useful measure of love life satisfaction, there seems to be a dearth of research evaluating the cross-cultural validity of scores of this measure. We address measurement invariance – the degree to which SWLLS measurements conducted across different cultural populations exhibit identical psychometric properties (Meade, Johnson, & Braddy, 2008). Specifically, three levels of invariance are examined related to equality of factor structure, of factor loadings and of item intercepts: configural invariance (all items are associated with the latent factor), metric invariance (all items are associated with the latent factor in the same way), and scalar invariance (the regression function linking the scores on an item to the latent factor scores has the same intercept in all cultures). Measurement invariance examines whether the construct underlying the instrument is measured the same way in each cultural context (van de Schoot, Lugtig, & Hox, 2012; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). In this type of analysis, love life satisfaction was the latent variable and the items were the indicators examined at three levels – configural, metric and scalar invariance. We tested for measurement invariance in two steps. First, we specified and tested an adequate model of the instrument for each group separately using confirmatory factor analyses (CFA; configural invariance). Second, we checked if the best-fitting factor model was adequate and equal across groups by testing whether the factor loadings were equal across groups (metric invariance), and whether the intercepts/thresholds were equal across groups (scalar invariance). Five cultural groups were targeted in this study: European (i.e., Portugal), African (i.e., Angola), Asian (East Timor and Macao), and South-American (Brazil). To the best of our knowledge, the current study presents the first effort to investigate the SWLLS measure in a cross-cultural context. In so doing, we address two hypotheses and one research question.

H_1: It is expected that the SWLLS will present a unidimensional structure in the five cultural groups.

H_2: It is expected that the SWLLS factorial structure will be invariant across cultures.

These two hypotheses are based on the idea that the theoretical framework of the SWLLS is substantially grounded on the work of the original SWLS (Diener et al. 1999). Several factor-analytic studies have supported the unidimensional structure of the SWLS (Anaby, Jarus, & Zumbo, 2010; Arrindell, Meeuweesen, & Huyse, 1991; Balatsky & Diener, 1993; Neto, 1993) as it was conceptualized by Diener et al. (1985). Similarly, as we have already mentioned, the SWLLS has evidenced a unidimensional structure in Portugal (Neto, 2005). A few studies have shown factorial invariance across cultures of the SWLS (Shevlin, Brunsden, & Miles, 1998; Siedlecki, Tucker-Drob, Oishi, & Salthouse, 2008; Tucker, Ozer, & Lyubomirsky, & Boehm, 2006). As most of our knowledge about life satisfaction (Pavot & Diener, 2008) and about love (Hendrick et al., 1998) comes from Western nations we are not

in position to advance a specific hypothesis about cultural differences in love satisfaction.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The study was carried out among emerging adults in five cultural groups. Data were collected from a convenience sample of 1113 undergraduate students (age: $M = 23.55$ years, $SD = 3.32$) from Portugal ($n = 247$), Angola ($n = 177$), Timor ($n = 240$), Macao ($n = 241$) and Brazil ($n = 208$) (Table 1). Prior to data collection, participants were informed about the purpose and methods of the study in order to obtain their consent and participation in filling out the questionnaire at their university. Data collection took approximately 30–45 min. The response rate was 98% in all five groups. All participants were unpaid volunteers.

Measure

Satisfaction with Love Life Scale (SWLLS; Neto, 2005) was administered to measure cognitive evaluations of one's love life with five items rated on a 7-point Likert scale. The SWLLS was developed from the original SWLS (Diener et al., 1985; Neto, 1993). The item wordings are very similar (Neto, 2005). The term 'love life' replaces 'life' in each of the five original items. In this vein, the theoretical framework is grounded substantially in the work of the original scale. A sample item is: "In most ways my love life is close to my ideal". Higher scores indicate greater love life satisfaction. Internal consistency coefficients of Cronbach's alpha were all above the recommended cut-off of .70 (Cicchetti 1994) (Table 1). The SWLLS was translated and presented in Portuguese in Angola, Brazil, and Portugal;

Table 1 Sample descriptives

			Ethnic groups		
	Portuguese	Angolan	Timor	Macao	Brazilian
Age					
Mean (SD)	23.5 (3.11)	24.70 (3.38)	22.76 (2.38)	23.08 (2.94)	24.03 (4.03)
Gender, *n*					
Female	120	85	124	111	109
Male	127	92	116	130	99
SWLLS (M, SD)	4.85 (1.43)	4.73 (1.44)	4.97 (1.42)	4.38 (1.28)	4.49 (1.64)
	$\alpha = .94$	$\alpha = .87$	$\alpha = .83$	$\alpha = .91$	$\alpha = .91$

Note: SWLLS Satisfaction with Love Life Scale

in Cantonese in Macao; and in Tetum in East Timor. In designing the Cantonese and Tetum versions, cross-cultural methodology guidelines were followed with independent blind back-translations and small-scale pretests (Brislin, 2000). Two bilinguals translated the SWLLS into Cantonese and Tetum, and then two other bilinguals back-translated into Portuguese. Minor differences were corrected by agreement among the translators. The agreed translations were then pilot-tested with ten Macanese and ten East Timorese participants unfamiliar with the study who had no difficulty understanding the Cantonese and Tetum versions of the SWLLS.

Analyses

Preliminary analyses explored normality and missing data. Kurtosis and skewness values at the scale level for all informants did not exceed an absolute value of two in the overall sample and across each group (Raykov & Marcoulides, 2008). Missing data were 0. 1%. Missing values analysis (i.e., Little's MCAR test) showed non-significant results for all measures, suggesting that these data were missing completely at random (Graham, 2009). Next, we estimated five separate CFA models for each group in AMOS (Arbuckle, 2009) by including all five items in a unidimensional model. We tested this model in a multigroup CFA simultaneously in all cultural groups. We assessed goodness of fit for the models using the most widely applied absolute and relative Alternative Fit Indices (AFIs) (Meade et al., 2008). Absolute fit indices evaluating the fit of a model in reference to perfect fit were the normed fit index (NFI; recommended >.95), goodness of fit index (GFI; recommended >.90) adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI; recommended >.90), root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA; recommended <.08), incremental fit index (IFI; recommended >.95). Relative fit indices were the comparative fit index (CFI), relative fit index (RFI), and Tucker–Lewis index (TLI) for all of which the recommended value is greater than .95. Finally, model fit was tested by the change in CFI of less or equal to .010 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Dimitrov, 2010).

Results

First, we tested a single factor model separately in each cultural group as originally conceptualized by the test developer. The five CFAs showed good model fit for samples from Angola, Brazil, Macao, Portugal and Timor (Table 2). Second, we tested measurement invariance across groups by multi-group CFA. Specifically, we entered in the model all countries analyzed for means of a multigroup path model (groups represented by countries) to assess the distinct features of each group and variation across groups (Bou & Satorra, 2010). To determine significant differences between models, we followed Chen's (2007) recommendations according to which a ΔCFI <.010, supplemented by ΔRMSEA <.015 would be indicative of invariance.

Table 2 Goodness-of-fit indexes of separate CFA's (Unconstrained invariance model) for each cultural group

			Ethnic groups		
	Portuguese	Angolan	Timor	Macao	Brazilian
χ^2 (df)	1.96 (4)	3.48 (4)	7.16 (4)	5.00 (4)	2.45 (4)
Absolute AFIs					
NFI	.998	.992	.984	.995	.997
GFI	.997	.992	.988	.992	.995
AGFI	.970	.970	.955	.970	.983
RMSEA	.000	.000	.058	.032	.000
IFI	1.000	1.000	.993	.999	1.000
Relative AFIs					
CFI	1.000	1.000	.993	.999	1.000
RFI	.992	.981	.961	.986	.992
TLI	1.000	1.000	.982	.997	1.000

Note: AFIs Alternative Fit Indices, *NFI* Normed Fit Index, *GFI* Goodness of Fit Index, *AGFI* Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index, *RMSEA* Root-Mean-Square Error of Approximation, *IFI* Incremental Fit Index, *CFI* Comparative Fit Index, *RFI* Relative Fit Index, *TLI* Tucker–Lewis Index

Table 3 Invariance models and goodness-of-fit indexes of the multigroup analysis

				Model fit		Model comparisons	
	χ^2 (df)	$\Delta\chi^2$ (df)	SRMR	RMSEA	CFI	ΔRMSEA	ΔCFI
Full model							
Configural invariance	35.80 (10)*	–	.00	.048	.993	–	–
Metric invariance	68.07 (26)***	32.27 (16)	.03	.038	.989	−.010	−.004
Scalar invariance	183.37 (46)***	115.3 (20)	.03	.052	.964	−.014	−.025
Modified model with released items							
Configural invariance	26.55 (15)*	–	.01	.026	.997	–	–
Metric invariance	74.60 (31)***	48.05 (16)	.02	.036	.988	−.010	.009
Partial scalar invariance	110.05 (35)***	33.45 (4)	.01	.044	.980	−.008	.008

Note: χ^2 Chi-Square, *df* degrees of freedom, *CFI* Comparative Fit Index, *RMSEA* Root Mean Square Error of Approximation, *SRMR* Standardized Root Mean Square Residual, *Δ* Change in the fit index value comparing configural and metric and metroc and scalar invariance models
**p* < .05. ****p* < .001

Findings reported in Table 3 indicated the presence of configural and metric invariance. As full scalar invariance was not established, we tried to establish partial scalar invariance in which only a subset of parameters must be invariant whereas others are allowed to vary among groups.

Specifically, we freely estimated intercepts of items 4 and 5. We first released one item with the highest difference and then estimated the model again and then released the second item with the highest difference until the difference CFI and RMSEA suggested invariance. The fit of the model was acceptable although the chi-square-test was significant (χ^2 (35, N = 1113) = 110.05, $p < .001$, NFI = .971, RMSEA = .044, IFI = .980, CFI = .980, RFI = .959 and TLI = .972), indicating that the structure of the scale and pattern of loadings is similar across cultural groups. As shown in Table 3, ΔCFI and ΔRMSEA suggested invariance. Although the assumption of full scalar invariance was not satisfied, we were able to establish partial scalar invariance (Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989) and were able to support that intercepts of SWLLS indicators were comparable across samples participating in our study. We also supplemented Table 3 with the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) defined as the difference between the observed correlation and the predicted correlation. The index allows assessing the average magnitude of the discrepancies between observed and expected correlations as a measure of model fit with acceptable values between 0.10 and of 0.08 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). We also checked for item correlations in the multigroup path model, which ranged from .27 to .77. It may be puzzling that RMSEA decreased from the configural (less constrained) to the metric invariance (more constrained) model [indicating the latter fit better] but this is probably because RMSEA is a measure of fit per degree of freedom. Standardized factor loadings for the total sample are reported in Fig. 1. As can be seen in Fig. 1, there were small differences in standardized coefficients among five countries. Overall, there were no large differences in measurement intercepts among countries. Item number 5 presented lower loadings compared to all other items. The explanation for this may be that this item refers primarily to the past, whereas the other four items refer to the present (Pavot & Diener, 2008). We also implemented analysis of residual correlations, which showed a highly significant level of all residual correlations at $p < .001$. Residual corrections indicate the correlation between the unexplained variance and the variables' association with it (Cole, Ciesla, & Steiger, 2007).

