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Migration, Identität, Sprache und Bildungserfolg

Herausgegeben von
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Sprachhintergrund und Bildungserfolg

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Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation[1]

1.   Introduction

Immigration is a world-wide phenomenon, involving many millions of people and most countries (UN Population Report 2002). It has been portrayed as both a source of problems and as an opportunity for individuals and societies (Baubock/Heller/Zolberg 1996). Psychology, in addition to other social science disciplines, has begun to contribute to an understanding of those factors that contribute to making the process a positive, rather than a negative, factor in personal and societal development (Berry 2001). Two consequences of immigration are the experience of acculturation by groups and individuals (Sam/Berry 2006), and the emergence of culturally plural societies (Kymlicka 1995). In such societies, individuals and groups need to work out how to live together, adopting various strategies that will allow them to achieve a reasonably successful adaptation to living interculturally.

Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that follows intercultural contact (Berry 2003). Cultural changes include alterations in a group's customs, and in their economic and political life. Psychological changes include alterations in individuals' attitudes toward the acculturation process, their cultural identities (Phinney 2003), and their social behaviors in relation to the groups in contact. The eventual adaptations also have core psychological features, including a person's wellbeing and social skills that are needed to function in their culturally-complex daily world (Ward/Bochner/Furnham 2001).

Considerable research has been devoted to the understanding of immigration, acculturation and adaptation of adults (Berry/Sam 1997), but much less has addressed these phenomena among youth (Aronowitz 1984). This lack has stimulated a number of recent studies (Fuligini 2001; Ghuman 2003; Rumbaut/Portes 2001), as well as the present study. A key issue is whether the findings from research with adult immigrants can apply to youth.

In this paper, we use data from a large international study of immigrant youth in 13 immigrant-receiving countries (Berry et al. 2006) to address three key issues. First,

how do immigrant youth live within and between two cultures? These cultures are usually those of their immigrant parents, families and communities on the one hand, and those of their peers and the larger society on the other. Second, *how well* (in personal, social, and academic areas of their lives) do immigrant youth deal with their intercultural situation? And, third, are there patterns of relationships between *how* adolescents engage in their intercultural relations and *how well* they adapt? If there are such patterns, we believe that they can be used to guide the development of policies and programs that will enhance the experience of acculturation, so that the eventual adaptations of immigrant youth will be directed toward more positive outcomes.

With respect to our first question, *how* immigrant youth live in their new intercultural setting, early research had assumed that immigrants would inevitably be absorbed into the receiving society, in a unilinear, unidirectional process (Gordon 1964). However, beginning in the 1970s, Berry (1974, 1980) proposed that there are two independent dimensions underlying the process of acculturation: individuals' links to their cultures of origin and to their societies of settlement. These links can be manifested in a number of ways, including preferences for involvement in the two cultures (termed acculturation attitudes), and in the behaviors that they engage in (for example, their language knowledge and use, and social relationships). A similar bidimensional proposal was made by Phinney (1990), who argued that there were two independent dimensions underlying peoples' cultural identity; individuals may have independent identities with respect to their cultures of origin and to their societies of settlement. This bidimensional conception has been presented frequently in the literature (e.g. Berry 1997).

In this framework, two issues are raised: the degree to which people wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity; and the degree to which people seek involvement with the larger society. When these two issues are crossed, an acculturation space is created with four sectors within which individuals may express *how* they are seeking to acculturate. *Assimilation* is the way when there is little interest in cultural maintenance combined with a preference for interacting with the larger society. *Separation* is the way when cultural maintenance is sought while avoiding involvement with others. *Marginalisation* exists when neither cultural maintenance nor interaction with others are sought. *Integration* is present when both cultural maintenance and involvement with the larger society is sought. In sum, the first goal of this study was to seek evidence that *how* youth acculturate corresponds to this bidimensional view, and to test the model that defines these four ways of acculturating.

The second goal of the study was to examine *how well* immigrant youth are adapting to their acculturation experience. We are guided by the view developed by Ward (1996) that there are two distinct ways of adapting to acculturation. The first, termed *psychological adaptation* refers to personal well-being and good mental health. The second, *sociocultural adaptation*, refers to the individuals' social competence in managing their daily life in the intercultural setting. We expect to find evidence to support this distinction between these two forms of adaptation. Moreover, we examine whether immigrant and national youth differ in their levels of adaptation.

Our third, and core, issue was whether the variable ways of acculturating are related to differing levels of adaptation. Previous studies (reviewed by Berry/Sam 1997) concluded that there is a relationship between the *how* and *how well* questions. Given the evidence from earlier studies (Berry 1997; Howard 1998; Phinney/Devich-Navarro 1997), we expected that the combined involvement with both the national and the ethnic cultures, rather than involvement with either one, would be the most adaptive mode of acculturation and the most conducive to immigrants' well-being. At the same time we expected that orientation toward the ethnic culture would be a better predictor of psychological adaptation than orientation toward the national culture, whereas the latter would be a better predictor of adolescents' sociocultural adaptation (cf. Oppedal/ Røysamb/Sam 2004; Ward/Bochner/Furnham 2001).

Beyond these three issues, we explored the possible role of perceived discrimination in guiding the choices of how to acculturate and in limiting successful psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Studies have shown that perceived discrimination is negatively related to immigrant adaptation (Liebkind/Jasinskaja-Lahti 2000; Noh et al. 1999); thus we expected this factor to impact negatively on immigrant youths' adaptation.

Acculturation is a process that takes place over time. Although we did not have longitudinal data to examine changes with time, we were able to examine differences among groups of immigrant youth with different lengths of residence in the new society. We expected that with longer residence, youth would be more likely to be integrated into their country of residence.

Finally, demographic factors may also play a role. Age, gender, religion, and the socioeconomic status of the family have all been identified as possible sources of variation (Berry/Sam 1997). There is also some evidence that the ethnic composition of the immediate neighborhood may be important in the ways immigrant acculturate and adapt (Galster/Metzger/Waite 1999; Myles/Hou 2003; Neto 2001).

2.   Method

The immigrant youth came from 26 different cultural backgrounds and lived in 13 countries (see Table 1). We distinguished settler societies (Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand, and the United States of America) from countries with fewer and more recent immigrants. In each country we sampled both national and immigrant youth. We attempted to sample the same cultural group in as many societies as possible, but there is wide variation in the groups studied because of the different immigrant groups that live in each country.

	N	Age in years	% female	% 2nd generation	Prop Life in country	Parents' occ. status
All						
Immigrants	5,366	15.35 (1.56)	53.4	65.3	.77 (.33)	1.87 (1.20)
Nationals	2,631	15.32 (1.53)	49.4	–	.99 (.07)	2.71 (1.10)
Australia						
Immigrants	456	15.22 (1.60)	60.7	69.3	.78 (.30)	2.45 (1.08)
Nationals	155	15.06 (1.45)	59.4	–	.99 (.06)	3.19 (1.74)
Canada						
Immigrants	257	15.87 (1.58)	55.6	49.7	.71 (.34)	2.89 (.99)
Nationals	139	15.49 (1.31)	55.4	–	1.00	2.99 (.98)
Finland						
Immigrants	442	15.30 (1.58)	50.1	23.5	.43 (.35)	1.78 (1.00)
Nationals	346	14.97 (1.36)	43.4	–	1.00	2.45 (.95)
France						
Immigrants	517	15.61 (1.45)	57.5	94.5	.95 (.16)	1.73 (1.17)
Nationals	151	15.52 (1.72)	58.0	–	1.00	2.56 (1.11)
Germany						
Immigrants	295	16.36 (1.36)	52.7	–	.76 (.29)	2.22 (1.09)
Nationals	249	16.61 (1.43)	56.5	–	1.00	3.27 (.79)
Israel						
Immigrants	461	16.31 (.90)	41.0	13.2	.40 (.28)	2.31 (1.27)
Nationals	214	16.41 (.90)	39.7	93.4	.96 (.13)	3.12 (1.04)
Netherlands						
Immigrants	354	14.87 (1.53)	49.7	88.9	.93 (.20)	2.34 (.98)
Nationals	101	14.74 (1.62)	60.4	–	1.00	3.48 (.73)
New Zealand						
Immigrants	256	15.70 (1.28)	54.2	67.6	1.00	–
Nationals	243	15.08 (1.17)	33.7	–	1.00	–
Norway						
Immigrants	484	15.24 (1.53)	50.1	68.7	.83 (.27)	1.79 (1.03)
Nationals	207	15.09 (1.52)	47.8	–	1.00	3.21 (.83)
Portugal						
Immigrants	426	14.79 (1.62)	62.6	–	.45 (.27)	1.13 (.65)
Nationals	355	14.44 (1.07)	46.3	–	1.00	1.39 (.69)
Sweden						
Immigrants	829	15.11 (1.60)	51.0	81.2	.88 (.25)	1.83 (1.01)
Nationals	214	15.86 (1.60)	51.9	–	1.00	2.79 (1.03)
U.K.						
Immigrants	120	15.18 (1.70)	45.0	95.8	.97 (.15)	2.23 (1.03)
Nationals	120	15.49 (1.57)	50.0	–	1.00	2.35 (.84)
U.S.A.						
Immigrants	472	14.60 (1.33)	60.7	69.6	.76 (.27)	2.25 (1.03)
Nationals	137	14.54 (1.40)	65.0	–	1.00	3.19 (.95)

