PATHWAYS TO POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT FOR MUSLIM IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN
WESTERN CONTEXTS

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Abstract

Muslim youth growing up in Western contexts face a complex set of issues as a result of meeting the various, and often incongruent, expectations placed upon them by their family, religion, ethnic community and host national society. This group of young people is often thought to face high risks of maladaptation, as they potentially experience the negative effects of acculturation more so than host nationals or other immigrant youth. Recent research, however, has suggested that many Muslim migrant young people are successfully negotiating their experiences of cultural transition in Western societies. Therefore, the major aim of this thesis was to obtain systematic data on young Muslim migrant's "pathways to positive development", or how these young people achieve successful adaptation in the face of adversity.

To examine the complexities of Muslim migrant youth acculturation fully, it is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of their lived experiences within and across contexts. In order to achieve this, four studies were conducted utilising mixed methodologies and drawing on a range of psychological and sociological theories, predominantly focusing on acculturation, development and religiosity.

Study 1 qualitatively investigated the indicators and determinants of participation and success for Muslim youth in the New Zealand environment. The results of this study enabled a framework to be developed that illustrates the most salient ecological resources youth access (family, religion and the intercultural environment), the risks they face (discrimination and cultural differences) and outcomes of the acculturation process. In study 2, this framework was refined by drawing upon theories of resilience, and subsequently was tested quantitatively with a sample of Muslim youth in New Zealand. Results from this study indicate that while Muslim youth in New Zealand may be at risk of maladaptative outcomes because of their exposure to discrimination and cultural transition, ecological resources may counteract some of the negative effects of these stressors.

Study 3 sought to test whether the results found in study 2 were generalisable to Muslim youth in other contexts by carrying out a comparative analysis of youth outcomes in New Zealand and the United Kingdom. These societies were chosen to be compared because they share a similar historic culture but have taken very different routes to social cohesion and the inclusion of minorities. The major aim of this study was to investigate whether the country of settlement has an impact on the adaptation of Muslim migrant youth. The results demonstrate that the cultural environment of migration plays an important contributing factor

to both the experience of stress and the achievement of positive adaptation above and beyond the effects of resources.

Finally, study 4 utilised techniques of multilevel modelling to examine the acculturation experiences of Muslim youth cross-culturally. Drawing on the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) data, Muslim migrant youth from 9 Western receiving nations were examined. Results indicate that the ideological context (cultural values and host national attitudes towards immigrants) has important effects on individual levels of adaptation and the experience of perceived discrimination.

The findings of this thesis contribute novel perspectives to acculturation and development research as well as cross-cultural psychology more generally. Using multiple methods in the study of psychological phenomena enables a move beyond traditional descriptions of acculturation processes as situated predominantly within one cultural setting and advances our understanding of how Muslim youth fare in a global context.

Acknowledgments

Before I started the arduous journey of writing my dissertation, I joked I would write my acknowledgements first, because they are the least painful words in your PhD. However, as I began to put my research onto paper, I decided that I would wait until the very end to write this page, that I would truly close my dissertation with these words. Many times looking at the space where my acknowledgements would go I was motivated to write a few more words, to spend a little more time in the office and to push myself even harder. It is a relief to be able to now pay tribute to those people who helped me throughout this process.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1 Introduction

How to live together in our globalized world, where clashes anywhere are clashes everywhere and where cultural and religious fault-lines divide our societies? At the end of the day, this is the global challenge we are faced with (Alliance of Civilizations: AOC, 2006, p. 12).

International Perspective on Muslim Immigrants

Immigration is not a new phenomenon, people have always shifted from one place to another drawn by the opportunities that are present in other locations. However, the recent global increase in the mobility of cultural travellers brought about by relaxation of immigration laws, policy reforms regarding refugee resettlement, and access to global information, media and transport networks, has allowed more and more people to shift permanently from their country of origin. As a result, 214 million people, or nearly 3.1% of the world's population, presently reside outside of their country of birth, a figure which grew by an estimated 64 million over the last 10 years (International Organization for Migration: IOM, 2010). In the New Zealand population, the number of foreign-born residents is approximately one out of every four people, a figure which grew from 685,000 in 2000 to 962,000 in 2010. In 2010, for the first time since 1990, New Zealand had a higher percentage of migrants (22%) as a share of the total population than Australia (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: UNESCO, 2009).

In 2005, only 28 host countries (predominantly located in Western world), accounted for the settlement of three-quarters of all migrants worldwide (IOM, 2010). This has resulted in many historically mono-cultural Western societies becoming (voluntarily or involuntarily) multicultural. As such, in environments where there are growing numbers of migrants coming from increasingly diverse backgrounds, intercultural contact has become inevitable. In fact, diversity is a reality that shapes the world now more than ever as individuals are exposed to a plethora of cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds, not only through secondary sources (such as the media), but also through everyday social interactions.

Although cultural diversity has become a major feature of the modern world, it is received with varying levels of acceptance across countries. Multiculturalism is openly questioned in many places because ethnic diversity and social cohesion are thought to be irreconcilable (IOM, 2010). While many nations have explicit multicultural policies and successfully integrate a diversity of cultures into their way of life, cultural plurality frequently results in tension and conflict. Hugo (2005) suggests that the contemporary problems and

controversies associated with immigration predominantly stem from the suspicion and fear of receiving communities towards new migrants. One of the most pressing concerns within these new social environments is how to deal effectively with cultural pluralism, and more specifically, how individuals from different groups might negotiate their cultural differences on an everyday basis.

Berry suggests that "mutual accommodation" is required for immigrants to integrate successfully into a receiving society, involving the "acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples" (1997, p. 10). Therefore, minority groups must adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the majority group must be prepared to adapt to meet the needs of a culturally diverse population. However, even where diversity is tolerated, there are well-established variations in the relative acceptance of specific cultural, racial, and religious groups (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Georgas & Berry, 1995). It is generally the case that greater cultural distance, referring to the extent to which the ethnic culture is different to the host national culture, increases the risks associated with intercultural contact. Culturally distant groups may experience hostility, rejection, and discrimination, all of which have been shown to lead to lower levels of positive adaptation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Noh & Kaspar, 2003).

In the Western world, Islam is often viewed as extremely culturally distant from the wider society, which exposes Muslim migrants to a high risk of maladaptation (AOC, 2006; Balsano & Sirin, 2007). Islam is one of the world's largest religions and Muslim peoples come from all over the world, with around 30 countries in the Middle-East, Africa and Asia being Muslim-majority nations (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Muslim people represent a large percentage of permanent migrants to Western nations, meaning that Islam has become the second largest religion following Christianity in many European countries (Sirin & Fine, 2008). The rapid settlement of Muslim migrants into predominantly Western, secular societies has raised important challenges for how policymakers manage cultural diversity, maintain social cohesion, and accommodate minorities.

Internationally, there is a great deal of tension between Muslim peoples and members of other ethnic or religious groups. This is exemplified in a variety of recent events that received global attention including the murder of film maker Theo van Gogh by Islamic extremists, the French ban on displays of conspicuous religious symbols, protests following the publication of the "Muhammad" cartoons in Denmark, the Swiss outlawing the construction of minarets on Mosques, and more recently, the Quran burning in the United

States in reaction to the proposed mosque near Ground Zero that led to killings of volunteers in Afghanistan. The tensions between the Islamic and Western Worlds have been intensified by a series of extreme terrorist attacks, primarily by 9/11 World Trade Center collapse in the United States, the bombings of civilian targets in Madrid (2004), London (2005), and in Mumbai (2008).

The growth of immigration from Muslim source countries, the international politicisation of Islam, and the increased social anxiety towards this group, has meant that Muslim communities are the focal point in discussions concerning the risks of intercultural contact. Verkuyten and Slooter (2007) argue that negative and often biased media coverage has led to Islam becoming a symbol of the problems related to ethnic minorities and immigration. This is epitomized in the writings of Samuel Huntingdon (1996) in his treatise on the imminent and inevitable ideological conflict between the Islamic and Western worlds entitled "The Clash of Civilizations: Remaking the World Order". Huntingdon's contention was that tensions based on cultural, religious and ideological differences between Islam and the West would cause a clash of civilizations that would ultimately lead to violence. These ideas, coupled with recent global events, have intensified concerns about the integration of Muslim populations in Western contexts, and as a consequence, there has been an increase in discrimination towards individuals affiliated with Islam that has lead to the emergence of Islamophobia, or the fear and hatred of Islam (Marshall & Ghazal Read, 2003; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007; Zaal, Salah, & Fine, 2007).

Muslim migrants in Western cultures find themselves in a cultural and political situation where they are a minority in a two-fold sense as a result of both of their ethnic background and their religious beliefs. Yet there are wide-ranging differences in the way Muslim migrants are treated within various Western host countries. The kinds of issues Muslim migrants face are dependent on contextual factors in the migration process including historical relations between host and heritage cultures, migration policies, cultural distance and attitudes of host and heritage cultures to migration (Ward, 2001). Therefore, the adaptation of Muslim immigrants is embedded in the context of their migration, particularly in terms of the societal attitudes of the host country, the political environment, as well as the ethnic diversity, identities, and objectives of the Muslim immigrants themselves.

This backdrop highlights the importance of the broader research questions that this thesis addresses: how do Muslim immigrants adapt to Western contexts, to what extent do national, religious and ethnic identities intersect, overlap or run parallel to each other in this

process and how can Muslim migrants achieve successful outcomes in their new cultural environments? The answers to these questions will help us to understand the complexities of influences emerging culturally and religiously plural societies have on the lived experiences of individuals. Theories of acculturation, adaptation and development, coupled with analysis of religious identity in the investigation of Muslim migrant youth are utilised in order to address these issues.

Acculturation and Adaptation

The long-term outcome of migration is the formation of a culturally diverse population in which a number of different cultural groups reside together under a shared social and political framework (Berry, 1997). In situations of sustained intercultural contact, such as is the case in receiving societies of migration, individuals and groups are faced with the issue of how to adjust to different cultural values, behaviours and systems of beliefs. Acculturation is traditionally defined as the process of mutual and reciprocal change that takes place as a result of intercultural contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members within a society (Berry, 1997; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). The term acculturation is used to refer to changes both at the group level and in the psychology of the individual (Berry, 2005).

There are a variety of theories that describe the process and outcomes of acculturation. Of these, the most widely established model was developed by Berry (1997, 2001, 2005) to demonstrate how individuals and groups engage in the process of cultural transition. Berry (2001) suggests that there are two major choices groups make in any intercultural situation, they can choose to participate with (or ignore) the other, and groups can choose to remain culturally distinct from (or merge with) each other. For individuals, the major concerns are: to what extent does one want to have contact with others outside their group, and to what extent does one seek to maintain their cultural attributes? The choice that an individual makes in relation to these questions positions them in one of four acculturation strategies. When the individual places little value on maintaining their cultural heritage, and chooses to interact with and take on parts of the majority culture, they are seen to adopt a strategy of assimilation. In contrast, individuals who place a high value on retaining their ethnic culture while avoiding interaction with other cultures endorse a separation strategy. Individuals who retain their ethnic culture as well as interact with and adopt elements of the majority culture are seen to be engaged in integration. Lastly, when an individual neither

wishes to maintain their ethnic culture nor participate in or adopt elements of the wider society, they are seen to endorse an acculturation strategy labelled marginalization.

When intercultural contact and cultural maintenance are examined among the population at large, there is a focus is on how the host national group judges that others (e.g., immigrants, ethno-cultural groups, indigenous peoples) should acculturate, referred to as acculturation expectations (Berry, 2001). Assimilation, when expected by the dominant group, is labelled the melting pot. When separation is expected or enforced by the dominant group, it is labelled segregation. When marginalization is imposed by the dominant group, it is considered to be a form of exclusion. Finally, when cultural diversity is an objective of the larger society (i.e., they have expectations of integration), this is represented in the strategy of mutual accommodation, which is synonymous with the term multiculturalism (Berry, 2001). The majority group often enforces certain forms of acculturation, and constrains the choices minority groups can make concerning their acculturation (Berry, 2006; Bourhis, Moïse, Perrault, & Sénéal, 1997). For example, integration (or maintenance of aspects of one's heritage culture coupled with the adoption of the wider society culture), can only be successfully practised when the wider society is open and inclusive with regards to cultural diversity (Berry, 2005).

It is important to understand not only how change occurs for individuals experiencing acculturation, but also to consider what changes as a result of living in a new cultural environment (Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006). The changes, or adaptations, individuals undergo during cross-cultural transitions can take various forms; these may be physical, biological, cultural, social and psychological changes, the results of which have both positive and negative consequences for an individual (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Berry (1997) defines adaptation as the relatively stable psychological and behavioural changes that take place in an individual or group in response to demands in the environment. Adaptation is an outcome that may or may not be positive, and therefore, may facilitate or hinder individuals to "fit" into their environment. Furthermore, variations in levels of long-term adaptation arise due to differences in acculturation experiences. Adaptation has been proposed and empirically established to belong to two distinct but conceptually related domains: psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Psychological adaptation refers to a person's affective responses to cultural transition, particularly with regards to well- being, depression, and anxiety within the new cultural situation. Sociocultural adaptation is situated

within a social or culture learning framework and involves one's behavioural responses to acculturation, or the individual's ability to navigate and engage successfully with their new intercultural environment (Ward, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1993, 1994). Berry (1997) suggests that in the short-term, changes tend to be negative and often disruptive, whereas in the long-term some positive adaptation usually occurs.

Criticisms and Gaps in the Acculturation Literature

Despite its widespread popularity, the core components of Berry's model have been criticized for neglecting the complexities of acculturation and for perpetuating the assumption that acculturation strategies are determined simply through a rational decision making process concerning cultural orientations (Amer & Hovey, 2007; Rudmin, 2009). Research tends to treat acculturation strategies as fixed elements of individual experience rather than dynamic components of a process (Ward, 2008; Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart, & Kus, 2010a). This is particularly problematic for adolescents undergoing acculturation as they are embedded in the process of cultural transition as well as the process of normative physical and cognitive development. Therefore, treating acculturation strategies as static effectively ignores the complex nature of the adolescent experience of managing identities and orientations. Also, acculturation research often emphasises stress and adaptation problems rather than strengths and positive adaptation (Rudmin, 2009). While it is important to investigate the risks of acculturation, it is also imperative that the psychological resources within migrant groups are examined, particularly in communities that are considered "at risk". Accordingly, researchers are beginning to reject deficit approaches and to adopt a broader perspective that highlights positive growth for youth in an acculturation framework (Sirin & Fine, 2007; Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayanan, 2010).

It has also been suggested that Berry's model does not adequately address the nature of intergroup relations on acculturation options and choices (Amer & Hovey, 2007). Although Berry does not discount the influences of the host culture on an individual's acculturation strategy (e.g., Berry, 2006), this has been underemphasized while the person's choice of retaining their ethnic culture and appropriating the host culture is overemphasized. The focus on the individual (rather than the social environment) assumes that acculturative changes occur in ways that are dependent upon intrapersonal processes. However, this conceptualization of the acculturating individual does not take into account the complex relationships that may exist among individuals and groups undergoing acculturation.

6

Another important criticism to emerge recently in the literature relates to the domains of acculturation focusing on the ethnic and host national orientations, and failing to consider religiosity or religious identity as an area affected by acculturative changes (Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009a; Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009b; Modood, 1990; Peek, 2005). Religiosity constitutes an important aspect of a group's social identity, affecting various parts of an individual's life (Greenfield & Marks, 2007; Hackney & Sanders, 2003; Ryan, Rigby, & King, 1993). This is particularly true for migrants when their religion is perceived unfavourably by the wider society, as religious belonging may possibly lead to economic or social disadvantage in the community, and potentially mean that individuals are exposed to discrimination (Haque, 2004). Conversely, in contexts where there is religious tension or conflict, religiosity may also provide a way of maintaining group identity and promoting adaptation. Despite the theoretical importance of religion to the study of acculturation, the role of religiosity in the adjustment experiences of immigrants is often overlooked (Jasperse, 2009; Stuart & Ward, 2011; Stuart, Ward, & Adam, 2010).

These gaps in the literature have led some to question if there is a crisis in acculturation research (Chirkov & Landis, 2008), a point that Chirkov summarises in suggesting that acculturation currently exists within a "conceptual vacuum" (2009, p. 178). One of the ways to overcome this crisis is through recognition of the importance of the environment in which individuals acculturate, and more broadly the ecological context that in which change takes place. The current thesis attempts to address some of the shortcomings in the acculturation literature by examining the experiences of adjustment for Muslim migrant youth in Western contexts. This research takes into account the interplay between ethnic, host national and religious orientations that are embedded in the parallel processes of development and acculturation for these young people. The subsequent sections of the literature review will discuss the relationships between religion, development and acculturation with specific reference to the Muslim diaspora and the adaptation process of Muslim migrant youth in Western contexts.

Ethnicity, Religion and Acculturation

Ethnic identity is conceptually an element of social identity that is derived from knowledge of one's membership in an ethnic group (Phinney, 1992). It is through exposure to other cultures (intercultural contact), that the knowledge of this membership becomes salient. The identification of minority individuals with their ethnic group is thought to be crucial for psychological functioning, particularly in contexts where one's ethnic group membership

7

determines access to social, psychological, cultural, political, and economic privileges, such as is the case for immigrants entering a new society (e.g., Inglehart & Norris, 2009; Phinney, 1990).

Research has demonstrated the importance of ethnic identity for immigrants, indicating that a weak ethnic identity (in which minority members neither properly understand nor actively explore their own ethnicity) relates to greater levels of psychological problems, lower well-being and more behavioural problems (e.g., Abu-Rayya, 2006; Verkuyten, Thijs, & Canatan, 2001). An extensive body of research also shows that internalization of strong and secure ethnic identities contributes positively to psychological adaptation in that it is associated with greater life satisfaction and higher academic achievement (Oppedal, Røysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005; Sam et al., 2006).

In parallel to the acculturation strategies, identity can be conceptualised on two orthogonal dimensions: ethnic identification and host national identification (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). Just as Berry categorizes individuals based on the extent that they retain their ethnic culture and appropriate the host culture, these two dimensions can be used to categorize individuals in terms of the way they manage their identities. For example, individuals who identify strongly with both their ethnic culture and their national culture can be said to have integrated (or bicultural) identities (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001a). These findings suggest that the development and maintenance of one's ethnic identity, as well as the development of a host national identity, is crucial for successful long-term adaptation.

Interestingly, while ethnicity has been at the forefront of acculturation research, investigations of the influence of religiosity on adaptation outcomes are noticeably lacking. This is concerning considering that religion has been thrust centrally into the public discourse, resulting in a pressing need to address issues related to religious diversity in the psychological literature on migrants and minorities (Kong, 2010). In fact, recent research has proposed that historical discourse about "racialized minorities" has shifted throughout the 20th century from "colour" to "race" to "ethnicity" and now to "religion" (Peach, 2006b, p.353). Peach believes that religion may now be a more important variable for investigation than race or ethnicity, and suggests that "religion seems destined to become the new area for social geographical research" (Peach, 2006a, p. 255).

There has been increasingly global media attention concerning whether predominantly secular receiving societies can or will accommodate specific religious customs

and practices within their legal and economic system (e.g., recognition of minority dress codes, family practices and requirement for religious practices). Furthermore, there is an increasing recognition by academics (specifically sociologists and demographers), policy-makers and service providers of the importance of religion in defining identity, particularly among migrant communities (Greenfield & Marks, 2007; Mitchell, 2006; Peek, 2005). There is ample research evidence to show that religiosity matters in the lives of individuals regardless of their status as an immigrant or host national. Specifically, religious adherence has been found to relate positively to increased psychological health (e.g., Greenfield & Marks, 2007; Hackney & Sanders, 2003; Ryan, Rigby, & King, 1993), stronger ethnic identity, and the preservation of cultural and ethnic traditions in immigrant communities (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 1999; Peek, 2005; Williams, 1988).

Religion is intertwined with the concepts of both ethnicity and culture. Where the relationship between ethnicity and religion is concerned, the conceptual overlap exists at the level of the group belonging. Therefore, the connection between one's ethnic and religious groups is generally measured in terms of behaviour and identity. However, the overlap between culture and religion is more ideological in nature, and tends to be at the level of values and how these are enacted in everyday life. Culture is often considered to be "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group from another" (Hofstede, 1980, pp. 21), and is generally mapped with shared value systems (Bond, Leung, Au, et al., 2004). Religion is also a kind of collective mentality that defines groups from one another, but is more than a system of values in that it involves membership based on moral and spiritual beliefs. Even in supposedly secular contexts, cultural and religious values often relate to one another in ways that are difficult to disentangle and even more difficult to measure. Therefore, while the current research acknowledges these overlaps, the focus will be religious and ethnic group belonging rather than cultural and religious ideology.

Although the research points to areas of overlap between religion and ethnicity, they should be treated as conceptually distinct (Beckford, Glae, Owen, Peach, & Weller, 2006). For example, one may be a member of a religious community where all or the majority of members of the group are also members of an ethnic community, or be a part of an ethnic community that is homogenous in their religious orientation. Immigrant groups also differ in their focus on the integration of their religious and ethnic identities. Some immigrant communities emphasize their religious identity more than their ethnicity, whereas others stress ethnic identity and rely on religious institutions largely to maintain cultural traditions

(Mitchell, 2006; Yang & Ebaugh, 2001). In some settings, ethnicity and religion may actually call for incongruent ways of thinking, feeling and acting, meaning that simultaneous identification may require compromise, conflict, or may not even be possible (Peek, 2005). In either case, it is impossible to ascertain the exact relationship between the orientations, whether religious affiliation is essential to ethnic community belonging or whether religious orientation is ancillary to ethnic identity (Williams, 1988).

The Function of Religion in Acculturation

Some evidence indicates that immigrants become more religious in their new country than they were in their heritage culture (Williams, 1988). According to Smith, immigration itself can be a "theologizing experience" (1978, p.1175), meaning that immigrants react to the potential alienation, disorientation and stress that is caused by the migration process by turning to religion. Effectively, religion often takes on a greater role in self definition for migrants in the host society than was the case in their homelands, where religious involvement may have been taken for granted. This is particularly true if the immigrants were formerly members of a religious majority and are currently members of a religious minority.

In the sociological literature, various explanations have been suggested regarding why individuals and communities emphasise their religion post-migration and how the religious affiliations of immigrant communities may influence their integration (Massey & Higgins, in press; Peek, 2005). Peek (2005) suggests that increases in religiosity following migration function to maintain personal and social distinctiveness in multicultural contexts. This results in religious symbols (e.g., dress, rituals and practices) becoming important identity markers that promote individual self-awareness and preserve group cohesion (Williams, 1988). Whereas Hirschman (2004, p. 1128), suggests that religion offers immigrants three benefits, specifically, refuge, resources, and respectability.

Refuge is apparent in the protection religious communities offer, both from a sense of loss or separation (e.g., from family, language and community) and in terms of psychological comfort for immigrants that are disadvantaged or discriminated against (Hirschman, 2004). Also, the practice of religious rituals and identity can engender a sense of continuity and belonging, effectively providing refuge from acculturative stress (Ozyurt, 2009; Peek, 2005). The second benefit of religiosity is resources (both material and social), including access to community networks, economic prospects, information, opportunities for sociocultural adaptation (e.g., language classes) and social support (Chen, 2002; Peek, 2005). Furthermore, religious institutions may offer important educational and socialization resources where

10

migrants and their families can transmit and preserve their own cultural and religious practices and values. The third benefit of religion is respectability, which is present in the opportunities for recognition and social mobility created by religious communities. Even though immigrants are granted formal access to social life within the new cultural environment, they may encounter informal barriers, such as discrimination (Hirschman, 2004). Therefore, by creating a parallel set of social institutions that fit the needs of community members, immigrants can find avenues for social advancement and respect.

According to Ebaugh and Chaftez, religious institutions are "one of most important physical and social spaces... in which both the changes required by the new social milieu and the continuities desired by immigrant members can be achieved" (1999, p. 587). Consequently, religiosity has important implications for individuals and groups within an acculturation framework.

Muslims in Western Contexts

There are 1.57 billion Muslims in the world today, representing approximately 23% of the world's population (Pew Research Center, 2009). Muslims are found on all five inhabited continents, although more than 300 million, or one-fifth of the world's Muslim population, live in countries where Islam is not the majority religion. A study conducted by the Pew Research Center (2009) found that there are around 38 million Muslims living in Europe, with the largest numbers in Germany at approximately 4 million, 3.5 million in France and around 2 million Muslims in the United Kingdom. Additionally their research indicates that there are around 4.6 million Muslims residing in the Americas, more than half of whom live in the United States, with another 1 million residing in Canada. While New Zealand and Australia have lower numbers of Muslims, in both countries Islam is the fastest growing minority group (Abu-Rayya & White, 2010; Kolig, 2006a, 2006b). Even though Muslims represent an important and growing migrant population in many Western countries, psychological research concerning the acculturation processes of this group is notably lacking (Abu-Rayya, Pargament, Mahoney, & Stein, 2008a; Abu-Rayya, Pargament, Mahoney, & Trevino, 2008b).

Despite the fact that Muslim migrants are heterogeneous in terms of their socioeconomic, ethnic, cultural, and even theological backgrounds, they are often represented as a homogenous group, even though they are not afforded the same legislative protection from exclusion and discrimination as other "racial" groups (Gallup, 2009; Malik, 2009; Meer, 2008; Meer & Modood, 2009). The perception of homogeneity is, paradoxically, the product

of two factors, the first is the Islamic concept of Ummah (the global community of Muslims) and the second is the increase in discrimination towards individuals affiliated with Islam, and the subsequent emergence of Islamophobia.

Although there is a large diversity of cultural practices that can be considered as a part of Islam, five basic principles are commonly accepted by all Muslims that function as the foundation of the religion, known as "the five pillars of Islam" (Esposito, 1998; Lippman, 1995). The pillars are as follows: the belief that there is only one God (Allah) and Muhammed was his last and final prophet (shahadah), prayer that is performed five times a day (salat), alms-giving in order to rectify social inequalities (zakat), fasting during the month of Ramadan (siyam), and lastly pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj) that is performed once in a lifetime (Esposito, 1998; Lippman, 1995). Muslims are guided by the teachings of the Quran (the holy book revealed to the prophet Muhammad by the angel Gabriel), the hadith (the prophet's sayings) and the sunnah (the prophet's teachings).

Muslim migrants, regardless of their background and current place of residence, possess some sense of communality based on their religious beliefs, values, and rituals (Haque, 2004; Verkuyten, 2007a). Thus, religion is the predominant shared meaning system for Muslim immigrants (Ghaffari & Ciftci, 2010). In fact, Muslims have claims to a transnational, or super-ordinate identity based on their religious beliefs (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2004). The concept of Ummah is used to mean the Islamic diaspora or the "Community of the Believers" as an overarching concept for the wider Muslim community operative beyond geo- political boundaries (Al-Romi, 2000). The term Ummah is often used among Muslims to convey the fact that all adherents (the world over) constitute one group connected by their acceptance of Islam as a guiding philosophy, irrespective of the differences in gender, race, tribe, colour, dress, and language (Greaves, 1996). Baumann illustrates the concept as follows "Muslims . . . are thus members of a global community, but that community is one of faith, and its bounds far exceed the horizon of any one culture or any person's cross-cultural competence" (1996, pp. 125-126).

The religious identity of Muslim immigrants provides a flexible way to accommodate the diverse identities of the group while at the same time creating a platform to resist cultural and religious loss and to rise above internal conflicts and contradictions within the community. Such shared meaning systems contribute to "build those forms of solidarity and identification which make common struggle and resistance possible but without suppressing the real heterogeneity of interests and identities" (Hall, 1992, p. 255). Abu- Rayya and

Pargament (2011) suggest that Islam provides an anchor for group identity in the ambiguity of Western multiculturalism.

Even though Ummah minimises internal divisions, as a consequence of current global politics and ideologies, Muslim immigrants face high levels of discrimination and prejudice that can act to undermine the unity within the community (Al-Romi, 2000; Marshall & Ghazal Read, 2003; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Zaal, Salah, & Fine, 2007). Because Muslims in the West are defined as an ethno-religious minority, they endure the stress of living in societies that discriminate against them for their religious affiliation, but at the same time deny the cultural heterogeneity within their community. International events in the last couple of decades have increased the salience of Islam as a marker of minority-group identity. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001and the subsequent "War on Terror" by the United States are the most prominent of these events that have been fundamental in the public discourse shaping attitudes toward Muslims (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). Since this time, Muslims have increasingly become a target of discrimination and face a high degree of prejudice towards their group and predominantly negative attention in the media (Ali, Liu, & Humedian, 2004; Ghaffari & Ciftci, 2010; Strabac & Listhaug, 2008).

Although exceptions do exist, the general tendency in this public discourse of Muslims and Islam is both alarmist and lacking complexity (Halliday, 1999). In an analysis of representations of Islam in the British press, Richardson (2004 cited in Strabac & Listhaug, 2008) identified four main emergent themes: (1) threats from the military in Muslim majority countries, (2) threats concerning political violence and extremism, (3) threats to democracy posed by Muslim political leaders and parties, and (4) threats to Western society posed by Muslim values regarding gender inequality. Strabac and Listhaug (2008) suggest that these broadly describe two sets of negative stereotypes: The first is based on a "clash of civilizations" argument (as described earlier in the chapter) that emphasises a political and military threat of Islam to the non-Muslim world. The second set of stereotypes concerns Muslim cultural values and focuses on issues of gender, family life and the integration of these values into the non-Muslim world. The result of this it that Muslim migrants in Western nations are prone to experiencing exclusion, violence, and various forms of unfair treatment (Fine & Sirin, 2007). Abu-Rayya and White (2010) labelled this the "politics of fear" and suggested that it ultimately encourages social segregation and devalues social inclusion in culturally diverse societies.

Taking into account the unique nature of Muslim migrants in Western contexts, it is particularly important to understand how they experience the process of acculturation, whether their religious identities play an integral part of their feelings of belonging, and how they perceive and are affected by their involuntary social positioning as threatening, and therefore, subject to discrimination.

Acculturation and Development

Historically, the majority of acculturation research has been developed and conducted with adults and subsequently generalised to immigrant youth and the children of immigrants (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006). This can be problematic as recent research has suggested that due to the differences in life stage and development, young people face more complex issues of adjustment than their adult counterparts (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a; Oppedal, 2006; Phinney, 1990; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). For adolescents, the manner in which they engage in acculturation is influenced by the physical, cognitive and socio-emotional changes that occur during the transition into adulthood (Farver, Xu, Bhadha, & Narang, 2007; Oppedal, 2006; Sam & Oppedal, 2002). Acculturation theories, however, often do not distinguish between changes that are developmental in nature and changes that are a result of cultural transition. This can mean that the complex needs of migrant and ethnic minority youth are often not fully addressed by traditional acculturation research (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Hedegaard, 2005; Stuart, 2008; Stuart & Ward, 2011).

In the absence of acculturation, all individuals undergo development, involving biological and maturational changes as well as enculturation and socialization to the cultural norms of the social environment (Oppedal, 2006; Sam & Oppedal, 2002). However, acculturation research often assumes that when a young person is undergoing cultural transition, development stops, and acculturation takes over in its place (Sam, Kosic, & Oppedal, 2003). Because of the inherently stressful nature of acculturation, it is also assumed that for immigrant adolescents with psychological and/or sociocultural problems, the precursor is acculturation, which acts to disregard the role of developmental transitions. Therefore, it is mistaken to expect that immigrant adolescents' adaptation outcomes arise only from acculturation, and it is inaccurate to study the development of children and adolescents in cultural transition without including an acculturation perspective.

Research has attempted to integrate developmental perspectives into the study of youth acculturation, although the nature of the overlap between these two processes presents a number of challenges. Acculturation is defined by the changes individuals make in response

to their new cultural environment that are geared towards enabling one to meet the challenges arising from managing two different cultures. Development also involves adaptive change, although this comes about through biological transformations, maturation and environmental learning, all of which serve to make an individual more adaptive in their own ecosystem (Oppedal, 2006; Sam & Oppedal, 2002). Thus, change is one issue common to both acculturation and development, and consequently, both acculturation and development serve the function of adaptation (Sam, Kosic, & Oppedal, 2003).

Due to the complex and interconnected nature of acculturation and development, rather than propose a developmental theory of acculturation, researchers (e.g., Fuligni, 1998; Oppedal, 2006; Sam, Kosic, & Oppedal, 2003) have identified specific developmental issues that should be taken into account when studying acculturating youth. One of the most important of these developmental issues is the consolidation of personal and cultural identity (Kagitçibasi, 2007; Kwak, 2003; Phinney, 1990; Sam & Berry, 2010).

Achieving a positive and coherent self-identity has long been viewed as a critical part of adolescent psychological development within developmental theory (Erikson, 1968). A positive sense of self is related to higher self-esteem, lower anxiety and better social and academic achievement (Adams, Gullota, & Montemajor, 1992). In contrast, a weak sense of self or an undeveloped personal identity can lead to a range of negative outcomes, including lower self-assurance, self-acceptance, self-certainty and a weaker sense of mastery (Adams, Gullota, & Montemajor, 1992; Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, & Orlofsky, 1993). Identity formation is a critical aspect of psychological functioning that encompasses the way people view themselves and their social groups (Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Weisskirch, 2008).

When an individual is undergoing acculturative changes, developing a coherent sense of self can become problematic (Phinney, 1992). This is because the individual must negotiate and consolidate the values and behaviours prescribed by their ethnic group with those prescribed by the host culture (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). This is especially challenging when the values and beliefs of the individual's ethnic culture differ significantly from those of the host society. Therefore, adolescence can be seen as a period in which the issues raised by immigration, specifically those concerning identity, are particularly salient (Phinney & Vedder, 2006). It is recognised that for young minorities maintaining multiple identities (e.g., ethnic, national and religious identities) can pose a variety of challenges and may subsequently create value conflicts (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Hedegaard, 2005; Stuart, 2008; Stuart & Ward, 2011). Recent research by Hedegaard (2005) concerning

non-Western families who have migrated to Western nations indicates that immigrant children grow up in contrasting cultures. At home, they are expected to maintain traditional values and beliefs, whereas at school they are expected to fit in with their peers. While some young people may experience these orientations as complementary, it is often the case that they result in conflicting demands, creating a pressure to balance competing allegiances and establish a distinct self-identity, as well as a congruent cultural identity (Stuart, 2008; Stuart & Ward, 2011; Ward, Stuart, & Kus, 2011).

Whether or not migrant adolescents experience their cultural orientations as conflicting or complementary is dependent on a variety of contextual influences. A number of recent studies show that young migrants are adapting remarkably well across a variety of settings, from academic performance to psychological adaptation (Fuligni, 1998; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Sam et al., 2006). This indicates that while conflict over one's identity is a possible outcome of the processes of acculturation and development for migrant adolescents, there are conditions that protect individuals from such experiences.

It is generally thought that migrant and ethnic minority youth face higher risks of maladaptation across a variety of domains, including higher levels of antisocial behaviour and psychological problems and lower levels academic and social adjustment. While acknowledging that migration and acculturation may be difficult and in some cases debilitating (Bashir, 1993), the underlying assumption that acculturation is an inherently stressful experience should be questioned (Sam, 2006). Recent research on children and adolescents with immigrant backgrounds suggests that these youth adapt as well, and in some cases even better, than their host counterparts (e.g., Fuligni, 1998; Phinney et al., 2001a; Sam et al., 2006; Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004). This is particularly relevant in research on the "Immigrant Paradox", referring to situations where migrants perform comparably well or better than their host national counterparts despite their social and economic disadvantages (Nguyen, 2006; Sam, Vedder, Liebkind, Neto, & Virta, 2008; Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009). For example, the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY: Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b) found that immigrant youth reported similar levels of both psychological (subjective wellbeing) and sociocultural (academic achievement) adaptation as their host national peers, although negotiating school and family life did prove to be more problematic for adolescent migrants.

Approaches that presume immigrant youth are prone to negative outcomes can fail to take into account the variables that may prove to be protective against maladaptation. In the

16

ICSEY study (Berry et al., 2006b), it was suggested that future research should integrate development and acculturation theories in order to build a comprehensive understanding of the risk and protective factors for adaptation in young migrants. One way of doing this is by employing a positive youth development approach.