We also performed inter-item correlational analyses. Correlations for the whole sample were between .49 and .76, for Portugal between .68 and .86, Angola between .47 and .74, Timor between .34 and .62, Macao between .51 and .89 and Brazil between .53 and .80 – all significant at $p < .001$. Finally, because we could establish partial scalar invariance, we compared latent means across countries. Results of analyses of variance indicated that the sample from Timor had the highest scores on the mean level of satisfaction with love life compared to all other groups, F(4, 1112) = 6,77, $p < .001$. We also added a comparison among groups using a latent variable of the two invariant items only. The results were largely invariant in that Timor had the highest score compared to all other groups, F(4, 1112) = 4.20, $p < .001$.

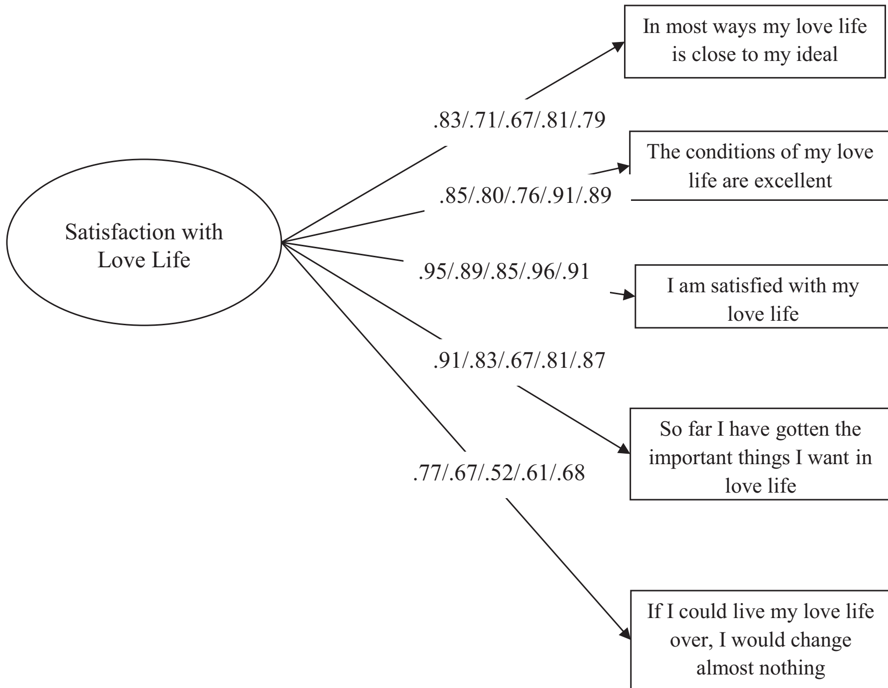

Fig. 1 Standardized solution of the one-factor model of the SWLLS. *Note*. All factor-loadings are significant at $p < .001$. Items loadings represent standardized coefficients of the partial invariance model for samples from Portugal, Angola, Timor, Macao and Brazil, respectively

Discussion

This chapter tested two hypotheses: the unidimensional structure of the SWLLS in five cultural groups and the invariance of the SWLLS across cultures. The current findings supported both hypotheses. Consistent with the SWLS, a single-factor solution model displayed an adequate fit in the five cultural groups. The current study set out to also investigate the invariance of the SWLLS across contexts so as to evaluate whether its structural patterns can be replicated at the cultural group level. Our findings might be discussed in terms of positive and negative aspects of the SWLLS so as to provide a critical and thoughtful consideration of the scale in the samples investigated. On the positive side, we achieved adequate partial invariance, an indicator that the SWLLS model may work well across cultural contexts. Specifically, the establishment of configural and partial metric national invariance indicates that SWLLS is a useful tool for the samples under investigation but should be employed with caution in future cross-national studies. Moreover, in all cultural groups, internal consistency values were all above the acceptable cut-off.

On the negative side, the establishment of partial scalar invariance suggests that mean comparisons of satisfaction with love life should be cautiously conducted

when using the latent mean scores for intercultural group comparisons. Regrettably, the latent means may also be affected as the observed mean comparisons may contain significant measurement error. Yet, we actually observed quite uniform differential item functioning in that the mean for one item was overestimated, whereas for another item it was underestimated as indicated in Table 3 (Bashkov & Finney, 2013).

The measurement model we fitted also presents several limitations such as significant chi square test and significant residual correlations. Similar issues of partial invariance have been addressed by a recent study (Crocetti et al., 2015) on the factor structure of the Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale (U-MICS) in university students from ten nations located in Europe (i.e., Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, and Switzerland), Middle East (i.e., Turkey), and Asia (i.e., China, Japan, and Taiwan). The authors concluded that the U-MICS can be fruitfully applied to study identity in university students from various Western and non-Western contexts, although only partial invariance was established. They also point out that configural and partial metric intercultural invariance indicate that the measure can be employed in cross-national studies aimed at unraveling associations between identity processes and relevant correlates across youth from different nations; whereas partial scalar invariance suggests that mean comparisons should be cautiously conducted. We apply similar reasoning for the SWLLS as it is a useful measure to study in relation to other psychological constructs relevant for satisfaction with one's own love life.

Our results indicate that the SWLLS can be used to study love life satisfaction across cultural contexts. In the literature, there is a great need to understand the emotional adjustment of emerging adults in a variety of contexts. The evaluation of the psychometric properties and cross-cultural utility of available scales contributes not only to understanding the theoretical underpinnings of these scales, but also to providing researchers with useful information for choosing valuable measures of psychological constructs. The brevity of the scale makes it a useful tool for cross-cultural comparisons and it can be used with latent scores for both research and clinical purposes in future research (Neto, 2005; Simmons & Lehmann, 2013).

Timorese participants reported significantly higher levels of love satisfaction than the other cultural groups. Further investigation is needed to explain this finding. However, one possible explanation for this result may be related to importance of religious involvement in East Timor (McGregor, Skeaff, & Bevan, 2012). Past research showed that religious involvement had a positive effect on satisfaction with love life (Neto & Pinto, 2015), which is consonant with findings concerning life satisfaction (Diener & Seligman, 2002). In fact, Abdallah, Thompson, and Marks (2008) showed that people in East Timor reported higher life satisfaction than people in Brazil, China, Portugal, and Angola. However, this may also be an artefact of the SWLLS items as they are based on items from the SWLS.

The study reported in this chapter is not without limitations. Participants were university students and samples were rather small for a multi-group CFA, so the generalizability of findings to other age groups may be limited. Furthermore, this study was cross-sectional; since the dynamics of relationship satisfaction may change across time (Grote & Frieze, 1998) longitudinal studies of satisfaction with

love life would be of interest. Also, caution is needed to use the instrument for cross-cultural comparisons as we were able to achieve partial scalar invariance only. Therefore, mean comparisons should be cautiously conducted when only using the observed scores of the scale. Despite these limitations, the present research represents a first step in demonstrating measurement invariance for the SWLLS, showing that the underlying construct is essentially the same across five cultural groups dispersed across four continents. Hence, the findings suggest the feasibility of using the SWLLS for cross-cultural research.

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Is There a Paradox of Adaptation in Immigrant Children and Youth Across Europe? A Literature Review

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Abstract This review examines how well children of immigrants in Europe are doing in terms of educational, psychological, and behavioral outcomes. Based on theory and research in developmental, social and acculturation psychology fields, we explore the immigrant paradox (e.g., first-generation immigrant children show better adaptation in comparison to their native and second-generation counterparts) and migration morbidity (e.g., immigrants display less favorable outcomes than natives) in 102 studies conducted in 14 European countries. We conclude that theoretical assumptions of developmental (e.g., promoting context in families, schools, neighborhoods), social (e.g., intercultural behaviors and attitudes, lack of discrimination) and acculturation psychology (e.g., cultural maintenance and adoption, biculturalism) are powerful constituents for optimal adaptation of immigrant children and youth. Taken together, these constituents should guide policies and programs targeting optimal outcomes for

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children of immigrants. A discussion within empirically based policy practices to promote positive outcomes of young immigrant populations in Europe is offered.

Immigrants and their children represent a sizable proportion of the population in many European countries of approximately 40 million immigrant people (Mladovsky, 2007). In 2010, there were 32.5 million immigrants in the European Union (EU), corresponding to 6.5% of the total population. A total of 3.4 million people immigrated to one of the EU Member States during 2013 and on average these immigrants are much younger than the population already resident in their country of destination (Eurostat, 2015). Despite such important numerical presence and the foregoing emphasis on immigration, studies in Europe are still emerging. The vast majority of research focuses on adults, and only in recent years, has there been an increasing interest in the study of immigrant children and youth (Strohmeier, Spiel, & Gradinger, 2008) with considerable efforts to document their adaptation across a range of developmental outcomes (Marks, Ejesi, & García Coll, 2014). These efforts are particularly relevant in light of the recent immigration crisis across many EU member states with thousands of immigrant families escaping from the war affected zones in the Middle East. A focus on immigrant populations is both relevant and timely, as there are currently many vulnerable children migrating and/or seeking refuge around the world, notably in Europe. Therefore, the current study explores immigrant children and youth adaptation outcomes in research across different European contexts.

Theoretical Frameworks of Immigrant Children and Youth

Several disciplines and theoretical frameworks inform patterns and variations in adaptation of immigrant children and youth: developmental, social, and acculturation psychology. Developmental research emphasizes the role of proximal environment in which children's lives are embedded (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), including interacting forces in families, neighborhoods, schools, and peers, which are also influenced by the policy structures and societal attitudes of the receiving country (García-Coll et al., 1996). Social psychology research builds upon social processes, such as discrimination, that shape societal and intergroup context and child outcomes (Motti-Stefanidi & Asendorpf, 2012; Verkuyten, 2005). Acculturation research focuses on the influence of culture in bicultural contexts and maintenance of both cultures (labeled integration) is deemed as conducive to better developmental outcomes (Berry, 2006).

All these frameworks assume that successful adaptation of immigrant children and youth involves integrating multiple influences and challenging developmental and acculturative tasks. Contexts that provide opportunities for exploration and development of abilities, goals and choices foster optimal outcomes. When receiving societies promote positive attitudes toward immigrants and effective support to their children in terms of educational and occupational choices, immigrant youth can achieve their potential by becoming successful members of society (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). Integration policies and favorable context of socio-cultural acceptance of immigrants play an important role in their suc-

cessful adaptation; therefore, policies that lead to language and cultural maintenance will also lead to much better developmental outcomes (García Coll et al., 2012).