Tab. 1: Sample Characteristics by Country for Immigrant and National Youth

2.1 Participants

Participants in the study were 7,997 adolescents, including 5,366 immigrant youth and 2,631 national youth (ages 13 to 18; mean age = 15 years and 4 months for both groups). Given the relatively low numbers of members of particular immigrant groups in the population, sampling took place in cities or clusters of cities with relatively high concentrations of particular immigrant groups. Samples of the national groups were mostly from the same cities, neighborhoods and schools as the immigrant adolescents. In no country did we have random samples.

The sample included both first-generation (those who were born in country of origin and arrived after the age of 6; 34.7%) and second-generation (born in receiving country, or arrived before the age of 7; 65.3%) immigrant youth. Adolescents from some groups were predominately from one or the other generation, so that generation and ethnic group could not be included as separate variables in the analyses. For this reason we created a new variable: proportion of life spent in the new country, which for those born in the country of settlement equals one and for foreign born is the number of years they have spent in the receiving country divided by their age.

Countries differed in the proportion of participating males and females. Overall, slightly more girls (52.1%) than boys participated in the study. Adolescents reported on their parents' occupational status, defined as the highest level obtained by either parent: 1 (unskilled), 2 (skilled), 3 (white collar), 4 (professional). In every country parents in the national samples had a significantly higher occupational status than immigrant parents had (overall $t(4618) = 22.08$, $p < .001$; Cohen's $d = .59$).

2.2 Instruments and Procedure

Data were collected in all countries by the researchers themselves or by research assistants (usually postgraduate students or teachers who were often members of the ethnocultural group) and who were selected and trained by the researchers in each country. Data collection involved completion of a structured questionnaire. All participants were informed that participation was voluntary, and that responses were anonymous. Most questionnaires were group-administered in classrooms. In other cases adolescents were approached individually, and the questionnaire was filled out individually. In most countries, ethnic language versions of the questionnaire were available, but adolescents generally preferred using the national language version.

The questionnaire assessed a wide range of variables related to acculturation and adaptation. Measures were either developed for the project, or taken directly or with some modification from existing scales. For most scales response options ranged from „strongly disagree" (1) to „strongly agree" (5). The psychometric properties of most scales were established in the present study and are reported in Table 2. This table also contains information on the number and source of the items.

Scale	# items	Source	Mean Cronbach α (*SD*)	
			Immigrants	Nationals
Acculturation attitudes				
Integration	5	ICSEY; Berry et al. (1989)	.48 (.126)	–
Assimilation	5		.58 (.109)	–
Separation	5		.64 (.070)	–
Marginalisation	5		.55 (.107)	–
Cultural Identity				
Ethnic identity	8	Phinney (1992), Phinney/	.82 (.095)	–
National identity	4	Devich-Navarro (1997)	.84 (.053)	.69 (.304)
Acculturation behaviors				
Ethnic language prof.	4	Kwak (1991)	.85 (.068)	–
National language prof.	4	Kwak (1991)	.88 (.056)	–
Language use	4	Kwak (1991)	.71 (.163)	–
Ethnic peer contacts	4	ICSEY	.79 (.056)	.82 (.054)
National peer contacts	4	ICSEY	.78 (.070)	.70 (.102)
Family relationship values		Nguyen/Williams (1989),		
Family obligations	10	Georgas (1989), Georgas et al. (1996)	.72 (.069)	.72 (.056)
Adolescents' rights	4		.78 (.112)	.75 (.111)
Perceived Discrimination	9	ICSEY	.83 (.039)	–
Psychological adaptation				
Life satisfaction	5	Diener et al. (1985)	.77 (.056)	.81 (.049)
Self-esteem	10	Rosenberg (1965)	.75 (.105)	.83 (.051)
Psychological problems	15	Beiser/Flemming (1986), Kinzie et al. (1982), Kovacs (1980/1981), Mollica et al. (1987), Reynolds/ Richmond (1985), Robinson et al. (1991)	.88 (.037)	.89 (.030)
Sociocultural adaptation				
School adjustment	7	Anderson (1982), Moos (1989), Sam (1994), Samdal (1998), Wold (1995)	.65 (.100)	.68 (.061)
Behavior problems	10	Olweus (1989, 1994), Bendixen/Olweus (1999)	.80 (.077)	.82 (.058)

Tab. 2: *Scales Used in the ICSEY Study; Number of Items, Source, and Reliability Based on Adolescent Data from Present Study*

Acculturation Attitudes. This scale assessed four acculturation attitudes: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation. The items concern five domains of life: cultural traditions, language, marriage, social activities, and friends. For example, the items in the social activities domain include four questions: „I prefer social activities which involve both [nationals] and [my ethnic group]" (integration); „I prefer social activities which involve [nationals] only" (assimilation); „I prefer social activities which involve [members of my own ethnic group] only" (separation); and „I don't want to attend either [national] or [ethnic] social activities" (marginalisation).

Cultural Identity. Ethnic identity was measured with items assessing ethnic affirmation (e.g. sense of belonging, positive feelings about being group member). A sample item is „I feel that I am part of [ethnic] culture." *National identity* was assessed with measures of national affirmation and the importance of one's national identity. A sample item is: „I am happy that I am [national]."

Language Proficiency and Language Use: The scale for ethnic language proficiency inquired about a person's abilities to understand, speak, read and write the ethnic language. An example: „How well do you speak [ethnic language]?" Answers were given on a five-point scale from *not at all* (1) to *very well* (5). Proficiency in the national language was assessed with the same self-report questions, but with respect to the national language. Language use refers to the extent to which adolescents use either their ethnic language or the national language when talking with their parents or their siblings. Their communication practices were measured on a five-point scale running from *not at all* to *all the time*. Higher scores express a relatively more frequent usage of the national language.

Ethnic and National Peer Contact. The two scales assessed the frequency of interaction with peers from ones own ethnic group, or from the national group. An example is: „How often do you spend free time with peers from your own ethnocultural group?" Participants responded on a scale ranging from *never* (1) to *very often* (5).

Family Relationship Values. This scale consisted of two subscales. Ten items assessed attitudes towards *parental authority* (henceforth *family obligations*; e.g. „Children should obey their parents.") Four items assessed the extent of acceptance of children's autonomy, which we refer to as *adolescents' rights* (e.g. „When a girl reaches the age of 16, it is all right for her to decide whom to date").

Perceived Discrimination. This was assessed with immigrant youth only. The scale assessed perceived frequency of being treated unfairly or negatively or being teased, threatened, or feeling unaccepted because of one's ethnicity (e.g. „I have been teased or insulted because of my ethnic background"). Participants responded on a scale ranging from *never* (1) to *very often* (5).