Models of youth development that are deficit-focused construct young people as problems rather than resources for society, effectively undermining the ability for young people to exhibit strength and resilience. A positive youth development perspective, however, emphasizes the "manifest potentialities rather than the supposed incapacities of young people" (Damon, 2004, p.15). Positive youth development is both a field of research and an area of practice that are connected by a dedication to promote healthy development (Benson, Scales, Hamilton, & Sesma, 2006). This approach has many strengths, particularly when investigating young people from disadvantaged backgrounds and those considered to be "at risk", because it enables adversities and developmental challenges to be acknowledged, recognises that risk affects young people in various ways, and does not conceive of the developmental process as solely an effort to overcome deficits and risk (Sesma, Mannes, & Scales, 2005).

Benson and Pittman (2001) suggest that there are four main facets to research with a positive youth development focus, (1) it is comprehensive in its scope, linking ecological contexts in the enhancement of positive outcomes, (2) it primarily concerns promotion of positive adjustment, (3) it is developmental, emphasising the growth, maturation and agency of youth, and (4) it is symbiotic, drawing in multiple methods and disciplines. Furthermore, Damon (2004) argues that positive youth development is an approach that identifies values and spirituality as resources, meaning that the role of moral and religious beliefs in shaping children's identities, coping mechanisms and subsequent adaptation can seriously be considered in this framework. Therefore, it is suggested that a positive development approach is the most appropriate way of conceiving Muslim youth acculturation.

Contextual Influences on Immigrant Youth Acculturation

Contextual influences on identity development have been largely neglected in the research because of the difficulty in first determining how best to conceptualise context and then selecting the optimal means of studying its relationship to adaptation (García-Coll et al., 1996; Oppedal, 2006). Yet, it is widely established that human beings do not develop in isolation. Rather, development takes place across a variety of contexts where the individual is in constant interaction with others. Ecological theory, developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979,

1994) focuses on an individual's relationship with their social context and proposes that development occurs within a set of overlapping ecological systems. All of these systems operate together, creating a comprehensive set of environmental influences on the young person.

While Bronfenbrenner's model points to a variety of important aspects of development, very few empirical studies have been carried out that apply ecological theory to the experiences of minority adolescents. An exception to this is the work of Sam and Oppedal (2006; 2002) on acculturation development that appropriates the notion of developmental contextualism (Lerner, 2002). This theory integrates biological and social psychological theories in suggesting that there are dynamic, continuous and reciprocal interactions between the individual and the context in which they are embedded. According to Lerner (2002), at the proximal level the context includes the developing person and their family, on a more distal level the context includes the social environment and the physical setting. Therefore, an immigrant young person is embedded within the context of a family which is, in turn, embedded in a cultural/national context, and then again embedded in a global context, all of which influence the eventual outcomes for the individual (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006).

The current thesis attempts to utilise the basic elements of these ecological theories, and argues that the context a young person grows up in is incredibly important to their developmental outcomes. Therefore, youth must be studied not as isolated individuals, but as members of their family, ethnic group, religion and host national society. Only then can comprehensive understanding of the experiences of acculturation for Muslim migrant youth be developed.

Muslim Migrant Youth

The task of successfully negotiating the processes of acculturation and development is particularly complex for youth living in environments where their orientations (be they racial, ethnic, national, religious, or sexual) are the cause of social tensions (Sirin & Fine, 2007). Sirin and Fine (2007, p. 151) suggest that "When one's social identity is fiercely contested by the dominant discourse… one of the first places we can witness psychological, social and political fallout is in the lives of young people". Muslim migrant youth in Western contexts, who are growing up in the social conditions that gave rise to Islamophobia, exemplify the acculturative and developmental challenges faced by youth.

Despite the increased levels of public scrutiny of this population and obvious risks faced in their development and acculturation, very few empirically driven investigations have

18

focused on the psychological effects of growing up Muslim in a Western context (Balsano & Sirin, 2007). In a review of the literature, Balsano and Sirin (2007) found that there is a notable lack of research on this group and that of the studies that were published, a number of shortcomings were evident: many focused only on gender issues (with specific reference to veiling), the majority of articles focused on Arab Americans, relied on qualitative methods, and predominantly dealt with religious or political issues. These themes are similar to the results found in the media analysis by Richardson (2004 cited in Strabac & Listhaug, 2008) which was previously discussed. The fact that these similarities can be drawn alludes to a research agenda that is predominantly informed by public (potentially biased) discourse. This has resulted in a lack of systematic and generalisable psychological studies investigating the experiences (both positive and negative) of Muslim migrant youth in the West.

Because very little is known about Muslim youth (migrant or otherwise) living in the West, many questions about their developmental experience remain unanswered (Balsano & Sirin, 2007; Sirin & Fine, 2007). For example, what does it mean for Muslim young person when their social group is perceived as a threat to the wider society? How do the perceptions and representations of Islam impact upon a young person's sense of self? How do these young people negotiate the potentially conflicting elements of their social identities (religious, ethnic and host national), do they experience value conflicts and confusion? Furthermore, how does this negotiation process affect psychological and sociocultural adaptation to the host society of Muslim migrant youth?

Although these questions have not been systematically investigated, there is a widespread opinion that Muslim migrants are at risk of maladaptation due to their membership in a social group that is the subject of discrimination (Franz, 2007; Inglehart & Norris, 2009). It is well established that prejudice has a negative effects on the general well-being of young immigrants (Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Sam et al., 2006; Verkuyten, Thijs, & Canatan, 2001), and evidence suggests that Muslim migrant youth experience high levels of perceived discrimination (Sirin & Fine, 2007; Sirin & Fine, 2008). In fact, Zaal and colleagues (2007) argue that young Muslims find themselves in a community that is so negatively embedded within the political and cultural discourse that most do not even recognize they are being discriminated against. Some research has gone as far as to say young Muslims are at "the fault lines of global conflict… (and) carry international crises in their backpacks and in their souls" (Sirin & Fine, 2007, p. 151).

In the face of discrimination, the Muslim community can become a source of strength and support, allowing young people to manage the negative elements of cultural transition more effectively (Sirin & Katsiaficas, 2010). However, maintaining religious identity in a context where there is a prejudice against one's group can be very difficult. Smith (2002) suggests that Muslims are often are considered to be foreigners if they maintain their religiosity, potentially meaning that integration could be "at the price of … becoming less Muslim" (Smith, 2002, p. 14). This is concerning considering the important resources provided by a Muslim social identity and the degree to which Muslim migrants currently identify with their religious community. Research conducted by Anwar (1998) with Asian migrants in the United Kingdom found that three-quarters of young Muslims thought religion was very important for the way they lived their life, and for Muslims, (unlike other religious groups in their study) the second-generation maintained the value of and centrality of their religious identity. Furthermore, Zine (2001, p. 401) found that for youth in Canada, religious identity often functions as an "anchor" that provides certainty during the experience of moving to a new society and enables young people to preserve their self-concept in the face of adversity.

Although there seem to be inherent risks for Muslim youth in Western contexts, international research has found that Muslim migrants do not necessarily experience higher levels of maladjustment in comparison to other religious and non-religious groups. The ICSEY project found that Muslim youth have high levels of both psychological and sociocultural adaptation overall (Sam et al., 2006). Research with Muslim migrant youth in Norway found that these young people have less mental health problems than other non-Western migrant groups and are not at risk of increased psychiatric problems compared to their host country counterparts (Oppedal & Røysamb, 2007). Furthermore, recent research with Muslim youth in New Zealand found that Muslim youth report greater life satisfaction, fewer behaviour problems and fewer symptoms of psychological distress than both Maori and Pākehā (New Zealand European) youth (Stuart, Ward, & Adam, 2010; Ward, Liu, Fairbairn-dunlop, & Henderson, 2010b).

It may be the case that Muslim youth's religious identification is not progressively weakened or diluted as a result of the fact that they are living in a Western context, but rather that this identification takes on new meanings and functions (Beckford et al., 2006; Robinson, 2009). Sociological researchers have noted that young Muslims are increasingly defining their identities in terms of their religion, as opposed to their ethnic or national identities

(Kundnani, 2002; Robinson, 2009). Kong (2010) proposes that such religious identities can be a strong and positive tool for young people to subvert negative (discriminatory) discourses, and Archer (2001) argues further that religious identity helps young Muslims to reject cultural loss, while unifying individuals as members of the Ummah.

Summary

Muslim young people experience a variety of risks during acculturation, especially in regard to prejudice and discrimination. Yet they also manage (in some cases) to achieve positive adaptation. It is suggested that previous ways of conceptualising the acculturation process for this group (as inherently risky and leading to poor adaptation), do not fully capture the reasons why these young people successfully manage the acculturation process. Successful outcomes may not be paradoxical or counterintuitive, they may indicate that these young people develop resilience, or are able to protect themselves against the potential risks faced in cultural transition. Therefore, while it is important to investigate the risks of acculturation, it is also imperative that the psychological resources within migrant communities are examined, particularly in communities that are considered "at risk".

Identity development is a process that is defined by an individual's personality, cultural heritage, religion, social, economic, and political context. For Muslim youth in the West, identity is "moulded by their multi-cultural identities and affiliations, their possible dual citizenships, and the extent they feel discriminated against and socially marginalized" (Balsano & Sirin, 2007, p. 179). There is now a need to focus on examining the extent Muslim migrant youth's religious beliefs and practices, their various family and community resources, as well as their host national environment might serve as assets for positive development. Following this proposition, it is suggested that a positive youth development approach should be taken when examining adaptation outcomes for Muslim youth, focusing not only on the risks, but also on the strengths that enable individuals and communities to thrive during acculturation. Such an approach requires investigation of the ways Muslim youth foster resilience and overcome hardship and adversity in order to adapt successfully to Western environments.

Aims and Outline

This thesis follows the contention of Balsano and Sirin's (2007) that there is an urgent need to examine Muslim youths' developmental process and adaptation outcomes in a comprehensive and rigorous way while taking the ecological context into account.

Specifically, the research focuses on Muslim migrant youth in Western contexts, the objective of which is to obtain systematic data on the experiences of these young people as they attempt to balance the demands of their ethnic, national and religious orientations in a turbulent social and political environment.

It is suggested that positive outcomes for migrant youth may point to increased resilience and greater flexibility in coping with cultural transition (Stuart et al., 2010). However, there has been a propensity for research to focus on the negative rather than the positive outcomes for minority groups. In order to address this gap in research, this thesis will take a positive psychological approach to investigating the acculturation and development processes of Muslim migrant youth. Because Muslim young people are part of an often misunderstood and misrepresented community in the Western world, developing an in depth understanding of the pathways that lead to positive outcomes in this context is imperative.

This thesis is novel as previous research on Muslim migrant youth acculturation has been disparate and disconnected, including some important elements but failing to integrate the threads of religiosity and development into theories of acculturation. Additionally, previous research has tended to be devoid of context, therefore, this thesis focuses on situating Muslim migrant youth in their developmental ecology, taking into account experiences within the family, the religious community, as well as the ethnic and host national groups.

The current thesis consists of four studies reported in Chapters 2 to 5, closing with a general discussion and conclusion in Chapter 6. In Chapter 2, study one, "A Qualitative Investigation of Muslim Migrant Youth in New Zealand", is an exploratory, qualitative investigation of the experiences of acculturation for Muslim youth in the New Zealand environment. This study takes a positive psychological approach in examining the personal reflections on success and achievement as well as the process of managing multiple expectations (from family and community) and social groups (religious, ethnic and host national). Within this paradigm, the risk, resources and adaptation outcomes of the Muslim migrant youth in New Zealand are identified and discussed.

Subsequently, Chapter 3 discusses the findings of the qualitative research in the context of youth development literature and attempts to integrate theories of resilience into the acculturation experience of Muslim youth in order to build a testable model that describes the "pathway" to positive development for these young people. This chapter, entitled "The Relationships between Resources, Stressors and Adaptation", attempts to test the conceptual

framework developed from the qualitative results of study one in a quantitative fashion. This study provides a detailed investigation of the relationships between resources, stressors and adaptation for Muslim migrant youth in New Zealand.

Chapter 4, entitled "Comparisons of Muslim Youth in New Zealand and the United Kingdom" takes a comparative approach to examine the generalisability of the conceptual framework of positive development for Muslim migrant youth living in the United Kingdom. This study focuses on the similarities and differences in levels of resources, stress and adaptation outcomes for Muslim youth across cultural contexts. The research attempts to develop an understanding of the elements of youth adaptation that are due to the socio-political context (and therefore, differ in New Zealand and the United Kingdom), and those elements that are the same in both cultural contexts (and therefore are potentially common to all Muslim migrant youth).

Chapter 5, entitled "The Influence of the Host National Context on Muslim Migrant Youth" presents a multilevel study with Muslim migrant youth in nine Western receiving societies. This study seeks to investigate whether variation between cultural contexts in youth outcomes can be accounted for by the levels of diversity in the population, size of the Muslim community, the cultural values of the receiving society and the attitudes of host nationals towards immigrants. This chapter attempts to test the effects of country level characteristics on the individual level outcomes. This study provides a detailed investigation of the predictive effects of the macro environment on perceived discrimination and adaptation outcomes for Muslim migrant youth.

Finally, the last Chapter summarizes, discusses and integrates the major findings from studies one to four. The chapter deals with the limitations of the current research and makes recommendations for future investigations. The thesis closes with concluding remarks concerning the application of the findings to individuals, communities and receiving societies.

Chapter 2 Qualitative Investigation of Muslim Migrant Youth in New Zealand

To fully understand the complexities of Muslim migrant youth acculturation, it is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of their lived experiences as minorities in Western environments. In the previous chapter it was established that Muslim youth growing up in Western contexts face a complex set of issues as a result of meeting the various, and often incongruent, expectations placed upon them by their family, religion, ethnic community and host national society (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Hedegaard, 2005; Stuart & Ward, in press). Additionally, it was suggested that Muslim migrant youth are often thought of as a group at high risk for maladaptation, as they potentially experience negative aspects of acculturation, such as discrimination and social isolation, more so than host nationals or other immigrant youth (Sirin & Fine, 2008; Zaal, Salah, & Fine, 2007).

Recent national and international research indicates that many Muslim migrant young people are successfully negotiating their experiences of cultural transition, and may have similar psychological outcomes to their host national peers and better outcomes than other immigrant groups (Sam et al., 2006; Ward & Stuart, 2009). Therefore, even though there are a variety of risks for this group of young people, they do not necessarily have poor adaptation. However, questions with regards to how they handle the possible risks (e.g., discrimination) in their environments and whether they adapt successfully to their host society remain unanswered. Specifically, little is known about how Muslim migrant youth go about managing the concurrent processes of acculturation and development and how this in turn influences long term adaptation.

The following chapter will focus on a qualitative investigation of the lives of young Muslim migrants living in New Zealand. This study will utilise an exploratory methodology in order to examine the following questions: (1) What are the indicators and determinants of participation and success for Muslim youth? (2) How are multiple identities negotiated within the New Zealand environment? (3) What are the important elements in a young person's ecological context that influence adaptation? A qualitative research design was considered ideal for investigation of these questions as it allows further studies to be informed by the lived experiences of   the participants. This chapter will begin by examining the New Zealand environment in order to situate the study into a broad socio-political framework.

The New Zealand Context

New Zealand is a bicultural nation formed through the relationships between the indigenous Māori and ancestors of the British colonizers, commonly referred to as Pākehā. New Zealand is historically a society of settlement that has had waves of immigration over many centuries from Polynesia, Europe, and Asia. However, it was not until the changes to New Zealand immigration policy in the mid 1980s that significant numbers of immigrants from diverse origins began to arrive in the country (Ward & Lin, 2005). Today, approximately one out of every four of New Zealand's 4.3 million residents is foreign-born. Ethnic, cultural, and religious heterogeneity have been growing exponentially during the previous three decades and will continue to do so, as between 40 to 50 thousand new immigrants from approximately 150 countries enter the country each year. Ongoing migration flows coupled with existing, established diversity mean that New Zealand has a unique intercultural environment (MSD, 2008).

As a settler society, the level of ethnic and cultural diversity within the New Zealand population now surpasses that found in Australia, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, The Netherlands and Scandinavia (Berry et al., 2006b). Immigrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland represent a significant proportion of this group (29%), although Asia (29%) and the Pacific (15%) are now prominent source regions for new immigrants. Settlers from Africa (7%) and the Middle East (2%) make smaller contributions to New Zealand's growing diversity, but their numbers are rapidly rising (MSD, 2008).

New settlers to New Zealand have traditionally been religiously diverse, but only recently have the numbers of non-Christian faith communities begun to grow considerably, mainly as a result of increased migration from Asia, Africa and the Middle East (HRC, 2007). New Zealanders' religious affiliations are historically Christian, with increasing trends towards secularisation. Christian identification decreased from 70% of the population in 1991 to 56% of the population in 2006, and the percentage of New Zealanders with no religion increased by 15% between 1991 and 2006. In contrast, the number of individuals who identified with non-Christian religions almost tripled during the same time frame, from 2% to 5.5% (MSD, 2008). This increase in non-Christian adherents was predominantly due to the tripling of the Hindu population, the quadrupling Buddhist population and the six-fold increase in the Muslim population (MSD, 2008).

While Muslims are a numerically small group numbering approximately 36 000[1] individuals and representing only 1% of the overall New Zealand population, they are the most rapidly growing religious group in New Zealand. Muslim migrants come from diverse ethnic backgrounds and national origins. The majority (77%) of New Zealand Muslims are overseas-born with the largest proportions identifying ethnically as Indian (29%) and as members of Middle Eastern groups (21%) such as Arabian, Iranian and Iraqi. The Muslim population is also very youthful, with 61% under the age of 15 in comparison to the wider society, where only 25% of the population is under the age of 15. In New Zealand, Muslim peoples represent a relatively new immigrant minority group, meaning that this group is potentially in a precarious position in terms of cultural exclusion and isolation. They also face unique challenges with regards to intra-community diversity and attending to the distinct needs of youth, particularly concerning religious and cultural transmission.

New Zealand is a multicultural society which values diversity both symbolically (through social discourse) and literally (via inclusive policy frameworks). Although multiculturalism is not articulated in law, it is inherent in the cultural values of integration and is reflected in various official institutions such as the Office of Ethnic Affairs (OEA), the Human Rights Commission (HRC), and government-sponsored interfaith activities and political frameworks which assure religious freedom and a degree of acceptance of cultural diversity (Kolig & Kabir, 2008; Peace, Spoonley, Butcher, & O'Neill, 2005). This is exemplified by the fact that the National Immigration Settlement Strategy (NZIS, 2003) focuses on the importance of migrants and refugees participating in New Zealand's economic, social and cultural life, while still feeling able to articulate their ethnic identity.

In a recent national study investigating the attitudes towards immigrants held by New Zealanders, it was found that New Zealanders generally do endorse a multicultural ideology and exhibit positive attitudes towards immigrants, especially in comparison with attitudes held by citizens of the European Union (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). However, in the same study it was shown that some immigrants were perceived more favourably than others. Individuals from Great Britain were perceived more positively than those from South Africa, who in turn, were seen more positively than those from China, India and Samoa. All of these were viewed more favourably than those from Somalia.

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[1] Although unofficial estimates by the Federation of Islamic Association of New Zealand (FIANZ) suggest that the actual figure is perhaps as high as 40 – 45,000 (Kolig & Kabir, 2008).

In a follow up survey assessing New Zealanders attitudes towards Muslim migrants, it was found that settlers from all the major migrant groups (United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Korea, Philippines, India, China, South Africa, Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji) are viewed more positively than those from predominantly Muslim countries (Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Somalia) (Ward & Stuart, 2009). In the same study it was demonstrated that approximately half of the respondents agreed that Muslims have customs that are not acceptable in New Zealand, that Muslim immigrants increase the risk of terrorism, and that Muslim values are not compatible with New Zealand values. Nevertheless, over one third agree that Muslims have made an important contribution to New Zealand, and over a half agree that there should be prayer rooms for Muslims at universities and workplaces. These findings are similar to the results of the 2007 New Zealand Herald poll that concluded New Zealanders are fairly divided in their opinions of whether Muslims are a part of 'mainstream society' (41% agree), and in considering it appropriate for Muslim women to wear the burqa (47% agree) (O'Rourke, 2007). Overall, these results point to sense of ambivalence held by the wider society towards the Muslim community.

Social Cohesion and Discrimination towards Muslims in New Zealand

To date, New Zealand has fared relatively well in maintaining racial and religious harmony in the face of rapid social change. However, it was recently suggested by the Ministry of Social Development's report on immigration and social cohesion (2008) that there are both risks and benefits to our increasing ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. It was argued that we must act to strengthen the relations within and between our diverse communities in order to maintain the core elements of social cohesion: belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy. Risks associated with diversity, such as discrimination, isolation and exclusion must be addressed in order to foster such cohesion. Therefore, it is suggested that at-risk groups, such as Muslim migrants, should be targeted for investigation.

At all stages of acculturation, migrants and refugees may experience negative attitudes or discrimination. This is particularly true for groups who are visibly different or culturally distant to the wider society. Indeed, there is evidence that Muslims face prejudice and discrimination in the New Zealand environment, particularly Muslim women who dress differently from non-Muslims and are, therefore, more visible (Bihi, 1999; Chile, 2002; Jasperse, 2009). Furthermore, Butcher, Spoonley and Trilin (2006) found that Muslims in New Zealand perceived that discrimination against their community had increased after the

28

2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S., and this negatively impacted on their ability to find meaningful employment. Although New Zealand society is generally tolerant and is an increasingly pluralist and multicultural society (Ward & Masgoret, 2008), Muslims do suffer some degree of discrimination.

Kolig and Shepard (2006) suggest that when attitudes and behaviours are rooted in religion, they are fundamentally more difficult for migrants to change or compromise. Particular elements of Muslim religious practice such as dress, food habits or time and space for prayer may be difficult to enact in New Zealand society. For the Muslim community, these practices illustrate a way of life and not just a belief system, meaning that they less likely to make modifications to practices, which in turn increases the likelihood of integration problems (Kolig, 2006b).

Increasing religious diversity is a significant feature of public life. As a nation New Zealand acknowledges that communities have a positive role to play in our society and we must recognise the rights to religion, the responsibilities of religious communities and the responsibilities of the wider society to encourage freedom of expression and tolerate variations in beliefs and behaviours (HRC, 2010). Yet as a society, currently very little is being done in order to achieve these goals for the Muslim community. It is evident that in New Zealand there is what Kolig and Kabir (2008, p. 274) label a "diffuse practical sense of ethnic and cultural tolerance", meaning that while levels of prejudice are reasonably low and endorsement of integration is generally high, few voices are heard that promote a positive view of Muslim immigration. Kolig and Kabir (2008, p. 280) put this succinctly in the following quote;

> *The enthusiasm to welcome cultural diversity and embrace a fruitful dialogue of cultures and to see skilled Muslim migrants as assets rather than threats or a drain on social welfare is non-existent. The prevailing, if undeclared, view still seems to be that immigration has to be closely monitored to maintain a certain cultural and ethnic proportion and preserve the traditional national identity.*

An exception to this is New Zealand's involvement in the Alliance of Civilisations (AOC) project spearheaded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This initiative addresses issues related to increasing religious diversity and reducing tension between the Muslim and Western worlds (AOC, 2006). The Alliance focuses on "building bridges between societies, promoting dialogue and understanding and forging collective political will to address the world's imbalances, tensions and sources of conflict"(AOC, 2007, p. 7). It aims to remedy the increasing polarisation

between societies, particularly between the Islamic and Western worlds, and identifies practical recommendations for action to build tolerance and understanding between communities. Four areas of focus have been acknowledged, these are: education, youth, media and migration. The New Zealand AOC plan of action (AOC, 2007) suggested that for New Zealand to remain a cohesive society, it must continue to build mutual trust and respect among individuals from different ethnic backgrounds and work to avoid the emergence of intolerance.

The following research follows from the call for action at a national and international scale regarding the relationship between Islam and the Western world and utilises the priority area of youth as set out by the Alliance of Civilisations (AOC, 2006). Specifically, the research focuses on the experiences of Muslim young people as minorities in New Zealand. The aim of this study is to conduct an in-depth exploration of the experience of Muslim youth in New Zealand in order contribute to the literature on youth development and identity negotiation in multicultural contexts.

Method

Research Design

The scarcity of previous research investigating the acculturation and development of Muslim youth in Western contexts indicates that an initial inquiry should be qualitative and exploratory in nature, utilizing the strengths of this methodology to draw out relevant themes and concepts where no systematic theory has been previously identified (Patton, 2002). Certainly, there has been inquiry into the complexities of youth development in an acculturation framework, as well as examinations of the importance of religion for immigrants (see previous chapter). Yet, how young Muslims achieve and understand success within their intercultural environment remains unknown.

Qualitative inquiry is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is desired that can provide rich, descriptive and contextual data (Patton, 2002). In this study, qualitative methods are utilized in order to gain an "insider's" perspective into the factors that influence successful adjustment for Muslim youth in New Zealand, and to examine these within the context of each individual's unique experience of cultural transition. While qualitative research should ideally be conducted in a manner that maximizes the opportunity for themes to emerge from the data rather than be imposed from the researcher's perspective, an absence of limits can yield an overwhelming set of themes (Bringer, Johnston, & Brackenridge, 2004; Cho, 2006; Patton, 2002). In order constrain the data collected, a semi-

structured interview guide was developed from the information derived in the literature review concerning experiences of being a young Muslim in New Zealand, ways of perceiving the self, and barriers and resources to success in the New Zealand environment (Appendix A3). Open-ended questions were constructed to elicit responses in conversational style and to minimize leading questions, thus assuring consistency in the interviews while allowing for flexibility and divergence (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). Additionally, the study was positioned as examining "Identity and Well-being for Muslim Youth", and participants were invited to take the "opportunity to have your voice heard and to discuss what it means to be a young Muslim in New Zealand today". The invitations were worded in such a way to attract young people who were open to discussing their experiences of adaptation with the researcher.

To ensure the appropriateness of the interview schedule, two Muslim young people who have experience in social psychology were asked to review the guidelines. Upon recommendation, the interview schedule was modified to include questions concerning current well-being and future orientation of the participants (see section 5 Appendix A1).

The positioning of the researcher

For qualitative inquiry, it is particularly important to consider the active role of the researcher in the construction of the research. In fact, according to Greenfield (2000) it is impossible to be truly observer-independent, meaning that the researcher is never removed from the research findings. The author (who was also the only interviewer) is a non-Muslim, female member of the host society, and is therefore an "outsider" on a variety of levels. This positioning can often have a number of spill-over effects, including whether one is seen as a worthy recipient of information, and for the way findings are presented and reproduced. However, outsiders can also be seen as legitimate connections to the host national community, and may actually be viewed as presenting more objective interpretations of the data than a community insider (Bridges, 2001; Stuart & Ward, 2011).

Researchers are often not embedded in the community of the individuals involved in their research and therefore have to be aware of their subjectivities in qualitative analysis. Even though some of the issues related to the author's positioning in this research were diminished by consulting with community "insiders", the fact that the author is both female and New Zealand born, means that a complexity of positioning issues arise when considering the community in question. For the author, it seemed that her status as a non-Muslim, New Zealand born female who was interested in understanding and learning about Islam,

engendered respect from the participants, who (for the most part) treated her as a student wanting and willing to learn about their lives, culture and religion.

Participants

Ethical approval for this study was granted by Victoria University of Wellington's psychological ethics committee. Participants were initially recruited through advertisements distributed through student support services, the Muslim students club and the Muslim prayer room at Victoria University of Wellington. Additional participants were sourced through snowballing and word of mouth. Individuals who met the following criteria were invited to participate in the study: (1) minimum age of 16 years, (2) self-identified as a Muslim immigrant young person, and (3) willingness to discuss their experiences as a young Muslim person either in an interview or focus group. Participants were sought from a variety of different backgrounds and ages in order to capture a diversity of experiences.

Patton (2002) suggests that the sample size in qualitative research depends on what one wants to know and how the findings will be used. In the current study, sampling decisions were based on the ability of the data to contribute to the emerging conceptual framework (Floersch, Longhofer, Kranke, & Townsend, 2010). In the present study, this meant that recruitment was cumulative, with no predetermined sample size. The decision to discontinue recruiting participants was based on the principle of theoretical saturation, meaning that subsequent data were no longer yielding novel information (Patton, 2002). This resulted in a total of 25 participants taking part in the study, 18 through face to face interviews and 7 through two focus groups of 3 and 4 participants each.

All interviews and focus groups were undertaken by the principal investigator and ranged from between half an hour and close to two hours in length, with over 20 hours of tape recorded information in total. The interview sample consisted of 7 males and 11 females, who came from the Middle East (8) South East Asia (5) South Asia (4) and Africa (1). The focus group sample consisted solely of females who came from South East Asia (7). Three of the Middle Eastern participants and the African participant came from refugee backgrounds. With the exception of the focus groups, participants had permanently migrated or had initially come as students and expressed intentions of settling in New Zealand. Participants were aged between 19 and 27 and their lengths of time in New Zealand ranged from 18 years to less than 1 year. See Table 2.1 for participant details.

Table 2.1 *Characteristics of participants*

Interview / Focus Group Code	Gender	Age	Ethnic Background	Refugee	Years in NZ
F1	Female	27	India		4
F2	Female	25	Indonesia		1
F3	Female	25	Iraq	Yes	7
F4	Female	20	Iraq	Yes	10
F5	Female	23	Malaysia		4
F6	Female	22	Oman		4
F7	Female	24	Pakistan		12
F8	Female	25	Pakistan		2
F9	Female	24	Saudi Arabia		1
F10	Female	25	Saudi Arabia		.5
F11	Female	20	Somalia	Yes	12
M1	Male	22	Indian		9
M2	Male	19	Iraq	Yes	17
M3	Male	21	Iraq		10
M4	Male	20	Malaysia		3
M5	Male	20	Malaysia		1.5
M6	Male	21	Maldives		3
M7	Male	24	Saudi Arabia		2
FG1	Female	21	Malaysian		1
FG2	Female	21	Malaysian		1
FG3	Female	21	Malaysian		1
FG4	Female	21	Malaysian		1
FG5	Female	21	Malaysian		2
FG6	Female	22	Malaysian		2
FG7	Female	22	Malaysian		2

Codes for participants are as follows; F = female, M= male and FG = focus group

Data Analysis

Thematic Analysis was used to analyse the data due to the flexible nature of this technique, which suited the high complexity of the information and the lack of a priori theories or conceptual models available to guide coding of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic Analysis is a technique which focuses on analysing information by finding recurring patterns in the data, making inductions based on knowledge of the subject area, condensing information into emergent topics and subsequently describing these as key themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). This analytic technique was utilised in order to (1) thematically organise key themes in the data, and (2) develop a conceptual framework of Muslim youth development in New Zealand.

Procedure

The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were entered into version 8 of QSR NVivo in order to organize and categorize data. In the first stage of analysis, each transcript was read and re-read to obtain a sense of the whole corpus and the unique qualities of each interview, with initial ideas noted in the process (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Cresswell, 2008). This allowed an early stage of data reduction to begin, where preliminary codes were identified, and the data was resorted and collated according to these codes (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Ryan & Bernard, 2000).

The second stage of the analysis involved generating codes and categories. Coding is a procedure that disaggregates the data by reducing and simplifying it into manageable segments and then identifying or naming these segments (Cresswell, 2008). Words, sentences, or entire paragraphs were coded depending on the meaning derived from the data. An iterative coding process was employed where codes were developed and revised throughout the study, meaning that several reviews of each transcript were conducted to make sure coding was complete and accurate (Patton, 2002). The previously coded data were then categorized into meaningful themes by sorting units into provisional categories on the basis of similar characteristics (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Ryan & Bernard, 2000). This process involves interpretations of what is conceptually related and meaningful in the data (Patton, 2002). The third phase involved the generation of themes or higher level conceptual categories which were used to group codes.

The fourth and final phase was concerned with data interpretation. Cresswell (2008) suggests that during the interpretation stage of data analysis, the researcher must transform the coded data in order to make it meaningful by looking into themes, patterns, regularities and irregularities in the data. This was achieved by organising the data into a framework that could be used to understand the process of Muslim youth adaptation in New Zealand society. In this stage of analysis, existing ideas and knowledge from the acculturation and development literature were drawn upon in order to inform interpretation of the final themes.

A validity assessment of the final dataset was produced by: (1) double-checking to assure that codes were consistently applied across all interviews, (2) double- checking to assure codes were appropriately grouped under the thematic categories, and (3) double-checking to assure that themes were appropriately grouped. Additionally, two community forums were conducted to allow for input on the representativeness of the results for Muslim

young people. The information derived from the forums was utilised in the interpretation of the codes and the development of the framework.

Analysis

In this section, the qualitative data results are presented and discussed simultaneously. Not surprisingly, given the broad range of ethnic backgrounds and time spent in New Zealand, the topics of the resulting data were diverse, from specific aspects of acculturation for Muslim youth to elements that are common to many immigrant or ethnic minorities. Additionally, thematic elements tended to overlap, with statements sometimes falling into more than one category, and with particular themes having implications on multiple levels.

The second to last step of the data analysis (categorization, but without in depth theoretical interpretation) was the emergence of 5 themes, 14 primary sub-themes, and 38 secondary sub-themes, see Table 2.2 for detailed list.

Table 2.2 *Initial themes of the qualitative data*

Theme	Primary sub -theme	Secondary sub-theme
Context / Setting		
	Characteristics of setting	Environment
		Infrastructure
		Lifestyle / way of life
		People
	Values	Acceptance of diversity
		Freedom of religion
		Multiculturalism
Discrimination		
	Misconceptions	Terrorism
		Gender oppression
		Polygamy
		Media
	Effects of discrimination	Mistrust
		Stress
		Undermining beliefs
Migration		
	Communication	Language difficulties
		Power of talk
		Questions people ask
	Integration	Acceptance of difference
		Compatibility of identities/values
	Stressors	Barriers to mixing
		Being a minority
		Changing behaviours
		Difficulties socializing

		Exclusion
		Identity confusion
Networks		
	Community	Positive
		Negative
	Family	Cohesion
		Responsibilities
	Peers	
Religion		
	Doctrine	Faith
		Interpreting Islam
		Principles / values
	Functions	Future orientation
		Identity
		Protection
		Relational
	Practice	Alcohol
		Gender interactions
		Prayer

Ultimately, the data were reduced again in the last phase of analysis. This phase involved an in-depth interpretive analysis concerning how the themes (developed in phase three) could be applied to a conceptual framework illustrating the ways Muslim youth achieve success in the New Zealand environment. The major aim of this component of the analysis was to discover the barriers and opportunities Muslim young people face as ethnic and religious minorities and to examine how positive adjustment is obtained under these conditions. This meant that the categories which emerged from the data in phase three (see Table 2.2) were collapsed by searching for convergence and divergence and examining for possible relationships between the themes (Patton, 2002). It was found that young Muslims in New Zealand face a variety of threats to their development, yet their pathways to adjustment were rooted within a supportive context that both promoted positive outcomes and diminished risks. The final themes are discussed below and are illustrated in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 *Final themes and sub-themes*

Theme	Primary sub -theme	Secondary Sub-theme
Resources in Acculturation		
	Family	Cohesion
		Responsibilities
	Intercultural Environment	New Zealand context
		Diversity and multiculturalism
		New Zealand Muslim community
	Religion	Function
		Practice
Risks in Acculturation		
	Cultural Differences	
	Discrimination	
Outcomes of Acculturation		
	Adaptation	

Results and Discussion

The results of this study show that the experience of cultural transition is central to how Muslim young people in New Zealand understand and express themselves. Being embedded in the process of acculturation presents a number of risks to adolescent development, but also illuminates resources within the environment that can be drawn upon to buffer these risks and achieve successful adjustment. The findings suggest that for young Muslim people in New Zealand, the acculturation process can be seen to involve three major themes, (1) resources in acculturation, (2) risks in acculturation, and (3) outcomes of acculturation. These three themes are not mutually exclusive, meaning that some of the issues overlap with one another. Furthermore, it must be noted that many of issues which are mentioned throughout this section are not necessarily unique to Muslim youth, as some topics may be similar for other immigrant young people.