Drawing on the above considerations, this paper explores patterns of adaptation among child and youth immigrants across varying European contexts present in current research. It is expected that successful adaptation of immigrant children and youth will be related to the way they deal with both developmental and acculturating challenges of living in two cultures. Facing the acculturative task of learning and maintaining language, values, beliefs, behaviors, and customs that are typical of the larger society, as well as those of their home culture will be related to better developmental outcomes (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Conversely, societies characterized by restrictive or assimilative immigrant policies, and situations that devalue immigrant youth identity will place them at risk for negative adaptation outcomes. Given these premises, we can consider the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2015) a useful assessment of adaptation. MIPEX measures policies that promote integration into European societies and offers valuable data on the extent to which immigrants feel secure, confident and welcome in their new country of residence.

The Paradox and Morbidity in Immigrant Populations

Research to date has identified two perspectives to explain differences in adaptation between immigrant and majority populations, referred-to as the immigrant paradox and migration morbidity. *The immigrant paradox* has received considerable attention in the literature on immigrant integration (Verkuyten, 2016) and refers to the counter-intuitive finding that, despite being socioeconomically disadvantaged, children of first-generation immigrants show better adaptation levels than their second-generation immigrant and/or non-immigrant peers (García Coll, Szalacha, & Palacios, 2005). Numerous studies suggest that, although socioeconomically disadvantaged, first-generation immigrants do not present emotional or behavioral problems (Fuligni, 1997) and perform better in school (García Coll et al., 2005; Georgiades, Boyle, & Duku, 2007) compared with their peers. Most of these studies have been conducted in the United States and Canada. Considering their early immigration and active receiving policies, it is not surprising that the paradox has been largely reported in these countries. Although the paradox has been investigated to a lesser extent in Europe, there are some findings consistent with this thesis (Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto, & Virta, 2008).

The migration morbidity states that there is a strong relationship between immigrant status and vulnerability that leads to psychological and behavioral problems in immigrant populations (Derluyn & Broekaert, 2007; Klimidis, Stuart, Minas, & Ata, 1994). In fact, across a variety of contexts, immigrant children and youth have been reported to display higher levels of adaptation problems than non-immigrant groups from majority populations into which they migrate. For instance, available findings document that to a significant degree, immigrant children and youth report higher rates of psychological problems (Georgiades et al., 2007; Pantzer et al., 2006), school difficulties (Strohmeier et al., 2008) and disruptive behaviors (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Titzmann, Silbereisen, & Mesch, 2014).

In the present review, we aim to fill existing literature gaps by: (a) reviewing the scattered evidence on the immigrant paradox and migration-morbidity in Europe, (b) identifying relevant mechanisms affecting these outcomes, and (c) providing suggestions for policy and practice amongst forthcoming generations of immigrants in Europe. In doing so, we focus on three adaptation outcomes investigated in the immigration research field: educational (i.e., school achievement, school adaptation, GPA-Grade Point Average), behavioral (i.e., substance and alcohol abuse, delinquent and overall externalizing behaviors) and psychological outcomes (i.e., anxiety, depression, and overall internalizing behaviors). These three categories of outcomes represent significant developmental tasks in childhood and adolescence and serve as important markers of good functioning and successful adaptation of immigrant children and adolescents (McLoyd, 1998). In addition, they have been investigated as main outcomes in both the immigrant paradox and the migration-morbidity literature on immigrant children and youth (García Coll et al., 2005, 2012; Georgiades, Boyle, Duku, & Racine, 2006; Georgiades et al., 2007).

Method

Literature Search and Study Inclusion Criteria

We followed guidelines on the integrative review method (Lehman, Chiu, & Schaller, 2004; Hilton & von Hippel, 1996; Whittemore & Knafl, 2005) as to summarize available empirical literature and provide a more comprehensive understanding of a particular phenomenon (i.e., types of adaptation outcomes in immigrant children and youth in Europe) with the potential to build science, informing research, practice, and policy initiatives. Thus, we adopted the following stages in conducting our review: (1) problem identification (e.g., available theoretical and empirical work related to immigrant paradox and morbidity in child and adolescent populations in Europe); (2) literature search with specific selection criteria; (3) data evaluation and presentation (e.g., synthesis in the form of a table and main conclusions about the paradox and morbidity, as well as factors important to these phenomena were developed to describe adaptation among immigrant populations).

The target criteria were children and adolescents who are either foreign-born, first or second generation immigrants. Papers were selected for the presence of one or more of the outcomes of interest (i.e., psychological, behavioral, and/or educational). In order to select studies to review on available findings on immigrant children and youth in Europe, an extensive literature search was performed in PSYCINFO, PSYCHArticles, PubMed, Academic and Research Premier and Google scholar databases. Keywords used in the search were “immigrant children”, “adolescents”, “youth”, “immigrant paradox”, “adjustment”, “adaptation”, “education”, “behavior” “psychological” and “names of each European country”. The search was limited to studies on children and youth in published, peer-reviewed

journal articles in English since the 1990s. All studies that we were able to retrieve were published between 1991 and 2014. Scarce empirical work has been published in prior periods, possibly due to less intense immigration research across Europe. An additional search was also performed by examining the references of articles included as well as a systematic search of journals that commonly publish papers on child development and immigration (i.e., European Journal of Developmental Psychology, Child Development, Developmental Psychology, International Journal of Behavioral Development, Journal of Adolescence, Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, etc.).

As the primary purpose of this study was to shed light on the paradox and morbidity, only studies on first- and second-generation immigrants compared to the native population were included. Additionally, two studies comparing first vs. second-generation immigrants were not considered because the outcomes were gender specific, showing more positive outcomes for first-generation immigrant girls (e.g., Murad, Joung, Verhulst, Mackenbach, & Crijnen, 2004) compared to native boys (e.g., Murad, Joung, van Lenthe, Bengi-Arslan, & Crijnen, 2003a, b). We also excluded studies with no comparison sample of non-immigrants (e.g., Cristini, Scacchi, Perkins, Santilello, & Vieno, 2011; Oppedal, 2011; Sam, 2000; Oppedal, Røysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005), no comparison within first and second immigrant generations in line with the paradox (e.g., Dimakos & Tasiopoulou, 2003) and those reporting literature reviews only (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2013).

We considered studies that employed quantitative assessment methods in the main outcomes of interest by reviewing each study and determining whether it met all inclusion criteria: (1) the study reported empirical data; (2) the study examined the relation between migration experience and adaptation in educational, psychological, and behavioral outcomes through group comparisons in either (a) immigrant versus non-immigrant participants or (b) first- versus second-generation immigrant participants. All potentially important articles were assessed from the literature database search and 102 papers clearly met the selection criteria.

Results

Descriptive Overview of Studies

The studies included in this review represent 14 European countries (see Table 1 for overview). They are divided by ethnic comparison, age, immigrant generation, and adaptation outcomes. The selected papers represent a wide range of methodological diversity regarding sample composition, ethnic groups, and outcomes. Most of the studies included first-generation (foreign-born) and second-generation (host country-born) immigrants, whereas approximately 24 studies included generation comparisons within the immigrant groups (see Table 1). The remaining studies used data on both first- and second-generation immigrants compared to

Table 1 Description of studies

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Austria				
Song (2011)	2nd generation Turkish (104)	15–16 years old	Educational	
	Austrians (4275)		School achievement	MM
Stefanek, Strohmeier, Fandrem, and Spiel (2012)	1st generation (120)	15.61 (NA)	Psychological	
	2nd generation (159)		Depressive symptoms	MM
	Austrians (330)			
Strohmeier and Dogan (2012)	1st generation Turkish (82)	12–15 years old	Behavioral	
	2nd generation Turkish (202)		Victimization	IP
	Austrians (379)			
Strohmeier and Spiel (2003)	Former Yugoslavian (126)	12.71 (1.05)	Behavioral	
	Turkish/Kurdish (80)	13.42 (.93)	Bullying/victimization	IP
	Mixed (36)	12.89 (1.06)	Peer acceptance (Turkish/Kurdish < Austrians and Yugoslavians)	
	Austrians (326)	12.70 (.97)	Loneliness (Turkish/Kurdish >Austrians and Yugoslavians)	MM
Strohmeier, Fandrem, Stefanek and Spiel (2012)	1st generation (126)	16.03 (.98)	Behavioral	
	2nd generation (175)	15.55 (.88)	Overt aggressive behaviour, reactive aggression	ND/MM
	Austrians (339)	15.49 (.89)	1st generation vs. non-immigrants/2nd generation vs. non-immigrants	
Strohmeier et al. (2008)	1st generation (126)	16.03 (.98)	Behavioral	
	2nd generation (175)	15.55 (.88)	Overt aggressive behaviour, reactive aggression	MM
	Austrians (339)	15.49 (.89)		

Belgium				
Derluyn et al. (2008)	Immigrants (1219)	15.4 (1.79)	Behavioral	
	Belgians (607)	16.5 (1.92)	Hyperactivity and externalizing problems	IP
			Psychological	
			Anxiety	IP
			Depression and emotional symptoms	ND
			Peer problems, avoidance	MM
Finland				
Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind (2001)	Russians (170)	15.0 (1.50)	Psychological	
	Finnish (190)	14.5 (1.01)	Psychological adaptation, self esteem	IP
Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000)	Soviet, Turkish, Somali, Vietnamese (588)	15.3 (2.0)	Behavioral	
	1st generation (529)		Behavioral problems	IP
	2nd generation (57)		Psychological:	
			Acculturative stress, self-esteem, life satisfaction, sense of mastery	
Liebkind et al. (2004)	Vietnamese (175)	15.40 (1.68)	Educational	
	Finnish (337)	14.99 (1.36)	School adaptation	IP
Germany				
Hannover et al. (2013)	Immigrants (556)	15.5 (1.05)	Educational	
			School tracks, performance in literacy test	MM
	Germans (200)			
Song (2011)	2nd generation Turkish (177)	15–16-year old	Educational	
	Germans (3946)		Test scores – academic performance, school resources	MM

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Titzmann et al. (2014)	German diaspora immigrants from the former Soviet Union (188)	15.2 (NA)	Behavioral	
	Jewish diaspora adolescents from the FSU in Israel (182)		Delinquency	MM
	Germans (237)			
Greece				
Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2008)	Albanians (263)	13.7 (.61)	Educational	
	Pontians (157)		Classroom behavior, GPA	MM
	Greeks (504)		Psychological	
			Emotional symptoms,	MM
			Strengths and difficulties,	N/D
			Self-esteem	
Anagnostopoulos et al. (2004)	Balkans (25), Eastern Europeans (4)	8.4 (3.92)	Psychological	
	Africans (3) Middle Easterns (3)	8.4 (3.95)	Diagnosis and therapeutic services	MM
	37% 2nd generation			
	Greeks (70)			
Giavrimis, Konstantinou, and Hatzichristo (2003)	Immigrants (43)	11–12 years old	Behavioral	
	Greeks (203)		Copying strategies	ND
			Psychological	
			Self esteem	MM
			Educational	
			School performance	MM