Psychological Adaptation. Psychological adaptation was measured with three scales: life satisfaction, self-esteem, and psychological problems. *Life satisfaction* was measured with a five-item scale which assessed the overall degree of adolescents' satisfaction with their lives. A sample item is: „I am satisfied with my life." The scale has been tested among diverse groups, such as adolescents and college students and has shown good psychometric properties (see Diener et al. 1985). *Self-esteem* was measured using Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item self-esteem inventory. A sample item is „On the whole I am satisfied with myself." The scale for *psychological problems* measured depression, anxiety, and psychosomatic symptoms. A sample item is: „My thoughts are confused."

Sociocultural Adaptation. Sociocultural adaptation was assessed using scales for school adjustment and behavior problems. A sample item of the scale for *school adjustment* is: „I feel uneasy about going to school in the morning." Two sample items of the scale for *behavior problems* are: „Cursed at a teacher." and „Purposely destroyed seats in a bus or a movie theatre." A 5-point response category ranging from *never* to *several times in the course of a 12-month period* was used.

In the version of the questionnaire for national adolescents no questions were asked with respect to language proficiency and language use, ethnic identity, and perceived discrimination.

As can be seen in Table 2, most scales had satisfactory to good reliability. The subscales for acculturation attitudes had slightly problematic reliabilities. The mean Cronbach alpha scores were aggregated across countries and ethnocultural groups in the case of the immigrants and across countries in case of the nationals.

We examined whether the scales measured the same psychological constructs in all cultural groups in all countries using a procedure described by Van de Vijver and Leung (1997). All scales that we refer to in this paper were unidimensional and we found very strong support for the structural equivalence of the measures (for further information, see Vedder/Van de Vijver 2006).

The questionnaire also sought information about a variety of demographic variables. These included adolescents' age, age of arrival in the country of residence, gender, religious affiliation (with individual responses grouped into four broad categories: Judeo-Christian, Muslim, Eastern, and none), parent's occupational status (as defined above), ethnic composition of neighborhood (five levels ranging from „Almost everyone comes from an ethnic group different from mine" to „Almost all the people are from my ethnic group"). We constructed a length of residence variable, consisting of three categories: 0–6 years, 6–12 years, and 12–18 years.

3.   Results

3.1 *How do Immigrant Youth Acculturate?*

Our bidimensional model of immigrant acculturation suggests four different ways in which immigrant adolescents live in relation to both their culture of origin and their society of settlement. To test the model we used a person approach (Bergman/Magnusson/El-Khouri 2003), rather than using a variable approach. In contrast to a variable approach, which examines statistical relations among variables across individuals, the person approach describes characteristic patterns of variables that distinguish among individuals (ibd.). In the person approach, individuals are grouped into categories on the basis of pattern similarity, such that each category has a particular set of properties that differentiates it from other categories. In this study, cluster analysis was used to identify patterns of acculturation.

Cluster analysis was carried out with all the variables associated with the acculturation process: acculturation attitudes (integration, separation, assimilation, marginalisation), ethnic and national identities, ethnic and national language knowledge, language use (with high scores indicating greater national language use), ethnic and national peer social contacts, and family relationship values (family obligations and adolescents' rights). The analyses were conducted using scores standardized within country and ethnic groups, using the *k*-means method. Because this method is sensitive to decisions as

to the preferred number of clusters and the values for the initial cluster centers, we first conducted several exploratory analyses with 20 per cent of the data selected at random. Based on the fit with the dominant theoretical framework guiding the study and on the interpretability of the resulting clusters, we decided to use four clusters. We then replicated this four cluster solution using all the data. We refer to the resulting clusters as *acculturation profiles*: an *ethnic* profile (including 22.5% of the sample), a *national* profile (18.7%), an *integration* profile (36.4%), and a *diffuse* profile (22.4%). All adolescents for whom we had complete data (N = 4,334) fit one of the four profiles.

The *ethnic profile* (shown in Figure 1a), consisted of 975 adolescents who showed a clear orientation toward their own ethnic group, with high ethnic identity, ethnic language proficiency and usage, and ethnic peer contacts. They endorsed the separation attitude and scored low on assimilation, national identity and contacts with the national group. Their support for family relationship values was well above the average. They represent young people who are largely embedded within their own culture and show little involvement with the larger society.

The *national profile* (shown in Figure 1b) included 810 adolescents who showed a strong orientation toward the society in which they were living. As can be seen in the figure, their profile is almost a mirror image of the ethnic profile. These adolescents were high on national identity and on assimilation and very low on ethnic identity. They were proficient in the national language and used it predominantly. Their peer contacts were largely with members of the national group, and they showed low support for family obligations. These adolescents appear to exemplify the idea of assimilation, indicating a lack of retention of their ethnic culture and identity.

Fig. 1.   (a) Ethnic profile, showing standardised scores on 13 intercultural variables
(Reproduced from Figure 4.15, Berry et al. 2006)

Fig. 1.   (b): National profile, showing standardised scores on 13 intercultural variables
(Reproduced from Figure 4.16, Berry et al. 2006)

The *integration profile* (see Figure 2a) was the most frequently occurring profile. It consisted of 1,576 adolescents who indicated relatively high involvement in both their ethnic and national cultures. These adolescents were high on both ethnic and national identities. They strongly endorsed integration and gave low endorsement to assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. They reported high national language proficiency and average ethnic language proficiency; their language usage suggested balanced use of both languages. They had peer contacts with both their own group and the national group. They were near the mean on family relationships values. These adolescents appear to be comfortable in both the ethnic and national contexts, in terms of identity, language, peer contacts, and values.