The first theme, resources in acculturation, consists of three major types of resources that can help young people manage the acculturation process, (1) family, in terms of social support and perceived responsibilities, (2) the intercultural environment, including specific elements of the New Zealand context (people, physical environment etc.), societal values (multiculturalism and diversity), and the New Zealand community of Muslims, and (3) religion, especially with regards to ideological and social functions of religion as well as the importance of religious practice. For the second theme, risks in acculturation, it was found

that there are two major sources of risk or stress young Muslims face, (1) cultural differences, especially the stress of being a minority and barriers to integration, and (2) discrimination, particularly with regards to misconceptions about Islam and living as a religious minority. How the individual engages with the resources and risk factors embedded in the acculturation process leads to the final theme, the outcomes of acculturation. This is broadly understood under the rubric of adaptation, concerning feeling happy, comfortable and functional in the New Zealand environment. The following section will describe each of these elements of the acculturation process for Muslim youth.

Resources in Acculturation

The concept of resources refers to factors which are external to the individual that may potentially help youth overcome risk. While the resources outlined in this section are available to all of the young people who participated in the study to various degrees, they were not all utilised in the same way. Therefore, the themes presented in this section should be viewed as elements of the environment which have the potential to buffer risks.

The Family

The results of this research indicate that families are an important resource that Muslim immigrant youth draw upon in order to assist their successful adaptation. Broadly, it was found that families engender a sense of belonging and cohesion as well as providing a set of obligations or responsibilities that may motivate the young person to do well in the new environment.

Family Cohesion

For the majority of youth in the study, pathways to migration were directly associated with their family members. Most participants had either migrated with members of their nuclear family, had transitioned from status as an international student with intentions of eventually bring family members to live in New Zealand or had migrated to New Zealand with their partners and children. For these young people, leaving family behind in their home country was an important and difficult part of cultural transition. The quote from the following participant, who had started a family of her own in New Zealand, indicates that the reason it is so difficult to leave family behind is rooted in cultural values:

> *(It has been the most difficult thing) leaving family behind. Our parents, my parents, my husbands' parents, our brothers and sisters…because my people are quite emotional and very family-oriented. Very close knit together. [F1]*

The difficulty of leaving a "family oriented" culture is best understood when taking into account comparisons participants made between their heritage culture and the wider New Zealand society. The following participant succinctly illustrates this comparison and underscores how this relates to the values of independence and interdependence.

> *I do still prefer the family oriented lifestyle as opposed to the independence. I think in the long run…it's a cultural difference I guess, but I just find it more stable. I'm not saying Kiwi culture is not, I just think that most people are independent here, too independent… well that's my view. [M1]*

Previous research has found that minority families in Western societies often hold collectivistic orientations such as endorsement of interdependence, family cohesion, obedience and conformity to social norms. In contrast, majority families tend to hold individualistic orientations, particularly with regards to independence and autonomy (Kagitçibasi, 2003; Suizzo, 2007). These values are often retained across generations, with the emphasis on family –orientation sometimes becoming a defining feature of the group's identity and distinctiveness in a multicultural environment (Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006). For individuals who grow-up in family-oriented cultures, being interdependent can be an important part of one's self concept. Residing in a social environment where relationships are seen as less important than one's individual goals can be challenging, especially with regards to maintaining a sense of connectedness. The following quote illustrates how interdependent values can be preserved through family interaction:

> *Sometimes (being away from my home country) feels like I am losing the connected part of me. But I can keep this alive just by being with my family here. [F5]*

While it is well established that families are the most important context where culture is transmitted to young people, the current results indicate that during acculturation the family also offers ongoing support and reiteration of cultural values in everyday life. The following quote suggests that this is also true for religious values and beliefs:

> *So sitting together as a family re-establishes that connectedness and of course your identity as a Muslim. [F8]*

Family support was seen as the driving force behind achieving a coherent sense of self (both in terms of ethnicity and religiosity), and in turn, successfully adjusting to New Zealand society.

> *(Family) is important for understanding who you are, your identity... so these two things, family support and knowledge are the most important to be a successful Muslim here. Knowledge you can always work on, family support is not so easy to work. [F1]*

39

While many participants referred to the influences of family on their acculturation experiences, some also specifically discussed the position of their parents. Dinh and Nguyen (2006) suggest that for immigrant families, the parent-child relationship is the most negatively affected by the stress associated with the acculturation. However, the results indicate that following cultural transition, the participants generally became more appreciative of the role their parents took in their socialization and enculturation. Being in a situation that challenges or threatens one's values can make it salient how important those values are, and where they originate from. When asked what was the most important thing that assisted successful adjustment, the following participant answered:

> *Definitely my parents. My parents taught me to be open enough to handle all of this. [M4]*

This young man indicates that the integral resource supplied by parents was not current support, but rather was embedded in the way they had socialised him (to be open and accepting) as an individual. The following quote also suggests that parents' previous experience with other cultures engenders the ability for their immigrant children to better adapt to environments where they are minorities:

> *Since I was young, both of my parents were educated, they spoke English, and they have been abroad to England and the States. This allowed me to be aware and open to other cultures. [F6]*

Not only were parents a source of socialisation towards openness and awareness of cultural diversity, they were also the predominant source of religious teachings.

> *I should be grateful that my parents raised me the way that I should be. They taught me the basics of Islam when I was still young. I'm not saying that I'm very pious, but at least … I know what I should do and what I shouldn't do. This really helps me here, because I understand what is important and what to compromise on. [M6]*

This young man was grateful to his parents because they fostered a solid foundation in religion that enabled him to better understand his own strategy towards integration. Because he knew what was important to keep and what was possible to "compromise" on, he was able to better navigate the often contradictory demands of his religion and from the New Zealand society.

Family Obligations

As previously mentioned, non-European immigrant families in Western societies often hold collectivistic orientations and as such emphasize interdependence, obedience and conformity. These values mean that all family members tend to feel a sense of duty to assist

one another and to take into account the needs and wishes of the family when making decisions (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). In the current study it was found that family obligations were an important part of the acculturation experience for Muslim youth. Perceived responsibilities to the family were illustrated by the focus of many of the participants on the need to do well for the sake of the family, to make others proud of their achievements, and to represent themselves well in their new environment.

> *I have a lot of responsibility to my home, to my family, to my daughter. I have to study hard and work hard for my daughter, I told her, "I do all this for you." And for my country, I want my country to be proud. [F9]*

For the participants in this study, obligations to the family encouraged behaviour that was in line with cultural and religious expectations. Often youth were faced with the choice of whether to remain faithful and embedded within their religion and culture, or to "let go" and assimilate to ways of behaving in New Zealand society.

> *I'm the oldest and I have to set an example for my sisters, which I find really hard, extremely hard. Sometimes I just want to let it go, but I'm like nah, you have to do this for your family. [F11]*

The quote above suggests that even though adaptation to the New Zealand environment is difficult at times, responsibilities to family (rather than to the self) tended to be regarded as of paramount importance.

The Intercultural Environment

The second theme of resources in acculturation is the intercultural environment, or the setting in which acculturation takes place. Characteristics of the society of settlement are some of the most important factors in the adjustment experiences of individuals and groups. Various elements of the cultural and environmental context have been related to the acculturation outcomes of migrants. These range from ecological factors (e.g., climate, infrastructure, and availability of food) to socio-political factors (e.g., attitudes towards diversity, ideologies of the wider society and immigration policies).

The results of this study reveal that the setting in which the acculturation took place was an important element in the way participants understood their experiences of adaptation. In this study, the intercultural context will discussed with relation to characteristics of New Zealand context, the cultural values of multiculturalism and diversity, and the community of Muslims in New Zealand.

The overall consensus from participants was that New Zealand was a particularly beautiful, quiet and comfortable place to live. Through their appreciation of the New Zealand environment, some of the interviewees expressed gratitude for opportunities for a better life that they were given through their migration to New Zealand. These opportunities were often seen as a gift from God, and were treated as such.

> *Almost every day we appreciate how beautiful this country is, and we really do. First, geographically, it's gorgeous…it's awesome, breathtaking beauty. Like God put aside extra for us, it's lovely. Same goes for fresh air, water. You have to be thankful for these things, God provided them. [F1]*

The New Zealand environment was also directly associated with the concept of openness, which had both a literal and metaphoric quality for the participants, indicating a geographic vastness and lack of crowding as well as the idea of freedom, as the following illustrates:

> *When you see the pictures (of people in New Zealand) you see them smiling and laughing. And it's this very beautiful place; it's all green and things. And it's freedom; you can go out whenever you want, which is different (from my home country). [F6]*

Most interviewees reported that they had migrated to New Zealand in the hopes of a better future. Therefore, increases in their quality of life were very salient in interviews, meaning that they often compared themselves and their gratitude about the environment to New Zealanders. It was felt that in contrast to migrants, New Zealanders did not appreciate their environment. The participant who gave the above quote went on to say:

> *…I don't know if you take it for granted because you were born here. But coming from other places we appreciate it a lot. [F6]*

Overall, connection to and appreciation of the environment enabled participants to positively frame their experiences in New Zealand, and even brought some of them closer to God. Also, by being humble, grateful and seeing the beauty in the environment, participants were able to see themselves favourably in comparison to New Zealanders.

The major issue participants faced in the New Zealand environment was the lack of Islamic infrastructure, although this was often framed in positive terms. In order to practice their faith, access to infrastructure such as a mosque, a *halal*[2] butcher or an Islamic school are vital for Muslim migrant communities. Ait Ouarasse and van de Vijver (2004) suggest that

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[2] Meaning permissible by the Islamic faith

the establishment of such infrastructure transcends the interpersonal and is directly associated with connection to God. Following from this, they suggest that a lack of infrastructure leads directly to low levels of vitality within the community. In this study, while the establishment of proper infrastructure for an Islamic way of life was viewed as important component of successful adaptation, the lack of this infrastructure was not associated with lower levels of vitality. In fact, it was often viewed in the opposite fashion, with young people seeing challenges to practicing their faith as opportunities for reinterpretation and confirmation of their beliefs. The following participant illustrates this concept with regards to the expectations he had about settling in a non-Muslim majority nation:

> *I was quite open about it but I had friends who were not, so they saw it as a major issue. Oh my god, how are we going to do this? How are we going to eat, how are we going to pray, how are we going to go out? and stuff like that. I never saw it as an issue… I knew the facilities available and I knew the flexibility in our religion and stuff like that. I actually put that flexibility into practice when I was here. [M4]*

Whether or not participants had arrived in New Zealand with the knowledge of a need for flexibility around their religious practice, many indicated that they had made attempts to meet the challenge of lack of facilities, and being able to confidently practice their faith regardless of the barriers was seen as empowering. This is illustrated in the diverse accounts provided about finding creative places to conduct prayer, for example, the changing rooms in a mall and the bathrooms in a sports stadium. As the following quote exemplifies, rising to challenges presented by the New Zealand environment, particularly with regards to religious practice, led to participants to be much more aware of the importance of their religious practice:

> *Because when I'm in (my home country), we have everything and sometimes we don't see it, but being here we don't really have it, but we have it. We have to find it if we want to have it. It's like, if you want it you have to go and get it. But in (my home country) everything's there. Here it's your choice whether you grab it or not. [FG5]*

The sentiment of this young woman, "here we don't really have it, but we have it" indicates that all one really needs when facing a lack of infrastructure is the desire to find new ways of doing things in order to overcome whatever constraints there may be outside of oneself.

Diversity and Multiculturalism

New Zealand society is a bicultural nation by policy, but is also shown to be accepting of diversity, endorse integration and have a strong multicultural ideology. This perception

was shared by the majority of the participants, who indicated that one of the major positive elements in New Zealand was that it is multicultural.

> *And I think another cool thing was meeting people from different backgrounds. Not just Kiwis but other cultures. I thought that makes my stay more interesting, you know, the multiculturalism in New Zealand. And I think being open to other cultures, and accepting. I don't think you find that a lot in other countries. I thought that was pretty cool. [M3]*

This quote suggests that multiculturalism fosters openness and acceptance in the wider New Zealand society, which has effectively acted to create a unique environment for the adjustment of migrants. Therefore, multiculturalism was seen as a social resource which enables cultures and/or nations to become more tolerant. Diversity is also alluded to as a personal resource, making the participant's experience in New Zealand "more interesting" and allowing people "to be themselves". Such statements indicate that for the young Muslims in this study, multiculturalism has wide ranging effects, not just on the culture at large or their ability to integrate, but on their personal experiences of change and growth.

> *New Zealand is a great country with many people with different backgrounds. It's really interesting to be here because you can gain a lot of experience from different cultures, different people, you can learn about who you are, so I enjoy being here. [FG3]*

The presence of a multicultural ideology within a receiving society is thought to facilitate intercultural contact, enabling groups to come together under a shared set of values endorsing diversity. One of the male participants made this clear in the following quote, which illustrates how multiculturalism allows intercultural friendships to emerge and how these friendships were important in his adjustment process.

> *The most important fact is that New Zealand is a multicultural community where you have all these different people. I think that's why I have no problems, because I have a lot of different friends here. [M6]*

Within the literature, the study of intercultural friendships is generally confined to relationships between host nationals and migrants. These friendships have been shown to provide opportunities for cultural learning and culture-specific skills acquisition, which facilitate better adjustment (Ward & Kennedy, 1993). However, for young people migrating to another culture, friendships with host nationals may occur less frequently and tend to be more superficial than friendships with other non-nationals (Kudo & Simkin, 2003). Following on from the quote above concerning the importance of intercultural friendship, the participant went on to say:

… although not even one(of my friends) is Kiwi. But they're all from other countries and I have quite a few of them. I guess that's why I say I adjusted well here, because I have so many friends from other countries. Our ideologies kind of match. But the Kiwis, no…here we just don't get along, I don't know why. [M6]

Therefore, the multicultural ideologies of the wider society may not necessarily be behaviourally endorsed by individuals within that society. Specifically, it is possible that New Zealand at large is seen as a multicultural society by Muslim youth, but that the acceptance and internalization of diversity does not affect the actual behaviours of Kiwi people. In the following quote, one of the female participants' attempts to explain why she thought migrants had more non-national than host national friends.

I guess the thing is that Kiwis have a lot of friends here within their own community, of course it's their own country, but people from other countries, they want to find new friends and get involved. I guess that's why you find more friends from other countries than you find from New Zealand. [F8]

This sentiment was endorsed by many of the other participants who indicated that while they thought that the New Zealand culture was open and accepting, they perceived New Zealanders to be unmotivated to create personal connections with them. It was often the case that under these circumstances, diverse groups of non-nationals came together, regardless of their backgrounds, finding that they shared both experiences and values. This contention is supported by the statement in the previous quote regarding one participant's many intercultural friendships, "our ideologies kind of match". This means that while they all came from a variety of different cultures, common ground could be found through their experiences of migration, and in some situations through the shared experience of isolation. For the participants in this study, multiculturalism is a multifaceted construct that has implications for both the wider society as well as for the ways that individuals interact with one another.

The New Zealand Muslim Community

The community forms an important context for development, and in the case of immigrant youth can be understood as having three distinct components: the community of co-ethnics, the community of host nationals and the community of other foreign-born individuals living in the society of settlement. The composition of the community can have major implications for an individual's acculturation, particularly when there are a low number of co-ethnics and when the host-society is culturally homogenous (Ward et al., 2010a). In the previous section the importance of the host community in the acculturation of

Muslim migrants was discussed. However, the ethnic community is also important, as it provides a sense of belonging and a context (outside of the family) in which the heritage values and behaviours can be learned and supported (Dole & Csordas, 2003; Salant & Lauderdale, 2003).

The results of this study indicate that for Muslim migrant youth, the community is particularly important in the acculturation process. In New Zealand, the community of Muslims is ethnically diverse, and are bound by shared beliefs and values rather than ethnic ancestry. Many of the participants stressed that ethnic diversity within the community was an important factor in defining themselves in the New Zealand context. The following focus group participant describes the experience of actively constructing a "Muslim environment" in the New Zealand setting:

> *We still have a Muslim environment. Even though we see ourselves as minority here in New Zealand, we are all very close compared to (my home country). Because even though (my home country) is a Muslim country, when we walk on the street... they don't really smile, they have their own business. But here when we see Muslim people it's, 'assalamu alaikum!' we click with them, talk to them. [FG4]*

Here, the participant reframed the negative elements of being a visibly different member of a "minority" group by suggesting that it is actually the fact that they are different that enables Muslims to locate each other in their social space and make connections. When the participant was a member of the religious majority in her home country, being Muslim was not a salient social identity. Residing in New Zealand it becomes much more important to be able to recognise other people's religious identities and to create social situations in which communalities are evident. Thus, meeting a stranger on the street and greeting them with the traditional Islamic *"assalamu alaikum"*[3] is a powerful way to assert and mobilise the minority identity. The following quote suggests that for these young people, religion transcends ethnicity when understanding the connections that are being made between people:

> *We feel we are connected with them because of our religion and... we all are the same. Even though they have different backgrounds like Indian and Arab, still we're the same. And we kind of feel connected with them because we're a small group so we feel like we have to do that. Actually, it's not that "we have to", we feel like we belong to a group and it's really great to know all of these different people. [FG3]*

The participant indicates that connections exist because community members are all "the same", regardless of their ethnic background. This sameness is the result of belonging to the

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[3] This is an Arabic statement which is often translated as *Peace be upon you.*

same religion and having a collective set of beliefs. Overcoming the differences between adherents (specifically with regards to ethnicity) is particularly important for this community, as the participant notes "we're a small group".

> *I do think that being Muslim brings us all together, we share the same thing. One common thing which is religion, so if we follow what this taught us then we should all be doing the same thing. I think that the differences between people – culture for example with Iraqis, they eat different food, they have different values from other Muslims. Those things do make a difference. But our beliefs make the difference smaller. [M6]*

Unlike the previous participant, this young man suggests that one's ethnic background does make a difference, but it is what is shared between Muslims that is important. As the quote suggests, being Muslim is not just about sharing a set of beliefs, it is also about "doing the same thing", or how a Muslim should behave. This connotes that connection between members of the Muslim community actually arise through shared worldviews that influence all aspects of a young person's lived experience.

For the young people in this study, another important element of belonging to an ethnically heterogeneous community is that it taught them to be open to diverse opinions and ways of living, as the following quote illustrates:

> *I have a house-mate who is a Fijian and he is a Muslim. And I do have Muslim friends from other countries…so I think in a way, even though the relationships are not that close, I am connected to them. I learn from them and they learn from me. [M4]*

Not only do young people in the Muslim community have the opportunity to learn (and to have others learn from them) about other cultures and ways of life, meeting Muslims from other backgrounds can also educate Muslim youth about diversity in interpretations of Islam itself, as the following quote illustrates:

> *Having that community is a good thing. Back in my home country the Muslims have several streams (of faith)... we adopt one stream and most people follow that. But then when we come here we meet with people who adopt different streams of Islam and that's interesting because even though it's not very different, but we learn things from that [M5]*

This young man suggests that the Muslim community is strengthened by its diverse composition. Through coming together in order to negotiate differences, the most basic, shared elements of Islamic teaching (removed from their embeddedness in cultural ritual) can be made salient.

However, not all interactions in the community were positive, there were also tensions, particularly with regards to young people feeling judged.

It's quite hard as well being a Muslim coming to a foreign country and trying to embrace all this change, and then you've got this other set of Muslim people watching you and not accepting what you are like... I guess that's why people run away from their identity and don't relate as much to religion, maybe. [M6]

Because the Muslim community in New Zealand is small, some of the participants found it difficult to express their opinions, especially if they were different from the dominant view of community leaders – who tended to be older and less willing to listen to youth. In fact, it was often the case that individuals moved away from interactions in the community for fear they would not be accepted.

People judge you. So I try not to do that to other people. I also try not to talk too much when I'm in the Muslim community, just because people might not accept my views. [F3]

One of the participants, who was a young woman that did not wear *hijab*[4] talked at length about how perceptions within the community caused her to feel as though her interpretations of Islamic teachings were not legitimate. In the following quote she illustrates how this experience made her feel:

This makes me feel sorry for them, but it also makes me think that some Muslims are narrow- minded and that is a danger. Because when you are narrow-minded you tend to be righteous... you are not only narrow-minded to the people outside of your religion but also to the people who are practising. [F2]

The experience of feeling like an outsider in one's community can be isolating for young people, but it can also consolidate the person's own beliefs, as the above quote below illustrates:

But there are some people who are little bit extreme. They look down on people who don't share the same faith and beliefs, and that's what I'm against. For me that's not right, our religion doesn't teach that. Maybe they're too extremist, and that's the bad thing about religion, about all religions... in any religion at all there are people like that, and it's not only about religion. People can be extreme in anything they believe. [M6]

Through the "narrow – mindedness" and "extremist" views of other community members, these young people were able to delineate what were personal interpretations of Islam and what they considered to be the true Islam. This enabled tensions within the community to be overcome, and for personal beliefs to be strengthened.

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[4] Hijab literally translate to "cover" in Arabic and while primarily referring to women's head and body covering, the broader understanding of this concept is an individual's modesty, privacy, and morality.

Religion

The third theme of resources in acculturation is religion. Religious traditions provide a worldview comprises beliefs and values that are rooted in ideologies and histories, which in turn can create a sense of purpose, and belonging (Furrow, King, & White, 2004). A secure sense of religious identity has been related to a variety of positive outcomes for both immigrants and non-immigrants including increased well-being, higher self-efficacy, a stronger sense of social support, and lower levels of stress (Thompson & Gurney, 2003). Furthermore, research has found that religiosity and religious practice are protective forces in the lives of immigrant youth, particularly because they strengthen identity and encourage community belonging and cohesion (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Harker, 2001; Thompson & Gurney, 2003). For the participants in this study, religion was indeed an incredibly important resource which could be mobilised in order to protect against the negative elements of cultural transition. Religiosity provided an ideological and social grounding in the new socio-cultural setting, and religious practice served as a constant reminder of one's values and relationship to God.

Functions of Religion

One of the major functions of religion in the lives of the participants was to act as a set of principles to guide attitudes and behaviour. The acculturation process can be confusing and disruptive in itself, but is even more so when coupled with the physical and psychological changes that occur during adolescence. During this turbulent time, religion formed a stable base of values and behavioural expectations for the young people in this study.

> *I think religion is the most important part in your life, it guides everything you do. [M3]*

For the majority of participants, actively and consciously striving to maintain the centrality of religion in their everyday lives was protective, as it enabled connections to be created with forces bigger than themselves.

> *It means so much for us I think. Because it's our religion and I think our religion protects us from different things. That makes us connect with our God every day, five times a day. [FG4]*

Religiosity was not only important in protecting against the negative elements of acculturation, it also greatly influenced the way the young Muslims in this study approached intercultural or interfaith interactions. According to many of the participants, Islamic

teachings proscribe respect for all other faiths, meaning that non-Muslims (as are the majority of host nationals) must be treated with openness and all faiths must be regarded with the utmost significance.

> *Our religion says that we have to respect every person. And even though I am a Muslim and you are not a Muslim I have to respect that. You are a person as well; you are a human, so in that sense everyone is the same. But when it comes to religion, I am a Muslim and I have my own faith and beliefs, and you have your own faith and beliefs. [M1]*

It was problematic for the young Muslims in this study to consistently act in such a respectful way, especially in the face of potential discrimination and the apparent lack of knowledge concerning Islamic teachings of non-Muslims. However, Islamic teachings state that Muslims should attempt to teach others about their beliefs. Therefore, it is the responsibility of Muslims to inform others so that they may have an opportunity to choose their own path meaning that discussions with non-Muslims about Islam were often seen as a way to educate.

> *No, (the questions people ask) are no problem for me. I see it as an opportunity to explain to them. [F9]*

Therefore, the participants in this study were applying their faith in order to cope with the lack of knowledge concerning their Islam and subsequently were reframing their minority status to a position of power, developing themselves into educators about their faith.

> *If they ask, I know they want to know, that they are interested. So if they ask I will tell them. [M7]*

Religion affects all areas of life, meaning that it not only informs attitudes and behaviours, it also influences the way the young people define themselves. This is illustrated by the following quote, which suggests that religion is integral in shaping the development of one's character:

> *I really, truly believe every single thing that is good about me is because I am a Muslim and every single thing that is not so good about me is because of my innate problems as a person, as a human being. [F1]*

The development of a sense of self worth and character as a Muslim was very much embedded in the ideological teachings of Islam, particularly with regards to the continuation of the spirit in the afterlife.

> *We are taught that whatever you do, you get back. If you do bad things then you are punished if you do good then you will be rewarded. Sometimes these rewards and punishments come straight to you, and other times heaven and hell are rewards and punishments, and that is afterlife. Right now this belief reminds me all the time who I need to be. [M1]*

In this sense, faith is intrinsically motivating and it pushed the youth to constantly strive to be "good" Muslims. However, the shift to New Zealand made it particularly difficult to uphold these values, because being a member of a minority group meant they were not afforded a lot of societal support for their religious principles. Therefore, the young people in this study indicated that they felt a huge amount of responsibility, and even fear, in maintaining their religious identity and practices.

> *Now (I have moved to New Zealand) everything depends on me. I hold the control. I think I have the same amount of faith than I did before. But now it is all on me, this is a fear of mine, how do I be a good Muslim? [M4]*

However, this new sense of responsibility also enabled the young people to become aware of the importance of their faith.

> *Because I find for myself here it is better compared with when I am in (my home country) because when I am here I learn to appreciate more and value my religion. [FG2]*

In some situations this sense of responsibility also forced young people to learn more about their religion and to better understand what it meant to them to be a Muslim.

> *Back home being Muslim was not a big issue, so I didn't actually have to know my religion that much. So I took it for granted, but coming to a foreign country I actually had to know more about my religion, I took the initiative to equip myself, so that if people ask me questions I can answer them and be proud of my religion... coming to a foreign country actually got me closer to my religion. [M5]*

For the participants in this study, the protective function of religion was embedded in the process of acculturation. As illustrated in the above quote, the experience of coming to a foreign country inspired them to learn about their religion. The knowledge of being a religious minority and the need to take responsibility for one's own beliefs and values was the catalyst for exploring the function of their religion and beginning to position themselves as learners, teachers and experts in their belief system.

Religious practice

As was previously mentioned in the section concerning the intercultural environment, Muslim youth in this study experienced challenges to maintain their practices due to the lack of Islamic infrastructure;

> *Everything is convenient in a Muslim country; the halal food, shopping for hijab, everything that has to do with religion. I miss that convenience. Here you see nice food in restaurants but you can't eat it because it is not halal. [FG2]*

The everyday issues of being able to eat in a restaurant and being able to buy appropriate clothing were challenging for these young people. In the above quote, the young woman professes to miss living in a Muslim country due to the convenience of being able to practice her religion. She goes on to explain that this does not pertain solely to the behaviours associated with her religion, but also with her principles:

> *This relates to my principles and how I stick to my values. I am not going to eat non-halal food even though I know a lot of Muslims do. About values and principles too, there are Muslims in my home country who don't eat halal food, and who don't observe prayers and drink alcohol. It's all about choice and principle. [FG2]*

For the majority of young people in this study, religious practice was all about choice and being true to oneself. As the above quote indicates, whether the individual is in the religious majority or the religious minority, religion can be chosen to be practiced in varying degrees. For the participants in this study, religious practices were viewed as a measure of how strong their beliefs were, and by proxy how strong they were in their own character.

> *But you are here, you are free, you can decide whether or not to do that, you choose if you want to follow your beliefs. You can go whenever you want and no one will say anything, if you start drinking for example. It is just how strong your beliefs are. [M4]*

Some even saw their experiences in New Zealand, and the difficulties that were presented to them as a test of personal faith.

> *Everything is a test. I am supposed to pray 5 times a day, even in my home country I sometimes didn't pray 5 times a day. Here these are our responsibilities, they are our own responsibilities. What can friends or family do but advise you? You can bring a horse to water but you can't make it drink. It is all within yourself, how strong you are, how strong your faith is. [M5]*

It must be noted that discussing religious practices in some ways masks the richness of the lived experiences of the youth in this study, as these behaviours related to the participants values, principles, choices and even more than that, to their worldviews;

> *In terms of practicing, most people who do practice Islam are practicing it by choice and it's a lifestyle, not a set of rules that you have to apply at certain times. It's something that you live by. And the reason why people put themselves through those rules is because life is a lot easier. A lot of friends ask me, "Why do you want to live by these restrictions?" But I don't see it as restrictions, I see it as guidance. And this is why I find it really helpful. [M3]*

As the above quote illustrates, Islam is not a set of practices, or even a set of ideologies. It is a way of life. Therefore, religious practices which were construed as "rules and restrictions" by non-Muslims were understood by the participants as a system of meaning-making.

It's not a burden… some people, I mean non-Muslims, look at it as a burden, but I don't see it as a burden at all. It is the way I want to live my life. [M4]

The young people in this study did not see their desire to practice their religion as burden, but as a way of self-definition, and furthermore as a way to consistently reaffirm their own worldview.

Risks in Acculturation

The concept of risk refers to factors that may potentially create difficulties for youth to be able to adjust successfully in their environment. The risks outlined in this section were experienced by all of the young Muslims who participated in the study to various degrees, although they were not all experienced as highly stressful or harmful. Therefore, the themes presented in this section should be viewed as elements of the intercultural environment which have the potential to create stress and lead to negative adjustment for Muslim youth in New Zealand, but do not necessarily do so for a variety of reasons.

Cultural Differences

Often incongruence between one's heritage culture and the society of settlement is the major cause of stress experienced by migrants. Cultural distance can exacerbate perceived cultural differences and lead to increased difficulty in the society of settlement (Zlobina, Basabe, Paez, & Furnham, 2006). Therefore, the greater the cultural distance, the more cultural learning is required to 'fit in' and thus the more potential stress or risk there is associated with adjusting to the host culture (Ward, 2001; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1993). For Muslim migrants in New Zealand, the cultural distance between themselves and the wider society tends to be relatively high. At the same time, questions have been raised in a variety of Western receiving societies over whether Islamic culture is incompatible with the values of the host society (Dunn & McDonald, 2004).

This research found that perceived cultural differences do cause stress for Muslim youth, and consequently present risks for successful adaptation. For the participants in this study the place where cultural differences were the most evident was in comparison between their own lifestyles and those of young New Zealanders. This was particularly true with regards to how New Zealanders socialise and what they are perceived to value.

I guess socialising here revolves around drinking, so that was something that is difficult for a Muslim to come here and actually embrace. Because all the events, all the cocktail parties I've been to, all the work nights I've been to, all the award functions revolve around drinking in the end. I mean drinking is seen as the key to socialising in the Kiwi culture. [M1]

The most difficult factor in dealing with this difference was that alcohol consumption is viewed by the wider New Zealand society as a normative part of social interaction. As illustrated by the quote above, alcohol was perceived by the participants to be an integral part of socialising for New Zealanders, not only with peers but also with work colleagues and superiors. Therefore, not drinking often made the Muslim youth feel like outsiders in both informal and formal settings. The young people in this study professed that they were consistently asked why they did not drink, were treated with derision when they told New Zealanders that they had never drank alcohol and were sometimes even treated with suspicion and contempt for refusing a drink when one was offered.

> *People don't immediately understand why you're not drinking. Especially when they're tipsy, they get a bit angry if you're not drinking as well, because you know you've got to join in their fun. You've got to get a bit tipsy and then you can join in their fun conversation and stuff like that.[M4]*

Many of the participants felt that it was necessary to offer an explanation for their behaviour in an attempt in maintain their beliefs while also participating in social activities that involved others consuming alcohol, or indeed engaging in a variety of other *haraam* (or forbidden by their faith) activities.

> *I had a couple of friends invite me to a party and they gave me a cup full of beer and I was like, "No I can't drink," and they asked me why and I just explained it to them. They sort of understood. I think it's just normal as long as you explain to the person what you believe, they would understand. They would learn to accept just who you are.[M2]*

This situation was not ideal, and for a few of the young people caused a great deal of distress. In the following quote, a young woman discusses such a situation in her work place:

> *Today they were having a sweepstake (at work)... and they asked me if I wanted to do it, and I said, "Oh no it's like gambling, I'm not going to go into that." Which I know sounds really retarded, but I have these principles. Someone came up to me and they nudged me and said, "Oh, it's not part of your religion?" and they were just being funny, and I looked at them real seriously and I was like, "No. And I'm not going to do it either." And then he was like, "Oh, okay." But it was a moment for both of us. [F7]*

The crux of the problem described by the above quote is the "moments" that this young woman discusses where differences become the central element of interactions. The salience of difference was discussed by the participants with regard to alcohol, gambling, halal food, and especially to female dress style, the wearing of hijab (the covering of a female's hair and body) and body contact between men and women. The following quote

exemplifies the frustration and guilt one young woman felt from consistently having to make clear to men who she met that she was unable to shake hands with them:

> *When I meet boys they try to shake my hand, I feel sorry for them, I don't want to embarrass them but I can't help it. Sometimes I want to have a page and write "I can't." and have this with me always.[F9]*

The desire to have an easier way and more comfortable way of explaining differences was reiterated by a young woman with regards to wearing hijab:

> *"Why do you wear the scarf?" You'll be asked the same questions over and over and over again, I wish I had a tape recorder. I could just play it every time anyone asks that question again. No I don't' wear it when I am in the shower, no I don't wear it always. [F11]*

For all the young women in this study, whether or not they wore a head scarf, hijab was an important element of their experience as a Muslim in New Zealand. It made them visibly different and easily identifiable, enabling others to be aware of their distinctiveness as well as reminding them of their own unique position.

> *The thing is that with us it's obvious whether or not you're a Muslim when you are wearing the scarf. Whether you want them to know or not, they would know. I'm conscious that I am always wearing the scarf and it's just the scarf. I always wonder, how does my friend feel having to wear the (full face) veil, because I'm always conscious walking down the street, I'm wearing the scarf, I'm aware of it most of the time. [F9]*

For some of the young women this resulted in a feeling of lack of ease in public:

> *Sometimes children look at me (because of the veil)... and it makes me feel uncomfortable. In my country all the people, this is normal. And here I think I am just different. [F10]*

Whereas for others, hijab was seen as a marker of identity and as a reminder of faith:

> *I think people just don't understand when people do wear the scarf. It gives people confidence. It reminds them of their religion at all times. So that's their symbol. If they have it on all the time it reminds them that they're Muslim. [F8]*

As a resistance against assimilation;

> *I'm in a different culture, I should be wearing it. It's my identity. And just to show people that, "hey, it's my identity. I'm a Muslim." [F7]*

And as a responsibility to represent themselves well as a member of the Muslim community:

> *When you're wearing the scarf you want to be the good example. So it imposes on you. [F9]*

As was previously mentioned, the need to discuss cultural differences with members of the wider society was a difficult part of the acculturation process for the youth in this

study. This issue was made even more complicated by language difficulties that constrained the ability for these young people to convey the intricacy and importance of the things which made them different.

> *Sometimes when they ask us about why we wear hijab it's really hard for us to explain it in English because we don't really have the language. We can't really simply give them brief explanation because we need to give an in-depth definition for them to get the full concept of Islam. But then this is what we experience, people ask us why we fast, why we pray, but we can't really tell them in full detail because of the language gap. [FG5]*

This quote indicates that the issue at hand is not language per se, but rather what one participant deemed as "not enough ways to explain". For the young Muslims in this study differences between themselves and host nationals were embedded in their worldviews and not in the particular practices that signalled to others they were different. Being able to explain the way they looked and acted was a matter of being able to elucidate their deep religious beliefs. The following quote illustrates this concept through the discourse of a "culture barrier":

> *Mainly there's like a culture barrier. You can't communicate well because of our language. It's really hard to communicate to other people. Most of the lifestyle, like how people talk and act and understand each other is completely different. [M2]*

The cultural barrier that is experienced by Muslim migrants in New Zealand is a product of two separate, albeit interrelated concepts. The first is the lack of care and attention host nationals put into understanding cultural differences, rather than just tolerating them or even outright judging others because they are different. The second is the feeling and expectation many Muslim youth carry that they are different and therefore, will be treated with less respect than other people. With regards to the first point, there was a consensus among participants that New Zealanders were generally apathetic, but not hostile, towards other people.