Hatzichristou and Hopf (1995)	Greek students migrants from Germany (495)	11.4 (.65)	Educational	
	Elementary school (223)	14.3 (.91)	School adaptation and achievement, learning and language difficulties	MM
	Secondary school (272)	10–13;13–16 years old		
	Greeks (925)			
Motti-Stefanidi (2014)	Immigrants from different countries (1057)	12–15 years old	Educational	
	(Three-wave longitudinal project)		Academic achievement	MM
			(2nd generation <1st generation)	
			Behavioral	
			Conduct, developmental tasks, peer acceptance	MM
			Psychological	
			Self esteem	N/D
Kolaitis et al. (2003)	1st generation immigrants from Soviet Union (276)	8–12 years old	Psychological	
	Greeks (251)		Adaptation, psychiatric disorders	ND/MM
			Educational	
			School achievement, language	MM
			Disobedience (migrant boys < native boys)	IP
Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, and Tantaros (2011)	Albanians (130)	13.06 (N/A)	Psychological	
	1st generation (101);	12.54 (N/A)	Parent-adolescent conflict,	MM
	2nd generation (29)		Self-esteem, psychological well-being,	ND
	Greeks (262)		Educational	
			School achievement and popularity	MM

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2015)	Mixted immigrants (Albanians, Pontic Greeks and other 6 countries) (1057)	13–15 years old	Educational	
	1st generation (361)		School engagement, GPA	MM
	2nd generation (216)		Behavioral	
	Greeks (525)		Absenteeism (teacher-rated), social adversity	MM
Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf, and Masten (2012)	Mixed group (Albanians, Pontic Greeks and other ethnicities) (1057)	13–15 years old	Educational	
	1st generation (361)		Conduct,	MM
	2nd generation (216)		Peer popularity (teacher-rated) (2nd >1st)	
	Greeks (525)		GPA (2nd <1st)	
			Psychological	
			Well-being, adversity, self -efficacy	MM
Sakka (2009)	Immigrants (123)	4th grade-Lyceum	Educational	
	Greeks (577)	(N/A)	Cultural diversity in class	MM
Motti-Stefanidi et al. (2008)	1st sample Albanians (80)	12–15 years old	Educational	
	Greeks (245)		GPA, school absence, peer popularity	MM
			Behavioral	
			Disruptive behavior	MM

Italy				
Azzolini et al. (2012)	1st generation (1130)	15 years old (NA)	Educational	
	2nd generation (340)		School performance in reading, mathematics, and science	IP
	Mixed parentage immigrants (2114)			
	Italians (25,989)			
Azzolini and Barone (2013)	1st generation (2389)	15–19 years old (NA)	Educational	
	2nd generation (660)		Drop out risks, school choice	IP
	Mixed parentage immigrants (2763)			
	Italians (52904)			
Barban and White (2011)	Wave 1 wave 2	13–14 years old	Educational	
	Foreigners (6368) immigrants' children (1389)		Educational outcome/performance: scholastic results from the middle school final exam and the choice of secondary school	MM
	Italians (10,537) Italians (1589)			
Dimitrova (2011)	Albanians (69)	9.03 (1.56)	Behavioral	
	Serbians (61)		Prosocial and aggressive behavior – social adaptation	IP
	Italians (162)		Psychological	
			Emotional instability	
Dimitrova and Chasiotis (2012)	Albanians (152)	9.10 (NA)	Behavioral	
	Serbians (124)		Prosocial and aggressive behavior	IP
	Italians (300)		Psychological	
			Depressive symptoms, emotional instability	

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Margari et al. (2013)	90 immigrants (57% 1st gen. 43% 2nd gen.)	Immigrants 8 (2.96)	Behavioral	
	Italians (90)		Social competence and social interactions outside school, adaptive functioning, maladaptive behavior	MM
	Reports from 51 teachers and 76 families		Psychological	
			Somatic complaints	
			Educational	
			Academic performance	
Rania, Cardinali, Cifatte, and Migliorini (2012)	Immigrants (64)	15 (NA)	Psychological	
	Italians (248)		Psychological well-being, self-esteem, perceived social support, cultural self-efficacy	IP
Vieno et al. (2009)	Italians and 1st gen. immigrants (6744) NA	11, 13 and 15-years-old age groups	Psychological	
		11.93 years ($n = 2097$) 13.98 years ($n = 2067$) 16.07 years ($n = 2580$)	Subjective well-being, health complaints, self-reported health, life satisfaction and happiness	MM
Netherlands				
Adriaanse et al. (2014)	Moroccans (407)	12.7 (1.9)	Behavioral	
	Turkish (173)	12.8 (1.7)	Conduct problems (Moroccans and Turkish > Dutch)	MM
	Dutch (703)	13.2 (1.7)	Peer problems (Moroccans and Turkish > Dutch),	MM
			Hyperactivity (Dutch > Moroccans and Turkish)	IP
			Psychological	
			Emotional symptoms (Dutch > Moroccans)	IP

Bengi-Arslan et al. (1997)	Turkish in Ankara (3127)	6–18 years old	Behavioral	
	Turkish immigrants (833)	4–18 years old	Delinquent behavior, aggressive behavior, social problems	MM
	Dutch (2081)	4–18 years old	Psychological	
			Anxious/depressed, withdrawn, somatic problems, thought problems, attention problems	
			Educational	
			School competence	
Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan, and Verhulst (2000)	Turkish immigrants (524)	10.3 (3.4)	Behavioral	
	Dutch (1625)	10.5 (4.0)	Delinquent behavior, aggressive behavior, social problems	
			Psychological	
			Anxious/depressed, withdrawn, somatic problems, thought problems, attention problems	ND
Murad et al. (2003 a, b)	Turkish immigrants (363)	4–18 years	Behavioral	
	Dutch (1098)	11–18 years	Delinquent behavior (Turkish boys < Dutch boys),	IP
			Aggressive behavior,	ND
			Social problems	MM
			Psychological	
			Anxious/depressed, withdrawn, somatic problems,	MM
			Thought problems, attention problems	ND
Eichelsheim et al. (2010)	Study 1	14.8 (1.03)	Behavioral	
	Moroccan (139)	14.9 (.93)	Aggression, delinquency	ND
	Dutch (149)	13.3 (.55)		
	Study 2	13.1 (.48)		
	Moroccan (151)			
	Dutch (155)			

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (n)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (2003)	Total sample (19,524)	1st class of secondary school	Academic	
			Downward mobility, school dropout	ND
Lahlah et al. (2013)	Student sample	15.8 (.90)	Behavioral: violent offending	MM
	Moroccan boys (69)			
	Dutch boys (295)			
	Delinquent sample			
	Moroccan boys (43)			
	Dutch boys (70)			
Lahlah, van der Knaap, Bogaerts, and Lens (2014)	Student sample	Total sample (students + offenders):	Behavioral: violent delinquency	MM
	Dutch boys (295)	Dutch: 15.7 (.80)		
	Moroccan boys (69)	Moroccan: 16.1 (1.0)		
	Delinquent sample			
	Dutch boys (70)			
	Moroccan boys (43)			
Stevens et al. (2003)	Moroccan (817)	11–18 years old	Behavioral[a]	
	Turkish (382)		Delinquent behavior, aggressive behavior,	IP
	Dutch (1124)		Social problems	ND
			Psychological[b]	
			Anxious/depressed, withdrawn,	ND
			Somatic problems, thought problems, attention problems	IP

van Bergen, Smit, van Balkom, van Ameijden, and Saharso (2008)	Moroccan (39)	12–18 years old	Psychological	
	Turkish (22)		Anxiety, suicidal ideation,	ND
	Dutch (142)		Depression (Dutch > Turkish > Moroccans),	IP
			Self-image (Dutch and Moroccans > Turkish)	
			Loneliness (Turkish > Dutch and Moroccans)	MM
van Geel and Vedder (2010a)	1st generation (152)	14.32 (1.24)	Behavioral	
	2nd generation (285)	13.98 (1.20)	Behavioral problems	ND
	Dutch (406)	14.14 (1.05)	Psychological	
			Psychological problems and Self-esteem	IP
van Geel and Vedder (2010b)	Immigrants (175)	14.64 (1.20)	Academic	
	Dutch (277)	14.52 (.97)	School adaptation, GPA	IP
			Behavioral	
			Behavioral problems	ND
			Psychological	
			Self-esteem, psychological problems	ND
van Oort et al. (2007a)	Turkish (217)	4–18 years old	Behavioral	
	Dutch (723)	7–14 years old	Externalizing problems, aggressive behaviors, delinquent behavior, intrusive behavior	MM
			Psychological	
			Internalizing problems, anxious/depressed, withdrawn, somatic complaints	
van Oort et al. (2007b)	Turkish (217)	13.6 (NA)	Behavioral	
	Dutch (753)	14.5 (NA)	Externalizing problems	MM
			Psychological	
			Internalizing problems	

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
van Ours and Veenman (2003)	1st generation (1702)	15–29 years old	Educational	
	2nd generation (1304)		Educational attainment	ND
	Dutch (422)			
van Tubergen and van Gaans (2013)	Caribbean (983)	11–19 years old	Academic	
	Turkish (668)		Values and behaviors regarding schooling (oppositional culture)	ND
	Moroccan (729)			
	Other (3043)			
	Dutch (5792)			
	11,215			
Vedder, Boekaerts, and Seegers (2005)	Immigrants (172)	11.3 (.71)	Academic and psychological	
	Dutch (245)	11.0 (.57)	Perceived need for support, perceived availability of social support,, self-confidence, school adaptation	ND
			School motivation	IP
Vollebergh and Huiberts (1997)	Immigrants (185)	16 years old	Psychological	
	Dutch (405)		Psychic stress and depression, psychological well-being	MM
Wissink, Deković, and Meijer (2006)	Turkish (106)	14.43 (.67)	Behavioral	
	Moroccan (83)		Aggression (Turkish and Surinamese > Moroccan and Dutch)	MM
	Surinamese (33)		Delinquency	ND
	Dutch (319)		Psychological	
			Self-esteem	ND
Yaman, Mesma, van IJzendoorn, and Bakermans-Kranenburg (2010)	Turkish mothers (175)	25.17 (1.64)	Behavioral	
	Dutch mothers (175)	24.02 (1.06)	CBCL externalizing scale	ND

Zwirs et al. (2007)	Moroccan (662)	7.9 (6–11)	Behavioral	
	Turkish (415)	8.0 (5–10)	Externalizing disorders (ADHD*, ODD, CD)	ND/IP*
	Surinamese (349)	7.7 (6–11)	Psychological	
	Dutch (615)	7.6 (5–10)	Mood disorders, anxiety disorders	ND
Zwirs et al. (2011)	Moroccan (702)	7.9 (6–11)	Behavioral	
	Turkish (434)	8.0 (5–10)	Conduct problems (Moroccan > Surinamese > Dutch and Turkish)	MM
	Surinamese (365)	7.7 (6–11)	Hyperactivity (Moroccan > Dutch and Turkish)	MM
	Dutch (684)	7.6 (5–10)	Prosocial behavior (Moroccan < Dutch, Turkish, and Surinamese)	MM
			Peer problems	ND
			Psychological	
			Emotional symptoms (Dutch > Moroccan and Turkish)	IP
Norway				
Fandrem, Sam, and Roland (2009)	Immigrants (3117)	13–15 years old	Psychological	
	Norwegian (208)		Depressive symptoms	MM
Fandrem, Strohmeier, and Roland (2009)	Immigrants (189)	13–15 years old	Behavioral	
	Norwegian (2938)		Bullying, victimization, and aggressive behaviors	MM/ND
Fandrem, Strohmeier, and Jonsdottir (2012)		13–15 years old	Psychological and behavioral	
			Depressive symptoms and victimization	ND/MM
Noam et al. (2014)	Immigrants (1027)	10–13 years old	Psychological and behavioral	
	Norwegian (1151)		Emotional and conduct problems	MM/IP
Oppedal and Røysamb (2007)	1st generation Muslim immigrants (903)	15–16 years old	Psychological and educational	
	2nd generation Muslim immigrants (763)		Internalizing problems, self-efficacy and school problems	ND/MM
	Norwegian (4640)			