The final profile (shown in Figure 2b), is not as easily interpretable. These 973 youth reported high proficiency in, and usage of, the ethnic language, but also reported low ethnic identity. They had low proficiency in the national language, and they reported somewhat low national identity and national peer contacts. They endorsed three contradictory acculturation attitudes, assimilation, marginalisation, and separation. This inconsistent pattern suggests that these young people are uncertain about their place in society, perhaps wanting to be part of the larger society but lacking the skills and ability to make contacts. This profile appears similar to young people described in the identity formation literature as „diffuse", characterized by a lack of commitment to a direction or purpose in their lives and often socially isolated (Marcia 1994). Therefore this profile was termed a *diffuse* profile.
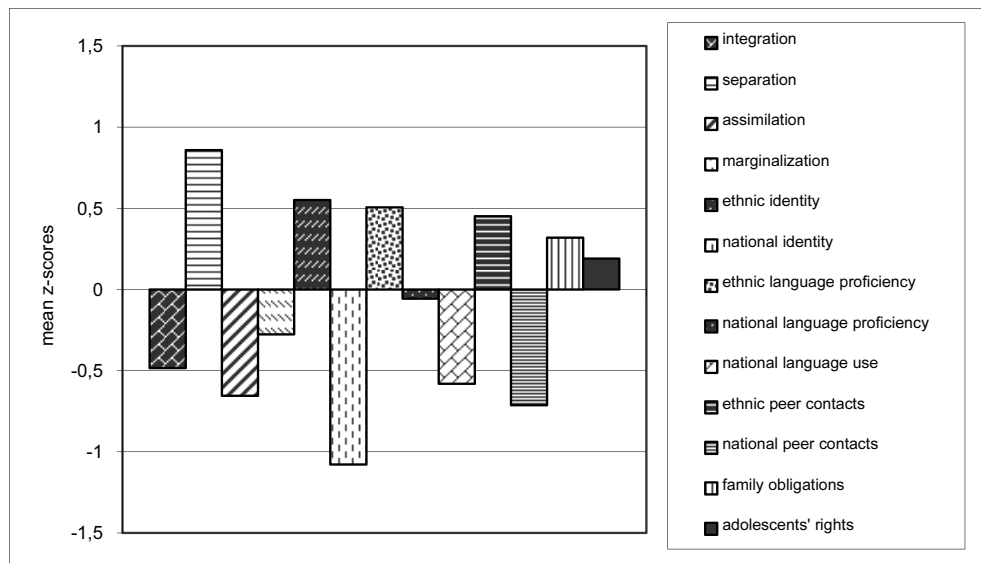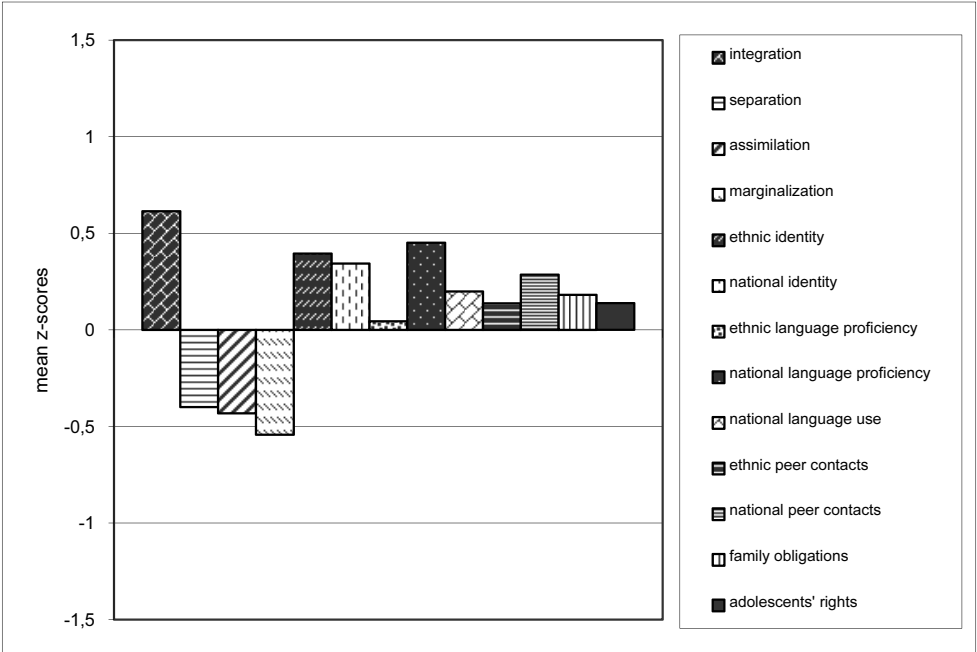
Fig. 2. *(a) Integration profile, showing standardised scores on 13 intercultural variables (Reproduced from Figure 4.14, Berry et al. 2006)*
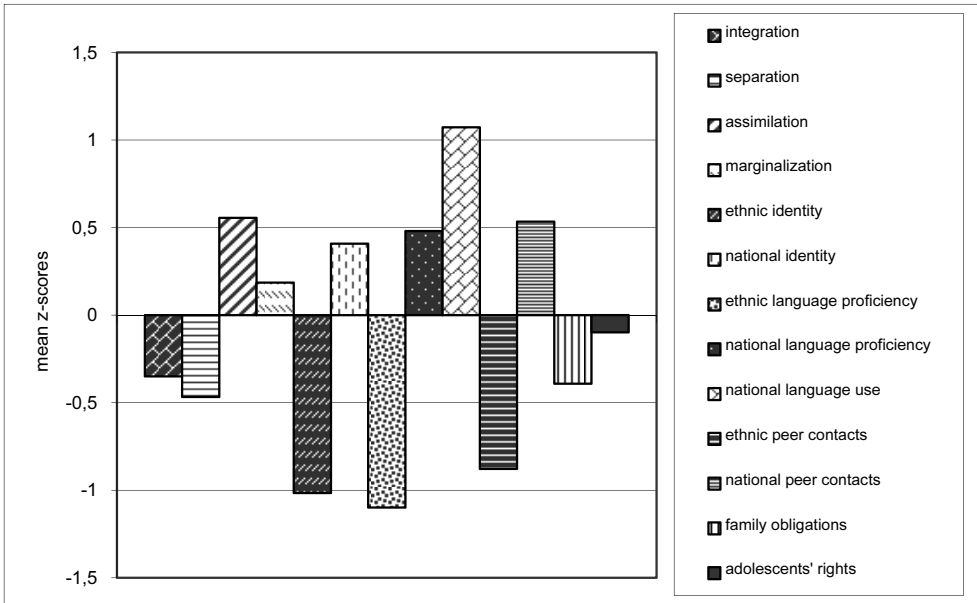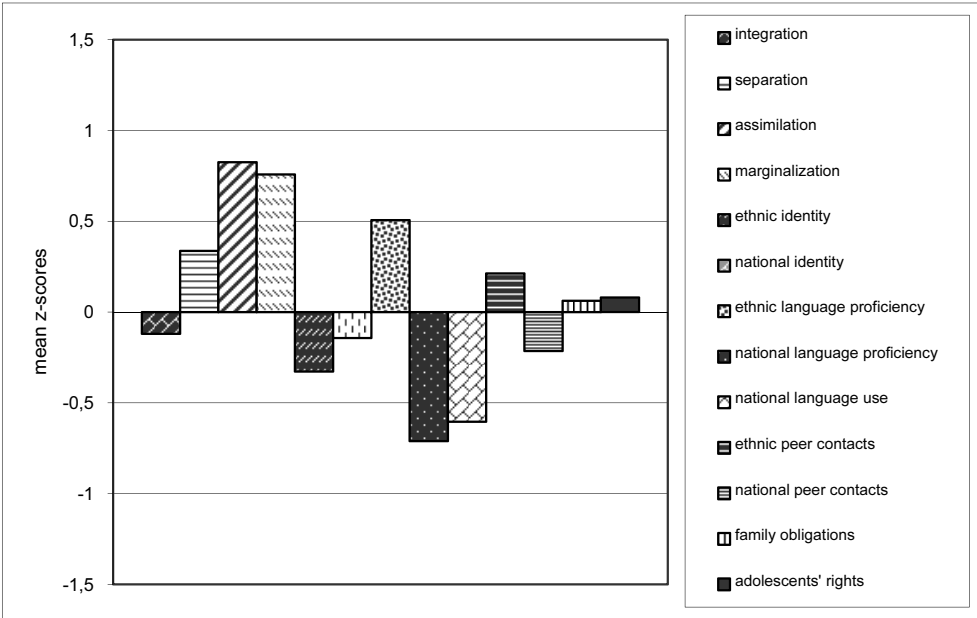

Fig. 2. *(b) Diffuse profile, showing standardised scores on 13 intercultural variables (Reproduced from Figure 4.17, Berry et al. 2006)*

The profiles were analysed for differences in relation to some individual characteristics. Because we do not have longitudinal data, we used length of residence in the new society as a means of examining differences in profiles over time following immigration. The profiles showed a clear pattern of differences across the three length-of-residence categories, χ^2 (6, $N = 2,855$) = 383.56, $p < .001$, (see Figure 3a). The integration and national profiles were more frequent among those with longer residence; the proportion of integration and national profiles among those born in the new society or with 12 years or more of residence was more than double that of those with 6 years or less of residence. In contrast, the diffuse profile was dramatically less frequent in those with longer residence; over 45 per cent of those with six years or less residence showed a diffuse profile, while only about 12 percent of those with the longest residence showed this profile. On the other hand, the ethnic profile was almost equally frequent in all length-of-residence categories. Thus, as the figure shows, among the most recent arrivals, the diffuse profile dominated, while the national profile was very low. For those who lived in the society of settlement from birth or from their early school years on, the integration profile dominated, and the national profile was second in frequency. In spite of these differences, a substantial group of adolescents, 20–25 per cent, showed strong and enduring involvement with their ethnic culture regardless of length of residence.