> *It's their country and as long as they can live their normal life they don't bother about anyone else. I guess it's about the individualistic thing as well; they're more involved about their own stuff. [M3]*

The above quote captures the perception that barriers between host nationals and the Muslim community are mainly related to cultural values. These values do not necessarily explicitly exclude others, but they also do not encourage open communication. The following quote, however, suggests that this way of behaving may not be confined to majority members of the society, but also to minority communities:

Maybe it is like, it's not to that extent of being misunderstood, but it's like "Ok I know you are Muslim, we are civil, but I don't want to know more than that." Perhaps that is also the segmentation of the Muslim community I know you are a New Zealander but let's just be civil and I don't want to engage further than that. It's like in a silo. You are multicultural but you do not blend together. [F2]

With regards to the second point concerning the expectations participants had about being accepted by the wider society, when the individual had negative expectations, this lead to feeling of being lonely and isolated.

And I always feel that I am different. I always feel that I look different, I have an accent. I'm not like everyone else; I don't drink, I don't go clubbing, I don't have a boyfriend - I'm not allowed to. [F6]

For this young woman, being seen as different was tantamount to being excluded from the New Zealand society. The elements of difference that are described in the above quote are visible ways in which the participant diverged from host nationals. It seems that she was more concerned about differences that might be noticed, rather than internal differences (e.g., beliefs and values). The quote below also refers to noticeable differences and expectations of being excluded because of these differences:

So I remember I used to go home in front of the mirror and practice talking in a Kiwi accent so that I wouldn't be different... I remember doing things like this that I wasn't comfortable with just to be integrated. [F7]

From the above quote it seems as though some Muslim youth may understand being integrated as 'passing', or not calling attention to the differences between themselves and New Zealanders. In this way one may be more able to feel as if they belong and are legitimate members of the New Zealand society. The quote below illustrates how for one of the participants feeling different was experienced as restricting and distressing:

And you realise that you're a stranger here, and it's not easy being a stranger. And you feel like the odd one out; you feel very different. And it's not freedom; it's the opposite of freedom. I feel when I am walking down the street, I feel this is not my country. I should behave myself. I can't do anything that I want to do. I'm not free to do whatever I want to do. [F6]

However the young woman went on to say that this feeling passed as soon as she let go of the expectation of not being accepted, and embraced the fact that she was not the same as everyone else:

So you have these people who don't really care if you're different or new or whatever and at the same time I expected them to be interested because I was different, so I had these conflicting two ideas, but eventually I just realised, it's different, there is no right or wrong, it's just different. And this is the way they are and no matter what happens I shouldn't be sad. [F6]

57

Discrimination

The receptivity of the majority group in accepting or stigmatizing migrants and refugees is a powerful predictor of how stressful the acculturation experience is for new arrivals (Berry, 1998; Berry & Kalin, 1995). Perceived discrimination is viewed as one of the most adverse elements of the acculturation process, creating a serious risk factor for long term maladaptation for new settlers. Although the experience of discrimination and prejudice are likely to be less common in societies with multicultural ideologies and policies geared towards social cohesion, they are not absent (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Specifically, research has shown that migrants who are visibly different tend to experience greater levels of discrimination that those who are perceived to be similar to host nationals (Berry, 2006). Visibility is intrinsically linked to the concept of cultural distance, and relates to the salience and identification of signs of "otherness" (Ajrouch & Kusow, 2007; Bihi, 1999; Chile, 2002).

Muslim young people tend to be seen as particularly vulnerable to discrimination as they are recognisably different to both host nationals and other migrant groups. Also, because they belong to a stigmatized group that often features negatively in international media, majority members potentially have preconceived and misinformed notions about this group. Muslim women who wear hijab are particularly visible in Western contexts. In fact it has been suggested that wearing hijab has become a loaded symbol upon which the themes of oppression, docility, and "otherness", are projected (Zine, 2001). Confirming previous research, this study it was found that the female participants perceived they were discriminated against because of their appearance.

> *You can't be too judgemental… you shouldn't say, "Oh why are you doing that?" or "Why are you wearing hijab?" You shouldn't say that "I can see that you are oppressed by your own religion." It's not like that. [FG1]*

The young women also felt that they were excluded and marginalized because of their appearance.

> *Yeah sometimes I think hijab is a barrier for New Zealander approaching… sometimes I do feel like people are afraid to approach me because I wear hijab. [F1]*

This was supported by the accounts of the male participants who indicated that because they were not as visibly different to host nationals as Muslim girls were, they tended not to be the subject of overt discrimination.

> *It's probably much easier because I'm a guy and people don't actually judge me for being Muslim straight away. [M4]*

The majority of participants were also of the opinion that host nationals were not adequately informed about Islam, and in fact held a variety of misconceptions that were damaging to Muslims.

> *So they think that women are being forced to wear the scarf and that we have arranged marriages, and that we're living in deserts, and that we know nothing about the world…like NZ is heaven to us, and we're living in deserts and camps and camels and stuff…but they wouldn't really tell you what they think because they feel embarrassed to and they don't want you to know that this is what they think. [F6]*

As this participant indicates, misunderstandings of Islam were perceived to be wide-spread, although these this did not necessarily translate into overt instances of discrimination. The young woman states that New Zealanders "wouldn't really tell you" what they think of Muslims, rather their attitudes can be deduced based on the ways they treated these young people and the types of questions that they ask. For example:

> *Even if we give them a reason (for our differences) they don't get convinced. In your religion you have some (values or practices) and we don't say, "Why do you do something like this?" even if we think it's wrong. So why do you have to ask us something like this question? That's the worst thing. [FG3]*

The perception Muslim youth have of these questions is that they are tinged with implicit judgement about the legitimacy of their beliefs and practices. The young people in this study had very few first-hand experiences of explicit prejudice in the New Zealand environment. When they did have these experiences, rather than overt discrimination, the encounters reflected the ignorance of difference in general.

> *So I was talking to people and suddenly this lady walks up to me and says, "Oh your English is really good, eh." And I was like, how can you make a comment like that? I've actually just won a prize (for top in my course), of course I can speak some English! So you know comments like that can actually hurt you at times. [F4]*

Other examples could be interpreted as poorly masked, passive aggressive hostility towards difference:

> *One time I went to the supermarket and I had a trolley and I had stuff in there and I started pulling the trolley just being silly and this lady comes up to me and goes, "In New Zealand we don't push the trolley like that," and I was like, oh okay, tail between my legs. And I never did that again because "in New Zealand it's very different."[F7]*

In many ways implicit types of discrimination are as damaging, or even more so, than explicit forms of prejudice. This is because they undermine values and identities but are very difficult to directly confront as they can easily be denied. The following quote illustrates how criticising Islamic beliefs severely injures one's well-being;

> *This is how our values are…you wouldn't like anyone to criticise your baby. This is how our values are; they're so dear to us. Because sometimes these really are your flesh and your blood, you're willing to give everything for values or morals. [F11]*

In actuality, it is not only subtle prejudice that undermines beliefs, the general lack of understanding by New Zealanders of Islam can act to devalue Muslim youth's sense of self, even when the other person may have good intentions or make attempts to be inclusive.

> *I pray 5 times a day and it's like someone saying, "Let's go have coffee, it's just one time." This is not right, not only for religion but I would like people in general to be sensitive to other people's values. [F4]*

For some of the participants, the misconceptions held by the majority of host nationals were an inevitable part of life that exists due to the apathy inherent in New Zealand culture.

> *They don't really care about trying to find out the truth about Islam…I don't think they'd be interested to find out, because the Kiwi culture is such that they don't really bother about such stuff I guess. [M3]*

However for others, being misunderstood could become an opportunity to reframe their own experiences. In the following quote, a female participant recounts a distressing intercultural exchange she had with a male New Zealander.

> *People are always like, "Oh, why do Muslims…" and sometimes they say it with sarcasm, someone even said to me "Oh please. I don't understand why you wouldn't shake hands. My hand is not made out of pork." And all of these comments. And I would get really affected. [F6]*

This young woman was confronted with an individual who had some knowledge of Islamic culture, in that he understood Muslims do not consume pork. However, he uses this information to be condescending about the nature of restrictions on gendered interactions. In many ways, this individual's prejudice against Islam is apparent in his "question" about her religious practices. The young women went on to discuss the ways she coped with such experiences:

> *I felt it was my duty to answer their questions. I couldn't just tell them, "I don't feel comfortable doing that," because I felt this was an opportunity, maybe God was going to ask me, "Why didn't you answer them? This was your opportunity to make them know." So sometimes it got really tough and I felt very bad about myself and my self esteem was really bad, but then I got over it. And the same guy who was telling me, "My hand is not made of pork" he came to a talk that they gave about Islam, so I felt that eventually things were changing and it really depends on the way you look at it. [F6]*

Even if Muslim youth were able to somehow frame their experiences of discrimination in a way which enabled them to better cope with their circumstances, every

single participant mentioned that they were concerned with the way that Islam was portrayed, not just in New Zealand, but on an international scale. The most distressing, and most common, misunderstanding held by non-Muslims was that Islam condones and supports terrorism. While the participants indicated that some adherents were indeed involved in terrorist activities, all agreed that these individuals did not understand the true concept of Islam and were misguided in their beliefs concerning the use of violence;

> *Maybe they think that we're radical Islamists, or Jihadists, whatever you want to call them. It's true, some of them (Muslims) are. They've been misguided. They misunderstand the Quran. And they translate some of the verses to it's alright to kill another human being even though it's not. [M2]*

The actions of Muslim terrorists were constructed as existing outside of the true values of Islam, rather than representing an element of religious belief or practice. Furthermore, it was felt that the minority of Muslims who are extreme in their views were taken to represent everyone in the global community, even though the majority of adherents condemned their actions.

> *I think some Muslim people make bad effects on our religion. There are bad people, such as in other religions. For example, in Christianity there are good people and bad people, but are they bad people (because) their religion tells them to do something like that? No, it's a part of their character… in our culture there are Muslims who are good and who are bad and the bad people give a bad reflection of Islam. [M1]*

In many ways these few "bad people" were thought to mask the true nature of Islam and confounded the personal or political with the real messages of their faith. Participants implicated the international media in the construction and perpetuation of negative portrayals of Islam. In environments, such as New Zealand, where Muslims are the numerical and social minority, individuals are more likely to receive their information about Muslims from the news, rather than through direct interactions. This means that the Anglo-centric, biased reporting of world events in the global media has become the chief source of knowledge host nationals have about Islam.

> *Most people think a Muslim person is a terrorist or as a radical Islamist. I guess it's a stereotype, because many people are influenced by the media and by the news, so I can't really blame the other person to think like that. That's natural to think that I guess. [M2]*

Rather than place blame on New Zealanders for having stereotypical notions of Muslims, it was generally the case that the young people in this study accepted that negative portrayals of Islam were inevitable given the current socio-political milieu.

But I can't do much about it. It's not like I can go to newspaper and tell them to stop doing that. That's why I think if you want to correct that I should lead by example. If the media says that Islam is violent then I should not be violent. I think that if we are misunderstood, then we correct them, that is all. [M3]

This meant letting go of anger towards others for what they do wrong and taking responsibility to teach people about themselves as well as maintaining confidence and adherence to their beliefs.

At this stage you do find people who just make fun of you and you have to learn how to respond to them in a cool way without getting angry. Teach them, no, that's not how it is. You can actually live your life completely opposite to them and still think it's cool. [M6]

While at the same time, staying true to themselves:

Well, I don't think I should hate them because it's what they are thinking. I cannot control them. But it's kind of sad, if people do not see you the way you want them to see you. But I won't actually show them what they want to see, I will show them who I actually am. [F1]

In order to achieve this, the participants felt that they had to take the lead in breaking down misconceptions, and to try to positively reframe their situation.

I remember all of the times that I was offended. All of the times that people said rude comments about Islam and Muslims, and then I would feel upset. But after that, what? If I satisfy the feeling that people are racist and they hate Muslims, and then what? It just would make me upset and that's it. And at the same time if I want to think about how many times people said very nice things about Islam and Muslims, I could do that too. So I think it really depends on how you take it. [F6]

Or look to their faith for guidance:

And the last sermon, he was talking about a whole bunch of things and one of the things he said was, "Just remember that an Arab is not any better than a non-Arab, a black is not better than a white." And I thought, 1400 years ago, and he was reminding us in the last sermon not to let race get into the way, genders aren't supposed to come in the way... No matter what the media says, I know that I'm equal with respect to my being to someone else. [F8]

While these young people did feel a lot of responsibility for changing the mindset of those who held prejudicial and misinformed attitudes about Islam, there was a strong sense that in order to effectively reduce discrimination there must be mutual respect and understanding. In fact, New Zealanders were not expected to know all about Islam, but they were expected to be open and accepting of difference.

We really hope that they understand, but we understand why they don't, it's not a Muslim country. Maybe they have a small understanding of Islam, but a small understanding is not enough; it sometimes leads to misconceptions. So for me I hope

62

*they have the correct understanding of Islam, at least the basic correct understanding.
[FG5]*

The following quote summarises the feelings of the participants towards fair and equitable
treatment in the New Zealand environment;

> *I guess it would just be a more understanding among different races, different
> cultures, and stuff like that... If people actually just opened up their mouth and start
> talking, everything would be fine. Cause once people they start to learn and they start
> to realise that people aren't bad, and you know we're not as different, people are
> generally the same. We can connect with one another, even though we come from
> different races and different countries and different parts of the world, we still have
> the same values and enjoy the same things in life, so you know. I guess it's just
> communication with people is key to solving all the issues. [M4]*

As this young man suggests, opening up a dialogue between people from diverse
backgrounds can effectively minimise differences and promote effective intercultural
interactions. Most importantly, the concept of communication as a way of combating
discrimination captures the need for a shared solution between Muslims and the wider
society.

Outcomes of Acculturation

The third theme, outcomes of acculturation, broadly refers to whether or not
individuals are able to successfully negotiate the experience of cultural transition. Outcomes
of acculturation were not mentioned as frequently as the elements of the other two themes,
mainly due to the fact that there was a focus on the process, rather than the end product of
settling into a new cultural environment. Also, for the young people in this study, the social
and psychological outcomes of acculturation were deeply embedded in their everyday lived
experiences. Therefore, separating outcomes from the dynamics of acculturation was not a
central psychological issue. Additionally because the outcomes of acculturation are wide
ranging and the process of adjustment for migrants is a complex and multifaceted
phenomenon, defining a concrete result of acculturation can be challenging. In this study,
outcomes are defined as accounts of what changed for the participants as a result of moving
the New Zealand and whether they feel happy, comfortable and functional in this
environment

Adaptation

For all individuals undergoing acculturation, cultural, psychological and behavioural
changes are inevitable (Berry, 2005). These changes, or adaptations, are primarily driven by

the need to function effectively in a culturally complex environment. In the acculturation literature, it is widely found that strategies of integration, or adapting elements of one's ethnic culture at the same time as adopting elements of the national culture, leads to the best outcomes for immigrant youth. Integration is generally thought to be preferred option for immigrant youth (particularly in societies with multicultural ideologies) because this strategy enables the individual to negotiate their distinct social worlds more successfully (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Effectively, when a young person is competent in their heritage culture and the culture of the wider society they are able to better manage the potentially incongruent demands places upon them by these distinct orientations (Sam & Oppedal, 2002; Stuart & Ward, 2011).

In this study it was found that being able to integrate multiple identities was an effective way to deal with the process of acculturation. As the following quote suggests, even though cultural transition may be difficult in the beginning, integrating the distinct elements of the self enabled this young woman to deal with the difficulties of acculturation;:

> *Yeah. Maybe I had a bit of trouble when I was younger, when I first came. Because it was kind of hard to adapt to their culture and to what they do. But then you sort of adapt and you can embrace all of them. This made it so much easier. [F4]*

It is not just the outcome of being integrated, it was also the process of becoming integrated, that helped these young people adjust more successfully. This is illustrated in the following quote, where the participant suggests that having access to multiple identities actually allows one to have a broader definition of self:

> *Lifestyle definitely changed. We went from a pure Arabic lifestyle to a hybrid. It was interesting, but it worked out well. We're trying—I mean us as kids, especially as we interacted more with the society—we tried to pick and choose from both cultures…So in that sense you have an advantage of choosing the best qualities of the two cultures, so that's good. [M3]*

Because of the unique nature of social identities for Muslim youth, integration conceptually becomes more complex as it involves the relationship between one's ethnic, religious and host national identities. However, the quote above indicates that the participant perceived himself as having access to only two cultures, Arabic culture and New Zealand culture. In fact, the results indicate that participants did not necessarily perceive religion as an identity which is integrated with one's cultural identity. Rather, it was constructed as an overarching set of principles and behaviours that other identities (and the product of integrating of these identities) reside under.

Yeah, I guess. You have two cultural sides, a Western and an Eastern influence. I don't particularly stick to one side. I sort of embrace both. And then there's the spiritual identity. And that's Islam. It's not just a religion, but it's a way of living and a way of life. How you go about doing things and stuff. [M1]

All participants indicated that it was a very difficult to adapt to their new cultural environment and that "embracing" one's different cultural orientations did assist them in their acculturation. However, it was also mentioned that not all young Muslims were able to get to a place where they could become integrated because they were not open to change.

So I'd say that they've got to let go of the traditional and start to be more open about things. 'Cause I came with an open mind, open heart, ready for change. I guess if you're ready for change and being open about things, it would be so much easier to actually adapt to an environment and actually enjoy, rather than just bear up with it. Most people I see are just bearing up with it, they come here… and can't wait to get back home. Whereas I just want to stay here forever. [M5]

Many of the participants indicated that they believed being closed off to the experience of living in a new culture was the major reason why other Muslims may not do well in New Zealand.

People who didn't actually get the chance… they didn't actually give themselves a chance to experience the whole new environment they were in, they were so busy just being worried about how they're going to take care of themselves in the way they were brought up to be and just stick to their roots and their culture and stuff. So they didn't actually enjoy the experience that I get to enjoy. [M4]

Some of the participants discussed their own experiences of being faced with the need to be more open, and how they went about understanding and then reconceptualising their experience of cultural transition.

I thought that you would be immediately wondering where I came from, or who I am, or what my religion was, or why do I wear the scarf, and all that. I remember once, I had a friend; she was kiwi and she introduced me to her other friends and they were like a group of four or five. And I asked one of the girls, "When you first saw me where did you think I was from?" And she just had this blank look and she was like, "I didn't think." And I was like, oh, people don't think, why did I make such a big deal out of it? [F5]

Participants suggested that being aware of their expectations about how they would be perceived by New Zealanders, and attempting to find new ways of understanding themselves was the key to successful adaptation. Effectively, self awareness enabled these young people to be able to reframe their negative experience and empowered them to make changes in their lives.

If you want to believe that people are racist around you, you would find something that would satisfy this thing. And if you put into your mind that people are friendly,

you would also find something to satisfy that. So it's whatever you put in your mind when dealing with people, "Ah, see? They hate Muslims." So I really think it is about how you view things and how you put things into your mind, and it's all because of the fear. But I think you can overcome the fear by interacting with people. [F6]

While the experience of adjustment was difficult, the majority of participants felt that it led to positive change in their lives. For the following young woman this meant being able to develop and achieve her goals:

It is better for us I think because we are away from our country, a Muslim country. Here we're adapting, we now have our aspirations and we have a place to make that happen. [FG5]

And for this young woman it meant living up to her potential, specifically discovering her "powers".

I felt that when I came to NZ I discovered myself. I discovered the potential I had with what I can do. And I discovered the powers that I had. People always said that I wouldn't be able to face the challenge of living alone and living abroad and having to be independent and responsible for myself, and I realised that I can do these things here in New Zealand. And therefore, I want to make it through and learn... to prove to them that "I can. I was a girl and I was alone and independent and I made it out there." [F10]

In the end, participants suggested that maintaining one's beliefs, being open to change while remaining a strong person with principles was seen as "the only way" to successfully adjust to the New Zealand environment.

Conclusion

The findings of this study offer insights into the lived experiences of Muslim immigrant youth in New Zealand, particularly concerning how they define themselves and their successful adaptation. The overall conceptual framework developed from the qualitative information in this study indicates that being embedded in the process of acculturation is a defining factor in how these young people understand themselves and their social worlds. Specifically, the results capture three distinct facets of the acculturation process that emerged as important for these Muslim youth, resources, risks and outcomes.

For the participants in this study, successful adaptation was achieved by offsetting the degree of risk or stress that was experienced with the potential resources at their disposal. Therefore, while it was the case that the stressors produced by discrimination and cultural difference were challenging, residing in a culturally plural context, having supportive family networks as well as maintaining religious beliefs and practices helped these young people move towards positive outcomes.

This research took an in-depth, exploratory approach in order to elucidate the most important factors involved in cultural transition for Muslim youth in New Zealand. This information can help us to better understand the experiences of "at risk" immigrant youth in Western contexts. However, the data presented here are limited by the size of the sample and the broad nature of the themes, meaning that generalisable conclusions about what predicts successful adjustment for this group cannot be drawn. The results of this study demonstrate that Muslim youth are adapting well in New Zealand, but several questions remain: are there measurable psychological implications of the relationships between resources, risk and outcomes? Is it possible to theoretically model the pathway to adaptation? Does the situation for Muslim youth in New Zealand differ from the situation in other comparable contexts? Finally what factors predict adaptation for Muslim migrant youth more generally across contexts? The following studies in this thesis seek to address these questions. The conceptual framework developed from the qualitative data presents a useful start point that will form the groundwork for these studies.

Chapter 3 The Relationships between Resources, Stressors and Adaptation

The results of the qualitative study found that Muslim youth face a variety of risks that predominantly arise from exposure to discrimination and engagement in the process of cultural transition. According to developmental theories, this experience of stress is not unique to minorities, all youth encounter stressful events that can pose a threat to the development of competent behavioural and psychological outcomes (Arrington & Wilson, 2000; Harvey & Delfabbro, 2004). The context for youth adaptation can be conceptualised along a continuum, with one end representing the precursors to stable, adaptive functioning and the other end representing the factors that contribute to maladaptation (Arrington & Wilson, 2000). It has been found that young people who are exposed to negative circumstances, particularly those who are minorities, consequently face stressors above and beyond those normatively occurring in the developmental period (Arrington & Wilson, 2000; Spencer & Dupree, 1996). Despite serious threats to development, some of these youth continue to exhibit competency in their everyday lives, a phenomenon that has been labelled resilience (Arrington & Wilson, 2000; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Masten, 2001).

Early research concerning resilience was primarily focused on individual characteristics (such as autonomy, high self-esteem and extroversion) that are found to constitute a "resilient" person (Compas, Hinden, & Gerhardt, 1995; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). However, this individual-focused approach to resilience is insufficient in accounting for situational differences in stressors and duration of negative experiences. Adversities can range from chronic stressors to acute stressors, or to traumatic stressful events (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Also, some risk factors may have immediate effects on adolescents that disperse relatively quickly, whereas other risks may manifest in a prolonged way and linger over time. While there is very little research on the relationships between acute and chronic stressors on resilience in youth, it has been suggested that the more developmental assets a young person has access to, the greater their chances of generalisable resilience in the face of adversity (Benson, et al., 2006)

There is little evidence for a consistent pattern of positive adaptation in the face of risk throughout the life course, suggesting there are periods of discontinuity in the manifestation of resilience (Agaibi, & Wilson, 2005). However, the distinguishing features of resilience in adulthood are patterns of recovery, restoration of self and ongoing mastery (Felsman & Vaillant, 1982, cited in Agaibi, & Wilson, 2005). Such findings indicate that resilience is a process that occurs over time through the experience of both chronic and acute

stressors that gradually culminate into the ability to master challenging personal experiences. Therefore, resilience is likely to increase and decrease dependant on the type, setting and duration of stressors, but will positively influence emotional and social competence over time (Wilson, 2004).

Researchers are increasingly acknowledging that resilience derives from factors both internal and external to the individual (Sesma, Mannes, & Scales, 2005). This has led to the delineation of three sets of factors implicated in the development of resilience; the characteristics of individual, aspects of family and social interaction, and attributes of the wider social environment (Masten, 2001). Conceptualising resilience as a result of person and situational factors has resulted in a move away from understanding the protective factors which constitute resilience to an examination of resilience as a protective process. Rather than simply studying the individual, family, and environmental factors that are involved in resilience, researchers are increasingly attempting to investigate how these factors interact with one another in the prediction of positive outcomes (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000).

In this thesis, resilience is defined as a state of psychological growth, specifically referring to the process of overcoming the effects of exposure to stress, dealing successfully with adversity, and avoiding the negative trajectories associated with stressors (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Resilience is not equivalent to invulnerability, rather it refers to effectively avoiding the problems associated with being vulnerable. Also, resilience is not the same as adaptation, achieving successful adaptation despite adversity is an outcome of resilience. When youth deal well with risky or stressful situations (e.g., discrimination), as evidenced by healthy development (e.g., well-being), they may be thought of as successfully adapted. Fergus and Zimmerman (2005) suggest that positive adaptation can be seen as a resilient outcome of development, but it is the process of dealing with the risk that defines resilience.

The key factor in the manifestation of resilience is the presence of both stressors and resources. The importance of contextual variables on healthy development is also emphasised in research on resilience. The literature suggests that resilience arises from the many dynamic interactions between an individual and the environment in which they live. Therefore, the ecological and cultural context (including the family, community, subculture and social status) in which individuals reside must be taken into account (Arrington & Wilson, 2000; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Masten, 2001; Sandler, 2001). Furthermore, it has been suggested that resilience is a process that leads to enhanced protective mechanisms,

transforming potential sources of risk into opportunities for positive adjustment experiences (Rutter, 1993). Therefore, analytic approaches that investigate the relationships among multiple stressors and resources are necessary for understanding adolescent resilience (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005).

Following the initial qualitative study, this thesis will employ a resilience based approach to investigate the experiences of Muslim youth in Western contexts. It is suggested that at the intersection of acculturation and normative development, there is an emergent pathway of resilience by which Muslim youth arrive at positive outcomes. This pathway is embedded within a context of stress (discrimination and cultural transition) and is mitigated by potential resources in the young person's environment (intercultural, family and religious factors). The following chapter will outline the suggested relationships between resources, stressors and adaptation for Muslim youth in an acculturation framework.

Resources

Sandler (2001) suggests that in a context of risk and resilience, resources refer to the stable characteristics of the individual and their ecology that avert, counteract, or ameliorate the effects of risk. In fact, resources can be characterised in many ways, including elements of the young person's micro-system (e.g., warm and supportive family relationships and involvement in a non-deviant peer network) as well as elements of the social environment (e.g., social institutions, communities) (Sandler, 2001). In the context of acculturation, such resources are often referred to as "buffers" that reduce the impact of acculturative stress. In their conceptual framework of acculturation and mental health, Williams and Berry (1991) propose a number of variables that are analogous to resources in the resilience literature. Similar to Sandler's model, these include elements of the micro-system (e.g., social support, expectations and attitudes toward acculturation) and elements of the social environment (e.g., the degree of tolerance for and acceptance of cultural diversity).

Sandler (2001) proposes that the resources available to an individual can impact outcomes in different ways, through prevention, protection, and promotion. Resources that prevent the occurrence of risk have a direct impact on risk factors themselves but not on adaptation, meaning that risk functions as a mediator between resources and outcomes. Resources that protect against the effects of adverse experiences, but do not impact on the experience of risk itself, serve as moderators between risk and outcomes. Finally, promotive resources, regardless of levels of risk, have a direct relationship to adaptation but do not necessarily affect the experience of adversity. It must be noted that these categories are not

necessarily mutually exclusive. When risk is conceptualised as stress, (as it is in this thesis) resources may act to moderate stress (protection) at the same time as increasing the likelihood of positive outcomes (promotion). Ahmed et al. (in press) suggest that there is growing evidence to show that promotive resources are likely to impact simultaneously both positive outcomes, and disorder or distress.

The qualitative results of the previous study indicate that resources are important for how young Muslims understand their experiences of adaptation, both in the way they perceive stressors as well as how they achieve positive outcomes. While Muslim youth in New Zealand may be at risk of negative adaptation outcomes, because of their exposure to the stress of dealing with cultural differences and discrimination, resources may counteract the effect of these stressors serving a protective role, and they may also play a promotive role by having a direct positive effect on adaptation. Specifically, the results show that there are three major factors that act as resources in the young person's environment; intercultural, family, and religious factors. Because these all represent distinct, albeit interrelated elements of the young person's ecology, it is expected that when constructed as latent variables, all of the resources will co-vary with each other.

Intercultural Factors

Intercultural factors concern the young person's relationship to the New Zealand environment including their beliefs that New Zealand is a tolerant, multicultural society that is accepting of diversity, their attitudes towards integrating into New Zealand society, as well as their ethnic and national identities.

Integration

One of the most well-known models of acculturation is Berry's (1997, 1998, 2001) model of acculturation strategies. As previously discussed, this model suggests that an individual's approach towards acculturation can be understood by examining two issues; the desirability of maintaining one's traditional culture and the desirability of intercultural relations and participation in the host society. Those who pursue an integration strategy, where they adopt the host culture and retain their ethnic culture, are widely found to achieve better outcomes than those who acculturate in other ways (Sam, 2006). In fact, integration has been linked with better psychological adaptation, more favourable intergroup attitudes and less acculturative stress (Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000; Sam & Berry, 1995; Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004; Ward, 2001).

Integration has been found to be the most preferred acculturation strategy for immigrants, followed either by assimilation or separation, with marginalisation usually found to be the least preferred (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003; Sam & Berry, 1995; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). However, as Snauwaert and colleagues (2003) observed, there are three distinct ways that integration strategies are often measured, each differing with regards to how intercultural relations with the host society are defined. These different conceptualisations are broadly understood as (1) contact and participation, (2) culture adoption and (3) identification (Snauwaert et al., 2003).

Research has shown that individuals who pursue integration under a contact and participation framework are not necessarily classified as integrated in a culture adoption or identification framework (Liebkind, 2001). Specifically, it has been found that immigrants are less inclined to be integrated when acculturation strategies are operationalised as identification with or adoption of the host culture, than when integration is defined as having contact and participation with the host society (Kus & Ward, 2009; Snauwaert et al., 2003). Snauwaert (2003) suggests that adoption and identification are psychologically more demanding and require a greater involvement in the majority group. It is, therefore, argued that contact and participation conceptualisation does not assess the deeper and more challenging meanings of integration. For this reason, a culture adoption conceptualisation of integration will be taken, and identification with the host national society will be considered separately.

Identity

Ethnic identity is a complex construct that involves recognition and categorization of the self as a member of an ethnic group. It also includes a sense of group belonging that is achieved through exploration and commitment (Ward, 2001). It is widely recognized that a strong ethnic identity leads to both positive psychological and sociocultural outcomes, such as greater life satisfaction and higher academic achievement (Oppedal, Røysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005; Phinney, 1990; Phinney et al., 2001a). In addition to having a direct relationship with adaptation, ethnic identity can play a crucial role in protecting adolescents from negative consequences of discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003).

Compared to ethnic identity, there has been far less attention paid to conceptualizing and assessing immigrants' identification with their new society or national identity. Some researchers have focused simply on self–labelling as a form of national identity, although

Phinney and colleagues (2001b) have argued that national identity also involves feelings of belonging, and positive attitudes toward the larger society. Therefore, national identity, like ethnic identity, can also be understood as a multi-dimensional construct, although there is evidence that ethnic minorities are less likely to be able to successfully and legitimately access national identities than members of the majority group (Devos & Heng, 2009).

Ethnic and national identity are orthogonal constructs, meaning that it is possible to have high or low identification on both, or a high identification on one construct, and a low identification on the other (Phinney, 1990). These different combinations of ethnic and national identity have been found to affect one's adaptation. For example, a strong sense of ethnic identity and weak national identity can create psychological conflict, whereas immigrant adolescents who report strong ethnic identity and strong national identity have been found to have higher self-esteem (Sam & Virta, 2001; Stuart, 2008; Stuart & Ward, 2011). Phinney (1990) suggests that ethnic identity is likely to be strong when there is both a strong desire to retain identification and when pluralism is encouraged or accepted. Also, when groups feel accepted by the wider society the national identity is likely to be strong (Phinney, 1990). Effectively, multicultural contexts foster or strengthen ethnic identity while also cultivating positive evaluation of and belonging to the wider society (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney et al., 2001a).

Perceived Multiculturalism

Although integration (in all of its conceptualisations) has been found to relate to better adaptation outcomes for immigrants, it can only be endorsed and successfully pursued by minority groups when the wider society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (Berry, 2005). In this respect, perceiving oneself as residing in a multicultural environment that is accepting of diversity is necessary integration to be achieved. Research has shown that the development and well-being of immigrants is affected by levels of diversity present in the social context, for example, the school (Chang & Le, 2010), neighbourhood (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006), and community (Eamon, 2005). In acculturation research, multiculturalism is generally assessed at the societal level, with absolute levels of immigrants residing in the nation and policies relating to diversity used as indicators of the ideological context (Berry et al., 2006b). However, as Chang and Le (2010) suggest, subjective multiculturalism, or how tolerant and accepting of diversity the individual perceives their environment to be, can provide essential insights into the individual's awareness of the dimensions of cultural diversity in their social settings.

Recent research has found that individuals who perceive the context that they live in to be multicultural are more likely to have increased flexibility, adaptability, and empathy for others, which in turn are beneficial to social relationships (Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009). Very little research has examined the influence of perceived multiculturalism (the belief that the environment is tolerant and accepting of diversity) on immigrants, although the research by Verkuyten and colleagues (Verkuyten, 2004; Verkuyten, 2009; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002) alludes to the possibility. However, there is a growing body of literature that assesses the relationship between perceptions of multiculturalism and adaptation to the school environment. This literature finds that perceived multiculturalism in the school environment benefits youth both academically and interpersonally, leading to better school performance, greater well-being and increased levels of perceived social support (Brand, Felner, Shim, Seitsinger, & Dumas, 2003; Chang & Le, 2010; Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009; Simmons, Wittig, & Grant, 2010). Brand and colleagues (2003) argue that perceived multiculturalism may be a better and more compelling predictor of minority youth outcomes than the proportion of ethnic diversity in the school environment. Therefore, it is suggested that along with attitudes towards integration and cultural identity, how young people perceive diversity in the wider society may also be an important intercultural factor that will predict adaptation outcomes.

Summary

This section has outlined how attitudes towards integration, ethnic identity, national identity and perceived multicultural environment are interrelated and have each been found to predict positive adaptation. Therefore, it is hypothesised that all of the intercultural factors will be positively intercorrelated (1a). It is also hypothesised that the intercultural factors will account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation outcomes (depression, behaviour problems, and well-being) (1b). Furthermore, it is suggested that when constructed as a latent variable, intercultural factors will prevent stress and promote adaptation. Effectively, it is hypothesised that there will be a direct negative effect of intercultural factors on stress (1c), a direct positive effect of intercultural factors on adaptation (1d), and an indirect effect of intercultural factors on adaptation through stress (1e).

Family Factors

The family can play an important role in fostering the psychological well-being of its members by providing a system of social support, transmitting cultural values, and nurturing a sense of belonging (Fuligni, 1998; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Oppedal, 2006; Phinney,

2002). While disciplines such as sociology and anthropology have stressed the importance of the family in the acculturation process, until recently the psychological literature was lacking in this area. Kagitcibasi (2007) suggests that this lack of attention is due to the focus on the individual and the use of experimental methodologies that have created difficulties in allowing the family to be treated as a unit of analysis.

Recent research has found that the family functions to promote positive outcomes and decrease the negative impacts of acculturation by providing social support and collective coping for acculturating individuals (Crosnoe & Elder, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Todorova, 2003). The positive influence of the family is evident in research on intrafamilial congruence, or the perception that there is a similarity in behaviours and beliefs between oneself and the members of the family. Family congruence has been shown to alleviate the stress of migration for children (Stuart, 2008; Stuart & Ward, 2011; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2004). Conversely, research has linked incongruence between parents and children in acculturation to depression, anxiety and gang involvement in adolescents, and to depression and anger in parents (Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2004; Ying & Tracey, 2004).

Additionally, research indicates that family obligations, or the extent to which family members feel a sense of duty to assist one another and to take into account the needs and wishes of the family when making decisions, is associated with positive outcomes for acculturating youth (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). Specifically, strong obligations to assist the family have been associated with greater academic motivation, suggesting that young people who are invested in their families are more motivated to achieve in the host society (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). Similarly, familism, or strong identification with and attachment to the family, along with strong feelings of respect and solidarity among family members has been shown to relate to greater well-being, stronger ethnic identity, fewer delinquent behaviours and lower levels of aggression in adolescents (Rodriguez et al, 2007; Smokowski, 2006).