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Oppedal and Røysamb (2004)	Immigrants (225)	13 years old	Psychological	
	Norwegian (408)		Mental health problems/psychological stress, daily hassles including problems at school and with peers	MM/ND
Sagatun, Lien, Søgaard, Bjertness, and Heyerdahl (2008)	Immigrants (505)	15–16 years old	Psychological and behavioral	
	Norwegian (1092)		Emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity-inattention problem, prosocial behaviors, and internalizing problems (combination of depression and anxiety)	ND/MM
Sam (1998)	1st generation (161)	15.34 (1.67)	Psychological	
	Norwegian (209)	15.13 (1.58)	Life satisfaction	MM
Strohmeier et al. (2012)	Immigrants (506)	14–16 years old	Behavioral	
	Norwegian (302)		Bullying and reactive aggression	MM/ND
Torgersen (2001)	Immigrants (2347)	14–16 years old	Behaviral	
	Norwegian (7497)		Different forms of delinquent behaviors	ND/MM
Virta et al. (2004)	Turkish immigrants (296)	12–19 years old	Psychological	
	Swedish (226)		Life satisfaction, self-esteem, and mental health (combination of depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic problems)	IP
	Turkish immigrants (11)	12–19 years old	Psychological	
	Norwegian (207)		Life satisfaction, self-esteem, and mental health (combination of depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic problems)	MM
Portugal				
Neto (2001)	Angolans (108)	14.8 (1.7)	Psychological	
	Cape Verdians (111)	14.9 (1.6)	Life satisfaction (Portuguese > Angolans)	MM
	Indians (94)	15.4 (2.3)		
	Portuguese (363)	14.5 (1.4)		

Neto (2002)	Angolans (108)	14.8 (1.7)	Psychological	
	Cape Verdians (111)	14.9 (1.6)	Loneliness	ND
	Indians (94)	15.4 (2.3)		
	Portuguese (363)	14.5 (1.4)		
Neto (2009)	Immigrants (755)	15.4 (2.06)	Psychological	
	Portuguese (320)	14.8 (1.30)	Mental health problems	IP
Neto (2010a)	Immigrants (755)	15.4 (2.06)	Behavioral	
	Portuguese	14.8 (1.30)	Social adaptation	ND
	(320)		Psychological	
			Psychological adaptation	
Neto (2010b)	Returned Portuguese immigrants (105)	16.4 (1.40)	Psychological	
	Portuguese who have never immigrated (217)	15.2 (1.19)	Mental health problems	IP
Schnell and Azzolini (2014)	1st generation (401)	15 year old	Educational	
	2nd generation (308)		Mathematical literacy (2nd > 1st and 2nd < Portuguese)	MM
	Portuguese (10,768)			
Seabra and Mateus (2011)	Immigrant origin (150)	11–12 years old	Educational	
	PALOP Portuguese Speaking African Countries (219)		School achievement (Immigrant > Portuguese)	IP
	Portuguese (468)			

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Slovenia				
Slodnjak, Kos, and Yule (2002)	1st generation Bosnian refugees (265)	14–15 years old	Psychological	
	Slovenians (195)		Daily life stress, life satisfaction, depression, traumatic experiences, loss, bereavement, self-esteem, suicidal thoughts	MM/IP
			Educational	
			Inadequacy in the academic field	
Spain				
Aparicio (2007)	1.5 generation (528)	14–25 years old	Educational	
	2nd generation (65)		Educational and labor opportunities/achievements (2nd < Spanish)	MM
	Spanish (NA)			
Castro and Bermúdez (2011)	Latin American Immigrants (357)	17.28 (1.30)	Behavioral	
	Spanish (458)	16.64 (1.40)	Behavioral adaptation	MM
			Percieved descrimination	
			Risky behaviors for HIV infection	
Marsiglia, Kulis, Luengo, Nieri, and Villar (2008)	Latin American immigrants (273)	12–15 years old	Behavioral	
	Spanish (544)		Substance use (intentions and actual use)	IP
Pantzer et al. (2006)	Immigrants (226)	12–18 years old	Psychological and behavioral	
	Spanish (1009)		Health related quality of life; (energy; physical wellbeing; psychological wellbeing; self-esteem; relationships with friends; relationships with parents; relationships with teachers; school life; leisure; relationships with health workers, and satisfaction with romantic and sexual life)	MM

Vaquera and Kao (2012)	1st generation (214)	13–16 years old	Educational	
	2nd generation (280)		Educational achievement	MM
	3rd generation (2216)			
Sweden				
Dekeyser, Svedin, Agnafors, and Sydsjö (2011)	2nd generation (142)	12 years old	Psychological and behavioral	
	Swedish (1036)		Emotional symptoms, conduct problems, hyperactivity-inattention problem, peer problems, prosocial behaviors	ND
Holmberg and Hellberg (2008)	Turkish and Middle Eastern immigrants (101)	13–18 years old	Behavioral and psychological	
	Swedish (2576)		Bullying, victimization, delinquent behaviors, depression	MM/ND
Jablonska, Lindberg, Lindblad, and Hjern (2009)	Immigrants (3810)	18–20 years old	Behavioral	
	Swedish (9586)		Self-harm	MM
Rydell (2010)	Immigrants (262)	10 years old	Behavioral	
	Swedish (944)		Oppositional defiant disorder behaviors and attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder symptoms	MM
Safipour, Higginbottom, Tessma, and Emami (2012)	1st generation (59)	15–19 years old	Psychological	
	2nd generation (109)		Emotional problems	MM
	Swedish (267)			
Safipour, Schopflocher, Higginbottom, and Emami (2013)	1st generation (61)	15–19 years old	Psychological	
	2nd generation (107)		A combination of emotional reaction, energy level, and sleep	MM
	Swedish (266)			
Sam and Virta (2003)	Turkish immigrants (137)	14.9 (1.50)	Psychological	
	Vietnamese immigrants (84)	16.1 (1.80)	Life satisfaction, self-esteem, and mental health (combination of depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic problems)	IP/ND
	Swedish (141)	16.0 (1.70)		

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Sam et al. (2008)	1st generation (144)	13–18 years old	Psychological and behavioral	
	2nd generation (425)		Life satisfaction, self-esteem, psychological problems (combination of depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic problems), school satisfaction, behavior problems	MM/IP
	Swedish (214)			
Sundelin-Wahlsten, Ahmad, and Knorring (2001)	Kurdish refugees (118)	16–18 years old	Behavioral	
	Swedish (104)		Behavioral disorders (behavioral problem was measured through CBCL)	ND
Sundelin-Wahlsten, Ahmad, and Knorring (2002)	Kurdish refugees (118)	16–18 years old	Behavioral and educational	
	Swedish (104)		Behavior problems (CBCL), school competence, and social competence	ND/MM
Svensson, Burk, Stattin, and Kerr (2012)	1st generation (150)	12–16 years old	Behavioral	
	2nd generation (173)		Delinquent behaviors	ND
	Swedish (846)			
Virta et al. (2004)	Turkish immigrants (296)	12–19 years old	Psychological	
	Swedish (226)		Life satisfaction, self-esteem, and mental health (combination of depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic problems)	IP
Switzerland				
Meunier (2011)	1st generation (831)	15 year old	Educational	
	2nd generation (720)		Test scores on reading, mathematics and science literacy	MM
	Swiss (6239)			
Neto and Barros (2000)	Portuguese living in Switzerland (95)	16.1 (1.4)	Psychological	
	Portuguese who have never immigrated (363)	14.5 (1.4)	Loneliness	ND

Song (2011)	Turkish immigrants (207)	15–16 years old	Educational	
	Swiss (9405)		Academic performance	MM
Vazsonyi and Killias (2001)	1st generation (277)	17.99 (1.2)	Behavior	
	2nd generation (521)	17.85 (1.1)	Deviant behavior	IP
	Swiss (2338)	17.84 (1.1)	(2nd generation >1st generation; 2nd > Swiss)	MM
Vazsonyi et al. (2006)	1st generation (323)	18.2 (NA)	Psychological	
	2nd generation (597)	18.3 (NA)	Internalizing symptoms (1st and 2nd > Swiss)	MM
	Swiss (2620)	18.4 (NA)	Behavior	
			Externalizing behaviors (2nd generation >1st generation; 2nd > Swiss)	IP
von Grünigen, Kochenderfer-Ladd, Perren, and Alsaker (2012)	Immigrants (203)	5.89 (.57)	Behavior	
	Swiss (338)		Peer acceptance and peer victimization	MM
United Kingdom				
Atzaba-Poria and Pike (2007)	Indian (66)	8.51 (.62)	Psychological	
	British (59)		Internalizing behaviors (parental report)	MM
Deater-Deckard, Atzaba-Poria, and Pike (2004)	Indian (66)	8.51 (.62)	Behavioral	
	British (59)		Aggressive behavior and delinquency (parental report)	ND
Goodman and Richards (1995)	2nd generation Afro-Caribbean (292)	0–18 years old	Psychological	
	British (1311)		Emotional problems	IP
Hackett et al. (1991)	Gujarati (100)	4–7 years old	Behavioral	
	British (100)		Conduct disorder (mothers' report)	IP
			Psychological	
			Emotional disorder (mothers' report)	

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Country/author	Group comparison (*n*)	Age M (SD)	Outcome	Major findings
Leavey et al. (2004)	1st generation (206)	13.2 (1.45)	Behavioral	
	UK-born (123)		Smoking and alcohol use	IP
			Psychological	
			Psychological distress	MM
Molcho, Kelly, and Gabhainn (2011)	1st generation (840)	10–17 years old	Psychological	
	2nd generation (1127)		Self-reported health	ND
	Returning emigrants (350)		Life satisfaction (1st generation immigrants (but not returning emigrants) < 2nd generation)	MM

Note: MM Migration Morbidity, *IP* Immigrant Paradox, *ND* Non Difference immigrant vs. non-immigrants; a, b: these results refer only to self-report. This study also included parent-, and teacher-reported data, where parent-report revealed one difference (attention problems) in favor of the Immigrant Paradox, and the teacher-report revealed three differences (attention problems, delinquent behavior, aggressive behavior) in favor of Migration-Morbidity hypothesis

non-immigrants. All studies refer to ethnically mixed immigrant populations, assessing different adaptation outcomes of culturally diverse populations (e.g., Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Vietnamese, Pakistani, Kurdish, Algerian, Tunisian, South-East Asian, Italian, Greek, Portuguese, Spanish, Former USSR, Bosnian, Middle Eastern, Finnish, Asian, Bangladeshi, Somali, Kosovan, Afro-Caribbean, Central, Latin and South American). The sample characteristics of the studies included in the analysis show that most used convenience samples, whereas a small number made use of national datasets as a research sampling design (e.g., Azzolini, Schnell, & Palmer, 2012; Barban & White, 2011; Song, 2011) or used a population-based local, large scale study (e.g., Azzolini & Barone, 2013; Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, van der Ende, & Erol, 1997; Motti-Stefanidi, 2014; van Ours & Veenman, 2003; van Tubergen & van Gaans, 2013). Regarding the specific outcomes, studies focused primarily on the behavioral (n = 25) and psychological (n = 24) followed by educational adaptation outcomes (n = 20) and the remaining studies representing a mixture of the three.