We expected perceived discrimination to be negatively related to adolescents' involvement in the larger society, that is, to be less frequent in the national and integration profiles (see Figure 3 b). Analysis of variance showed a significant difference among the profiles in perceived discrimination, F (3, 4314) = 36.76, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .03$). Post hoc tests showed that significantly less discrimination was reported by adolescents with
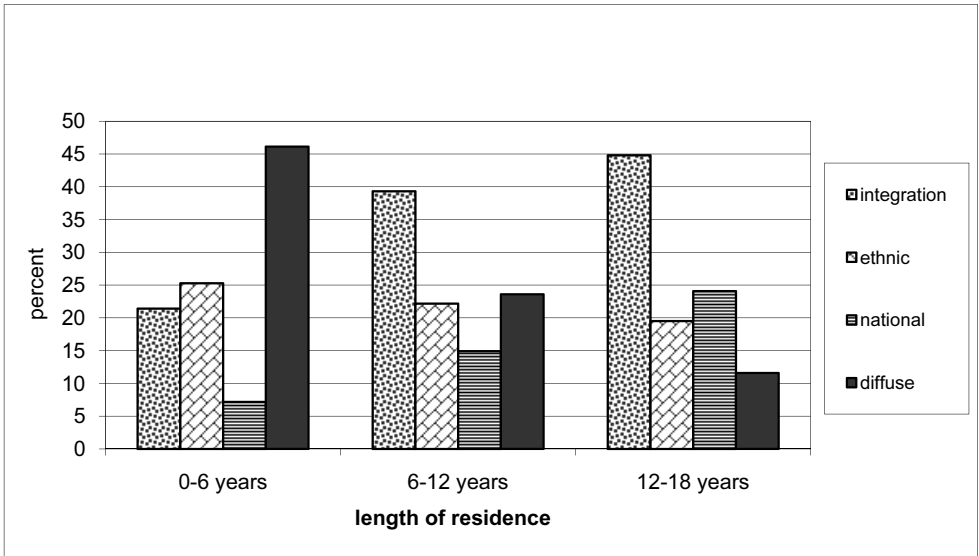
Fig. 3. *(a) Acculturation profiles by length of residence (Reproduced from Figure 4.18, Berry et al. 2006)*
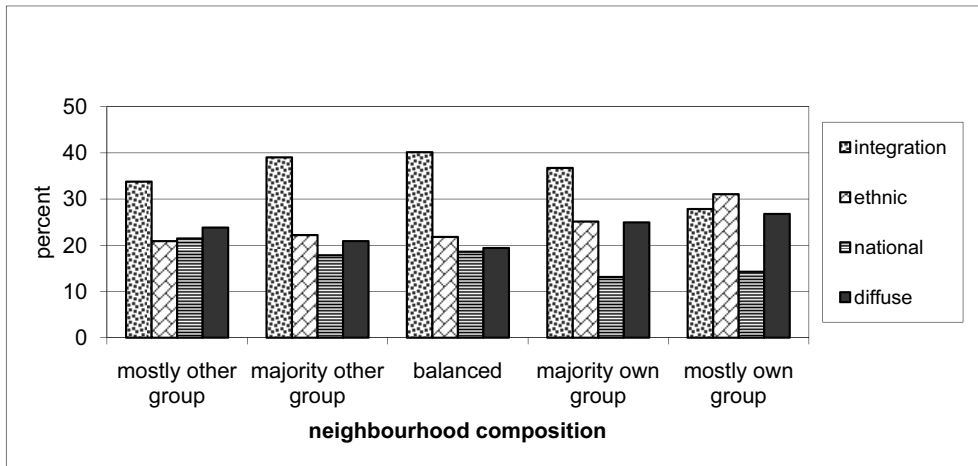
Fig. 3.   (b) Acculturation profiles by neighborhood ethnic composition (Reproduced from Figure 4.19, from Berry et al. 2006)

the integration profile (standardised mean = −.17) and national profiles (standardised mean = −.08) than the other two profiles. Those with the ethnic profile had a mean of .09. They were significantly higher in perceived discrimination than those with the integration and national profiles. Adolescents with the diffuse profile reported more perceived discrimination (mean = .23) than those in the other three profiles. These results were essentially unchanged when length of residence was included as a covariate.

Acculturation profiles were significantly related to neighborhood ethnic composition, χ^2 (18, $N = 4{,}190$) = 65.79, $p < .001$ (see Figure 4a). The integration profile was most strongly represented in all neighborhoods, except in those consisting predominantly of one's group; in the latter neighborhoods, the ethnic profile dominated. Neighborhoods with a larger proportion of residents who were not from one's own group tended to have a higher proportion of national profiles than those with more same-group residents.

We analysed differences in profiles in relation to adolescents' self-report of their religion (see Figure 4b). A chi-square analysis of the four profiles by the four broad categories of religion (Judeo-Christian, Muslim, Eastern, and none) was significant, (χ^2 (9, $N = 3{,}708$) = 347.57, $p = .001$). The integration profile predominated in both the Judeo-Christian and Eastern religion categories, with 40.6% and 41.9%, respectively. Fewer Muslims (32.4%) and non-religious youth (26.6%) were in the integration profile. The differences were more dramatic for the ethnic profile. Among Muslims, the ethnic category predominated, with 39.8 per cent; in contrast, the other three religious groups had between 10 per cent and 19 per cent in the ethnic profile.

The proportion of males and females differed significantly across profiles (χ^2 (3, $N = 4{,}321$) = 45.62, $p < .001$), with girls more often showing the integrated profile and boys the diffuse profile. Parental occupational status showed only a modest relationship to the profiles; the national profile was more common among those whose parents had higher status occupations (χ^2 (12, $N = 3{,}574$) = 92.49, $p < .001$).

Fig. 4.   (a) Perceived discrimination by profile

Fig. 4.   (b) Religious affiliation by profile

At the country level, the profiles differed depending on whether the society of settlement had been established largely by immigrants („settler societies" such as Australia, Canada, and the U.S.) or whether immigration was a more recent and le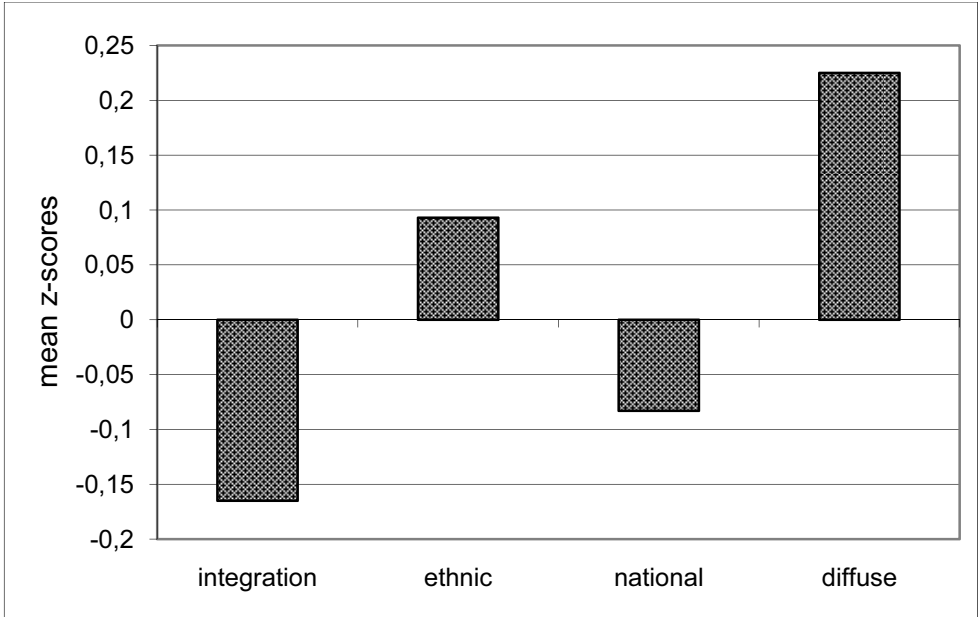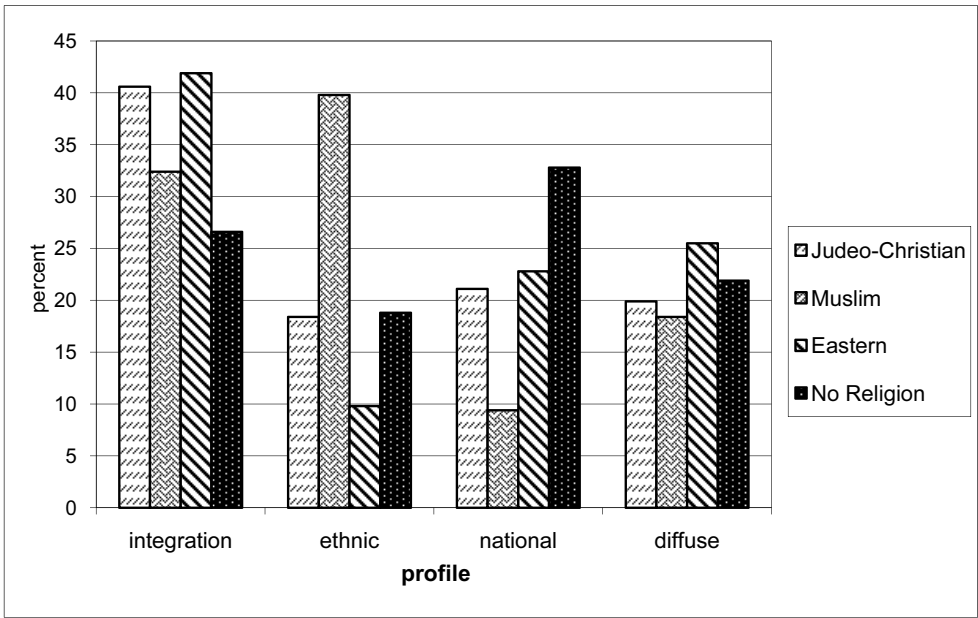ss common phenomenon (e.g. European countries). In the settler societies, over 50 per cent of the adolescents showed an integration profile. The integration profile was generally less common in European countries, typically between 30 per cent and 40 per cent. However, the proportion of profiles by country is somewhat misleading, as profile distribution varied widely across immigrant groups within a given country (see Berry et al. 2006 for details).