In contrast to the research that demonstrates that family factors are associated with better adaptation, it has been suggested that migration may elevate levels of intergenerational conflict and subsequently threaten the coping capacities and well-being of family members (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002; Lee, Su, & Yoshida, 2005). Specifically, it has been suggested high levels of family obligation may lead to stress for immigrant youth as they struggle to maintain connectedness to the family following migration (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). However, in their research with Chinese American youth, Fuligni, Yip, and Tseng

(2002) found no association between time spent engaged in family assistance and psychological distress. They argue that this finding indicates family obligation may be less harmful for individuals from cultural backgrounds that emphasize interdependence (Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002). Additionally, Fuligni (1998) suggests that family obligation provides a sense of identity and purpose, effectively leading to higher levels of well-being regardless of the individual's background.

The youth in the current study come from a background that emphasises the embeddedness of the individual in the family unit and the social and psychological interdependence of all family members. In this context, cooperation, obligation, sharing, and reciprocity are essential elements of interaction, meaning that congruence with one's parents is likely to be positively associated with current family assistance and deference to one's parents. Therefore, it is hypothesised that the measures of family factors (congruence, current assistance and respect) will be positively intercorrelated (2a). While previous research has offered inconsistent findings with regards to the effects of family on adaptation outcomes for immigrant youth, this research follows the contention of Fuligni (1998) that family acts as a specific context for encouraging positive adaptation. Therefore, it is hypothesised that family factors will account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation (2b), and when constructed as a latent variable, family factors will prevent stress and promote adaptation. Effectively, it is hypothesised that there will be a direct negative effect of family factors on stress (2c), a direct positive effect of family factors on adaptation (2d), and an indirect effect of family factors on adaptation through stress (2e).

Religious Factors

Although the role of religion in the lives of migrant youth is very important for adaptation outcomes, it has received little attention in the psychological literature. Saroglou and Mathijsen (2007) suggest that religion, both at an institutional level and an individual level (in terms of identity and involvement), plays an integral part in immigrant youth acculturation that cannot be ignored. This is because religion informs the development of personal identity, an especially salient task during adolescence, and it creates a social identity that constrains one's degree of belonging to the wider society. Recent research by Saroglou and colleagues (Saroglou & Galand, 2004; Saroglou & Mathijsen, 2007), has found that in the context of immigration religiosity has an important function for managing multiple collective identities, in that it informs the "construction, preservation, or abandoning" of ethnic, national and transnational identities (Saroglou & Mathijsen, 2007, p. 178).

Religiosity is often considered as being a protective factor which acts to reduce the negative impact of stressors on adaptation (Harker, 2001). For immigrants in particular, religiosity has been found to lead to lower levels of depression, fewer problem behaviours, greater life satisfaction, increased well-being as well as decreased emotional and psychological distress (Hovey & King, 1996; Pargament et al., 1994; Pargament, Smith, Koenig, & Perez, 1998; Resnick et al., 1997). Studies with immigrant youth have found that religiosity bolsters resilience, provides a sense of purpose in life and encourages forgiveness (van Dyke & Elias, 2007). Research with Muslim youth has established links between religiosity and positive adaptation: identification with Islam relates to greater life satisfaction, better school adjustment and fewer behaviour problems (Ward, Adam, & Stuart, 2010), religious support and coping is associated with lower levels of distress (Ahmed, Kia-Keating, & Tsai, in press), and religiosity relates to greater civic engagement (Sirin & Katsiaficas, 2010) and lower levels of depression (Amer & Hovey, 2007).

Religiosity can also be conceptualised as a means of active resistance against exclusion and marginality for Muslims residing in Western secular environments. Zine (2001) suggests that in the case of Islam, the sura, or prayer "*as-sirat al-mustaqeem*" (the straight path, or the path of righteous guidance) illustrates the concept of utilising both religious identity and practices as a means of resistance. Zine (2001, p. 399) describes this sura as a way of "defying negativity", and suggests that for Muslims living in non-Muslim societies, remaining on the "straight path" acquires a distinct relationship to their acculturation experience. Common practices for youth in Western cultures such as premarital sex, drug and alcohol use are *haraam*[5] in Islam. Therefore, through maintenance of religious practices and identity Muslim youth are able to actively resist engaging in the normative and potentially risky behaviours of their host national peers. However, it must be acknowledged that maintaining religiosity can be difficult to in a society where integration may create conflict between deeply held religious and moral values and the values and practices of the host society.

Jacobson (1998) argues religiosity flourishes in situations where there are contradictory demands on identity and behaviour, such as is the case with migrants residing in an environment that is culturally distant from their home country. In fact, Jacobsen (1998) found that when young Pakistani-Muslims felt ambivalence over their ethnic and national identities, they were more likely to regard religion as the most important part of identity,

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[5] Strictly forbidden

effectively forming an "anchor" with which to ground one's sense of the self. With regards to religious practices, Khan (2000) found that through various symbolic religious activities, such as performing prayer, fasting, celebrating festivals, wearing traditional dress, and attending the mosque, Muslim women were able to create a sense of belonging, meaning and community despite the experience of discrimination.

Research indicates that maintenance of religious identity and religious affiliation are important for Muslim immigrants, although they are often treated as indistinct parts of religiosity (Ghaffari & Ciftci, 2010). In this study, a clear delineation is made between religious behaviours (e.g., religious participation/frequency of prayer and mosque attendance; Lewis, 2002a), and religious identification (e.g., religious beliefs and attitudes;Wilde & Joseph, 1997). As Haque (2004) outlines, religious identity relates to internal virtues (a desire to seek knowledge of self and knowledge of God) whereas religious practices relate to external virtues (acts of worship, doing good to others and following Islamic rules of attire, eating, cleanliness, relationships, etc.). External and internal virtues complement one another and both are necessary for the well-being of the individual. Similarly, religious identity and practices are related but they are not the same. For example, an individual may strongly identify with their religion, and not necessarily engage in religious practices, or engage in practices and yet experience little identification with their religion (Ghaffari & Ciftci, 2010; Mitchell, 2006). In order to gain a better understanding of how religion functions in the acculturation process, these will be treated as interrelated, albeit distinct elements of religiosity.

This section has outlined how religious identity and practices are interrelated and each has been found to predict positive adaptation. Therefore, it is hypothesised that the two dimensions of religiosity will be positively intercorrelated (3a). It is also hypothesised that the religious factors will account for unique variance in the hierarchical regression models (3b). Furthermore it is suggested that when constructed as a latent variable, religious factors will have a direct positive effect on adaptation (3c). The relationships between religious factors and stress will be discussed in the following section.

Stressors

Stress is a highly subjective experience that is a result of psychological and physical reactions to life events. The causes of and reactions to stressors are incredibly diverse, although it has been widely found that stress leads to negative outcomes among the general population. Higher levels of stress have been found to weaken one's cognitive resources,

increase tension on the immune system, contribute to a variety of diseases (e.g., diabetes, arthritis), and lead to an array of psychological symptoms such as depression, PTSD and anxiety disorders (Miranda & Matheny, 2000; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Somerfield & McCrae, 2000). For adolescents, and particularly for minorities, stress has also been found to relate to suicidal ideation, delinquency, as well as alcohol and drug use (Crockett et al., 2007; Holleran & Jung, 2005; Hovey & King, 1996; Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil, & Warheit, 1995; Yakushko, 2008).

"Acculturative" Stress

For immigrants and refugees, the process of cultural transition poses unique challenges which produce greater distress than the normal stressors of everyday living. There are several sources of continued stress for individuals undergoing cultural transition including the experience of relocation itself, loss of social support networks, the challenges of sociocultural adaptation, and dealing with a potentially prejudicial host environment (Berry, 2006; Yakushko, 2008). The experience of stress within an acculturation paradigm has traditionally been referred to as "culture shock" and is characterised by of a lack of familiar cues about behaviour, a need to reinterpret values, as well as psychological and emotional disorientation (Pedersen, 2006; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Berry (2006) argues that the experience of "culture shock" does not fully capture the potential for positive outcomes and suggests that the stress resulting directly from the acculturation process is better labelled "acculturative stress". Additionally, because acculturative stress is rooted in experiences of change that challenge an individual's cultural understandings about how to live, stressors cannot be dealt with by simply adjusting or assimilating to them, as the complex interplay of stressors, resources and outcomes must be taken into account (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 1987; Williams & Berry, 1991). Therefore, according to broader stress and adaptation paradigms (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), stress must be considered as an element of an adaptation process.

General models of stress posit that perceiving a situation as threatening or beyond one's resources leads to maladaptation (Crockett et al., 2007; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Therefore, when the pressures of acculturation are perceived as stressful, this is likely to result in negative outcomes. Many studies have supported an association between acculturative stress and maladaptation. In fact acculturative stress has been found to be related to depression and anxiety, feelings of isolation and exclusion, heightened psychosomatic symptoms, suicidal ideation, mental health issues, marginalization and

identity confusion (Berry et al., 1987; Crockett et al., 2007; Hovey & King, 1996; Kosic, 2004; Yeh, 2003).

However, these studies do not take a uniform approach to measurement and conceptualisation of the construct. Acculturative stress has been conceptualized as negative affect, value and linguistic tensions, psychological distress, mental health problems, intergenerational conflict, identity confusion and discrimination (Berry et al., 1987; Holleran & Jung, 2005; Hovey & King, 1996; Kosic, 2004; Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987). Rudmin (2009, p. 114) argues that the vast majority of studies which proclaim to measure acculturative stress actually measure "the negative outcomes that stress is presumed to cause" and not the stress itself. Rudmin (2009) goes on to suggest that if acculturative stress is measured using a multidimensional scale, a variety of constructs may be confounded. For instance, some measures of acculturative stress include measures of discrimination (e.g., Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987). While it is widely found that discrimination does have a significant impact on the acculturation process and may cause increases in stress (Ahmed, Kia-Keating, & Tsai, in press; García-Coll et al., 1996), a number of studies have indicated that acculturation research should include independent measures of perceived discrimination (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Perhoniemi, 2007; Krieger, Smith, Naishadham, Hartman, & Barbeau, 2005; Phinney, Madden, & Santos, 1998; Verkuyten, 1998).

The qualitative results of the previous study indicate that stress should include elements of perceived discrimination as well as elements of stress caused by cultural differences (e.g., lifestyle, language, food, dress). Therefore, in order to effectively operationalise the stress that arises from the acculturation process, this thesis will measure the stress of cultural transition (in lieu of the problematic formulation of acculturative stress) and the stress caused by perceived discrimination separately (as components of a latent "stress" construct). This conceptualisation is in accordance with previous research that points to the importance of considering discrimination and "acculturative" stress when assessing for psychological distress with ethnic minority youth.

It is hypothesised that measures of cultural transition stress and discrimination stress will be intercorrelated (4a). Additionally, previous research has consistently found that stress rooted in the acculturation process is associated with poorer adaptation for immigrants and the influence of perceived discrimination on migrants' adaptation is uniformly negative. Furthermore, research has demonstrated that perceived discrimination is one of the most influential predictors of poor psychological adaptation (e.g., mental health, self-esteem,

satisfaction with life) (Lin, 2007; Vedder, Sam, & Liebkind, 2007; Ward, 2001). Therefore, it is hypothesised that stress will account for unique variance in adaptation outcomes for Muslim migrant youth over and above resources (4b). Additionally, when constructed as a latent variable, stress will negatively predict adaptation (4c).

Religiosity and Stress

A recent review of the literature highlights the potential moderating effects of ethnic identity on the relationship between discrimination (conceptualised as a stressor) on psychological outcomes (Brondolo, Brady Ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009). In their review, Brondolo et al. (2009) found that ethnic identity may serve as a coping mechanism that buffers the detrimental consequences of discrimination, in that ethnic belonging acts to ameliorate feelings of exclusion and protect individuals from injuries to self-esteem or distress (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Phinney, 1991).

Because religiosity tends to be the most salient target of discriminatory attitudes and is the basis for many of the stressors of cultural transition (e.g., lifestyle, appearance and food) for Muslim migrant youth, it may also be the case that religiosity affects the relationships between stress and adaptation. For example, higher levels of stress are hypothesised to lead to poor adaptation, however when individuals strongly identify or practice their religion, the negative association between stress and maladaptation may be exacerbated. In fact, research conducted with Muslim women in New Zealand found that women with stronger religious identities experienced lower life satisfaction and greater psychological problems under conditions of perceived discrimination (Jasperse, 2009). However, other studies have found that in the face of discrimination, individuals who have high levels of identification with the marginalised group fare better (Verkuyten, 2007a). The Rejection-Identification Model proposed by Branscombe and colleagues suggests that individuals will identify more with their in-group when negatively evaluated by an out-group in order to protect their self-esteem (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002). In order to explore the effects of religiosity on adaptation, the following research question is posed: does religiosity moderate the effect of stress on adaptation (RQ1)?

Demographics and Stress

Another important point to note is that levels of stress may differ across generation of immigration, ethnic group and gender. Some studies have found that first-generation

immigrants experience greater stress than later-generation individuals, with each succeeding generation experiencing lesser stress (Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987; Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1985). This is thought to be a product of the higher levels of sociocultural competence of second and subsequent generations. However, studies have also found that recently arrived immigrants often experience less discrimination, and have better adjustment outcomes that those who have resided in the country for a longer time (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Ward, 2007).

In addition to generational status, ethnic groups of immigrants within the same country have been found to have different experiences of discrimination and acculturative stress (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). While it has been suggested that visible ethnic groups experience higher levels of stress which, in turn, leads to poorer psychological adaptation, there is no consensus in the literature that points to this conclusion. Finally, research has generally found that there are few differences between the genders on levels of acculturative stress and perceived discrimination. In their review of the literature, Suárez-Orozco and Qin (2006) found that acculturation research with immigrant youth does not often acknowledge gender differences. Where gender is considered, research finds that immigrant boys are more likely than immigrant girls to engage in risky behaviours, and girls experience greater difficulty negotiating different cultural values (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). In order to address the unanswered questions and inconclusive evidence, the following research question is proposed: do levels of stress vary by gender, generation of migration and ethnic group (RQ2)?

Summary of Hypotheses

In summary, the current study examines the effect of resources and risks on adaptation for Muslim youth in New Zealand. A summary of the hypotheses and research question for the current study is presented in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.1 *Study 2 hypotheses*

Intercultural Factors
1a Attitudes toward integration, perceived multicultural environment, ethnic identity and national identity will be positively intercorrelated.
1b The domain of intercultural factors will account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation.

1c There will be a direct positive effect of intercultural factors on adaptation.

1d There will be a direct negative effect of intercultural factors on stress.

1e Stress will mediate the effect of intercultural factors on adaptation.

Family Factors

2a Family current assistance, respect and congruence will be positively intercorrelated.

2b The domain of family factors will account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation.

2c There will be a direct positive effect of family factors on adaptation.

2d There will be a direct negative effect of family factors on stress.

2e Stress will mediate the effect of family factors on adaptation.

Religious Factors

3a Religious identity and religious practices will be positively intercorrelated.

3b The domain of religious factors will account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation.

3c There will be a direct positive effect from intercultural factors to adaptation.

Stress

4a Discrimination distress and cultural transition distress will be positively intercorrelated.

4b The domain of stress will account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation.

4c There will be a direct negative effect of stress on adaptation.

RQ1 Does religion moderate the effect of stress on adaptation?

RQ2 Do levels of stress vary by gender, generation of migration and ethnic group?

Method

Procedure

Ethical approval for this study was granted by Victoria University of Wellington's psychological ethics committee. Participants were recruited for the paper version of the survey by snowballing ethnic communities. This was facilitated through personal networks (particularly previous interview and focus group participants) and two research assistants who were members of the Muslim community. Participants were also recruited for the online version of the survey through advertisements on electronic networks (e.g., Aotearoa Ethnic Network, Islamic Associations mailing list). The incentive given for participation was a $10 voucher of choice for petrol, groceries or one adult movie ticket. All participants were given

an information sheet (Appendix B1) before the administration of the survey and then asked to fill out the questionnaire (Appendix B3). On completion of the paper survey participants were given debriefing information and invited to fill in their contact details and place it in an anonymous envelope in order to receive their voucher (Appendix B4). On completion of the online survey, participants were given the option to receive a voucher by opening a new browser window (not connected to their survey information) and to enter their information.

Participants

This research sampled first and second generation Muslim migrant youth in New Zealand. In total, 161 young people completed the survey instrument although 155 participants (aged 16 to 27 years, $M = 20$, $SD = 3.6$) were used in the final analysis. Six participants were excluded from the study for falling outside of the age criteria. The gender ratio was unevenly split with 108 females (70%) and 47 males (30%). Thirty-five (23%) of the participants were born in New Zealand, 7 (30%) of these young people had one New Zealand born parent while for 28 (70%) both parents were born overseas, indicating that all New Zealand born participants can be considered as second generation immigrants. One hundred and nineteen participants (77%) were born overseas and had parents who were also born overseas, indicating that they are first generation immigrants. The mean length of time in New Zealand for these first generation immigrants was 9 years ($SD = 5.82$), although the range was large (1- 26 years). Thirty-six (23%) of the participants were from refugee backgrounds.

The majority of the sample (127, 84%) indicated that English was not their ethnic language, although proficiency in English was rated very high overall with a mean of 4.54 (SD = .76) on a 5 point scale. Participants rated their ethnic language proficiency significantly lower than their English proficiency, $t(143) = 4.50$, $p < .01$, with a mean of 4.02 ($SD = .98$). In terms of highest level of education, 75 (49%) of the young people had completed some secondary school and 78 (51%) had completed a tertiary level qualification. However, level of education was highly correlated with age $r = .62$, $p < .01$, meaning that older participants have higher levels of education overall.

The self defined ethnicities of the participants were very broad, including ethnic labels (e.g., Hazara, Persian and Pashtun), and national labels (e.g., Sri Lankan and Somali). Participants were categorised into four ethnic groups using their self-labelled ethnicities as well as the information concerning their parent's birthplace and ethnicity. These groups are: Asian (n = 80) (Bangladeshi, Cambodian, Pakistani, Fijian Indian, Indian, Indonesian,

Malaysian and Sri Lankan), Middle Eastern (n = 37) (Afghani, Omani, Iranian, Iraqi, Lebanese and Palestinian), African (n = 31) (Ethiopian, Somali, Egyptian, Tunisian and Eritrean), and mixed New Zealand European heritage (n = 7).

Materials

The questionnaire constructed for the current study includes four sections measuring (1) demographic information, (2) stressors (discrimination and cultural transition), (3) resources (intercultural, family, and religion), and (4) adaptation outcomes (well-being, depression and behaviour problems). A detailed description of the measures in each section follows. The full questionnaire is available in Appendix B3.

Demographic variables

The first section of the questionnaire included a range of demographic questions, these are as follows; age, gender, birthplace, amount of time in New Zealand, level of education, religion, ethnicity, parental demographics (ethnicity, birthplace and religion), refugee status, native language, and proficiency in both English and ethnic language.

Stressors

This section included two measures representing the major stressors associated with minority development in a majority context, these being discrimination and cultural transition.

Discrimination stress

The amount of distress caused by religious discrimination was measured using a modification of Noh and Kaspar's (2003) general perceived discrimination scale. Four of the items from the original scale were used in addition to *"You are treated with less respect than other people"*, *"People act as though they are better than you"* and *"People act as though they are afraid of you"*, resulting in a 7 item scale. The introduction to the measure makes specific reference to religiously motivated discrimination *"The following questions relate to experiences of discrimination or unfair treatment: How much distress does it cause you when people treat you in the following ways because of your religious background?"* Unlike previous scales which tend to measure the frequency of perceived discrimination, the following scale was modified to measure stress. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which acts of discrimination caused distress on a 5-point scale ranging from *Not at all*

distressed (1) to *Very distressed* (5). High scores indicate high levels of distress caused by discrimination. This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .87.

Cultural transition stress

The amount of distress caused by cultural transition was measured using a modification of Spradley and Phillips (1972) Cultural Readjustment Rating Scale. Nineteen of the original 33 items were chosen based on their applicability to the Muslim youth sample. The introduction to the measure is as follows; *"Things might be done differently in NZ society than in other places. Below is a list of some of the ways cultures might differ from one another: How much distress does it cause you to have to adjust to the following differences?"* The items in this scale range from tangible aspects of the environment, for example *"The type of food eaten"* to more complex components of social interaction, for example, *"The degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women"*. Unlike the original scale which was based upon an arbitrary rating system, the following scale was modified to measure stress. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which areas of cultural transition caused distress on a 5-point scale ranging from *Not at all distressed* (1) to *Very distressed* (5). High scores indicate high levels of distress caused by cultural transition. This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .90.

Resources

The section included a variety of measures representing the potential resources Muslim youth can draw upon in their environment. These resources are based in three categories, (1) intercultural; including attitudes towards integration (ATI), perceived multicultural environment (PME), ethnic identity and national identity, (2) family; including current assistance, respect and congruence, and (3) religious; including religious identity and religious practices.

Attitudes Toward Integration (ATI)

Integration attitudes were assessed with a 5-item scale taken from the overall measure of acculturation attitudes originally developed for the International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (ICSEY) project by Berry et al. (2006). The original measure assessed all four acculturation strategies across five domains in which young people in intercultural settings are likely to have preferences about: cultural traditions, language, marriage, social activities, and friends. The measure used in the current study solely focused on the attitudes one has towards integration, or the act of taking on the national culture whilst also maintain

one's ethnic cultures, e.g. (cultural traditions item) *"I feel that my ethnic group should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adapt to those of New Zealand"*. Participants rate how much they agree with the statements on a 5-point scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .68 and a mean inter-item correlation .31.

Perceived Multicultural Environment (PME)

This 3 item scale was developed for the purpose of this study and measures the degree to which participants believe multiculturalism to be important and the degree to which diversity is accepted and tolerance is promoted in the society of settlement. It includes two positively worded items, *"Multiculturalism in New Zealand is a good thing"* and *"Many groups mix freely in New Zealand"* and one reverse coded item, *"It is bad that there are so many people of different backgrounds in New Zealand"*. Participants rate how much they agree with the statements on a 5-point scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived multiculturalism. This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .65 and a mean inter-item correlation of .33.

Ethnic Identity

This is a 5 item scale consisting of 3 items from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure *(MEIM: Phinney, 1992)* assessing ethnic affirmation, e.g., *"I am happy to be a member of my ethnic group"* and 2 items that were developed for the purposes of this study that measure the degree to which one "thinks" of themselves as a member of their ethnic group and how important they believe it is to be a member of their ethnic group. Participants rate how much they agree with the statements on a 5-point scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .81.

National Identity

This 5 item scale uses the same items as the ethnic identity scale with the referent changed from "*ethnic*" to "*national*". This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .73.

Family Current Assistance and Respect

The items for the current assistance and respect scales were taken from the family obligations scale developed by Fuligni, Tseng and Lam *(1999)* which measures young adults' expectations for family involvement and their perceived responsibility to their families. The domain of current assistance includes 6 items that measure how often participants engage in a

88

series of activities related to their spending time with their family, e.g., *"Spend time with your family during the weekends",* whereas respect includes 5 items that refer to how often the participant defers to their parents in making decisions and how much respect they give family members, e.g. *"Follow your parents' advice about choosing a job or major in college".* Participants rate how much they agree with the statements on a 5-point scale ranging from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). These scales yielded Cronbach's α scores of .77 and .70 respectively.

Family Congruence

The Intergenerational Congruence in Immigrant Families Child Scale (ICIF-CS: Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2004) measures the degree to which children feel as though there is congruence between their behaviours and values and the behaviours and values of their parents. The ICIF-CS has 8 items rated on a 5-point scale *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5). Seven items measure perceived agreement between child and parent on values and behaviours such as; *"My family and I agree on the aims, goals, and things believed to be important in life"* and *"My family and I generally talk things over together".* The last item measures the overall satisfaction that the respondent has with their parents; *"I am satisfied with the relationship with my family".* The ICIF-CS was shown to have good test-retest reliability, convergent, criterion and construct validity among immigrant youth. Higher scores on this measure relate to feelings of congruence between an individual and their parents. This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .89.

Religious Identity

This is a measure of identity based on Islamic traditions. Two subscales were adapted from Cameron (2004) in order to incorporate elements of identity centrality (the amount of time spent thinking about being a group member), and in-group affect (the positivity of feelings associated with membership in the group). The identity centrality subscale comprises seven items such as *"Being a Muslim is an important reflection of who I am".* The in-group affect subscale has five items such as *"In general, I am glad to be Muslim"* and the in-group ties subscale consists of five items such as *"I feel strong ties with other Muslims".* Participants rated the extent to which they agree with a given item on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (5). Total scores for the subscales were combined to provide an indication of religious identity overall, with higher scores indicating stronger psychological identification with Islam. This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .85.

Religious Practices

The Islamic practice scale was developed by Jasperse (2009) in consultation with Muslim migrant community in New Zealand. The scale relates to four of the five pillars of Islam i.e., *"I pray five times a day"* and *"I fast during Ramadan"* and includes an additional 5 religious practices i.e., *"I read the Quran"* and *"I attend the mosque."* Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they engage in a given practice on a 5- point Likert scale ranging from *Never* (1) to *Very often* (5). High scores indicate a high frequency of engagement in Islamic practices. This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .81.

Well-being

Well-being was assessed with a 10 item scale assessing life satisfaction and meaning in life. Five items assessed from the Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985) life satisfaction scale were used. This scale has demonstrated good reliability and validity across a range of cultural contexts (Berry et al., 2006b). Items from this scale concern affect and satisfaction with life choices, e.g., *"I am satisfied with my life"* and *"If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing"*. Five items are taken from the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ: Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006) in order to assess the degree to which one feels their life has meaning, e.g., *"My life has a clear sense of purpose"*. Participants indicate the extent to which they agree with each statement on a 5-point scale ranging from *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (5). High scores on this scale indicate greater well being. This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .83.

Depression

Depression was assessed with a modified 12 item version of Zung (1965) Self-rating Depression Scale (ZSDS). The items in the ZSDS measure affective, physiological, and cognitive components of depression, e.g., *"I fell down hearted and blue"*. Participants respond to each statement on a 4-point rating scale from *never* (1) to *most of the time* (4) with higher scores indicative of greater depression. The ZSDS has been used extensively in cross-cultural research and has consistently proven to be reliable in cross-cultural studies (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .77.

Behaviour Problems

Behaviour problems were assessed with an 8-item scale measuring deviant behaviours which was also developed for the ICSEY project from Olweus' antisocial behaviour scale

(Bendixen & Olweus, 1999, cited in Berry et al., 2006b). Because the original 10 item scale referred to behaviours in a school setting, 8 items were modified to fit the larger age range of this study and 2 items that were not applicable to participants were removed. The remaining 8 items assess common deviant behaviours among youth, e.g., "*Purposely destroyed things*" and "*Drawn graffiti on property that wasn't yours*". Participants indicate the extent to which they have engaged in these behaviours in the past year on a 5-point scale ranging from *Never* (1) to *Many times during the last year* (5). This scale yielded a Cronbach's α of .79.

Results

This section is divided into three major parts; (1) The descriptive analysis of the data, including reliability of the measures and analysis of the stressors (discrimination stress and cultural transition stress), (2) development of predictive models of adaptation and the modelling of interactions between stressors and religious factors, and (3) structural equation model testing the relationships between stressors, resources and outcomes.

Descriptive Analysis

Scale descriptives and reliabilities are illustrated in Table 3.2. All but two of the measures had acceptable Cronbach's α scores, ranging between .73 to .90. The exceptions were the attitudes toward integration scale (ATI) and the perceived multicultural environment scale (PME), which had Cronbach's α scores of .68 and .65 respectively. The cut-off Cronbach's α is generally considered to be .70, although some researchers indicate that levels of .60 can be considered as satisfactory, especially when the measure consists of 5 or less items (Clark & Watson, 1995). For these scales, the mean inter-item correlation was calculated to further examine reliability (a method which is appropriate for scales of less than ten items). The results show the mean inter-item correlation fell between the recommended optimal range of .2 to.4, (.30 and .33 respectively) establishing internal consistency despite the <.70 alpha (Briggs & Cheek, 1986; Field, 2005).

Mean scores on the stress measures (discrimination and cultural transition) were both below the mid-point of the scale, indicating that low levels of stress are experienced overall. This was also the case for negative adaptation outcomes, with the means of both depression and behaviour problems falling on and below the mid-point of the scale. Results indicate that there are also very high levels of resources overall in the sample, with many of the scales having mean levels close to or over 4 on a 5 point scale.

Table 3.2 *Descriptives and reliabilities of measures*

	N	Range	Scale *M*	Item *M*	Item *SD*	α
1. Well-being	10	15-50	34.57	3.12	.57	.83
2. Depression	12	13-44	23.95	2.00	.46	.77
3. Behaviour Problems	8	8-32	11.76	1.47	.53	.79
4. Discrimination Stress	7	7-33	13.89	1.98	.98	.87
5. Cultural Transition Stress	19	19-79	37.96	2.00	.70	.90
6. Attitudes Toward Integration (ATI)	5	5-25	19.03	3.81	.74	.68
7. Perceived Multicultural Environment (PME)	3	3-15	13.00	4.33	.60	.65
8. New Zealand Identity	5	11-25	19.05	3.81	.76	.81
9. Ethnic Identity	5	10-25	19.85	3.97	.74	.73
10. Family Current Assistance	6	12-30	24.84	4.14	.56	.77
11. Family Respect	5	8-25	19.45	3.89	.65	.70
12. Family Congruence	8	8-40	28.74	3.59	.81	.89
13. Religious Identity	10	26-50	43.24	4.32	.53	.85
14. Religious Practices	9	20-45	36.19	4.02	.62	.81

Descriptive Analysis of Discrimination Stress

In order to explore whether some elements of discrimination are rated as more stressful than others, a repeated measures within-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the items in the discrimination distress scale (see Table 3.3 for item Ms and SDs). The analysis revealed there is a significant difference among the discrimination items, Wilk's λ= .80, $F(6, 131) = 5.26$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .20$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that items 1 and 2 (*People act as though they are better than you* and *You are excluded or ignored*) caused significantly more stress than items 5 and 7 (*People act as though they are afraid of you* and *You are harassed*). These results indicate that implicit types of discrimination cause more stress than explicit types of discrimination.

Table 3.3 *Ms and SDs of discrimination items*

	M	SD
1. People act as though they are better than you.	2.35a	1.37
2. You are excluded or ignored	2.19a	1.36
3. You are treated with less respect than other people.	1.97	1.25
4. You receive poorer service than other people.	2.03	1.33
5. People act as though they are afraid of you.	1.83b	1.12
6. You are called names or insulted.	2.02	1.42
7. You are threatened or harassed.	1.77b	1.33

a Significantly more stress than items 5 & 7
b Significantly less stress than items 1 & 2

In order to address RQ2, whether stress is rated significantly differently by gender, generation of migration and ethnic group, a 2-way factorial ANOVA and an ANCOVA were conducted. The ANOVA assessed levels of discrimination stress as a function of gender and generational status. A marginal significant main effect was found for gender, $F(1, 131) =$ 3.72, $p <.10$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, with females indicating higher levels of stress ($M = 2.05$, $SD =$ 1.03) than males ($M = 1.85$, $SD = .86$). This analysis also revealed a marginally significant interaction between gender and generational status, $F(1, 131) = 3.64$, $p <.10$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. This result suggests that there is no difference in the amount of stress experienced by first and second generation females (first $M = 2.05$, second $M= 2.07$) however for males, the second generation ($M= 1.26$) report lower levels of stress than the first generation ($M = 2.05$).

To determine whether discrimination stress significantly differed according to ethnic background (Middle Eastern, African and Asian[6]) of the young person, an ANCOVA was conducted with English language proficiency as a covariate. The analysis revealed a significant effect for the covariate, English proficiency, $F (1,122) = 6.15$, $p <.05$, partial $\eta^2 =$ .05), however no significant main effect was found between ethnic groups. These analyses address RQ2, demonstrating that gender influenced levels of discrimination stress, whereas generation of migration and ethnic group did not.

Descriptive Analysis of Cultural Transition Stress

In order to explore whether some elements of cultural transition are rated as more stressful than others, a repeated measures within-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the items in the cultural transition distress scale (see Table 3.4 for item Ms and

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[6] All mixed Pākehā heritage participants were removed from the analysis (n = 8) given the insufficient numbers

SDs). The analysis revealed a significant difference for area of cultural transition, Wilk's $\lambda =$ .54, $F(18, 131) = 5.48$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .46$. Pairwise comparisons reveal that there are a number of significant differences in the ratings on the items, consequently the most salient results will be discussed. Two of the items were rated significantly higher than the majority of the other items, these were item 11 *"The amount of body contact such as touching or standing close."* and item 12 *"The degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women."* Additionally, item 2 *"The type of clothes worn"* was rated higher than many of the other items, but was not significantly different from items 11 and 12 (see description above). Conversely, item 14 *"The way people act and feel towards friends."* was rated significantly lower than the majority of the other items. These results indicate that areas of cultural transition related to relationships with members of the opposite sex are more stressful than areas of cultural transition related to everyday living and friendship.

Table 3.4 *Ms and SDs of cultural transition items*

	M	*SD*
1. The type of food eaten.	2.06	1.18
2. The type of clothes worn.	2.21	1.32
3. The number of people who are of different ethnicities than you.	1.77	1.07
4. What offends people.	2.07	1.07
5. The language spoken.	1.85	1.16
6. How ambitious (or not) people are.	1.96	1.05
7. The amount of privacy young people have.	2.08	1.14
8. Type of recreation and leisure time activities.	1.86	1.10
9. How parents treat children.	2.18	1.20
10. The sense of closeness (or lack of) felt among family members.	2.14	1.24
11. The amount of body contact such as touching or standing close.	2.35	1.33
12. The degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women.	2.69	1.36
13. General standard of living.	1.77	.98
14. The way people act and feel towards friends.	1.71	.91
15. The number of people of your religious faith.	1.88	1.22
16. How much friendliness and hospitality people express.	1.77	1.10
17. Your own opportunities (or lack of) for social contacts.	2.08	1.24
18. How free and independent women seem to be.	1.82	1.17
19. How formal or informal people are.	1.90	1.11

In order to address RQ2, whether stress in rated significantly differently by gender, generation of migration and ethnic group, a 2-way factorial ANOVA and an ANCOVA were conducted. The ANOVA assessed levels of cultural transition stress as a function of gender and generational status. A significant main effect was found for gender, $F(1, 141) = 8.94$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, with females reporting higher levels of stress ($M = 2.09$, $SD = .74$) than males ($M = 1.81$, $SD = .57$), no significant effect was found for generational status. A significant interaction between gender and generational status emerged $F(1, 141) = 3.92$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, indicating that there is no difference in the amount of cultural transition stress experienced by first and second generation females (first $M = 2.12$, second $M = 2.08$). However for males, the second generation ($M = 1.40$) report lower levels of stress than the first generation ($M = 1.93$).

To determine whether cultural transition stress differed according to the ethnic background of the young person, an ANCOVA was conducted on the three ethnic categories whilst controlling for English language proficiency. The analysis revealed a significant effect for the covariate, English language proficiency, $F(1,141) = 5.19$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, however no significant main effect was found between ethnic groups. These analyses address RQ2, demonstrating that, similarly to the results on discrimination, gender influenced levels of cultural transition stress, whereas generation of migration and ethnic group did not.