The articles included in this review cover many developed countries where immigration traffic is within Europe. They also share some common theoretical characteristics based on deficit models of development with a focus on how children of immigrants are worse off than their non-immigrant peers in a range of developmental outcomes. Common methodological characteristic of all papers regards their disproportionate geographic distribution, possibly due to a variety of intensive immigration experienced by certain European areas and higher concentration of empirical work conducted in Western Europe (e.g., Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom). Another methodological aspect is the direction of interest to adolescence, possibly because immigrant adolescents are the fastest growing and sizable proportion of the European school-aged population (Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008).

In addition, the extent to which the paradox/morbidity was reported in developmental outcomes across studies can be seen in Table 1. A total of 33 studies report mixed evidence, both confirming and departing from the paradox. Alignment with the immigrant paradox required that first-generation immigrants show better adaptation than non-immigrants and that second-generation show worse adaptation than first-generation immigrants. Based on our inspection of reviewed papers, we can see that the paradox was reported mostly in behavioral outcomes followed by psychological and educational outcomes. Table 1 indicates that a total of thirty-seven studies contained results supporting the paradox in comparison to seventy-six supportive of the migration morbidity, most evidently for psychological followed by behavioral and educational outcomes. Finally, 38 studies reported lack of group differences between immigrants and non-immigrants across all developmental outcomes (see Table 1).

The Paradox and Morbidity in Adaptation of Immigrant Children and Youth

In addressing the main goals of this paper (e.g., review evidence and relevant mechanisms on the immigrant paradox and migration-morbidity in Europe), we follow theory and research in developmental, social, and acculturation psychology. In doing so, we structure the presentation of major conclusions of this review in three steps. First, we present findings from the reviewed papers based on major assumptions derived from these three disciplines and conceptual assumptions regarding adaptation of immigrant populations. Second, we devote special attention to country specific factors and policies toward the integration of immigrants in European societies based on the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2015). In this way we can draw valuable conclusions on where to focus efforts for improvement of developmental outcomes for children and youth. Third, based on the evidence provided in the analysis of the current research, we provide a set of recommendations for policy and practice for the younger generation of immigrants in Europe.

Findings from the Developmental Psychology Perspective

In line with developmental psychology frameworks, we were able to confirm that proximal environments (e.g., families, peers, schools, and neighborhoods) relate to immigrant's psychological and behavioral functioning in the host country (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi, 2014). With regards to the proximal family environment, we found evidence that parental support and higher educational aspirations are associated with higher school adaptation of immigrants compared to non-immigrant children. Strong educational aspirations of immigrant parents account for more favorable school trajectories of their children as compared to those of the non-immigrants (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004). This finding is in line with previous research stating that immigrant families perceive education as the main vehicle to improve their children's future. Immigrant parents invest and develop strong educational aspirations, which in turn account for better educational attainment of their children at school (Fuligni, 1997; Fuligni & Witkow, 2004). Similarly, parents' schooling qualifications (Azzolini et al., 2012; van Tubergen & van Gaans, 2013), family cohesion (Kolaitis, Tsiantis, Madianos, & Kotsopoulos, 2003) and family involvement in children's schooling relate to better educational and behavioral outcomes for children (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003; Lahlah, Lens, Bogaerts, & van der Knaap, 2013; Margari, et al. 2013; Seabra & Mateus, 2011; Song, 2011). Strict parenting styles, high expectations of obedience and encouragement, parental social support are also beneficial for better behavioral outcomes among immigrants (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2005; Hackett, Hackett, & Taylor, 1991).

With regard to the proximal school and peer environments, immigrant school composition (e.g., the percentage of immigrant versus non-immigrant adolescents

in a school) and classmate support (e.g., the perceived acceptance and assistance offered to adolescents by classmates) have been suggested as factors determining behavioral problems such as levels of peer violence among immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents (Kolaitis et al., 2003; Vervoort, Scholte, & Overbeek, 2010). Classmate support may buffer threats experienced by immigrants and non-immigrant adolescents in culturally heterogeneous classes, whereas schools with low classmate support further the relationship between immigrant school composition and peer violence. A recent study among 51,636 adolescents from ten European countries and the USA examined the moderator role of classmate support on the relationship between immigrant school composition and peer violence (Walsh et al., 2016). The results revealed that in schools with low classmate support, there was a stronger negative relationship between immigrant school composition and fighting and bullying victimization specifically for immigrant adolescents than in schools with high classmate support. Although the contribution of immigrant school composition was modest compared to the one of classmate support, the findings point out that it is not just the number of immigrants in a class per se, but rather the environment in the classroom which influences levels of behavioral problems and peer violence.

With regards to the proximal neighborhood and settlement environment, we found evidence that neighborhood composition relates to immigrant adolescents' satisfaction with life, since the more homogeneous the ethnic composition of the neighborhood was, the more satisfied the adolescents were (Neto, 2001). Settlement factors such as the duration of sojourn emerged as a significant predictor of loneliness, indicating that the longer residence relates to less loneliness for immigrant adolescents (Neto, 2002). Extended social environments in which immigrant children are raised have a powerful role in accounting for differences in adaptation between immigrant and native samples (Adriaanse, Veling, Doreleijers, & van Domburgh, 2014). Findings reveal a dose-response pattern of the relation between social disadvantage and adaptation problems among immigrant and non-immigrant samples. Specifically, having multiple social risk indicators (i.e., low family SES, neighborhood deprivation, perceived discrimination, and housing instability) leads to much higher probability of adaptation problems for youth. Regrettably, such cumulative social disadvantage is most pronounced for immigrant populations (Fandrem, Sam, & Roland, 2009; Motti-Stefanidi, Masten, & Asendorpf, 2015) but once controlled for, most differences between immigrant and native adolescents disappear (Adriaanse et al., 2014; Murad et al., 2003a, b).

Findings from the Social Psychology Perspective

Our review revealed particularly rich findings in line with the social psychology theory and research emphasizing social processes and intergroup context (Verkuyten, 2005). Extant research findings indicate that various forms of perceived discrimination (e.g., personal, ethnic, group) were significantly and negatively affecting immigrant students' adaptation, such as psychological problems (Bayram Özdemir &

Stattin, 2014; Briones et al., 2012; Cristini et al., 2011; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind et al., 2004), mental health problems (Neto, 2010b; Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004), loneliness (Neto, 2002, 2010a) and behavioral problems (Castro & Bermudez, 2011). Particularly interesting were findings from a large scale study reported by Motti-Stefanidi, Asendorpf, and Masten (2012), where group discrimination was empirically proven to work as a factor that influenced personal discrimination. In turn, personal discrimination was determined by perceived group discrimination as well as by immigrants' individual features related to the way youth experience group and personal discrimination (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012).

Findings from the Acculturation Psychology Perspective

Consistent with acculturation theory and research, we found evidence supporting the influence of culture on adaptation of youth (Berry, 2006). Traditionally, the acculturation strategy of integration (i.e., the adoption of both host and own ethnic cultures) has been indicated as most beneficial for youth adaptation (Virta et al., 2004). Similarly, strong cultural maintenance and strong ethnic identity are significant predictors of higher self-esteem, better life satisfaction, and less mental health problems among immigrant youth (Cristini et al., 2011; Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004). Acculturation in terms of involvement in host culture proved to be a significant predictor for immigrants' school adaptation, whereas acculturation in terms of involvement in one's own ethnic culture was a significant predictor for psychological well-being (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradovic, & Masten, 2008). We can conclude that contexts providing opportunities for immigrants to maintain and develop their cultural heritage while also combining elements of the new settlement culture are more beneficial for developmental outcomes of children and youth.

Country Level Characteristics and Adaptation of Immigrant Children and Youth

All three theoretical perspectives guiding our study presume that when receiving societies promote multiculturalism policies toward immigrants and create educational and occupational choices, there is a favorable context for successful adaptation of their children (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). With these perspectives in mind, we found empirical evidence for the immigrant paradox in countries scoring among the top ten in the world on the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX, 2015): Belgium (Derluyn, Broekaert, & Scyuten, 2008), Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind et al., 2004), Netherlands (Stevens et al., 2003; van Geel & Vedder, 2010a, 2010b), Portugal

(Neto, 2009, 2010b; Seabra & Mateus, 2011) and Sweden (Sam & Virta, 2003; Virta et al., 2004). Arguably, in countries that promote active integration and biculturalism policy and offer a secure and welcoming context along with quality educational and occupational opportunities, children of immigrants do well compared to their non-immigrant peers. Regrettably, we can only presume the presence of such a relationship without sound empirical foundation testing nation effects on individual adaptation. To our knowledge, only one recent large-scale cross-national study (Stevens et al., 2015; total $N = 53{,}218$) explored differences in emotional and behavioral problems between immigrant and native adolescents in Denmark, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, the United States, and Wales. The results of this study support the migration morbidity perspective (i.e., immigrant adolescents show more problem behaviors than their native peers), but no clear evidence on the country effects was found. The authors interpret this finding as remarkable given indications for differences in migration policies and attitudes against immigrants across all participating countries. They also suggest that country level differences in immigrant attitudes and policies may be associated with differences in prejudice and discrimination (García-Coll et al., 1996; Stevens et al., 2015).

Policy Recommendations

Several recommendations for policy and practice can be outlined. Based on the reviewed literature, we are able to conclude that theoretical assumptions of developmental (e.g., families, peers, schools, neighborhoods), social (e.g., intercultural behaviors and attitudes, discrimination) and acculturation psychology (e.g., cultural maintenance and adoption, biculturalism) are powerful constituents of adaptation for immigrant children and youth in Europe. Taken together, these constituents should be framed within policies and programs targeting optimal adaptation of immigrant children and youth.

From a developmental psychology view, families, schools and neighborhoods have a crucial role to play in setting up beneficial contexts for children and youth aimed at recognition and prevention of problems. Intervention programs should target immigrant families (e.g., fostering parental support, family cohesion and aspirations for their children), schools (e.g., promoting peer acceptance, a class atmosphere where immigrants feel accepted and liked by others because of common goals or common successes in achievement, while finding creative ways of accommodating the needs of immigrant students from disadvantaged families and allocating resources to schools) and neighborhoods (e.g., providing secure and multicultural environments where children can grow up).