3.2   How Well Do Immigrant Youth Adapt?

We expected to find a distinction between psychological and sociocultural adaptation. We conducted a principal component analysis to see if the five adaptation variables (life satisfaction, self-esteem, psychological problems, school adjustment and behavior problems) could be grouped into two factors. Two factors were indeed found: the first factor included life satisfaction (loading of .79), self-esteem (.84), and psychological problems (−.63), all measuring as expected, *psychological adaptation*. The second factor (*sociocultural adaptation*) included school adjustment (−.68) and behavior problems (−.89). The *psychological adaptation* factor had an eigenvalue of 2.23 and explained 44.51 per cent of the variance, and the *sociocultural adaptation* factor had an eigenvalue of 1.03 and explained 20.51 per cent. Adaptation varied with only one demographic variable: gender. Psychological adaptation was weakly but significantly related to gender, with immigrant boys having a slightly better psychological adaptation score than immigrant girls. Immigrant boys scored lower on sociocultural adaptation compared to immigrant girls. No relationships were found between adaptation scores on the one hand and age, length of residence, neighborhood ethnic density, and parents' level of education on the other hand.

We also examined how well immigrant youth were adapting in comparison to national youth, using a MANOVA with the two adaptation factors as dependent variables. We included immigrant versus national and gender as fixed factors and age as a covariate. The contrast that interested us most, the comparison of national and immigrant youth yielded no significant effect. Overall, national and immigrant youth had similar levels of both psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Among national youth, we again we found the earlier reported effect of gender, with boys having higher scores for psychological adaptation and lower for sociocultural adaptation than girls (Wilks F $(2,7786) = 165.60$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .04$).

3.3   Is How Immigrant Youth Acculturate Related to How Well They Adapt?

We examined the relationship between how youth acculturate and how well they adapt in two ways. First, we report the levels of the two adaptation scores in relation to the

four acculturation profiles; and second, we present these relationships using structural equation modeling.

Adaptation and Profiles. On the basis of previous research (see Berry 1997; Berry/ Sam 1997), we expected the integration profile to have the best, and the diffuse profile the worst, psychological and sociocultural adaptations. As can be seen in Figure 5 this was clearly the case. Immigrant youth in the integration profile have both adaptation scores that are above the grand mean, while those with the diffuse profile are below the grand mean. Results partially supported our expectation that an ethnic profile would contribute positively to psychological adaptation and a national orientation would positively influence sociocultural adaptation. Adolescents with a national profile had relatively poor psychological adaptation, whereas they were not clearly distinct from other profiles with respect to sociocultural adaptation. In contrast, the ethnic profile showed good psychological adaptation but poor sociocultural adaptation.
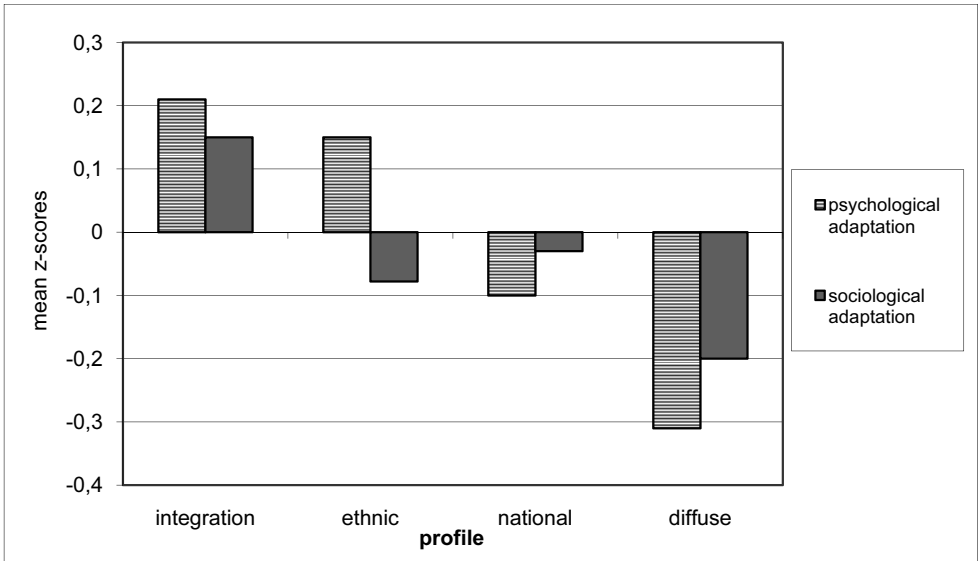
Fig. 5: Psychological and sociocultural adaptation by acculturation profile
(Reproduced from Figure 5.6, from Berry et al. 2006).

We also examined relationships between the two forms of adaptation and two other variables. First, perceived discrimination was negatively and significantly $p < 0.001$) related to both psychological ($r = -.31$) and sociocultural ($r = -.30$) adaptations. Second, we examined the two kinds of adaptation in relation to religion in order to determine whether immigrants whose religions were different from the predominant Judeo-Christian beliefs of the populations of the societies of settlement experienced less positive adaptation. For psychological adaptation, we found the opposite to be the case: Muslims had the highest (standardised) score (+.20), while all the other three groups had slightly neg-

ative scores. A similar tendency was found for sociocultural adaptation: Muslims had the highest (.05) and the non-religious youth the lowest scores (−.10).

Adaptation and Structural Equation Model. The second approach to describing the relationship between how youth acculturate and how well they adapt was to factor analyse all the separate acculturation and adaptation variables that we have used so far, and then use the factor scores in a structural equation model (see Vedder/Van de Vijver/Liebkind 2006 for technical details).

The exploratory factor analyses with the acculturation variables resulted in four factors. The *ethnic orientation* factor refers to various aspects of relationships or identification with an immigrant adolescents' own ethnic culture; higher scores mean a stronger orientation toward one's own group. The *national orientation* factor refers to various aspects of relationships or identification with the national culture; higher scores mean a stronger orientation toward the national society. The *integration* factor combines attitudes toward both the ethnic and the national cultures; higher scores indicate positive attitudes to both cultures (more integration and less marginalisation). The fourth factor involves *ethnic behaviors*; higher factor scores indicate more contacts with ethnic peers and a higher proficiency in the ethnic language, whereas lower scores indicate a stronger orientation toward friends of the national group and a higher proficiency in the national language. These four factors, which combine different *variables*, should not be confused with the four acculturation profiles (*integration, ethnic, national,* and *diffuse*), which combine different *individuals*. We also employed the two adaptation factors: *psychological and sociocultural adaptation*.

In the model that was tested, these four acculturation factors were assumed to precede sociocultural and psychological adaptation. Perceived discrimination was not included in the acculturation factors, since it was considered to be basic to immigrants' acculturation experiences. Like other researchers (e.g. Sellers/Shelton 2003), we treated perceived discrimination as an independent variable that contributes to the explanation of immigrants' adaptation outcomes. While it is assumed here that perceived discrimination is an antecedent variable, it obviously can also be considered to be an outcome variable. Similarly, while we considered the four intercultural factors to have an impact on the two adaptation variables, the relationship might also be in the opposite direction. To obtain an acceptable fit for the model, we included a latent variable, termed *ethnic contact,* which reflected the strength of orientation toward one's ethnic group and away from the national group.