Correlational Analysis

Correlation analyses are conducted in order to assess the degree to which items in each domain (intercultural, family, religious, and stress) are intercorrelated. Hypotheses (1a, 2b, 3b, and 4a) predict that the measures in each domain significantly correlate with each other. Results from the correlational analysis on resources demonstrate that measures which are considered as intercultural factors (attitudes toward integration (ATI), perceived multicultural environment (PME), national identity and ethnic identity) significantly correlate with one another ranging from $r = .19$ to $.50$. The measures of family factors (current assistance, respect and congruence) were also significantly correlated

Table 3.5 *Correlation matrix of measures in the NZ sample N=155*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Well-being													
2. Depression	-.57**												
3. Behaviour Problems	-.24**	.23**											
4. Discrimination stress	-.18*	.23**	.16										
5. Cultural Transition stress	-.22**	.22**	.28**	.52**									
6. ATI	.04	-.02	-.09	-.18*	-.09								
7. PME	.11	-.24**	-.33**	-.09	-.07	.32**							
8. National Identity	.19*	-.12	-.06	-.10	-.07	.50**	.43**						
9. Ethnic Identity	.12	-.06	-.16	.08	.16	.19*	.36**	.37**					
10. Family Current Assistance	.24**	-.14	-.17*	.13	.10	.02	.14	.07	.22**				
11. Family Respect	.07	.05	-.21**	.21**	.18*	.03	.14	.02	.28**	.44**			
12. Family Congruence	.10	-.15	-.29**	.01	.02	-.08	.20*	.03	.05	.26**	.45**		
13. Religious Identity	.20*	-.25**	-.15	.10	.07	.08	.16	-.04	.19*	.01	.35**	.01	
14 .Religious Practices	.37**	-.29**	-.15	-.05	.05	.13	.08	-.03	.10	.21**	.36**	.20**	.46**

*p < .05   **p <.01

(rs = .22 to.44, p <.01), as were the religious factors (identity and practices) (r = .46, p < .01). Discrimination stress and cultural transition stress correlated strongly with one another at r = .52, p < .01, indicating that they are measuring distinct, albeit related, components of stress. The measures of adaptation outcomes also significantly correlate with one another (rs = -.57 to.23, p < .01). These findings support predictions, indicating that the measures in each domain are significantly intercorrelated.

Predictive Models

Hierarchical regression models were conducted on each of the adaptation outcomes (well-being, psychological symptoms and behaviour problems) in order to test the predictions that each of the measurement domains would account for unique variance in the adaptation outcomes (hypotheses 1b, 2b, 3b and 4b), and to address the research question of whether religious factors moderate the effect of stress on adaptation (RQ1). Demographics of interest included in the predictive models are: generation of immigration, gender and ethnic group. Zero order correlations between other demographic variables (age, level of education, English proficiency, and ethnic language proficiency and refugee background) were investigated in order to assess whether there were other important variables to include in the analyses. Results found that there was only one significant correlation between the demographic and outcome variables, the correlation between refugee background and behaviour problems. Due to this significant finding, the effect of refugee background was controlled for in the predictive models. Each model consisted of six steps: (1) demographics[7], (2) intercultural factors, (3) family factors, (4) religious factors, (5) stressors, and (6) the interactions between stressors and religious factors. A stepwise method was utilised in order to assess the cumulative effect of resources on the outcome measures. Following recommendations by Cohen and colleagues (2003) the main effects of stressors and religious factors were centred before entry into the regression model. The possibility of multicollinearity was checked using the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF). A high VIF (greater than 10) indicates excessive collinearity (Field, 2005). The results indicated that in each hierarchical entry all of the independent variables were within the recommended range. This suggests that despite the relatively high correlations between some of the measures, multicollinearity was not an issue.

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[7] Note that generation status is dummy coded 0= 2nd generation 1= 1st generation and refugee status is coded 0 = non- refugee background 1= refugee background.

Predictive Model of Well-being

It was predicted that intercultural factors, family factors, religious factors and stress would each account for unique variance in the prediction of well-being. Results find that first two steps of the model (demographics, and intercultural factors) did not significantly predict well-being. Although hypothesis 1b stipulated intercultural factors would account for variance in the adaptation outcomes, the obtained findings do not support this prediction. In the 3rd step, family factors significantly added to the model, explaining 11% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .11$), supporting hypothesis 2b, that family factors account for variance the adaptation outcomes. In this step, current assistance emerged as a significant positive predictor of well-being ($\beta = .37$, $t = 2.83$, $p < .01$). The 4th step also significantly added to the model, explaining 15% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .15$), supporting hypothesis 3b, that religious factors account for variance in the adaptation outcomes. In this step, religious practices emerged as a significant positive predictor of well-being ($\beta = .39$, $t = 3.78$, $p < .01$). The addition of stressors in the 5th step did not significantly add to the predictive model, contrary to hypothesis 4b, that stress would account for variance in the adaptation outcomes. The final step was marginally significant, explaining an additional 7% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .07$). The interaction between religious practices and cultural transition stress emerged as a positive predictor of well-being ($\beta = -.50$, $t = -2.80$, $p < .01$), partially answering research question 1 and demonstrating that religion moderated the effect of stress on well-being. The final model accounted for 40% of the overall variance in well-being. Two variables significantly predicted well-being in the final model, family current assistance and religious practices Additionally, the interaction effect between religious practices and cultural transition stress predicted levels of well-being (additional analyses on this interaction effect are discussed below).

Table 3.6 *Hierarchical regression model of well-being*

	Well-being					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Demographics						
Gender	.07	.06	.03	-.07	-.03	-.04
Ethnic group	.06	.08	.06	.15	.08	.07
Generation	-.08	-.05	.00	.00	-.01	-.06
Refugee	-.01	.00	.01	-.16	-.16	-.05
2.Intercultural						
ATI		.06	.08	.04	.00	-.03
PME		-.02	.08	-.06	-.08	-.07

National Identity		.11	.17	.21	.19	.25
Ethnic Identity		-.01	-.08	-.06	-.02	-.05
3. Family						
Current Assistance			.37**	.33**	.31**	.28*
Respect			-.12	-.20	-.17	-.12
Congruence			.08	.05	.08	.11
4. Religion						
Identity (RI)				.10	.10	.13
Practices (RP)				.39**	.39	.25*
5. Stressors						
Discrimination (DS)					.03	-.01
Cultural Transition (CS)					-.22	-.07
6. Interactions						
DS x RI						-.07
DS x RP						.14
CS x RI						.00
CS x RP						-.36**
R^2	.014	.033	.144	.298	.331	.396
R^2 change	.014	.019	.110	.154	.033	.065
F	.33	.45	3.74**	9.34**	2.03	2.14

*p < .05**   p < .01

The interaction of cultural transition stress and religious practices on well-being

The statistical finding demonstrating the interaction effect of religious practices on cultural transition stress in the prediction of well-being was followed up by graphing and interpreting the results using Modgraph (Jose, 2008). Figure 3.1 illustrates the interaction effect. Simple slope computations were calculated to determine whether the slopes produced in the graph significantly differed from zero. Results reveal that cultural transition stress was not significantly associated with well-being for those who reported low and medium levels of engagement in religious practices (low simple slope = 0.25, $t(155) = 1.39$, $p = .17$, Cohen's d = .22, medium simple slope = -0.01, $t(155) = -0.56$, $p = .57$, Cohen's $d = .09$). However, for those who engaged in high levels of religious practices, greater cultural transition stress was associated with decreases in well-being (simple slope = -0.38, $t(155) = -2.95$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .47$). These results addresses research question 1, finding that religion moderates the effect of stress on adaptation, specifically, greater engagement in religious practices is associated with an increased susceptibility to the detrimental impact of cultural transition stress.

Figure 3.1 *Cultural transition stress x religious practices on well-being*
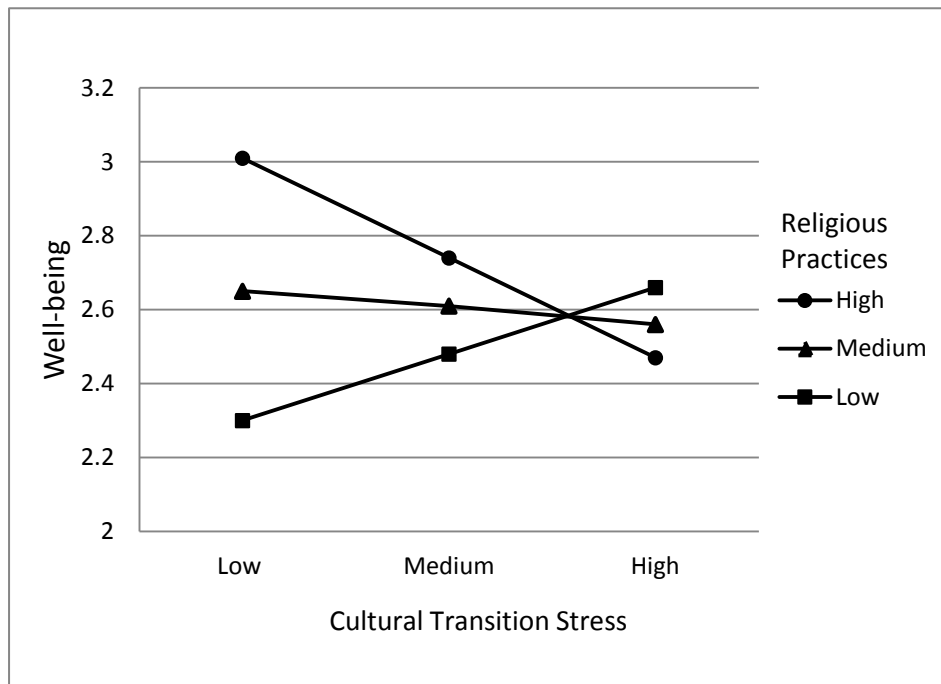
Predictive Model of Depression

It was predicted that intercultural factors, family factors, religious factors and stress would each account for unique variance in the prediction of depression. The 1st step of the model (demographics) did not significantly predict depression. The 2nd step (intercultural) significantly added to the model, explaining 12% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .12$), supporting hypothesis 1b, that intercultural factors account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation. In this step, perceived multicultural environment (PME) emerged as a significant negative predictor ($\beta = -.38$, $t = -3.07$, $p < .01$) of depression. The addition of family factors in step 3 also significantly added to the predictive model, explaining an additional 10% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .10$) supporting hypothesis 2b, that family factors account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation. Family current assistance emerged as a negative predictor of depression ($\beta = -.35$, $t = -2.70$, $p < .01$), while family respect emerged as a positive predictor of depression ($\beta = .35$, $t = 2.25$, $p < .05$). Step 4 (religion) significantly added to the model, supporting hypothesis 3b, that religious factors account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation, and explaining an additional 13% of the variance ($\Delta R^2 = .13$), with religious practices ($\beta = -.26$, $t = -2.38$, $p < .05$) emerging as significant predictor of depression. The addition of stress also significantly added to the

model ($\Delta R^2 = .05$), supporting hypothesis 4b, that stress accounts for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation, although neither discrimination stress nor cultural transition stress significantly predicted depression. The final step of the model explained an additional 13% of the variance ($\Delta R^2 = .13$). The interactions between both discrimination stress and cultural transition stress with religious identity ($\beta = -.51$, $t = -4.06$, $p < .01$ and $\beta = .43$, $t = 3.32$, $p < .01$) were significant. These findings address research question 1, demonstrating that religion moderated the effect of stress on depression. The final model explained 55% of the overall variance and the significant predictors were integration attitudes, multicultural endorsement, respect and the two interaction terms. These results found that PME predicts decreases in depression, although ATI and family respect work in the opposite direction, predicting increases in depression. However, examination of these beta weights in relation to the bivariate correlations suggests that the results for discrimination are likely due to a suppressor effect[8].

Table 3.7 *Hierarchical regression model of depression*

	Depression					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Demographics						
Gender	-.10	-.07	-.02	.07	.03	.10
Ethnic group	.00	.01	-.09	.03	.00	.00
Generation	-.04	-.04	-.16	-.13	-.14	-.06
Refugee	-.09	-.13	-.10	.05	.03	.10
2. Intercultural						
ATI		.23	.26*	.29*	.37**	.34**
PME		-.38**	-.34**	-.36**	-.33**	-.34**
New Zealand Identity		-.12	-.18	-.21	-.23	-.11
Ethnic Identity		.06	.06	.10	.05	.05
3. Family						
Current Assistance			-.35**	-.27*	-.27*	-.22
Respect			.35*	.33*	.30*	.27*
Congruence			-.09	-.07	-.07	-.13
4. Religion						
Identity (RI)				-.23	-.23*	-.18
Practices (RP)				-.26*	-.23*	-.17
5. Stress						
Discrimination stress (DS)					.05	.15
Cultural Transition stress (CS)					.21	.04
6. Interactions						

[8] A suppressor effect is when an additional variable entered into the regression equation acts to increase the regression coefficient between the independent variable and dependent variable by its inclusion in a regression equation (Cheung & Lau, 2007).

DS x RI						-.51**
DS x RP						.22
CS x RI						.43**
CS x RP						.00
R^2		.012	.149	.243	.372	.424	.550
R^2 change		.012	.137	.094	.129	.052	.126
F		.26	3.18*	3.14*	7.59**	3.28*	4.76**

*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

The interaction of discrimination stress and religious identity on depression

The statistical finding demonstrating the interaction effect of religious identity on discrimination in the prediction of depression was followed up by graphing and interpreting the results (Figure 3.2). Findings reveal that discrimination stress is not significantly associated with depression for individuals who moderately identify with their religion (simple slope = 0.09, $t(155) = 1.64$, $p = .10$, Cohen's $d = .22$). However, when religious identification is weak, greater discrimination stress is associated with increased depression (simple slope = 0.37, $t(262) = 3.87$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .62$). The opposite was true for strong religious identification, with results indicating that as discrimination stress increases, depression decreases (simple slope = -0.18, $t(262) = -2.24$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .36$). The results address research question 1, finding that religion moderates the effect of stress on adaptation, specifically greater religious identification buffers the negative effect of discrimination on depression, and weak religious identification exacerbates the negative effect of discrimination on depression.

Figure 3.2 *Discrimination stress x religious identity on depression*
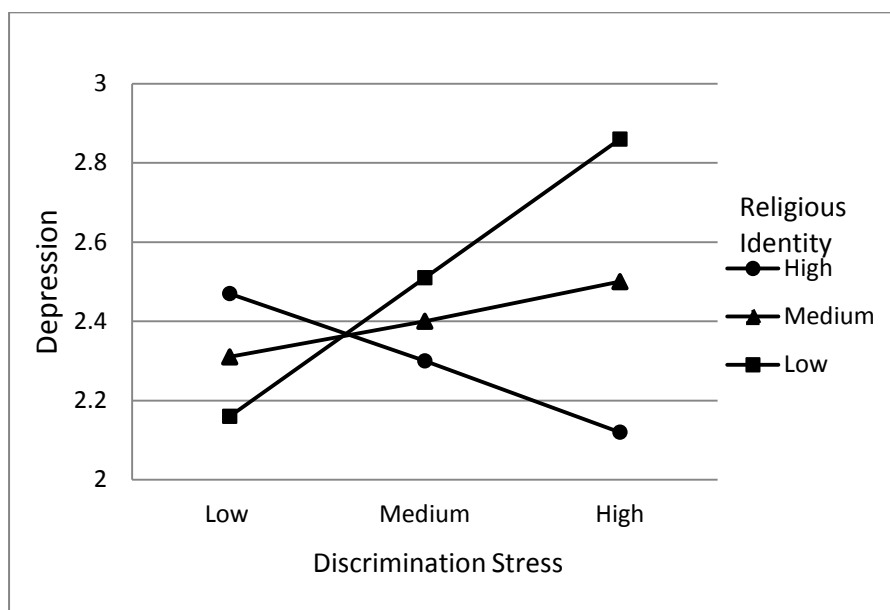
The interaction of cultural transition stress and religious identity on depression

Findings reveal a very different pattern from the interaction between discrimination stress and religious identity (Figure 3.3). In fact, it seems that the moderating effect of religious identity on cultural transition stress is opposite to the effect on discrimination stress. Specifically, cultural transition stress is not significantly associated with depression for individuals who have moderate levels of religious identity (simple slope = .01, $t(155) = .14$, $p = .89$, Cohen's $d = .02$). However, when religious identification is strong, greater cultural transition stress is related to increases in depression (simple slope = .34, $t(155) = 3.20$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .51$). The opposite is true for weak levels of religious identity, with results showing that as cultural transition stress increases, depression decreases (simple slope = -0.31, $t(262) = -2.05$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = .33$). The results research question 1, finding that religion moderates the effect of stress on adaptation. Specifically, stronger religious identification exacerbates the negative effect of cultural transition stress on depression, and weak religious identification buffers the negative effect of cultural transition stress on depression.

Figure 3.3 *Cultural transition stress x religious identity on depression*
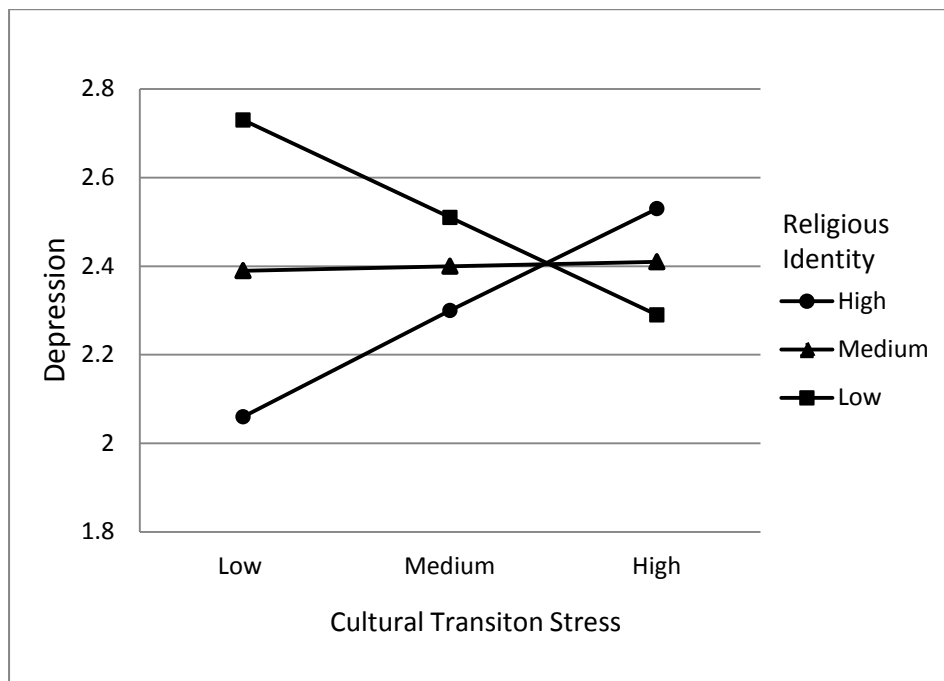
Predictive Model of Behaviour Problems

It was predicted that intercultural factors, family factors, religious factors and stress would each account for unique variance in the prediction of behaviour problems. In the 1st step of the model refugee status significantly positively predicted behaviour problems ($\beta = -.31$, $t = -2.96$, $p < .01$), indicating that refugee background youth have greater levels of behaviour problems than non-refugee background youth. The 2nd step (intercultural factors) significantly added to the model, explaining 8% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .08$) supporting hypothesis 1b, that intercultural factors account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation. In this step, multicultural endorsement emerged as a significant negative predictor ($\beta = -.31$, $t = -2.86$, $p < .01$). The addition of family factors in step 3 significantly added to the predictive model, explaining an additional 11% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .11$), supporting hypothesis 2b that family factors account for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation. Respect emerged as a negative predictor of behaviour problems ($\beta = -.32$, $t = -2.46$, $p < .01$). Although hypothesis 3b stipulated religious factors would account for variance in the adaptation outcomes, the obtained findings did not support this prediction. However, step, 5 (stress) explained an additional 6% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .06$), supporting hypothesis 3b, that stress accounts for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation, although neither discrimination nor cultural transition emerged as significant predictors. The final model explained 44% of the overall variance and the negative predictors of behaviour problems were PME and respect, whereas refugee status emerged as a positive predictor.

Summary of Regression Models

The regression models partially support hypothesis 1b, 2b, 3b and 4b, that each of the measurement domains accounts for unique variance in the prediction of adaptation. Results demonstrate that intercultural factors and stress both predict depression and behaviour problems, family factors significantly predict all of the adaptation outcomes and religious factors predict well-being and depression. Additionally, it was found that religion moderates the effects of stress on well-being and depression. These results provide an in depth analysis of the predictive effects of each on the independent variables on adaptation outcomes. The following section attempts to test the predictive effects of the measures when constructed as latent variables, and to assess whether stress mediates the effects of family and intercultural resources on adaptation.

Table 3.8 *Hierarchical regression model of behaviour problems*

	Behaviour Problems					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Demographics						
Gender	-.10	-.06	-.10	-.08	-.14	-.13
Ethnic group	-.03	.00	.00	.05	.02	-.01
Generational Status	-.03	-.01	.08	.10	.10	.10
Refugee	.31**	.28**	.32**	.31**	.38**	.36**
2. Intercultural						
Integration		-.19	-.29*	-.29**	-.21	-.21
Multiculturalism		-.31**	-.23*	-.22*	-.21*	-.21*
New Zealand Identity		.21	.20	.18	.13	.18
Ethnic Identity		-.01	.12	.15	.12	.11
3. Family						
Current Assistance			-.09	-.05	-.07	-.05
Respect			-.32**	-.39**	-.44**	-.44**
Congruence			-.15	-.16	-.15	-.16
4. Religion						
Identity (RI)				-.18	-.19	-.17
Practices (RP)				.09	.13	.12
5. Stress						
Discrimination stress (DS)					.18	.19
Cultural Transition stress (CS)					.15	.12
6. Interactions						
DS x RI						-.09
DS x RP						.03
CS x RI						.02
CS x RP						.01
R^2	.079	.193	.346	.370	.434	.439
R^2 change	.079	.113	.153	.024	.064	.005
F	2.03**	3.16**	6.78**	1.65	4.66**	.19

*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation

A latent variable path model was developed in order to test the effects of contextual resources on stress and adaptation. The model-generation application of SEM, AMOS (Byrne, 2010) was used to concurrently test a measurement and structural model of the relationships between and among the five latent variables (religion, family, intercultural, stress and adaptation). The latent variable of religious factors was made up of 2 observed variables (religious identity and religious practices), the latent variable of family factors comprises 3 observed variables (respect, current assistance and congruence), the latent variable of intercultural factors comprises 4 observed variables (ATI, PME, national identity and ethnic identity), the latent variable of stress was made up of 2 observed variables (discrimination and cultural transition and finally, the latent variable of adaptation was comprises 3 observed variables (well-being, depression and behaviour problems). Confirmatory factor analysis was run on each of the latent constructs with results indicating that the items parcels[9] loaded significantly onto their latent construct and all of the latent constructs that are part of a measurement domain significantly co-vary with one another (e.g., items for religious identity load onto a latent variable and this covaries with the latent variable of religious practices).

Table 3.9 *Fit indices for confirmatory factor analyses*

	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	p	TLI	IFI	CFI	RMSEA
Intercultural Factors	76.72	38	2.02	.00	.93	.96	.96	.08
Family Factors	16.53	11	1.50	.12	.97	.99	.99	.06
Religious Factors	18.37	8	2.30	.02	.91	.97	.97	.09
Stress	16.55	13	1.27	.22	.98	.99	.99	.04
Adaptation	45.23	24	1.89	.01	.91	.95	.95	.07

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[9] 2-4 parcels of items were computed for each measure (with the exception of PME, in which observed variables were used). Parcels contained 2-5 items each, dependent on the number of items in the scale.

Figure 3.4 *Measurement model and hypothesised structural model*
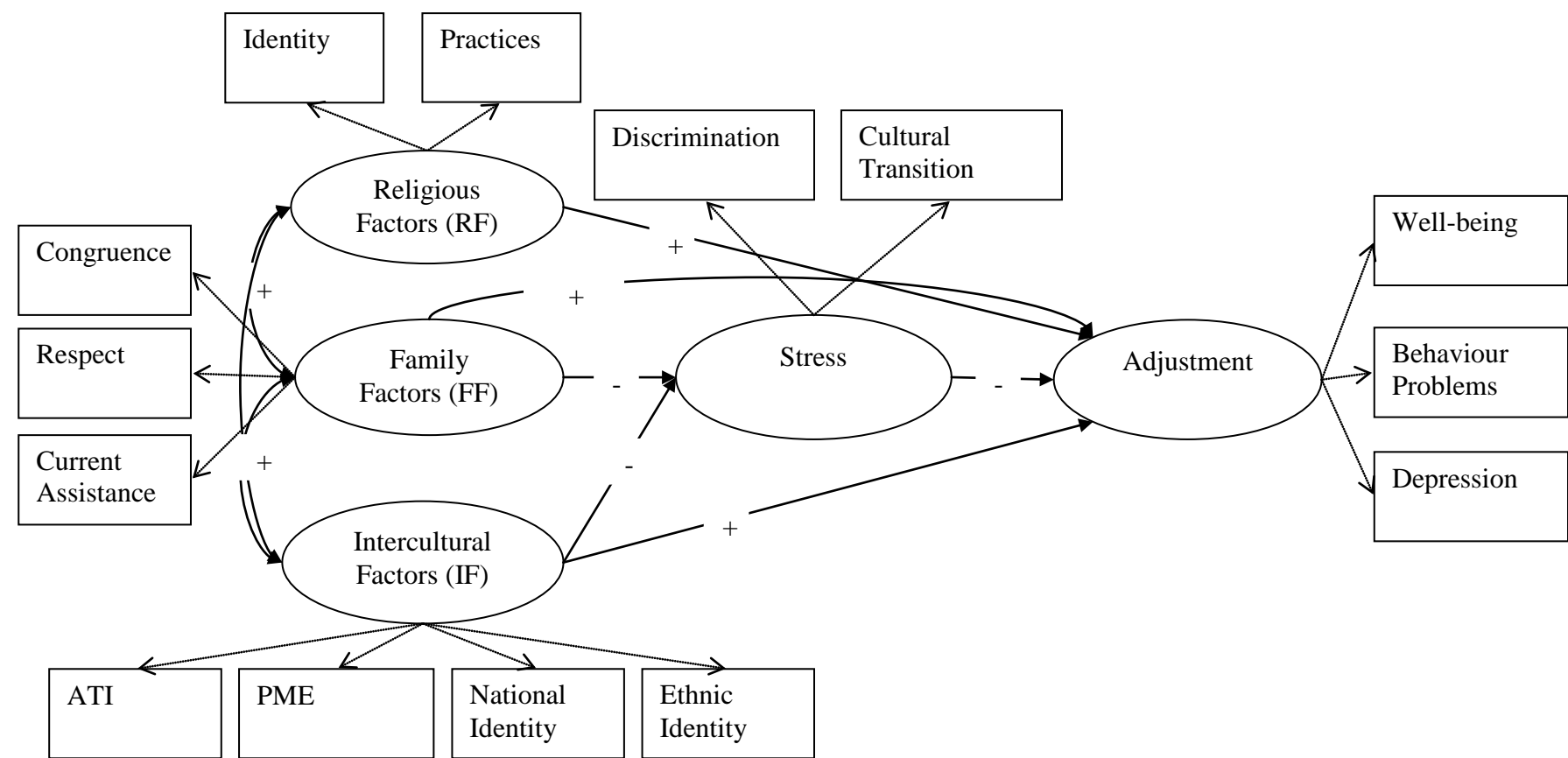
+ positive predicted pathway   - negative predicted pathway
ATI = Attitudes towards integration
PME = Perceived multicultural environment

107

To begin with, the hypothesised model (as seen in Figure 3.4) was tested. The results of this model found that all observed variables significantly loaded (above $p < .01$) onto their anticipated latent variable. Byrne (2010) suggests that evaluation of model fit should include the adequacy of the model itself as well as an examination of the individual parameters. Assessments of the adequacy of the fully saturated model indicate that while goodness-of-fit indices are moderate (see Table 3.10), two of the pathways were non-significant; (1) the pathway from religious factors to stress, and (2) the pathway from intercultural factors to adaptation. The model was modified and then re-estimated after removing the non-significant pathways. This was found to improve the overall model fit (see Table 3.10). The modification indices were then checked in order to assess whether there were any additional pathways which would enable the model to better fit the data. It was found that adding a pathway from the latent construct *family factors* to the observed variable *ethnic identity* would significantly improve the model. As this pathway was deemed to be theoretically sound, it was added and the model was again re-estimated. Assessments of the adequacy of the modified model were very good (see Table 3.10), although in this step three of the parameters were lowered to non-significance, (1) the pathway from family factors to adaptation, (2) the covariance between intercultural factors and family factors, and (3) the covariance between religious factors and intercultural factors. These non-significant pathways were removed and the model was re-estimated once again. Assessment of fits demonstrates that the final model provides a strong representation of the relationships among the variables, see fit indices in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10 *Fit indices for the models*

	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	p	GFI	IFI	CFI	RMSEA
Hypothesised Model	115.5	67	1.72	.00	.90	.90	.90	.07
Pruned Model	115.7	69	1.68	.00	.91	.91	.91	.06
Modified Model	98.83	68	1.45	.00	.92	.94	.94	.05
Final model	103.61	71	1.46	.01	.91	.94	.94	.05

Figure 3.5 *The Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation*
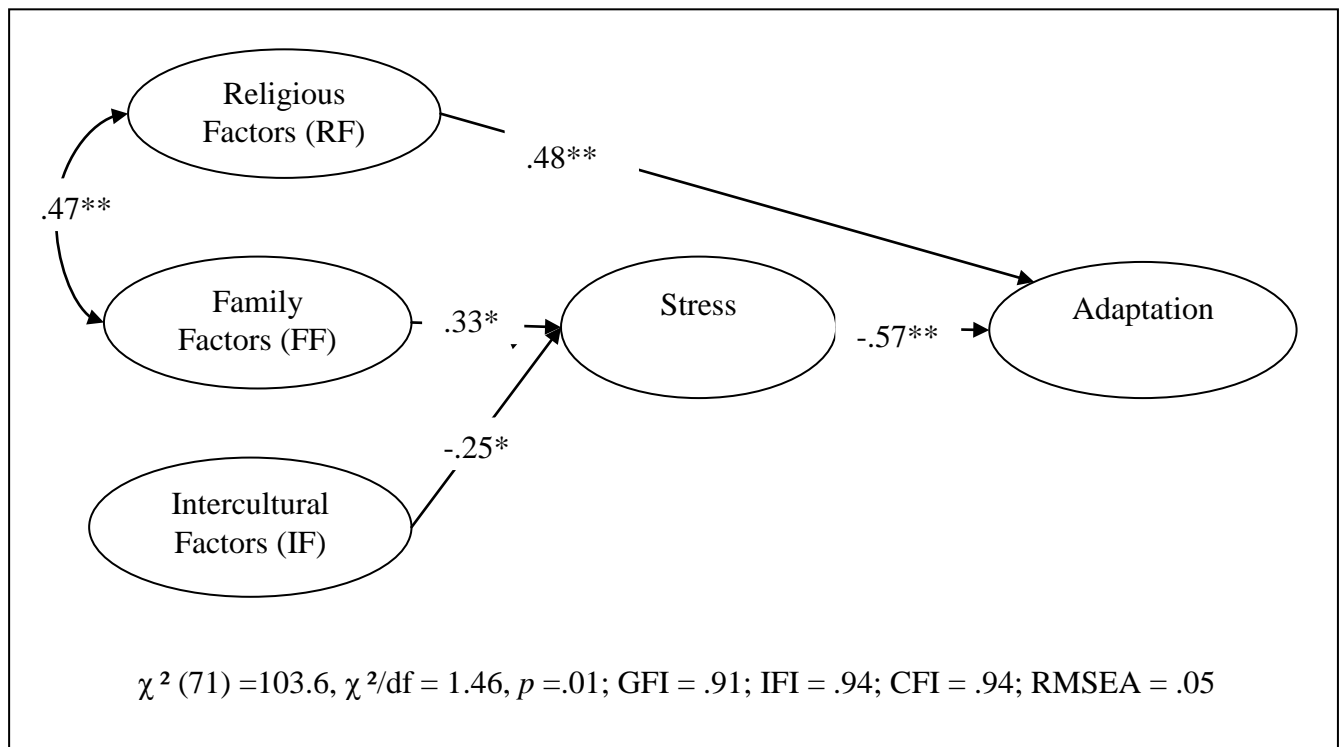
χ^2 (71) =103.6, χ^2/df = 1.46, p =.01; GFI = .91; IFI = .94; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .05

p < .05   **p*<.01
For ease of interpretation the measurement model and error terms are not shown in this model, refer to Table 3.11 for parameter estimates.[10]

Parameter estimates show that there is a direct, positive effect from religious factors to adaptation (β = .48, p < .01, $CI_{.95}$ = .23, .75) this finding supports hypothesis 3c, that when constructed as a latent variable, religious factors will have a positive effects on adaptation outcomes. A direct negative effect was found from stress to adaptation (β = -.54, p < .01, $CI_{.95}$ =-.77, -.28) supporting hypothesis 4c, that when constructed as a latent variable stress will negatively predict adaptation. Although it was stipulated that when constructed as latent variables, both intercultural factors and family factors would positively predict adaptation, the obtained findings do not support these predictions. However, a direct negative effect was found from intercultural factors to stress (β = -.25, p < .01, $CI_{.95}$ =-.44, -.01), supporting hypothesis 1d, that intercultural factors negatively predict stress. A direct effect was also found from family factors to stress (β = .29, p < .01, $CI_{.95}$ =.07, .53), although this was in a positive direction, contrary to hypothesis 2d, that family factors would negatively predict stress. Because there were direct effects from both intercultural and family factors to stress,

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[10] Note that the corresponding measurement model was modified from the model seen in Figure 3.5. Specifically a pathway between the observed variable "ethnic identity" and the latent variable "family factors" was added to the model. Refer to Table 3.11 for parameter estimates.

and a direct effect from stress to adaptation, stress may be acting as a mediator for these factors.

Table 3.11 *Coefficients of mediation model (standard errors in Parentheses; N = 155)*

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized	Standardized	*p*
Measurement Model			
RF → Religious identity	1.00	.73	N.A.
RF → Religious Practices	1.51 (.36)	.78	.00
FF → Current assistance	1.00	.67	N.A.
FF → Respect	1.09 (.25)	.65	.00
FF → Congruence	.72 (.23)	.34	.00
FF → Ethnic identity	.67 (.16)	.34	.00
IF → Multicultural endorsement	1.00	.56	N.A.
IF → Attitudes to integration	1.61 (.26)	.72	.00
IF → National identity	1.95 (.29)	.81	.00
IF → Ethnic identity	1.64 (.25)	.74	.00
Stress → Discrimination	1.00	.76	N.A.
Stress → Cultural transition	.77 (.14)	.74	.00
Adaptation → Well-being	1.00	.75	N.A.
Adaptation → Depression	-.87 (.15)	-.75	.00
Adaptation → Behaviour problems	-.48 (.13)	-.35	.00
Covariance between RF and FF	.05 (.02)	.47	.00
Structural Model			
RF → Adaptation	.75 (.18)	.48	.00
FF → Stress	.54 (.22)	.33	.02
IF → Stress	-.51 (.22)	-.25	.02
Stress → Adaptation	-.30 (.07)	-.57	.00

In order to test the hypotheses 1e and 2e, that there would be indirect, mediating effects of stress on the relationships between intercultural factors and adaptation and between family factors and adaptation, bootstrapping confidence intervals (CIs) were computed. Preacher and Hayes (2008) suggest that bootstrapping is the most powerful method for obtaining confidence limits for indirect effects. The bootstrap estimates and 95% confidence intervals were obtained based on 2,000 samples using the bootstrap algorithm in the AMOS program. Mediation is demonstrated when indirect effects generate confidence intervals that do not contain zero.

The effect of family on adaptation was found to be mediated by stress, with a significant negative indirect effect of family on adaptation through stress of (β = -.16, $p < .01$, $CI_{.95}$ =-.44, -.03), which was in the opposite direction from what was hypothesised. The effect of intercultural factors on adaptation was also found to be mediated by stress, with a

significant indirect effect of intercultural factors on adaptation through stress of (β = .13, p < .01, $CI_{.95}$ =.01, .37). This result supports hypothesis 1e, that stress mediates the positive effect of intercultural factors on adaptation.

The Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation

Results of the structural equation model indicate that religious factors have a direct positive association with adaptation outcomes, although intercultural and family factors do not. In fact, family factors were found to positively predict stress and exert a negative indirect effect on adaptation. The opposite is true for intercultural factors, it was found that this latent construct negatively predicts stress, and exerts a positive indirect effect on adaptation. These results suggest that religion does not necessarily "protect" against stress, but rather directly positively influences successful adaptation. Also, in this study, family acts to exacerbate stress, which in turn relates to worse adaptation. The only factor which was found to protect against stress was the societal variables, which were found to negatively predict stress and in turn positively affect adaptation.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the relationships between resources, stressors and adaptation for Muslim youth in New Zealand. The basis for assessing the relationships between these domains was to ascertain whether there is an emergent pattern of resilience that encourages positive adaptation. This study demonstrated that the domains of resources have cumulative predictive effects on outcomes (each accounts for unique variance), indicating that intercultural factors, family factors and religious factors all represent distinct components of the young person's developmental environment. These results are in line with ecological theories of development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1994; Sam & Oppedal, 2002), supporting the notion that overlapping social systems operate together in the development of the individual, creating a comprehensive set of influences on the young person.

In order to assess the predictive effects of resources and stressors on adaptation outcomes, it was necessary to control for the demographic characteristics of the participants. Specifically, the current study tested whether gender, generation of migration and ethnic group affected levels of stress. In line with the research of Suárez-Orozco and Qin (2006), results indicate that females experience more stress than males in general, indicating that females experience more difficulty negotiating different cultural values, and therefore experience greater acculturative stress than males. It was also found that first generation

111

migrant youth experience greater discrimination stress than the second generation, a result that is supported by a number of previous studies (Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987; Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1985). No differences were found between the ethnic groups on either discrimination stress or cultural transition stress, suggesting that ethnic background is less important for Muslim youth's experience of stress than religiosity.

When conducting the hierarchical regression model, zero order correlations between all of the demographic variables and adaptation outcomes were tested. Because refugee background was found to have a significant correlation with behaviour problems it was included in the predictive models. Results found that coming from a refugee background significantly predicted increased behaviour problems for Muslim youth. Previous research with refugees in New Zealand has found that this group is more likely to experience negative adaptation outcomes due to a number of factors including the experience of enduring trauma, isolation, low levels of host language proficiency, and socioeconomic difficulties (MSD, 2008). A report on refugee youth in New Zealand found that young men in this group are particularly prone to engage in gangs and youth crime due to underlying issues such as unemployment, literacy, lack of language, low education, family adversity and insecure cultural identities (Johnstone & Kimani, 2010). Therefore, the results of the current study may be interpreted as a function of the increased adversity refugee background youth face.

Intercultural Factors

With regards to intercultural resources it was found that the perception of living in a multicultural environment negatively predicted both depression and behaviour problems. Previous research has demonstrated that growing up in a multicultural context encourages the development of attributes that increase social responsiveness, which subsequently influences positive adaptation (Brand et al., 2003; Le, Lai, & Wallen, 2009). In line with these findings, the results of this study indicate that subjective multiculturalism has positive implications for youth development. It is no surprise that there is a relationship between intercultural factors and adaptation for immigrant youth. In fact, the attitudes held by members of the majority culture towards acculturating groups, as well as immigrants perceptions of these attitudes, have previously been found to exert strong effects on immigrant adjustment (Horenczyk, 1997; Kus & Ward, 2009). Berry (1997) suggests that the influence of societal factors act to restrict or enable the acculturation choices of individuals, and that mutual accommodation (or multiculturalism) is required for integration to be successfully attained. The Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997) also suggests that the acculturation orientations of

individuals are influenced by the policies of the state, which are thought to reflect the acculturation expectations of host nationals.

However, many studies, tend to focus on discrepancies in acculturation preferences, specifically how host nationals think migrants ought to acculturate versus how migrants themselves would like to acculturate (Piontkowski, Rohmann, & Florack, 2002). This research generally fails to take into account the individual and social constructions of the cultural groups in question, and may offer a potentially biased understanding of the acculturation process. By shifting to an examination of perceptions of the migration climate, the current thesis enables a move away from the over-emphasis on acculturation preferences towards a deeper understanding of the factors which constrain or facilitate successful adaptation. Effectively, the results illustrate that even under the same social conditions, migrants who perceive the wider society as more accepting of diversity have higher levels of positive adaptation.

Attitudes towards integration were found to positively predict depression and neither ethnic nor national identity exerted a significant main effect on adaptation outcomes. These findings are contrary to the results generally found in previous acculturation research. In fact, integration is consistently related to positive adaptation both for youth and for adults (Berry, 2005). Upon further examination of the results it was found that there was a non-significant bivariate correlation between attitudes towards integration and depression, suggesting that there is a suppressor effect, or a third variable that acts to increase the regression coefficient between the independent variable and dependent variable by its inclusion in a regression equation (Cheung & Lau, 2007). The results show that upon the addition of family factors, the regression coefficient for attitudes towards integration became significant and this is again bolstered by the inclusion of religious factors in the regression model. This result indicates that some elements of family and religious factors are acting to increase the positive association between integration and depression. One reason for this may be that integration attitudes pose contradictions to one's cultural or religious maintenance. Therefore, the relationship between integration and depression may emerge from the difficulty individuals' face in reconciling their cultural and national orientations, otherwise known as ethno-cultural identity conflict (Stuart, 2008; Stuart & Ward, 2011). In effect, integration attitudes may only become problematic under conditions in which beliefs or behaviours contradict ethnic or religious maintenance.

Lending evidence to the argument that attitudes towards integration are not in the root of experiences of maladaptation, results show that intercultural factors (when constructed as a latent variable) facilitate the prevention of risk, effectively lowering the incidence of stress and indirectly increasing positive adaptation. This result illustrates that positive perceptions of the relationship between the self and the intercultural environment are important resources to encourage the development of resilience.

Family Factors

Results found that the relationships between different facets of family factors and adaptation outcomes were mixed. Spending time and assisting one's family increased well-being, although deference to the wished of one's family (respect) was found to predict increased depression and decreased behaviour problems. In many ways these results exemplify the complexity of intergenerational relationships in an acculturative context. For instance, some research finds that the family can promote positive outcomes and decrease the negative impacts of the acculturation process through social support and collective coping mechanisms (Stuart et al., 2010; Yeh, Arora, & Wu, 2006). Whereas other research findings suggest that acculturation increases the risk of intergenerational differences that, in turn, lead to elevated levels of conflict (Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjalmsdottir, 2005; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). Similar to these seemingly contradictory findings in the literature, the results of the current study indicate that there may be both positive and negative influences from the family that influence youth adaptation.

The results of this study found that family positively influences youth adaptation in two ways, family current assistance increases well-being and respect decreases behaviour problems. However, it was also found family factors had a negative effect on adaptation, in that being respectful and deferring to the wishes of one's parents predicted increased depression for immigrant youth. These results suggest that time spent assisting the family is related to higher levels of psychological adaptation and respect is related to higher levels of sociocultural adaptation, but is also to decreased psychological adaptation.

Current assistance may foster family interdependence, which acts to relieve stress and predict greater psychological well-being (Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002). On the other hand, family respect has been found to be related to increased decision making responsibility and higher educational attainment, indicating that respect may motivate adaptive behaviours in youth (Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002). Lending evidence to previous research, the results of the current study demonstrate that respect functions to decrease the likelihood of deviant

114

behaviours. However, previous research has shown that of deference to the wishes on one's parents is associated with poor adaptation and increased stress for immigrant youth, particularly when family obligations are very high, or viewed by the young person as unmanageable (1998).

Furthermore, upon examination of the bivariate correlations between family respect and depression, a non-significant relationship was found. This result indicates that there is a suppressor effect in the regression model that is acting to increase the positive association between depression and respect. Additional investigation revealed that respect is significantly positively correlated with both elements of stress, suggesting that it may be through the association with stress that respect predicts worse adaptation. Furthermore, when constructed as a latent variable, family factors were found to positively predict stress, but have no direct negative association with adaptation. This finding supports the argument of Ward and colleagues (2010a) that although the family relationships may be put under strain during acculturation, this does not necessarily directly lead to maladaptation for immigrant youth.

The findings indicate that the family may possess the ability to encourage positive outcomes for youth, especially through an emphasis on interdependence and the behaviourally motivating component of family obligation. However, results suggest that the stress of acculturation can be exacerbated by particular elements of intergenerational relationships which may in turn lead to worse adaptation outcomes. Consequently, a broader and more inclusive understanding of processes of adjustment and cultural adaptation is required to capture the complex dynamics operating within acculturating families.

Religious Factors

Religious practices were found to be associated with increased levels of well-being, supporting previous research that has found engagement in religious behaviours functions to increase adaptation (Ozyurt, 2009; Peek, 2005). However, religious practices were also found to moderate the negative relationship between cultural transition stress and well-being. Specifically, results demonstrate that individuals who engage in high levels of religious practices experience lower levels of well-being under conditions of cultural transition stress, although the same effect was not evident for discrimination stress.

Research generally supports the suggestion that in situations where one's in-group is undermined (through discrimination or acculturative stress), greater identification with the in-group will ensue (even when one in a member of a minority), protecting against negative psychological outcomes (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Schmitt et al., 2002; Tajfel

& Turner, 1986). However, in this case, the behaviour component of religion (religious practices) was found to exacerbate the negative effects of stress. On first interpretation, this result seems to be contradictory to previous research which finds that religious practices buffers the detrimental influence of stressors on adaptation (Hunter & Lewis, 2010; Jasperse, 2009). However, unlike previous investigations of the moderating effect of identification on the stress-adaptation association, this research distinguished between discrimination and cultural transition stress. Conceptually, cultural transition stress is a measure that assesses stressors which arise due to cultural differences (predominantly behavioural) between one's in-group and the host society. Analysis of the rating of the cultural transition stress items indicated that cultural differences that concerned relationships with members of the opposite sex created the greatest amount of distress for the participants. Relationships between men and women are one of the most salient elements of related to Islamic religious beliefs that are divergent from the normative attitudes and behaviours of the wider society. Therefore, it is understandable that Muslim youth who engage in high levels of religious practices, and also experience stress due to cultural differences that are a result of their religious beliefs, have lower levels of well-being. In fact, it may be the case that these young people wish to fully engage with their religious practices and yet feel that this is incongruent with the expectations for behaviour and attitudes of the wider society.

Religious identity was not found to exert a main effect on any of the adaptation outcomes, although it did interact with both discrimination stress and cultural transition stress in the prediction of depression. These interactions are noteworthy due to the divergent patterns between religious identity and two distinct components of stress: discrimination and cultural transition. Specifically, a strong religious identity seemed to buffer the negative influence of discrimination stress, whereas it appeared to exacerbate the detrimental consequences of cultural transition stress. Effectively, discrimination distress was associated with lower levels of depression for Muslim youth who strongly identified with their religion. These findings are in line with the Rejection-Identification theory, indicating that minority identification is protective under conditions of (perceived) negative evaluation by out-group members (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Schmitt et al., 2002). The results suggest that the cognitive component of religiosity operates as a buffer against the detrimental outcomes of discrimination, meaning that religious identification may be functioning as a coping resource.

The opposite effect was found for the interaction between religious identity and cultural transition stress, in that the stronger an individual's religious identity the more susceptible they are to the negative influence of cultural transition stress. The results demonstrate that youth who have strong religious identities experience a heightened reaction to the stress of cultural differences. Similar to the previous finding regarding the interaction between religious practices and cultural transition stress, the reason for this may be embedded in the difficulty experienced in maintaining religious identification in situations where cultural differences hinder the expression of religious values. These results indicate that religious identity has a protective effect against discrimination stress, but not against cultural transition stress.

Confirming previous research, the latent construct of religious factors (which can be broadly understood as representing religiosity) was found to directly predict greater adaptation (Hovey & King, 1996; Pargament et al., 1994; Pargament et al., 1998; Resnick et al., 1997). Specifically, when identity and practices were conceptualized as elements of a broader factor, religiosity was found to promote adaptation, but to have no direct relationship to stress. Overall, the results show that religious identity can protect against discrimination stress, whereas both religious identity and practices exacerbate cultural transition stress. These findings are consistent with the recent review of the research on the relationship between religiosity and mental health by Hackney and Sanders (2003) which found that regardless of how it is defined, religiosity has a beneficial relationship with psychological well-being, however, the specific elements of religiosity (identity and practices) have much more complex relationships with stress and adaptation.

Conclusion and Limitations

The qualitative results of the previous study demonstrated that resources are important for how young Muslims understand their experiences of adaptation, both in the way they perceive stressors as well as how they achieve positive outcomes. The theoretical rationale for the current study was based on the notion that resilience has the potential to emerge from the interplay of resources and risks. The results of this study support the findings of the qualitative data, indicating that while Muslim youth in New Zealand face the risk of maladaptive outcomes because of their exposure to discrimination and cultural differences, ecological resources may counteract some of the negative effects of these stressors.

The current research attempted to examine the positive dimensions of Muslim youth development in the New Zealand context and investigate factors that may facilitate their

thriving. Taken together, it is important to note that both risks and resources accounted for a large amount of variance in adaptation outcomes. Furthermore, stress increased the risk of maladaptation, intercultural resources decreased the incidence of stress and religious resources increased the likelihood of positive adaptation. These results lend to the importance of considering overlapping elements of a young person's context, with particular attention given to those areas which can directly decrease stress, such as perceiving the socio-political context to be supportive and accepting of diversity.

One of the limitations of this study is its cross-sectional nature, which does not allow causal conclusions to be made. In order to demonstrate causal effects, a study implementing a longitudinal design is necessary. Such studies are particularly important for youth research as the self-concept is not yet stable, and therefore the relationships between the variables are likely to change over time. Also, this study is limited due to the snowballed sample and the use of English language surveys, meaning that the participants may represent youth who are, on average, well functioning and reasonably well adapted. However, the findings do seem to produce a clear picture of the situation for Muslim migrant youth in New Zealand during adolescence, evidenced by the reasonably large amount of variance that was accounted for in the adaptation outcomes (R^2 = .40 to.55). Furthermore, the relationships tested in this study were derived from the qualitative data collected in study 1 and the existing literature on Muslim youth adaptation, lending ecological validity to the findings. Study 3 will focus on the experiences of adaptation of Muslim youth in a different socio-political context in order to test the generalisability of the findings.

Chapter 4 Comparisons of Muslim Youth in New Zealand and the United Kingdom

The previous two studies focused on the experiences of Muslim youth in the New Zealand environment. These studies developed and tested a model *"The Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation"* assessing the pathway to positive development for this group of young people utilising theories of acculturation, normative development and resilience. The results of these studies indicate that Muslim immigrant youth in New Zealand face risks in their acculturation that can be offset by resources that encourage successful adaptation. Of particular importance is the finding that that the negative effects of stress was mitigated by intercultural factors, whereas religious factors directly promote positive outcomes. However, it remains to be seen if these findings are generalisable to Muslim migrant youth in other Western cultural contexts.

In many ways, the New Zealand environment offers unique socio-political conditions for Muslim minorities. The Muslim community in New Zealand is one of the smallest and most remote parts of the diaspora. Several million Muslims live as minorities in Western countries, although a mere 40 thousand reside in New Zealand. The small size of the community vis-à-vis the larger society and the small size of the population of New Zealand as a nation may mean that the rejectionist ideologies that are apparent between Western societies and Muslim communities in other contexts have little appeal or practicality in the New Zealand environment. In fact, Kolig and Shepard (2006) suggest that New Zealand just may not be large enough to provide the kind of enclaves in which attitudes of separation and segregation thrive.

To fully understand the complexities of Muslim migrant youth acculturation in Western contexts, it is necessary to test whether the results found in the New Zealand environment are similar in other nations. In the previous chapters it was established that Muslim youth growing up in the West face a complex set of issues as a result of living in an environment where tensions between Islam and the West are rife. This is particularly true in the European context, where research indicates that Muslim youth are potentially becoming more and more disenfranchised (e.g., Givens, 2007; Koenig, 2005; Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) and may, therefore, have poorer adaptation outcomes than Muslim youth in New Zealand.

In order to test the generalisability of the results found in the previous study, the following chapter will take a comparative approach to investigating the pathways to positive development for young Muslim migrants living in the United Kingdom in contrast with those

living in New Zealand. This study will utilise the conceptual framework of positive development, and will investigate whether the relationships between resources, stressors and adaptation outcomes are the same for Muslim youth in both countries. A targeted comparative approach between these countries is used because these nations are very similar in their cultural backgrounds, yet they are situated very differently in the international discourse on the social inclusion and exclusion of Muslim minorities.

The United Kingdom Context

Although the United Kingdom is a nation in its own right, it has a unique characteristic of including four separate countries: England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales (ONS, 2008). Over 62 million people reside in the United Kingdom, with the majority living in England (51 million) with much smaller numbers residing in Scotland (5 million), Wales (3 million) and Northern Ireland (2 million) (ONS, 2009). The United Kingdom was the world's foremost power during the 19th and early 20th centuries, and at its height, the British Empire covered almost a quarter of the world's land surface and was the largest empire in history (Mathias, 2001). The United Kingdom remains a powerful nation, influencing international economic, cultural, military, scientific and political affairs. However, the British population is now rapidly changing; it is growing, ageing and becoming more and more diverse.

The United Kingdom is a traditionally monocultural society, and historically has been the source of immigrants rather than the destination for them, which lead Berry and colleagues (2006, p. 16) to label this country as a "former colonial society". Recently, more and more migrants are coming to the United Kingdom, making cultural and ethnic homogeneity a thing of the past. Although the proportions of foreign born residents in Britain remain slightly below some other European countries at 11%, immigration accounted for about half of the population increase between 1991 and 2001 (Muenz, 2006). In fact, the numbers of "non-White"[11] residents rose 53% in the same time period, with current figures indicating that 4.6 million people, or 7.9% of the population, belong to the ethnic "other" category (ONS, 2005). The broad category of ethnic "others" is largely made up of people from South Asian origins, particularly individuals from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

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[11] Ethnic categories used in the Census include White, Mixed, Asian and Black. Where authors discuss "other" ethnic groups or "Non-White" ethnic groups, this includes all minority ethnic groups excluding those who are considered to be White.

In conjunction with a growth in cultural diversity, there has been an increase in religious diversity (Peach, 2006a; Peach & Gale, 2003; Robinson, 2009). The 2001 Census found that while Christianity is still the majority religion, accounting for 71.6 % of the population, Islam has became the second largest religion with aproximately1.6 million of the population identifying as Muslim (Weller, 2004). Furthermore, research has found that religion is much more important to these ethnic minority groups than to the majority population. The survey of ethnic minorities found that 95% of Muslims, 89% of Hindus and 86% of Sikhs considered religion to be "very" or "fairly" important in their lives, this compares with 46% of White members of the Church of England and 69% of White Roman Catholics (Modood et al., 1997).

Policies in Britain in relation to ethnic and religious minority groups are predominantly based on programmes of assimilation and more recently, of multiculturalism (Abbas, 2007). Assimilationist policies grew from fears that increased diversity would lead to the loss of the social, cultural and political identity of the nation (2007). Through these policies it was thought that ethnic minorities would learn to be British, although this ignored both the resilience of ethnic communities in holding on to their traditions and the experiences of exclusion and marginality that meant ethnic minorities could not be British even if they wanted to (Abbas, 2010).

Multiculturalism emerged as an approach to deal with the shortcomings of assimilation, in that it gave recognition to diversity and provided a framework within which different cultures would be able to identify with the United Kingdom as a nation (Abbas, 2010). However, multiculturalism in Britain is a policy framework based on secularism, which denies religious identification and focuses on the blending of ethnic and national identities into a "melting pot" (Suleiman, 2009). In this context, multiculturalism is often framed as distinct from assimilation, but at the core the assumption of both policies is the eventual absorption of ethnic minority groups into the wider society. In this sense, multiculturalism has major limitations. In the current global climate religious identities serve an important categorizing function (for both minorities and the wider society) therefore, denying or downplaying the importance of religion is unlikely to lead to greater social cohesion (Abbas, 2004).

Abbas (2007) suggests that there has been a shift in British popular discourse bought about from the recognition of growing diversity which has meant that the wider society no longer views minorities as a homogenous "other" group. Effectively, diversity has led to

greater distinctions within and between minority groups: separating non-Whites into Asians, and Blacks, differentiating between Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and distinguishing between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs (Robinson, 2009). In this new social context, religion has emerged as a major social signifier of who is accepted and who is not, stemming mainly from the heightened international profile of Islam. This has meant that British Muslims are at the forefront of questions in relation to what it means to be British, and whether or not such an identity is able to include the beliefs, values and practices of Islam.

Muslims in the United Kingdom

There has been a significant Muslim presence in Britain since the beginning of the 19th century when Muslim traders from the Middle East began to settle in the United Kingdom (Abbas, 2007). However, the major growth of the Muslim population did not happen until after WWII when many South Asians migrated to fill labour shortages in the industrial cities (Nielsen, 2005). Since this first major influx, a steady flow of Muslim migrants (drawn predominantly by economic opportunities) and refugees (pushed from the Middle East and Africa by war) have entered and settled permanently in the United Kingdom (Abbas, 2007). Although this religious community has an established the history in Britain, comprehensive demographic data on Muslims has only become available since the question regarding religious affiliation was included in the most recent (2001) Census (Weller, 2004).

The Census data revealed that Muslims constitute nearly 3% of the population, a figure that is exponentially larger than the 21 thousand recorded Muslims living in Britain during the 1950s (Lewis, 2002b; ONS, 2004). Not only are numbers in the population growing, so is Islamic infrastructure, with more than 1000 mosques recorded in the United Kingdom in 1997, up from only 36 in 1977 and growing at 100 per year (Ahmed, 2009). Islam in Britain is primarily South Asian in character, with the vast majority of individuals originating from Pakistan (687,592), Bangladesh (261,833) and India (133,783) (Samad, 2004). Just fewer than 12% of the Muslim population are considered to be White, including 60 thousand Muslims from Eastern European and around 10 thousand White British converts. Much smaller numbers of the community are categorised as South East Asians (6%), Black (7%), of mixed ancestry (4%), and from "other" ethnic groups (4%) (ONS, 2004). Even though the majority of Muslims in the United Kingdom are ethnically South Asian, this group characterized by diversity of beliefs, socio-economic backgrounds and political leanings (Lewis, 2002b).

The Muslim population in Britain is very young, with over a third aged under 16 years (national average is 20%) and nearly half of the community aged under 25 (national average is 31%) (Samad, 2004). Muslims are on average 13 years younger the other British citizens; the average age of the Muslim community is 28 years in comparison to an average of 41 years old in the wider society (Ahmed, 2009). Muslims in the United Kingdom are less likely to live in broken families but more likely to live in large, extended family arrangements, with an average household size of 4.5 in comparison to the national average of 2.3 persons per household (Ameli, Elahi, & Merali, 2004). Nearly half (46%) of all British Muslims were born in the United Kingdom, and the majority describe their national identity as British rather than as English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish (the opposite is true for non-Muslim Whites) (Ahmed, 2009).

Of all the minority groups in Britain, it is widely recognized that Muslims face much higher rates of economic and social disadvantage (as measured by income, housing, occupation and education) than other religious and ethnic groups (Modood et al., 1997; Platt, 2007). There is also considerable evidence that Muslims experience discrimination in education, employment, the healthcare system and the criminal justice system (Modood et al., 1997). Muslims have the highest male unemployment rates, the highest incidence of over-crowding, are more likely to live in deprived neighbourhoods, and are the most likely to have no formal educational qualifications (Abbas, 2010; Ahmed, 2009). Furthermore, educational achievement is conspicuously low for Muslims, which is, in turn, associated with limited higher- educational success, followed by higher than average graduate unemployment (Abbas, 2007; Ameli, Elahi, & Merali, 2004).

Abbas (2010, p. 22) points out that there was an expectation that the disadvantage of Muslims would disappear over generations. Effectively it was thought that second generation Muslims would fare better than first generation of Muslim immigrants as they would become more like British host nationals, although there is now evidence for an "ethnic penalty" or "ethnic disadvantage" that is passed onto those born in Britain (Abbas, 2010). It is, however, suggested that Muslims actually suffer a "religious penalty" over and above that of an "ethnic penalty," with research finding that individuals who classify themselves as white Muslims have lower than average employment rates after graduation, and have a higher employment penalty than Pakistanis of no religion (Abbas, 2010).

The Runnymede Trust, which is a British research organisation, was the first establishment to bring the term Islamophobia into the popular discourse (Peach, 2006b). In their research report entitled *"Islamophobia: A challenge for us all"* (The Runnymede Trust, 1997) they suggested for Muslims in the United Kingdom, participating fully and freely in social and public life is made very difficult due to the xenophobic attitudes of the wider society towards this group. The Runnymede Trust suggests that Islamophobia is not just a way to understand unfounded hostility towards Muslims, it also refers to the practical consequences of discrimination against Muslims and the exclusion of Muslims from British political and social affairs (The Runnymede Trust, 1997).

Following on from the discussion of Islamophobia, the Cantle Report was released (Cantle, 2001). This report described a situation in Britain where there was extreme segregation between ethnic and religious peoples, meaning that the multi-ethnic population in Britain composed of many separate communities without a "meta-community" to connect them (Brighton, 2007, p. 10). The report found that community segregation increased the incidence of discrimination, and this was particularly relevant for Muslims, with the majority of Muslim organisations reporting that their members experienced discrimination almost in all aspects of social life (Cantle, 2001). Further research by Ameli, Elahi, and Merali (2004) confirmed these findings, indicating that Muslims have the greatest risk of being victims of both implicit racism and explicit discrimination in the United Kingdom. Over 80% respondents in this study had experienced being treated unfairly because they were Muslim, and while the majority (55%) indicated that this was an occasional experience, 8% said they experienced discrimination on an every-day basis and a further 10% said experiences of discrimination occurred on a weekly basis.

In subsequent research by Jayaweera and Choudhury (2008), it was found that Muslims understood unfair and discriminatory treatment to be based more on their faith than on their ethnicity. Also, while it was found that discrimination took the form of assaults, abuse, harassment and ridicule by strangers on the street, Muslims also experienced unfair treatment in employment, housing and other public services. Furthermore, the results of this research suggest that for Muslims in the United Kingdom, it is the experience of discrimination (rather than attachment to one's heritage country) that leads to a diminished a sense of belonging in British society.

In terms of anti-discrimination legislation, British policy toward Muslims has been inconsistent, with a lack of recognition and protection with regards to their rights as a minority group and only very limited legal protection available through the Race Relations and the Human Rights Acts (Abbas, 2004). Additionally, since the introduction of new and increasingly powerful anti-terrorist laws in 2001, large numbers of Muslims have been arrested, questioned and released without charge. In the period post the London terrorist bombings of 2005, this trend has intensified, particularly given that three of the four perpetrators of this incident were young British-born Pakistanis (Abbas, 2007).

For British Muslims, who inhabit a marginalised place in the economic and social worlds of the United Kingdom, generating a position of cultural and social integration is very difficult (Abbas, 2007). This is particularly challenging for young Muslims who feel alienated from wider society, but also do not feel connected to the values of the older generation of Muslims living in the United Kingdom. Barnes (2006) suggests that for these young people, the sense of isolation is twofold; they are discriminated against by the wider society, yet they also often lead lives at odds with orthodox Islamic values due to a feeling of estrangement from the community.

In a qualitative investigation with Muslim youth across the United Kingdom Ahmed (2009) found that young people often carry the burden of negotiating the Western and Islamic worldviews. While many young Muslims in their study feel comfortable in their British national identity, they were confused and frustrated that others questioned their "loyalty" to the United Kingdom. Ahmed argues that questions around loyalty often centre on the identity, belonging and citizenship of young British Muslims because they are seen to occupy both worlds. Questions of loyalty imply that a there is a dichotomy between religion and nationality, and therefore young people must make a choice between them. In Ahmed's research it was found that young British Muslims themselves do not often feel that their Britishness contradicts their Muslimness, although they sometimes felt pulled between two cultures.

In another study undertaken by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE, 2005) it was also found that Muslims in the United Kingdom feel as though they must exhibit their loyalty to Britain by choosing between their Muslim and British identities. The participants in this study felt that white people perceived a fundamental incompatibility between being Muslim and being British, while the Muslims themselves saw them as compatible. This study shows that the main barrier to integration for Muslims is not a desire to separate from the

wider society, but rather is the subtle "policing" of the boundaries of what it means to be British, and an underlying assimilative ideology. This effectively serves to relegate Muslims to the margins of British society and constrains the accessibility of national identity for all non-White people (CRE, 2005).

Differences between New Zealand and the United Kingdom

The New Zealand culture and the British culture are historically very similar (mainly due to the fact that New Zealand is a former British colony), although these countries have taken very different routes to social cohesion and the inclusion of minorities. In New Zealand, there has been a strong degree of recognition concerning indigenous rights which has led to the predominance of a bicultural ideology that highlights the cultural and political partnership between Pākehā and Maori. Above all, indigenous recognition in New Zealand, has enabled a more accessible social system, and in turn, a more inclusive national identity for immigrants and asylum seekers (Kolig & Kabir, 2008). In many ways New Zealand is a nation of immigrants in which an exclusive "White" national identity offers many impracticalities, particularly when individuals are aware of their own or their immediate ancestors' status as immigrants to the nation. As a nation that formerly held colonial power, for the "White" majority in the United Kingdom, no such impracticalities exist.

Another important difference between the countries is that the New Zealand population is incredibly small in comparison to the United Kingdom. Also, as an island nation in the Pacific, New Zealand faces much greater geographic isolation than Britain, which is in the heart of the European Union. Therefore, it is easier for the New Zealand government to control the influx of migrants, and because there are so few people, even small numbers of an ethnic group make a large impact on the social landscape of the country. This is particularly true for the Muslim community in New Zealand, even though they do not constitute the largest religious minority (they are numerically surpassed by both Hindus and Buddhists), they are an important and recognised minority group. Furthermore, while Muslims in New Zealand do face discrimination from the wider society, they are not the most socially and economically disadvantaged group.

The same cannot be said for the United Kingdom, where Muslims are the largest religious group following Christians, and are by far the most disadvantaged minority group in the nation. Furthermore, in the United Kingdom, Islam has become symbolic for the challenges of integrating ethnic minorities into the Western societies, and Islamic values are

126

represented as one of the major threats to social cohesion and to the Western way of life (Verkuyten, 2007a; Verkuyten & Slooter, 2007).

Due to the difference in the position of Muslims in the British context versus the New Zealand context, it is hypothesised that Muslim youth in United Kingdom will experience more stress (1a) and have poorer adaptation outcomes (1b) than Muslim youth in New Zealand. With regards to intercultural resources, it is hypothesised that British Muslim youth will perceive their society to be less accepting of multiculturalism and will have lower levels of positive attitudes towards integration (1c). However, as research in the United Kingdom has indicated that Muslim youth do indeed endorse a British national identity (even though they may not be considered as British by the wider society) at the same time as retaining their ethnic identity, a research question will be posed; are levels of ethnic and national identity different in New Zealand and the United Kingdom (RQ1)? In terms lof family resources and religious resources, it is expected that youth in the United Kingdom and New Zealand will have similar levels of these resources as they are embedded in the relational context for these young people (and not dependant on cultural context). However, it is unknown whether the relationships between the variables will be the same in both countries, therefore the following research question will be posed; are the associations between the variables significantly different in New Zealand and the United Kingdom (RQ2)?

Due to the differences in the state of disadvantage between youth in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, it is expected that cultural context will have a predictive effect on stress and adaptation outcomes. Effectively, it is hypothesised that living in New Zealand will negatively predict stress (2a) and positively predict adaptation (2b). However, it is believed that resources will account for some of the differences on stress and adaptation. Therefore, it is hypothesised that including resources into the predictive models will reduce the effect of cultural context on stress and adaptation outcomes (2c). Two additional research questions are posed in order to investigate whether the findings from the previous study are generalisable to Muslim youth in the United Kingdom. Firstly, can a structural equation model be developed that sufficiently capture the relationships between the variables in the combined dataset (RQ3)? Secondly, if a model can be developed, are the pathways in the model significantly different in New Zealand and the United Kingdom (RQ4)?

Summary of Hypotheses

In summary, the current study compares the levels of resources, risks and positive adaptation for Muslim youth in New Zealand and the United Kingdom. This study was

conducted to investigate whether country of settlement has an impact on the pathways to positive development for Muslim migrant youth. A summary of the hypotheses and research question for the current study is presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 *Study 3 hypotheses*

Mean Differences
1a Youth in the United Kingdom will have significantly higher levels of stress and than youth in New Zealand.
1b Youth in the United Kingdom will have significantly lower levels of positive adaptation outcomes than youth in New Zealand.
1c Youth in United Kingdom will have significantly lower levels of attitudes towards integration and perceived multiculturalism than youth in the United Kingdom.
RQ1 Are levels of ethnic and national identity significantly different in New Zealand and the United Kingdom?
RQ2 Are the relationships between the variables the same in New Zealand and the United Kingdom?
Predictive Models
2a Controlling for demographics, living in New Zealand will negatively stress.
2b Controlling for demographics, living in New Zealand will positively predict adaptation outcomes.
2c Ecological resources will diminish (or mediate) the effect of cultural context on stress and adaptation.
RQ3 Can a structural equation model be developed that sufficiently capture the relationships between the variables in the combined dataset?
RQ4 If such a model can be developed, are the pathways in the model significantly different in New Zealand and the United Kingdom?

Method

Procedure

Ethical approval for this study was granted by Victoria University of Wellington's psychological ethics committee. The study was conducted through research collaboration with a Professor of Social Work at the University of West Scotland in the United Kingdom. Participants were gathered by a research assistant from the Muslim community who was

selected by the collaborating academic. Participants were either referred to the online version of the survey or filled out a paper version. The survey was anonymous and voluntary, participants did not receive an incentive for participation. Surveys were collected by the research assistant and shipped to New Zealand for data entry. The research assistant remained in touch throughout the data collection process.

Participants

This research sampled first and second generation Muslim immigrant youth in the United Kingdom. In total, 147 young people completed the survey instrument although 142 participants (aged 16 to 27 years, $M = 21$, $SD = 3.2$) were used in the final analysis as five participants were excluded from the study for falling outside of the age criteria. The gender ratio was evenly split with 72 females (51%) and 70 males (49%). One hundred and one participants (71%) were born in the United Kingdom, 9 (11%) of these young people had one parent that was born in the United Kingdom, while 92 (89%) had both parents born overseas, indicating that all participants born in the United Kingdom, can be considered as second generation immigrants. Forty one (29%) of the participants were born overseas and had parents who were also born overseas, indicating that they are first generation immigrants. The mean length of time in United Kingdom for these first generation immigrants was 9 years ($SD = 7.34$), although the range was large (1- 26 years). Thirty-one (22%) of the participants were from refugee backgrounds.

Two thirds of the sample (98: 69%) indicated that English was not their ethnic language, although proficiency in English was rated very high overall with a mean of 4.51 (SD = .78) on a 5 point scale. Participants rated their ethnic language proficiency significantly lower than their English proficiency, $t(140) = 4.77$, $p < .01$, with a mean of 3.96 ($SD = 1.11$). In terms of highest level of education, 32 (18%) of the young people had completed some secondary school and 100 (82%) had completed a tertiary level qualification or a diploma. However, level of education was correlated with age $r = .30$, $p <.01$, meaning that older participants have higher levels of education overall.

Participants were categorised into ethnic groupings using their self-labelled ethnicities as well as the information concerning their parent's birthplace and ethnicity into four categories: Asian (N = 97) (Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian, Chinese and Malaysian) Middle Eastern (N = 23) (Kurdish, Iranian, Iraqi, and Saudi Arabian), African (N = 15) (Somali, Egyptian, Moroccan, Kenya, Sudanese and Libyan), and mixed European heritage (N = 6). Results of a chi-square analysis to test significant differences in the numbers of participants

in each ethnic group per country indicate that there is a significant difference between New Zealand and the United Kingdom $\chi^2(3, N = 296) = 9.90, p < .05$. Analysis of the standardized residuals indicate that there is a marginally significant in the ethnic composition of the samples ($zs = -1.5$ and $1.4\ p < .10$), with results demonstrating that there were more African participants in New Zealand ($N_{NZ} = 31, N_{UK} = 15$). Independent samples t-tests were conducted on the demographic variables in order to assess whether there were significant differences in the sample characteristics between the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Results indicate that there were no significant differences in average ages of participants, refugee background and proficiency in English and ethnic language. However, there were significant differences in the gender composition, $t(295) = -3.40,\ p < .01$, and in the number of 2nd generation migrants, $t(293) = -9.62, p < .01$. In the New Zealand data, females were over-represented whereas this was not the case in the United Kingdom. Also, in the United Kingdom the majority of the sample consists of second generation migrants, whereas in New Zealand the majority are first generation migrants. Ethnic group, gender, generation of migration and refugee status will be controlled for in subsequent analyses.