From a social psychology view, the implementation of policy for immigrants must take into account socio-cultural background when planning any interventions (Neto, 2010a, 2010b). Preventive care programs should aim to diminish social inequalities (Pantzer et al., 2006), find successful strategies to promote educational support and positive attitudes towards immigrants (Motti-Stefanidi, 2014), while

promoting structural changes in the contexts where they live with value of diverse cultural heritages as enriching elements.

From an acculturation psychology view, efforts should focus on promoting bicultural strategies for immigrants as well as multicultural policies with awareness of cultural factors and variations in the behavior of children and youth depending on their culture of origin, as well as their efforts to sustain a multicultural identity (Strohmeier & Spiel, 2003). As official policies across countries vary, policy collaborations across countries may allow promoting immigrant children and youth's adaptation (Fandrem et al., 2009; Virta et al., 2004). All the aforementioned recommendations are also reflective of the recent mission statement on immigrant children and youth in a global perspective, aimed at successful incorporation of immigrants into new societies through well-informed policies and practices for positive development of these populations (Dimitrova, 2016).

Caveats and Future Outlook

There are a number of shortcomings that may provide fertile ground for future research. First, there were heterogeneous measurements and designs in the papers reviewed here. Second, the literature reviewed most consistently used self-reports as a source of information, whereas only a few studies used a combination of self-, teacher-, and parent-reports (e.g., Kolaitis et al., 2003; Stevens et al., 2003). A combination of multiple informants is an important issue in the study of child and adolescent adaptation as significant others (e.g., teachers, parents, peers) provide unique information about children's behavior in different developmental contexts. Third, an important variable rarely considered in research designs is the timing of migration and the period when the data are collected. Such issues relate to the importance of considering both the length of stay in the host country but also the age when immigrant children move from their birth places. The literature on adaptation outcomes in immigrant populations has clearly demonstrated that positive forms of adaptation have different time courses related to the period of settlement in the host country. For instance, it has been suggested that psychological problems are higher at the initial contact with the host country and relatively lower over time, while academic and social interaction skills improve with time (Berry, 2006). Age group is another factor that needs to be considered. As stated earlier, most studies investigate outcomes within adolescent samples (e.g., Oppedal & Røysamb, 2007; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Virta et al., 2004), while others combine both child and adolescent samples (e.g., Noam, Oppedal, Idsoe, & Panjwani, 2014). Even without being an immigrant, adolescence is a period signed by significant changes in multiple developmental domains. A limited number of contributions have involved participants in early and middle childhood and thus, not distinguishing specific developmental stages in immigrant samples is a considerable flaw in previous research (Hackett et al., 1991; Vollebergh et al., 2005). Fourth, most of the current studies are primarily based on cross-sectional research designs. Adaptation

processes in immigrant populations need to be examined longitudinally to accurately trace the emergence and occurrence of children's successful adaptation in different developmental stages.

The above-mentioned methodological and contextual characteristics of the studies on children of immigrants in Europe posit two important demands for future research. First, complex research designs examining multilevel variables (e.g., age, ethnic groups, timing of migration, type of outcomes, ethnic community characteristics and migration history) in large scale immigrant samples that draw on multiple informants are needed. Second, a longitudinal approach on factors leading to positive adaptation among immigrants should translate in specific policy and intervention programs. These two design elements are vitally important to promote successful adaptation in immigrant populations across different European countries, offering an excellent tool for understanding their development and how to avoid maladaptive mechanisms.

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Contextualized Positive Youth Development: A SWOT Analysis

Fons J.R. van de Vijver

Abstract An attempt is made to integrate the previous chapters of the book on Positive Youth Development (PYD). The integration takes the form of a SWOT analysis. It is argued that the main strengths of PYD literature are its study of positive aspects of youth development (in contrast to the more common deficiency-based approaches) and its attention for contextual factors, cross-cultural issues such as the delineation of universal and culture-specific aspects of PYD. The main weakness is the scarcity of models that link individuals and their environment; contextual analyses are usually ad hoc and not based on a model of the environment, such as developmentally relevant classifications of countries. The main opportunities are the extension of current models of PYD in a cross-cultural context, as amply illustrated in various chapters of this volume. The main weaknesses of the extant literature on PYD are its Western dominance and exclusive focus on positive aspects, thereby possibly neglecting negative consequences of adverse conditions.

Positive Youth Development (PYD) is coming of age. Like positive psychology (e.g., Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), PYD provides an alternative approach to mainstream psychology that sets out to overcome the focus on shortages and deficiencies of mainstream psychology by addressing positive aspects of human life. The current chapter does not provide an overview of literature in PYD, nor does it summarize the contributions of this rich volume. Rather, the chapter aims to provide a synthesis of contextual approaches that prevail in PYD, as described in the previous chapters, in the form of a SWOT analysis. Such an analysis is a tool that originates in the management literature aimed at improving strategic thinking in organizations (Armstrong & Taylor, 2017). SWOT is an acronym for Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats. By applying these four perspectives on my reading of PYD, I hope to contribute to the strategic positioning of this vibrant field.

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I describe each of the four aspects in turn, followed by a conclusion. The input for the strategic positioning has come from the chapters in this book.

Strengths

PYD has a number of strong features, many of which seem to be inherited from developmental science. Many chapters in this volume not only acknowledge but explicitly address contextual issues in their theorizing and conceptual or statistical modeling of youth development. An interesting example is provided in the chapter by *Petrova and Schwartz.*[1] They argue that emerging adulthood may be culture bound, even more so than adolescence. Their thesis shows how far we have evolved beyond the traditional Piagetian position, the dogma when I was a student, that developmental stages are universal and that the only cross-cultural variation is the age of acquisition. Even if discussions about the culture-bound nature of certain phenomena, such as eating disorders (Keel & Klump, 2003) has not yet led to widespread convergence in views and the discussion on the status of culture-bound syndromes in transcultural psychiatry is far from settled (e.g., Westermeyer & Janca, 1997), it is an important step forwards to have these discussions and to no longer accept the implied universality of phenomena observed in Western countries.

There are various chapters in this volume that address the question of universality or generalizability of findings. These studies do not start from an implied universality (or the lack thereof), but test to what extent data support such universality. Most studies found support for the generalizability of constructs or relations between constructs. The reasoning behind these chapters (and many studies in the literature) is more or less as follows: we know from literature that a certain construct, measure, or set of associations is well-established in Western countries; however, our study took place in a very different cultural context, which makes it interesting to test the generalizability of Western findings. The first example can be found in the chapter by *Adams, Fischer, and Abubakar*. Starting from the observation that a positive correlation has been found between some personal values and well-being in many Western countries, they were able to establish similar relations in South Africa. *Buzea and Dimitrova,* studying emerging adults in post-communist Romania, found that positive moods predisposed their participants to feel that life is meaningful, thereby replicating findings in Western countries. *Gonzalez, Sinclair, D'Augelli, and Grossman* were interested in the link between extended family member support and negative parental reactions to coming out by LGB ethnic minority youth. The authors found support for the relevance of extended family support in all ethnic groups in a major U.S. metropolitan city. Their study shows that such family support is important across major ethnic groups in the US. Another study supporting the generalizability of findings is reported by *Aydinli-Karakulak, Baylar, Keleş, and Dimitrova*. Their sample involved Turkish-Bulgarian youth, who

[1] Italicized author names refer to a chapter in this volume.

are often exposed to severe discrimination despite the very long immigration history of this ethnic group. They tested the applicability of Fredrickson's (2001) Broaden and Build Theory, which proposes that experiencing positive affect results in broadened thoughts and behaviors, which in turn facilitate adaptive responses to various environmental conditions, including negative ones. The authors found that positive affect was positively related to school engagement, as predicted by the theory. A final example supporting the generalizability of Western studies can be found in the chapter by *Mastrotheodoros, Talias, and Motti-Stefanidi*. These authors worked with Greek youth in a time when the country was in a deep financial crisis. Despite the crisis, Greek youth showed healthy goal orientation profiles. These youth remained focused on the long-term of their educational career, enjoying learning as it made them better persons, which has also been reported in Anglo-Saxon countries. The question can be asked what these studies add to the literature given that their results replicated findings done in mainly Anglo-Saxon countries. It is easy to underrate the importance of such studies. The contextual conditions in which the studies took place varied considerably from those of the original studies. As a consequence, the examples of generalizability studies described here provide evidence that the associations also hold in a new cultural context.

Still, cross-cultural studies would not be needed if all Anglo-Saxon studies generalized across the globe. Interestingly, this volume also offers examples of studies where generalizability was not found, amply demonstrating that such generalizability cannot be assumed and should be demonstrated. *Wiium* studied PYD among Ghanaian participants. She was interested in the question to what extent her participants experienced internal and external assets, viewed as essential to PYD. She concluded that the majority have not experienced external assets such as support and constructive use of time. The chapter is a strong reminder of the tremendous differences in contextual conditions of youth development. The author concludes that interventions should be aimed at making important assets more widely available in less affluent countries. Another example, though from a very different nature, can be found in the chapter by *Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, and Van de Vijver*. They studied the association between identity resources and well-being among Turkish-Bulgarian and Muslim-Bulgarian adolescents. In line with the Anglo-Saxon literature, they found that identity and well-being are positively related. However, they found an interesting difference between Bulgarian identity and collective identity in the two groups. Whereas in the Muslim-Bulgarian group a strong, positive link was found between the two identities, the link was not significant in the Turkish-Bulgarian group. The authors reasoned that this could be a consequence of the limited value of the Bulgarian identity for the latter group. Their Bulgarian identity is apparently not a resource for this severely discriminated group. This finding seems to imply that we cannot simply take for granted that each identity is resourceful for adolescents. A final example of a study in which generalizability was not found can be found in the literature review by *Dimitrova, Özdemir, Farcas, Kosic, Mastrotheodoros, Michalek, and Stefenel*. The chapter provides an overview of studies of the so-called immigrant paradox among immigrants in Europe. The paradox, supported in studies conducted in the US, holds that first-generation immigrant

children show better adaptation than second-generation children. The alternative model, called migration morbidity, predicts the opposite pattern of gradual adjustment to the new culture across generations. Reviewing a total of 102 studies conducted in 14 European countries, some studies were found to corroborate the immigrant paradox, some studies to corroborate neither model (these studies did not find any generation differences), but most studies to confirm the migration morbidity model. All in all, the results describe a nuanced picture, with most evidence favoring migration morbidity. It is important to recognize the status of studies not replicating Western findings. Such studies do not invalidate Western findings but they extend these models by suggesting that Western findings are moderated by contextual factors.