The empirical model generally provided support for our expectation that a combined involvement in the national and the ethnic cultures is associated with more positive adaptation outcomes than a preference for either the national or the ethnic culture alone. In support of this same hypothesis, we found that integration had a positive impact on both adaptation scores. Contrary to our expectation, we found that national orientation did not have a stronger impact on sociocultural adaptation than ethnic orientation. Ethnic orientation, however, did have an effect on both types of adaptation and, in support of our expectation we found that the effect on psychological adaptation was stronger than the one on sociocultural adaptation. The ethnic behaviour factor did not

have a direct impact on adaptation outcomes, but did have an indirect effect, via ethnic contact. *Ethnic contact* had a significant impact on psychological adaptation, but not on sociocultural adaptation. The results suggest that adolescents' orientation toward their own group is more important for their psychological wellbeing than for their sociocultural adaptation.

Perceived discrimination showed a stronger relationship with the two adaptation outcome variables than any other variable; it was negatively related to psychological adaptation and contributed to poorer sociocultural adaptation. It also had a strong effect on *ethnic contact,* indicating that perceived discrimination increases immigrants' orientation toward their own group.

4. Discussion

This article reports some of the central issues and findings that are covered more fully in a recent book (Berry et al. 2006). Here, we highlighted three of the main concerns facing researchers in the psychology of immigration, acculturation and adaptation. First, *how* do immigrant youth live within and between two cultures? Second, *how well* do immigrant youth deal with their intercultural situation? And, third, are there patterns of relationships between *how* adolescents engage in their intercultural relations and *how well* they adapt? Employing a large sample of immigrant youth settled in 13 societies, as well as a comparison sample of national youth, we found that there is large variability in both acculturation and adaptation, and that there is indeed a substantial relationship between them. These findings permit making some proposals for applications in the domains of public policy and for offering personal assistance (information and guidance) to immigrant youth.

4.1 Ways of Acculturating

In addressing the first issue, how immigrant youth acculturate, we tested the bidimensional model of acculturation that has been proposed in the literature (Berry 1974; 1997; Phinney 1990; Rumbaut/Portes 2001). A cluster analysis using a number of intercultural variables, all with a two-culture structure, revealed four distinct profiles or ways of acculturating that are consistent with the bidimensional model. The largest number of youth (36.4%) was classified in the *integration* profile; they sought to acculturate by being involved with both their heritage culture and the national culture. This bicultural way of living includes various ways of engaging in both cultures: preferences (acculturation attitudes), cultural identities (both ethnic and national), language behaviour (ethnic and national language knowledge and use), social engagements (with both ethnic and national peers), and relationships with parents within their families (including acceptance of both obligations and rights). This high level of bicultural or double-engagement of youth supports many earlier findings with adult immigrants (reviewed by Berry/ Sam 1997).

The second largest group (22.5%) were in the *ethnic* profile. They sought to acculturate by being primarily oriented towards their own ethnic group, with limited involvement with the national society. The size of this ethnic profile was surprising for two reasons: first, previous findings with adults showed that this separatist way was not usually accepted as a way of acculturating; and second, there is a common belief that immigrant youth are likely to be much more oriented to the culture of their national peers. Taken together, the integration and ethnic profiles, both of which involve links to one's heritage culture, provide substantial evidence for cultural maintenance during the process of acculturation.

In contrast, the *national* profile was the smallest group (18.7%) among the participants, indicating that assimilation tendencies were rather limited among these youth. The reason for this is not entirely clear. Perhaps in seeking areas with sufficient representation of immigrants, we unavoidably drew more on neighborhoods with fewer members of the national society, thus limiting the possibility of immigrant youth being oriented toward the national society. However, as we have shown, we found a range in neighborhood ethnic composition across our samples, thus limiting this possible interpretation.

Even more surprising than the low frequency of youth with a national orientation was the rather large size of the diffuse profile (22.4%), representing the third largest group, almost equal to the ethnic profile. These young people lack a clear orientation and appear to be marginal and confused; they thus represent a group in which, according to previous research, personal and social problems are likely to appear. Thus there is potential for serious problems in intercultural relations between these immigrant youth and others in their society of settlement. We conclude that our results with immigrant youth resemble those found for adult immigrants with respect to the preference for integration, but diverge from it with respect to the relatively high numbers in the ethnic and diffuse profiles, and low numbers with a national orientation.

These patterns were linked to variations in a number of personal and demographic variables. Perhaps most important is the relationship with the length of residence; the longer youth are in the new culture, the more they are found in the integration profile, and the less in the diffuse profile. Because both psychological and sociocultural adaptation are linked to the integration and diffuse profiles, this difference suggests that with increasing residence, young immigrants will experience more positive outcomes, and avoid the more negative ones.

Of similar interest is the fact that most adolescents in the integration profile and the fewest in the diffuse profile live in ethnically mixed communities. Furthermore, there is evidence that the ethnic profile predominates in more ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods, while more of those in the national profile are found in neighborhoods that are predominantly of other than their own ethnic background. These results suggest that the local ecology is important in influencing how young immigrants acculturate. In the case of adults, it is possible to argue that they settle in neighbourhoods that best fit their acculturation preferences, but this argument is not plausible for youth who do not usually determine the neighborhood of residence of the family.

We found that religious preference was related to youth acculturation in the 13 broadly Judeo-Christian societies of settlement. Integration predominated for the Judeo-Christian immigrant youth; however, this was also the case for those with Eastern religions. This may be due to the long-standing presence of western colonial influence in the societies where many of these immigrants originated (India, Pakistan, Vietnam). In the ethnic profile, Muslims had much the largest presence, with others much lower. In sharp contrast, Muslims were minimally present in the national profile. These differences may be due to the large presence in European samples of Turks, most of whom arrived as guest workers, and who were not expected to establish links with the national society.

4.2 Adaptation of Immigrant Youth

With respect to our second main issue, concerning how well immigrant youth adapt, we found two distinct forms of adaptation, similar to those found for adult immigrants and sojourners by Ward (1996). This was the case, even though somewhat different variables were used to define psychological and sociocultural adaptation in our study than have been used with adults. This suggests that the basic distinction between psychological and sociocultural adaptation is a robust one that can be operationalised using different domains of life, depending on the samples being studied.

Adaptation varied according to gender; boys had slightly better psychological adaptation than girls, but had poorer sociocultural adaptation. These findings support earlier ones that females may be more at psychological risk for acculturation problems than males (Beiser et al. 1988; Carballo 1994). In addition, studies have shown that women exhibit more symptoms of psychological distress in terms of depression and anxiety while men are more frequently diagnosed with behavioral and personality disorders; these gender differences have been observed across cultures (Tanaka-Matsumi/Draguns 1997).

Recent research comparing adaptation among immigrant and national youth (see Garcia Coll 2005; Hayes-Bautista 2004, Nguyen 2006) has identified what has been termed the *immigrant paradox*, broadly defined as the counterintuitive finding that immigrants adapt just as well or better than their national peers despite their poorer socio-economic conditions. We found that immigrant youth are generally doing as well as their national peers, thus providing some support for the paradox. However, detailed analyses (see Berry et al. 2006) show considerable variation across countries and immigrant groups, providing limited support for such a paradox.

4.3 Acculturation and Adaptation

Our third, and central, issue was the relationship between how immigrant youth acculturate and how well they adapt. In addressing this issue, we used two different statistical ap-

proaches: we examined both forms of adaptation for youth with each of the four acculturation profiles, and we carried out a structural equation analysis. Both approaches provided a rather clear pattern of relationships: being involved in both cultures (integration) served to promote better psychological and sociocultural adaptation, while being involved in neither culture or being confused about one's situation (diffuse) undermined both forms of adaptation. This conclusion conforms to generalizations made previously, based on reviews of the research with adult immigrants (e.g. Berry 1997; Berry/Sam 1997).