Another interesting feature of the PYD studies reported in this volume is their sensitivity to design and analysis issues in cross-cultural research. *Dimitrova and Dominguez Espinosa* studied Saroglou's (2011) religiousness model which posits a four-factorial structure: believing (beliefs relative to external transcendence), bonding (rituals and emotions), behaving (adherence to norms) and belonging (social group cohesion) and their relation to life satisfaction. The model was tested in Mexico and Nicaragua. The link between these factors and well-being was also examined. Support was found for the identity (invariance) of the four factors, using structural equation modeling. Moreover, the link with well-being was comparable across the countries. *Neto and Dimitrova* tested the measurement invariance of a scale to measure satisfaction with love life among emerging adults in Angola, Brazil, East Timor, Macao, and Portugal. With the exception of a few items, the scale yielded comparable sales across the countries. The relevance of these studies for the field of PYD is not just related to their empirical findings, but also to the importance of testing such invariance cross-cultural context.

A final strength of PYD studies, and according to many their hallmark, is the attention for positive features of development, setting them apart from the deficiency-based approaches of mainstream psychology. I discuss here two examples from the present volume that illustrate these positive aspects. *Bobowik, Basabe, and Wlodarczyk* studied emerging adults in Spain. Most of the participants were immigrants, while a small group comprised host nationals. They studied the link between mainly positive background variables, such as host and co-ethnic support networks, and social well-being. One of the interesting findings is that young Romanian females reported higher social contribution compared to young host national females. In general, social well-being of immigrants and hosts was comparable. *Stanciu* makes a plea for contextually bound well-being of immigrants. He argues that life satisfaction pertains to their overall well-being and psychological adaptation pertains to their contextually-bound well-being. This contextually-bound well-being is influenced by, among other things, cultural distance and influences, in turn, general well-being. The focus on positive aspects of migration that characterizes the two examples described can be found in many chapters in this volume.

Weaknesses

In my reading, the PYD in its current is mainly based on psychological concepts and lacks tried-and-tested models of relevant features in the environment as well as models of interactions between individual and contextual characteristics. Historically, it is easy to understand that a movement that originates in psychology is dominated by psychological concepts and models. Still, it is strength of PYD that an attempt is made to study development in context. There are various attempts to model interactions, but these seem to be largely restricted to the drawing table and we have not yet reached the stage where these are tested. This problem is also illustrated in some chapters of the current volume, where authors argue that it is interesting to study a well-documented Western phenomenon in a very different cultural context. However, what is often lacking is a clear rationale why the phenomenon could (not) be expected to occur in the new context. We need to go beyond the lip service paid to the idea that context matters. We need to specify how it matters, when it matters, and when we can safely ignore contextual moderators.

This problem of poorly developed models of interactions between the individuals and their context is not unique for PYD and also troubles cross-cultural cross-cultural (Van de Vijver, 2006). Still, in cross-cultural psychology there is more work on the question of classifying cultures. Various taxonomies of cross-cultural differences have been used and successfully tested, such as economic and religious factors (Georgas, Van de Vijver, & Berry, 2004) and value patterns (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 2012). The dichotomy between individualism and collectivism has been frequently employed and is also mentioned several times in this volume. The dichotomy has been criticized by various authors (e.g., Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Poortinga, 2015). In the context of both PYD and cross-cultural psychology, the main limitation of the dichotomy is its overstretched usage: individualism—collectivism has become a container concept that lacks a clear definition and is used to explain all East—West differences. The value of the individualism—collectivism dimensions should be evaluated against the backdrop that there are umpteen differences between Eastern and Western cultures and there is no evidence and it is indeed highly unlikely that all these differences can be reduced to the individualism—collectivism dichotomy. Still, the overstretched usage should not detract the attention from the underlying importance of using cultural dimensions to explain cross-cultural differences in psychological functioning.

Frameworks have been developed to understand differences in multicultural societies, such as intergroup relations and how immigrants deal with dominant cultures. The best known examples are the MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Index; Huddlestone & Niessen, 2011) and the MCP (Multiculturalism Policy Index; Banting & Kymlicka, 2006). Although the indexes of multicultural policies do not yield identical pictures for all countries (Helbling, 2013), they have been successfully used in various studies. Thus, Arikan, Van de Vijver, and Yagmur (2017) were interested in reading and math performance of host national and Turkish immigrant adolescents of 15 years of age in PISA, the Programme of International Student

Assessment, a large-scale study of educational achievement. They analyzed the reading and math outcomes of Turkish immigrants in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland and compared them with host nationals. MIPEX and the Human Development Index (an index of economic prosperity, education, and life expectancy) were used as indicators at country level. It was found that both the MIPEX and Human development Index scores of participating countries could predict differences in reading results but not in mathematics.

Opportunities

The main opportunity of PYD is its further conceptual and methodological expansion, including themes such as developing interaction models of youth and their environment (as described in the previous section), developing culture-informed approaches to youth development and relevant concepts in PYD (such as the question of whether a single model of well-being suffices in a cross-cultural context), combining emic and etic approaches, identifying culture-specific aspects of PYD, identifying cross-cultural patterns of and showing ways how to overcome limitations of western models of youth development. I describe examples from various chapters.

There is a growing recognition of the role of religion in development. From a PYD perspective, the role of religion is poorly understood, yet very relevant. Religious identity can be an important resource for youth, including immigrant youth. *Inguglia, Musso, Iannello, and Lo Coco* study religious commitment among middle and late adolescents and emerging adults in Italy, a country with a strong Roman Catholic tradition. A path model was tested in which religious commitment, measured by items such as “My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life”, and optimism predicted life satisfaction. In each age group there was a positive, significant link between religious commitment and life satisfaction. The psychological mechanisms behind the link would require further study; for example, does religion create a sense of belonging for Italian youth (Saroglou’s belonging role of religion), a normative framework that can help to make important life choices (behaving role), or something else?

An interesting challenge of current PYD models is mentioned in the chapter by *Chen, Li, and Chen*. These authors review PYD in China. They center the review on the five Cs model, referring to competence (adaptation in domain-specific areas), confidence (overall positive self-perception), character (respect for societal and cultural rules), caring (sense of social concern and empathy for others), and connection (positive relationships with people and institutions) (Lerner et al., 2005). The authors review evidence for the link of each of the five Cs with positive developmental outcomes, which suggests the generalizability of the relevance of the five Cs in China and of the positive links with outcomes in a Chinese context. The authors do not stop with this straightforward argumentation in favor of the generalizability of the 5C model. They see two issues in this generalizability. The first is that the 5C

model may be "underinclusive" and that in China more than five core constructs may be needed to describe PYD. Evidence is presented that ten constructs may be needed to describe positive developmental constructs in China: active and optimistic view, striving and insistence, leadership, caring, confidence, autonomy, prudence, love of learning, flexibility and innovation, and interests, and curiosity. More work needs to be done whether these ten constructs are needed and found. The relevance of this discussion is well illustrated in the literature on the Big Five model of personality in which it is maintained that neuroticism, extroversion, agreeableness, openness, and conscientiousness provide a universally applicable description of personality (e.g., McCrae & Allik, 2002). Cross-cultural emic studies have shown that the Big Five may be "underinclusive" and may need to be expanded to accommodate social aspects of personality such as relationship harmony (Cheung, Cheung, & Fan, 2013; Fetvadjiev, Meiring, Van de Vijver, Nel, & Hill, 2015; Katigbak, Church, Guanzon-Lapeña, Carlota, & Del Pilar, 2002). The second issue refers to the identity of meaning of the latent constructs. It is not clear whether current instruments to assess PYD can be used in China or whether items would need to be adapted (with possible changes in the meaning of latent constructs).

Somewhat related challenges are described in the chapter on PYD in Japan by *Sugimura, Hatano, and Mizokami*. From the perspective of a contextualized PYD, these authors raise the important issue of the need to develop local definitions (and measures) of well-being. A Western conceptualization of life satisfaction as the affective evaluation of one's own life may not be universally applicable. This Western conceptualization has indeed come under scrutiny. It has been argued that life satisfaction should also involve the well-being of the ingroup (e.g., my well-being is linked to and dependent on the well-being of my family members) (Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004). In addition, it has been argued that East Asia has a long tradition of so-called minimalist well-being conceptualizations, which refer to experiences of "nothingness", gratitude, peaceful disengagement, and being happy with the immediate "here and now" (Kan, Karasawa, & Kitayama, 2009). Western instruments do not address all these issues, which makes them vulnerable to "underinclusiveness". Sugimura and colleagues develop a similar argument about current conceptualizations of identity. The Western-based definitions of identity as agency based need to be complemented by models that acknowledge the value of being less proactive and "going with the flow", which can be very adaptive in a Japanese context. Like in the chapter on PYD in China, it is argued that to facilitate the appropriateness for Japan, our models and measures need to be adapted to the local context.

Lansford et al. report on a longitudinal study of mothers, fathers, and adolescents in nine countries (China, Colombia, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and United States). The chapter provides an overview of the main issues that had to be addressed in this ambitious study, such as combining emic and etic approaches, operationalizing culture, handling measurement invariance, and making translations/adaptations. The chapter is a must-read for anyone preparing cross-cultural PYD studies as it describes many relevant conceptual and methodological issues. Another strong feature of the chapter is its balanced view on cross-cultural

differences: the study combined etic and emic approaches, thereby dealing with similarities and differences across countries and clearly describing the huge opportunities of such studies. The chapter clearly describes the opportunities of PYD in large-scale studies.

Threats

In my view, there are two threats that can but do not need to materialize. The first is the Western dominance of the PYD field. Complaints about Western bias in psychology have been expressed by multiple authors (e.g., Arnett, 2008; Kagitçibasi, 2005; Van de Vijver, 2013). PYD is not foreign to this problem either. Contextualized approaches in psychology critically depend on input from many parts of the world. International cooperation with colleagues from currently underresearched parts of the world, such as sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, is badly needed. The present volume is a good illustration of this inclusiveness as authors represent many parts of the world. Since the start in the 1960s, there is an almost uninterrupted growth of cross-cultural studies in psychology, both in terms of the absolute number of publications and the relative contribution to the field of psychology (as measured by cross-cultural studies in PsycINFO). Hopefully, PYD can profit from and contribute to this development.

Another threat is the danger of one-sidedness. PYD started in many ways as a reaction to a one-sided focus on negative aspects in developmental studies. It is important that we come to realize that as an example, migration is more than stress and homesickness, that most migration ends with successful adaptation to the new context, and that many migrants have extensive social support networks of co-ethnics and host nationals. So, a focus on “bad news” is one-sided. Still, it is important that not all youth are resilient, that many refugees have post-traumatic stress disorder, and many migrants experience stress and discrimination. So, it is important that we strike a balance in PYD and do not neglect relevant negative conditions and outcomes.

Conclusion

The book provides a rich overview of PYD studies. This volume shows that PYD is in a healthy sate and that much has been achieved in the last decade. It is also reassuring to see the prominence of contextualization of the field of PYD. On the other hand, it is also clear that the progress in our conceptualization of the context and the interaction between youths and their contexts has not been formidable. So, we could call the glass half full, but also half empty. The long-term viability of offshoots of mainstream psychology like PYD is influenced by many factors; an important one is the extent to which a field can provide insights that advance the mainstream. It is

expected that PYD has the potential to enrich mainstream psychology (and developmental science) with such insights.

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