In between these two strongly contrasting ways to acculturate are two alternative ways, which we have termed ethnic and national. The two methods of analyzing the data are consistent in showing that ethnic involvement promotes psychological wellbeing. However, for sociocultural adaptation, belonging to the ethnic profile is associated with poorer sociocultural adaptation, while in the structural equation model an ethnic orientation promotes sociocultural adaptation. Overall, the outcomes of the two approaches to the question of how acculturation and adaptation are related lead to similar conclusions: there is a positive role for integration as well as relatively beneficial consequences of a strong orientation toward one's own ethnocultural group when compared to a preference for an orientation toward the national society.

With respect to national involvement, being in the national profile is associated with moderately poorer psychological and sociocultural adaptation; however, in the structural equation model, national involvement promotes both forms of adaptation. These seemingly different outcomes using the two approaches may be confusing; it is necessary to keep in mind that they are different in important respects. Findings with respect to a profile always include only a subsample of the adolescents (those that are characterised by the particular profile), while the structural equation model included all participants, so that the reported relationships are characteristic of the whole sample of immigrant youth. Given this difference it is not surprising that not all findings are identical. Moreover, structural equation modelling yields information about the relationship between any two variables taking all other variables in the model into account. The finding about the contribution of immigrant youth's orientation toward the national group on their sociocultural adaptation has to be seen in combination with the contribution of their ethnic orientation. Together the findings basically support the notion that a combination of a strong ethnic and a strong national orientation is conducive to immigrant youth's positive adaptation.

4.4 The Role of Discrimination

In the social psychology of intergroup attitudes, there is a phenomenon of *reciprocity* in which mutual likes or dislikes are reciprocated (Kalin/Berry 1996). Our finding of a link between perceived discrimination and acculturation profiles provides further evidence for this reciprocity. When there is little perception of discrimination, young immigrants are most likely to be found in the integration profile, and to a lesser extent in the national

profile; however, when there is more perceived discrimination, they are likely to be in the diffuse profile, or to a lesser extent in the ethnic profile. We conclude that when individuals experience discrimination, they are likely to reject close involvement with the national society and be more oriented to their own group (ethnic) or be confused or ambivalent (diffuse) about their involvement. However, when not discriminated against, they approach the national society with the same degree of respect that has been accorded to them.

In the structural equation model, we found that the strongest relationships are for the links between discrimination and poor adaptation. Taking these two sets of findings together, we may conclude that while discrimination affects profile membership, discrimination may also influence adaptation indirectly through membership in the integration versus the diffuse profile. And in the structural equation model, we have seen that discrimination influences adaptation directly. These results provide a coherent picture, in which how youth acculturate and how well they adapt, are part of a triangular network that includes the experience of discrimination. While the cluster analysis cannot provide evidence regarding which comes first (profile membership or discrimination), the structural equation model implicates the prior role of discrimination in this network of relationships.

4.5 Implications

Applied psychology has branched out in recent years to incorporate many areas of human behavior that were not earlier included; the study of immigration and of immigrants is one of these newer domains. We believe that studies such as this one can contribute to the overall quality of life in immigrant-receiving societies, for both the immigrants and the settled populations. While studies of adult immigrants have increased substantially, perhaps because of their economic importance in relation to employment, productivity and leadership issues, the study of immigrant youth has lagged behind.

Given the broad international sweep of our study and the coherence of many of the results across immigrant groups and receiving societies, we believe that results of this study have some important implications for both public and private areas of applied psychology. What do our results suggest for governments and their agencies (such as immigration and settlement services) and institutions (such as schools and health care services), and for individuals who are navigating their way through the complex process of immigration, acculturation and adaptation? Our answer depends on the information and policy needs of each of these domains.

For governments in societies that are receiving immigrants, our findings suggest that there should be support and encouragement for immigrants to pursue the integration path, since both psychological and sociocultural adaptation are more positive among those who orient themselves in this way. Integration involves acceptance of two kinds of attitudes or orientations, among both the immigrant groups and the larger society. First, cultural maintenance should be desired by the immigrant community, and permit-

ted (even encouraged) by the society as a whole. Second, participation and inclusion in the life of the larger society should be sought by the immigrants, and permitted and supported by the larger society. Given these features, integration requires a number of initiatives. First, governments should consider providing support for immigrant and ethnocultural community organisations so that cultural loss is limited or prevented, their ethnic identity is promoted, and their way of life is allowed to be maintained and to thrive. Second, governments should seek to develop policies and programs to encourage the participation of immigrants in the daily life of the national society, so that they do not remain isolated in their own communities, or alienated from the larger society. And third, governments should develop policies and programs for the general population to encourage their acceptance of the cultural diversity and the participation of diverse peoples in the life of the larger society. Public education about the value of diversity, and anti-discrimination and equity laws are appropriate vehicles for these initiatives.

The integration path appears to be generally the most beneficial. However, other ways of acculturating, particularly the ethnic or separation orientation, can be beneficial in some cases. The ethnic orientation contributes to both types of adaptation, but to a lesser extent than integration. This implies that a policy allowing immigrants to maintain separation if they wish to, for example by allowing immigrants to settle within their own ethnic communities, is preferable to a policy that would push immigrants to assimilate, for example by denying ethnic cultural and language rights, or by promoting scattered settlement over wide areas of a country. Clearly, a policy of exclusion, leading to the marginalisation of youth, has nothing to recommend it as a public policy.

The legislation and policies installed and formulated by the governments eventually are implemented by a variety of institutions. Public institutions, such as schools and health care, tend to reflect the national policies that are promoted by the dominant group. For example, when the assimilation path is pursued, schools tend to reflect only the values and knowledge of the dominant society. If the integration path is adopted as public policy, institutional change is required to reflect the joint goals of cultural diversity and inclusion. In schooling, the multicultural education movement underway in many societies has brought about curriculum change so that all peoples now living in the society can find themselves represented in the classroom, without stereotyping or derogation, and with adequate portrayal of their way of life.

For immigrant youth and their families, our results have clear implications for the promotion of successful adaptation following migration. In keeping with the recommendations for governments and institutions, the core message for individuals is to seek ways to follow the integrative path as much as possible. However, this general conclusion may need to be qualified in differing contexts. For example, in more public areas of life (such as in school, and in the general community), a form of integration that approaches assimilation may allow a better fit with the larger society and its institutions, especially when attitudes in the larger society are intolerant of the maintenance of heritage cultural practices in public. Alternatively, in more private contexts, such as family and ethnocultural communities, a form of integration that approaches the separation orientation may allow for a better fit with co-ethnics in daily interactions. These variations

in the way of acculturating require some degree of flexibility and the ability to mix and match strategies. In our conceptualisation of integration, such blending and merging are possible ways of obtaining the best of both worlds, especially when there are two or more worlds to be enjoyed and mastered.

The results also provide information about discrimination and its negative effects on personal well-being. If public policy and institutional change work toward the acceptance of diversity and equality, as we propose above, then discrimination might decrease in the long term. However, discrimination is unlikely to disappear by itself, and individuals need to be aware of its negative effects. Adolescents who are confident in their own ethnicity and proud of their ethnic group may be better able to deal constructively with discrimination, for example, by regarding it as the problem of the perpetrator or by taking proactive steps to combat it.

For those who are counseling immigrant youth undergoing acculturation, our findings may help them to better understand the processes and problems that these youth are experiencing. Teachers, therapists, and parents may all profit from knowing that the integrative way of acculturating is likely to lead these young people to more satisfactory and successful transitions to adulthood in their culturally diverse societies.

5.   Author Note

The findings reported in this paper come from the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY), carried out in thirteen countries. Members of the project group are (in alphabetical order of countries) C. Leung, R. Rooney, and D. Sang (Australia): J.W. Berry and K. Kwak (Canada); K. Liebkind (Finland); C. Sabatier (France); P. Schmitz (Germany); G. Horenczyk (Israel); P. Vedder and F. van de Vijver (the Netherlands); C. Ward (New Zealand); D.L. Sam (Norway); F. Neto (Portugal); E. Virta and C. Westin (Sweden); L. Robinson (the United Kingdom); and J.S. Phinney (the United States).

An account of the ICSEY study can be found in: Berry, J.W./Phinney, J.S./Sam, D.L./Vedder, P. (Eds.) (2006): Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national context. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Other papers based on the project are listed on the project website http://www.ceifo.su.se/icsey/icsey.html

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