Materials

All the scales used in the second study were used again in the current study, changing the word "New Zealand" to "United Kingdom". The entire questionnaire was presented to participants in English. The questionnaire, introduction and debrief sheets can be found in Appendix B2 to B4.

Results

The results section includes four segments. The first concerns a descriptive analysis of the data, including reliability of the measures in the United Kingdom, and tests of structural equivalence. The second section examines the differences between Muslim migrant youth in the United Kingdom (UK, $N = 142$) and Muslim migrant youth in New Zealand (NZ, $N = 155$) on all presently investigated variables utilizing MANCOVAs and correlational analyses. The third section uses the combined NZ and UK data in order to examine the predictive power of cultural context and ecological resources (intercultural, family and religious resources) on the experience of stress and adaptation outcomes. The final part of the results section examines the application of the structural equation model developed in the previous study to the entire sample, and tests for differences between the predicted pathways using multi-group analysis.

Descriptive Analysis

Scale descriptives and reliabilities for the UK data are illustrated in Table 4.2. All of the measures had acceptable Cronbach's α scores, ranging between .78 to .94. Mean scores on the risk factor measures (discrimination stress and cultural transition stress) were both below the mid-point of the scale (3), indicating the low levels of stress are experienced overall. This was also the case for behaviour problems, which fell well below the mid-point (3) of the scale, but was not the case for depression which was above the mid-point (2). The descriptive indicate that there are reasonably high levels of ecological resources in the sample, with all of the scales having mean of over 3, with many close to 4.

Table 4.2 *Descriptives and reliabilities of measures UK sample N=142*

	N	Range	Scale *M*	Item *M*	Item *SD*	α
1. Well-being	10	10-50	31.50	3.15	.72	.89
2. Depression	12	12-47	26.87	2.24	.57	.83
3. Behaviour Problems	8	8-40	15.49	1.94	.83	.87
4. Discrimination Stress	7	7-35	17.85	2.55	1.03	.94
5. Cultural Transition Stress	19	19-79	41.67	2.19	.84	.93
6. Attitudes Toward Integration	5	5-25	19.40	3.88	.85	.81
7. Perceived Multicultural Environment	3	3-15	11.56	3.84	.73	.78
8. National Identity	5	5-25	20.19	4.05	1.00	.86
9. Ethnic Identity	5	5-25	18.26	3.84	.90	.79
10. Family: Current Assistance	6	7-30	24.13	4.02	.79	.92
11. Family: Respect	5	5-25	18.97	3.79	.87	.85
12. Family: Congruence	8	8-40	27.37	3.42	.91	.92
13. Religious Identity	10	10-50	39.02	3.90	.78	.92
14. Religious Practices	9	13-45	31.42	3.49	.86	.90

Structural equivalence[12] of the NZ and UK samples

As in study 1, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) were run on each of the latent constructs with results indicating that the items parcels[13] load significantly onto their latent construct and all of the latent constructs that are part of a measurement domain significantly co-vary with one another (e.g., items for religious identity load onto a latent variable and this

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[12] Due to the complexity of the constructs, structural equivalence was tested using CFAs, this can also be tested by computing Tucker's Phi agreement scores see (Fischer & Fontaine, 2011).

[13] 2-4 parcels of items were computed for each measure (with the exception of perceived multicultural environment, in which observed variables were used). Parcels contained 2-5 items each, dependent on the number of items in the scale.

covaries with the latent variable of religious practices), see Table 4.3 for fit indices. Subsequently, the multi-group CFA was conducted yielding acceptable fit indices, indicating structural equivalence of these constructs across the two cultural contexts (see Table 4.3). Because of the good fit indices, it is valid to assume that the content of all scales had the same underlying meaning. It is, therefore, also justifiable to conduct comparisons of mean scores.

Table 4.3 *Fit indices for confirmatory factor analyses*

	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	p	TLI	IFI	CFI	RMSEA
UK								
Intercultural Factors	132.06	38	3.48	.00	.90	.94	.94	.11
Family Factors	30.64	11	2.79	.00	.92	.97	.97	.11
Religious Factors	18.29	8	2.28	.02	.94	.98	.98	.08
Stress	19.39	13	1.49	.11	.98	.99	.99	.06
Adaptation	48.53	24	2.02	.01	.91	.95	.95	.08
Multi-group								
Intercultural Factors	143.40	38	3.77	.00	.93	.96	.96	.09
Family Factors	16.58	11	1.51	.12	.99	.99	.99	.04
Religious Factors	21.06	8	2.63	.01	.96	.99	.99	.07
Stress	22.48	13	1.73	.05	.98	.99	.99	.05
Adaptation	55.13	24	2.30	.00	.97	.94	.97	.07

Differences between NZ and the UK

In order to examine the differences between Muslim migrants in New Zealand (NZ, $N= 155$) and Muslim migrants in the United Kingdom (UK, $N=142$), three MANCOVAs were conducted, one on each of the measurement domains; (1) resources, (2) stressors, and (3) outcomes. These analyses control for the covariates of gender, generational status, ethnic group and refugee background.

Resources

It was hypothesised that youth in NZ would have significantly stronger attitudes toward integration and rate perceived multicultural environment higher than youth in the UK (1c). A research question was also posed in order to assess whether levels of ethnic and national identity would be significantly different for youth in NZ and the UK (RQ1). All nine of the "resources" (attitudes toward integration, perceived multicultural environment, national identity, ethnic identity, current assistance, respect, congruence, religious identity and religious practices) were entered as dependent variables into a MANCOVA, cultural

context (NZ = 1, UK =0) was identified as the fixed factor and gender, generational status, ethnic group and refugee background were entered as covariates.

A significant multivariate main effect was found for cultural context after controlling for the covariates Wilk's λ= .77, $F(8, 237) = 8.34$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .23$, indicating that levels of resources are significantly different across the countries. Multivariate effects were also found for three out of the four covariates: generational status Wilk's λ= .85, $F(8, 237) = 4.76$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$, gender Wilk's λ= .92, $F(8, 237) = 2.29$ $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$, and refugee background Wilk's λ= .92, $F(8, 237) = 2.49$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$.

Tests of between subjects effects on the covariates show that first and second generation migrants differ significantly on levels of respect $F(1, 237) = 15.47$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, mean level differences indicate that second generation migrant have lower levels of respect ($M = 3.83$) than first generation migrants ($M = 4.09$). For the covariate of gender, results show that males and females differ on levels of current assistance $F(1, 237) = 5.04$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$, religious identity $F(1, 237) = 4.86$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$ and religious practices $F(1, 237) = 11.29$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. Mean differences indicate that males have lower levels of current assistance (M_{Male} 3.86, M_{Female} 4.04), religious identity (M_{Male} 3.98, M_{Female} 4.21), and religious practices (M_{Male} 3.55, M_{Female} 3.92) than females. For the covariate of refugee background, results show that refugees differ from non-refugees on religious identity $F(1, 237) = 4.74$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$ and religious practices $F(1, 237) = 13.74$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, mean differences indicate that refugee background participants have lower levels of religious identity and practices (Ms, 3.96 and 3.51) than non-refugee background participants (Ms, 4.17 and 3.85).

Univariate results on cultural context show that after partialling out the effects of the covariates, Muslim migrants in NZ significantly differ from Muslim migrants in the UK on levels of perceived multicultural environment (PME) $F(1, 230) = 15.20$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, post-hoc analyses indicate that participants in the UK ($M = 3.84$) have significantly lower PME than participants in NZ ($M = 4.32$), mean difference = -.48, $p < .01$. This result partially support hypothesis 1b, finding that youth in NZ have greater PME, but that their attitudes toward integration are not significantly different in NZ than in the UK. Also, in answer to RQ1 it was found that levels of ethnic and national identity were not significantly different in NZ and the UK. However, participants were found to significantly differ in their levels of religious identity $F(1, 230) = 13.15$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$ and religious practices $F(1, 230) = 14.63$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$. Post-hoc analyses on these findings indicate that

participants in the UK have significantly lower levels of both religious identity and practices (Ms = 3.94 and 3.51) than participants in NZ (Ms = 4.33 and 4.04) mean difference = -.37 and -.43, $p < .01$.

Stressors

It was hypothesised that youth in the UK would rate experiences of stress significantly higher than youth in NZ (1a). Both of the risk factors (discrimination stress and cultural transition stress) were entered as dependent variables into a MANCOVA, cultural context was the fixed factor and gender, generational status, ethnic group and refugee background were entered as covariates. A significant multivariate main effect was found for cultural context after controlling for the covariates Wilk's λ= .93, $F(2, 256) = 9.85$, $p < .001$, partial η² = .07. No significant multivariate effects were found for any of the covariates.

Univariate results on cultural context show that after partialling out the effects of the covariates, Muslim migrants in NZ significantly differ from Muslim migrants in the UK on levels of discrimination stress $F(1, 250) = 19.29$, $p < .01$, partial η² = .07 and levels of cultural transition stress $F(1, 250) = 7.63$, $p < .01$, partial η² = .03. Post-hoc analyses indicate that participants in the UK have significantly higher levels of discrimination stress (M_{UK}=2.67, M_{NZ} =1.89) and cultural transition stress (M_{UK} =2.24, M_{NZ} =1.91) than participants in NZ, mean difference = .78 and .33, $p < .01$. These results support hypothesis 1a, that youth in the UK experience more stress than youth in NZ.

Outcomes

It was hypothesised that youth in the UK would have lower levels of positive adaptation than youth in NZ (1b). The three outcome measures (well-being, depression and behaviour problems) were entered as dependent variables into the MANCOVA, cultural context was the fixed factor and gender, generational status, ethnic group and refugee background were entered as covariates. A significant multivariate main effect was found for cultural context after controlling for the covariates Wilk's λ= .93, $F(3, 250) = 6.48$, $p < .001$, partial η² = .07. Multivariate effects were also found for three out of the four covariates: generational status Wilk's λ= .96, $F(3, 250) = 3.44$, $p < .05$, partial η² = .04, gender Wilk's λ= .94, $F(3, 250) = 5.44$, $p < .01$, partial η² = .06, and refugee background Wilk's λ= .97, $F(3, 250) = 2.86$, $p < .05$, partial η² = .03.

Tests of between subjects effects on the covariates show that first and second generation migrants differ significantly on levels of behaviour problems $F(1, 250) = 4.83$, $p <$

.05, partial η^2 = .02, mean level differences indicate that second generation migrant have higher levels of behaviour problems (M = 1.85) than first generation migrants (M = 1.55). For the covariate of gender, results show that males and females differ on behaviour problems $F(1, 250)$ = 12.59, $p < .01$, partial η^2 = .05, mean differences indicate that males have higher levels of behaviour problems (M= 1.89) than females (M= 1.57). For the covariate of refugee background, results show that refugees differ from non-refugees on behaviour problems $F(1, 250)$ = 4.93, $p < .05$, partial η^2 = .02, mean differences indicate that refugee background participants have higher levels of behaviour problems (M= 1.84) than non-refugee background participants (M=1.65).

Univariate results on cultural context show that after partialling out the effects of the covariates, Muslim migrants in NZ significantly differ from Muslim migrants in the UK on levels of depression $F(1, 244)$ = 13.52, $p < .01$, partial η^2 = .05, post-hoc analysis indicates that participants in the UK (M = 2.25) have significantly higher levels of depression than participants in NZ (M = 2.00), mean difference = .30, $p < .01$. Participants were also found to significantly differ in their levels of behaviour problems $F (1, 244)$ = 8.73, $p < .01$, partial η^2 = .04. Post-hoc analysis indicates that participants in the UK have significantly higher levels of behaviour problems (M = 1.86) than participants in NZ (M = 1.55) mean difference = .31, $p < .01$. These results partially confirm hypothesis 1b, that youth in the UK have significantly greater positive adaptation than youth in the UK.

In summary, the results indicate that Muslim migrant youth in the UK have lower levels of PME, religious identity and religious practices than Muslim migrant youth in the NZ. They also experience more stress (both discrimination and cultural transition) and have greater depression and behaviour problems.

Correlational Analysis

In order to address research question 2, whether the associations between the variables are significantly different in NZ and the UK, bivariate correlation coefficients were computed and then a test for differences between Pearson correlations was conducted on each of the correlations (HyperStat, 2007). Table 4.4 illustrates the correlations between in variables in the UK data, whereas Table 3.5 in the previous chapter illustrates the correlations in the NZ data. Similar to the NZ data, measures within each domain were found to significantly intercorrelate. The majority of correlations between the measures in the UK

Table 4.4 *Correlation matrix of measures in the U.K. sample N=142*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Well-being													
2. Depression	-.52**												
3. Behaviour Problems	-.09	.10											
4. Discrimination stress	-.34**	.33**	.09										
5. Cultural Transition stress	-.22*	.31**	.30**	.48**									
6. ATI	.19*	-.22*	-.21*	-.13	-.22*								
7. PME	.26**	-.19*	-.30**	**-.35****	**-.33****	.45**							
8. National Identity	.15	-.26**	-.22**	-.13	-.26*	.65**	.44**						
9. Ethnic Identity	.16	-.24**	-.32**	.05	-.12	.41**	.32**	.61**					
10. Current Assistance	.16	-.11	-.33**	.03	.03	.26**	.16	.18*	.32**				
11. Respect	-.03	.01	-.24**	.11	.12	.10	.15	.05	.36**	.60**			
12. Congruence	.25**	-.08	-.29**	-.10	-.15	.07	.20*	.20*	**.33****	.39**	.45**		
13. Religious Identity	.05	-.07	-.07	.13	.14	.21**	.18*	.19*	.36**	**.33****	.46**	.17*	
14. Religious Practices	.27**	.08	-.23**	-.03	.11	.02	-.01	-.01	.16	.37**	.46**	.41**	.37**

*p < .05   **p <.01

Correlations in bold indicate significantly different correlations than the New Zealand sample
ATI = Attitudes toward integration   PME = Perceived multicultural environment

were not significantly different from the correlation in the NZ data, in fact only four of the correlations were found to significantly differ. The correlations between PME and both discrimination and cultural transition stress were not significant in the NZ sample ($rs=-.09$ and -.07), although they were in the UK ($rs=-.35$ and -.33, $p < .01$). The difference score calculated from these correlations was z =-2.22, $p < .05$ and z =-2.22, $p < .05$, indicating that the relationships between PME and the measures of stress were significantly different in NZ and the UK, although these differences were small. The correlation between ethnic identity and family congruence was found to be significantly different in the two countries, (r_{NZ} =.05, p = n.s., r_{UK} =.33, $p < .01$, difference score z =2.39, $p < .01$). The correlation between current assistance and religious identity was also significantly different in NZ and the UK (r_{NZ} =.01, p = n.s., r_{UK} =.33, $p < .01$, difference score z =-2.60 $p < .01$. These differences indicate that there are significant relationships between family and identity that are only present in the UK sample.

Predictive Models

It was hypothesised that cultural context would have a significant predict effect on the experiences of stress and adaptation outcomes for Muslim youth (2a). It was also predicted that ecological resources would diminish (or mediate) the effect of cultural context on stress and adaptation (2b). In order to test these hypotheses hierarchical regression models were run on each of the adaptation outcomes (well-being, depression and behaviour problems) as well as on both of the stressors (discrimination and cultural transition), assessing the predictive ability of resources on adaptation and stress when controlling for cultural context. Each model consisted of three steps (1) demographics[14], (2) cultural context, coded as participants in the UK = 0 and participants in NZ = 1, and (3) resources (intercultural factors, family factors and religious factors). The possibility of multicollinearity was checked using the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF). A high VIF (greater than 10) points to excessive collinearity (Field, 2005). The results indicated that in each hierarchical entry all of the independent variables were within the recommended range.

Hierarchical Regression Models on Stress

For discrimination stress, the first step did not significantly add to the model. In the second step, controlling for demographics, cultural context was a significant predictor (see

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[14] Note that gender is dummy coded as 0= female 1= male, generation status 0= 2nd generation 1= 1st generation and refugee status 0 = non- refugee background 1= refugee background.

Table 4.5) (β = -.31, t = -4.10, p < .01) and explained 7% of the overall variance (ΔR^2 = .07). This finding supports hypothesis 2a, that living in NZ negatively predicts stress. The third step also significantly added to the model, explaining an additional 11% of variance (ΔR^2 = .11, F change= 2.98, p <.01). PME (β = -.23, t = -2.88, p < .01) emerged as the only significant predictor. Upon the addition of resources, the beta weight for cultural context was lowered, but remained significant. This result partially supports hypothesis 2c, that resources mediate the effect of cultural context on discrimination, although they do not fully account for the differences in ratings of discrimination stress. The overall model accounts for 19% of the variance and indicates that being a 1st generation migrant, residing in the UK and having lower levels of PME significantly predicts discrimination stress.

  For cultural transition stress, the first step of the model did not significantly explain any variance. Controlling for demographics, cultural context was a significant predictor (see Table 4.5) (β = -.18, t = -2.35, p < .05) and explained 2% of the variance (ΔR^2 = .02). This finding supports hypothesis 2a, that living in NZ negatively predicts stress. The third step also significantly added to the model, explaining 12% of the overall variance (ΔR^2 = .12). In this step, ATI and PME emerged as significant negative predictors (β = -.18, t = -2.17, p < .05 and β = -.18, t = -2.22, p < .05) whereas respect emerged as a positive predictor (β = .17, t = 1.94, p < .05). Upon the addition of resources, the beta weight for cultural context was lowered, but remained significant. This result partially supports hypothesis 2c, that resources may mediate the effect of cultural context on cultural transition stress, although they do not fully account for the differences in ratings of stress. The overall model accounts for 12% of the variance and indicates that residing in the UK, having lower levels of PME and ATI and higher levels of family respect significantly predicts cultural transition stress.

  Overall, results of the regression models on stressors support hypotheses 2a and 2c, finding that cultural context predicts discrimination stress and cultural transition stress, and these effects may be mediated by resources.

Table 4.5 *Hierarchical regression models on stress*

	Discrimination Stress			Cultural Transition Stress		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1. Demographics						
Gender	-.09	-.02	-.02	.02	.05	.07
Generation	.07	.19**	.19**	.02	.1	.08
Ethnic group	-.04	-.03	-.02	.00	.01	.04
Refugee	-.04	.03	.05	-.05	-.02	-.02
2. Cultural Context		-.31**	-.27**		-.18*	-.17*
3. Resources						
ATI			-.08			-.18*
PME			-.23**			-.18*
National Identity			-.02			-.01
Ethnic Identity			.15			.05
Current Assistance			.04			.02
Respect			.11			.17*
Congruence			-.12			-.12
Religious Identity			.13			.08
Religious Practices			-.09			.03
R²	.013	.086	.185	.005	.030	.157
R² change	.013	.073	.100	.005	.024	.127
F	.69	17.34**	2.85**	.31	5.59*	3.63**

*p < .05   **p <.01

Hierarchical Regression Models on Adaptation Outcomes

For well-being, the first step of the model did not significantly explain any variance and neither did the second step (cultural context), although generational status emerged as a significant predictor (β = -.14, *t* = -2.00, *p* < .05). Although hypothesis 2b stipulated that after controlling for demographics, living in NZ would positively predict adaptation, the findings obtained do no support this hypothesis. The third step significantly added to the model, explaining 18% of the overall variance (ΔR² = .18). In this step, PME (β = .17, *t* = 2.10, *p* < .05), family current assistance (β = .19, *t* = 2.55, *p* < .05) and religious practices (β = .31, *t* = 3.99, *p* < .01) emerged as significant positive predictors. Family respect emerged as a negative predictor (β = -.19 *t* = -2.35, *p* < .05), although examination of the bivariate correlation suggests that this result is likely due to a suppression effect. The final model accounted for 5% of the overall variance, and indicates that country of residence does not significantly predict levels of well-being, although being a 2nd generation migrant, having

higher levels of PME, family current assistance and religious practices and lower levels of family respect predicts greater well-being.

For depression, the first step did not significantly add to the model. In the second step cultural context was a significant predictor ($\beta = -.31$, $t = -3.96$, $p < .01$) and explained 6% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .07$). This finding supports hypothesis 2b, that living in NZ positively predicts adaptation. The third step also significantly added to the model, explaining an additional 11% of variance ($\Delta R^2 = .11$). Current assistance ($\beta = -.15$, $t = -1.86$, $p < .05$) and PME ($\beta = -.18$, $t = -2.56$, $p < .05$) emerged as a negative predictors. Family respect, however, emerged as a positive predictor ($\beta = .24$, $t = 2.72$, $p < .01$) although examination of the bivariate correlation suggests that this result is likely due to a suppression effect (very similar to the results for well-being). Upon addition of resources to the model, the beta weight for cultural context was lowered considerably, but remained significant. This finding partially supports hypothesis 2c, indicating that resources mediate the effect of cultural context on depression, but do not fully account for the differences between the countries. Furthermore, both gender and refugee status became significant predictors in this step of the model. The overall model accounts for 19% of the variance and indicates that residing in the UK and having lower levels PME and higher levels of family respect predicts increased depression.

For behaviour problems, demographics significantly added to the model, explaining 11% of the variance ($\Delta R^2 = .11$) with gender ($\beta = -.22$, $t = -3.45$, $p < .01$), generation ($\beta = -.20$, $t = -3.00$, $p < .01$) and refugee status ($\beta = -.21$, $t = -3.05$, $p < .01$) emerging as significant predictors. Controlling for demographics, cultural context was a significant predictor ($\beta = -.19$, $t = -2.52$, $p < .05$) and explained 3% of the overall variance ($\Delta R^2 = .03$). This finding supports hypothesis 2b, that living in NZ positively predicts adaptation. The third step also significantly added to the model, explaining an additional 14% of variance ($\Delta R^2 = .14$). Congruence ($\beta = -.15$, $t = -2.25$, $p < .05$) and ethnic identity ($\beta = -.17$, $t = -2.26$, $p < .05$) emerged as negative predictors. Upon addition of resources, the beta weight for cultural context was lowered

Table 4.6 *Hierarchical regression models on adaptation*

	Well-being			Depression			Behaviour Problems		
	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	3
1. Demographics									
Gender	-.03	-.02	-.08	.01	.06	.12	-.22**	-.19**	-.13*
Generation	-.14*	-.19**	-.16*	-.05	.11	.05	-.20**	-.11	-.01
Ethnic group	-.02	-.02	-.05	-.04	-.05	-.06	.04	.05	.05
Refugee	-.01	-.02	-.05	.06	-.11	-.13	-.21**	-.18**	-.16*
2.Cultural Context		-.09	-.07		-.31**	-.19*		-.19**	-.15
3. Resources									
ATI			.07			.08			-.13
PME			.17*			-.18*			-.13
National Identity			.08			-.15			.07
Ethnic Identity			.02			-.03			-.17*
Current Assistance			.19*			-.15			-.08
Respect			-.19*			.24**			-.03
Congruence			.12			-.11			-.15*
Religious Identity			-.04			-.10			.10
Religious Practices			.32**			-.07			-.07
R²	.024	.029	.208	.016	.083	.185	.116	.140	.264
R² change	.024	.006	.178	.016	.066	.102	.116	.024	.124
F	1.36	1.32	5.38**	.87	15.27**	2.82**	7.41**	6.26*	4.04**

*p < .05   **p <.01

to marginal significance ($p < .10$). These results indicate that resources mediate the effect of cultural context on behaviour problems, supporting hypothesis 2c. The overall model accounts for 27% of the variance and indicates that residing in NZ, being male and from a refugee background, having lower levels of family congruence, and ethnic identity predicts increased behaviour problems.

Overall, results of the regression models on adaptation outcomes support hypotheses 2b and 2c, finding that cultural context predicts depression and behaviour problems, and these effects are partially mediated by resources. However, well-being was not found to be predicted by cultural context.

Multi-Group: The Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation

The current study attempts to address research question 3, whether a structural equation model can be developed that sufficiently captures the relationships in the combined dataset (both NZ and UK), and research question 4 if such a model can be developed, are the pathways between the variable significantly different in NZ and the UK.

The process of model building took place in a similar fashion to development of the structural equation model in study 2. To begin with the hypothesised model (as seen in Figure 3.4) was tested on the combined dataset using the multi-group modelling function in AMOS. The results of this model show that all observed variables significantly loaded (above $p < .01$) onto their anticipated latent variable. Assessments of the adequacy of the hypothesised model indicate that the model fits the data reasonably well (see fit indices, Table 4.7), although improvements may potentially be made. Next, following the recommendations of Bryne (2010), pathways that were non-significant in both NZ and the UK were pruned from the model. Two of the pathways were removed; (1) the pathway from family factors to adaptation and (2) the pathway from intercultural factors to adaptation, and the model was then re-estimated. This marginally improved the overall model fit (see Table 4.7). Finally, the modification indices were checked in order to assess whether there were any additional pathways which improve the model fit. It was found that adding a pathway from the latent construct *religious factors* to the observed variable *ethnic identity,* and a pathway from latent construct *family factors* to the observed variable *ethnic identity* would significantly

Figure 4.1 *Multi-group Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation (NZ β underlined, UK β in italics)*
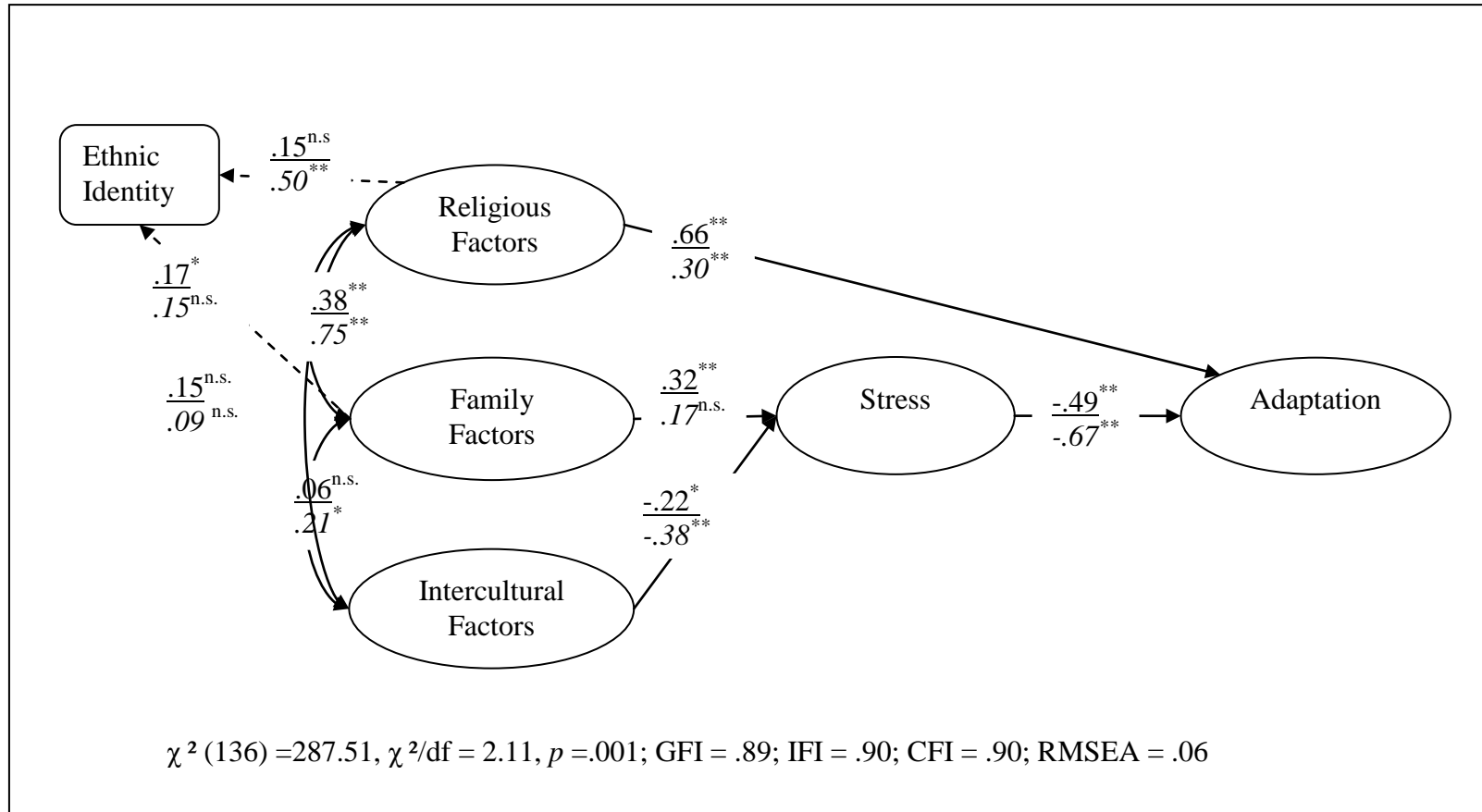
χ^2 (136) =287.51, χ^2/df = 2.11, p =.001; GFI = .89; IFI = .90; CFI = .90; RMSEA = .06

*p < .05   **p <.01

For ease of interpretation, the measurement model and error terms are not shown in this model. The exception is inclusion of the observed variable "ethnic identity", which is illustrated in order to illuminate the significant loading of this observed variable on the latent variables of religious factors and family factors (this pathway was not included in the original measurement model). Refer to Table 3.4 for a pictorial representation of the measurement model and to Table 4.8 for parameter estimates of the multi-group model.

improve the model. As these pathways were deemed to be theoretically sound, they were added and the model was again re-estimated. Assessments of the fit indices (see Table 4.7) suggest that the final model provides an adequate representation of the relationships among the variables (see Figure 4.1). These findings address research question 3, with results indicating that the final model sufficiently captures the relationships between the variables in the combined dataset.

Table 4.7 *Fit indices for the multi-group models*

	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	p	GFI	IFI	CFI	RMSEA
Hypothesised Model	330.50	136	2.45	.001	.87	.87	.87	.07
Pruned Model	332.42	140	2.37	.001	.87	.87	.87	.07
Final Model	287.51	136	2.11	.001	.89	.90	.90	.06

Multi-Group Comparison

Comparisons of the strength and direction of the pathways between NZ and the UK were analysed with equality constraints applied to each path separately to detect which were variant and which were invariant across groups (Byrne, 2001). This procedure enables each parameter of the model to be constrained to be equal between the two groups and consequently to assess the difference in model fit. If the chi-square difference statistic between the unconstrained and the constrained model is significant, then the constrained pathway differs significantly across the groups (see Table 4.8).

Equality constraints reveal 2 out of 7 of the structural parameters in the model were significantly different between the countries; (1) the pathway from religion to adaptation, (2) the covariance between religious factors and family factors. Additionally, 1 out of 15 of the parameters in the measurement model was significantly different between the countries, the loading of ethnic identity on religious factors. The results indicate that there few differences in the strengths of the pathways in NZ and the UK, where there are differences these emerge in the relationships with religious factors and the other measures. There is a significant positive effect of religious factors on adaptation in both countries (β_{UK} = .25, and β_{NZ} =.64, p < .05), although the effect is significantly stronger in the NZ sample than it is in the UK

Table 4.8 *Parameter estimates for the multi-group structural equation model (standard errors in parentheses)*

Parameter estimates	NZ Model		UK Model		Change in χ^2
	Unstandardized	Standardized	Unstandardized	Standardized	
Measurement Model					
RF → Religious Identity	1.00	.60**	1.00	.64**	N.A.
RF→ Religious Practices	1.50 (.30)	.75**	1.07 (.19)	.62**	1.6
RF→ Ethnic Identity	.42 (.19)	.15*	.96 (.36)	.50**	2.5**
FF→ Current assistance	1.00	.65**	1.00	.76**	N.A.
FF→ Respect	1.26 (.19)	.72**	1.23 (.12)	.85**	0.0
FF→ Congruence	1.46 (.21)	.79**	1.25 (.11)	.92**	0.2
FF→ Ethnic Identity	.33 (.15)	.17*	.27 (.24)	.18	0.2
IF → PME	1.00	.56**	1.00	.58**	N.A.
IF → ATI	1.55 (.25)	.71**	1.54 (.22)	.93**	0.0
IF → National identity	2.00 (.30)	.85**	2.19 (.29)	.93**	0.2
IF → Ethnic identity	1.61 (.25)	.73**	1.73 (.24)	.83**	0.1
Stress → Discrimination stress	1.00	.69**	1.00	.69**	N.A.
Stress → Cultural transition stress	.83 (.16)	.78**	.60 (13)	.67**	1.3
Adaptation→ Well-being	1.00	.76**	1.00	.69**	N.A.
Adaptation→ Depression	-.73 (.11)	-.73**	-.85 (.17)	-.74**	0.2
Adaptation → Behaviour problems	-.40 (.11)	-.33**	-.30 (.16)	-.27*	0.3
Covariance between RF and FF	.04 (.02)	.40**	.22 (.05)	.74**	8.9**
Covariance between RF and IF	.01 (.01)	.06	.05 (.03)	.20	0.3
Covariance between IF and FF	.02 (.01)	.15	.06 (.03)	.21*	0.2
Structural Model					
RF → Adaptation	.90 (.19)	.66**	.28 (.12)	.30*	7.8**
FF→ Stress	.55 (.20)	.32**	.25 (.16)	.17	1.3
IF→ Stress	-.42 (.20)	-.22*	-.81 (.26)	-.38**	1.3
Stress → Adaptation	-.33 (.07)	-.49**	-.37 (.09)	-.68**	0.2

*p < .05   **p <.01

(χ^2 difference with 1 df = 7.8, $p < .01$). Also, the covariance between religious factors and family factors is significant in both countries ($\beta_{UK} = .74$, and $\beta_{NZ} = .37$, $p < .01$), although this relationship is significantly stronger in the UK than it is in NZ (χ^2 difference with 1 df =8.9, $p < .01$). Finally, contrary to the original hypothesised measurement model, ethnic identity was found to load onto the religious factors latent variable, however in the UK sample ($\beta = .53$, $p < .01$), this loading was significantly stronger than in the NZ sample ($\beta = .18$, $p < .05$, χ^2 difference with 1 df =2.5, $p < .01$).

There were many more similarities between the countries than there were differences, specifically, the significant negative predictive effect of intercultural factors on stress ($\beta_{UK} = -.39$, and $\beta_{NZ} = -.23$, $p < .05$) was found in both NZ and the UK, as was the significant negative effect of stress on adaptation ($\beta_{UK} = -.69$, and $\beta_{NZ} = -.51$, $p < .01$). Also, the positive effects of family on stress were not significantly different in NZ and the UK, although in the UK the effect was non-significant. (Figure 3.4). Furthermore, the covariance between religious factors and intercultural factors and the covariance between family factors and intercultural factors were not significantly different in NZ and the UK. These results address RQ3, demonstrating that there are some pathways in the model that are different across the countries, and these concern the relationships between religious factors and the other constructs. The findings of this analysis indicate that there indeed seems to be an element of cultural generalisability to the model.

Discussion

This study sought to test whether the relationships between resources, stressors and adaptation that were developed and tested in the New Zealand context were generalisable to the United Kingdom. A comparative approach was taken in order to examine whether cultural context predicted stress and adaptation when taking protective factors into account. This study demonstrated that the cultural environment of migration plays an important contributing factor to both the experience of stress and the achievement of positive adaptation above and beyond the effects of ecological resources. Differences in levels of resources available were also evident, with youth in New Zealand having greater levels of perceived multiculturalism, stronger religious identities and higher levels of engagement in religious practices. However, some commonalities between youth across contexts were also found, with results indicating stress negatively affects adaptation, religious factors directly promote adaptation and intercultural factors protect against the impact of stress on adaptation in both countries.

Although the major focus of this study was the between group differences and similarities for Muslim youth in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, within-group differences are an important source of variance that deserve attention when studying developmental outcomes for youth. As in the previous study, the demographic variables of gender, generation of migration, ethnic group and refugee background were included in the analyses in order to control for extraneous effects on the outcome measures. There were no significant differences found between ethnic groups on any of the variables tested, although there were effects evident for gender, generation of migration and refugee background.

Across the sample young women were found to have greater levels of family current assistance, stronger religious identities, higher engagement in religious practices and fewer behaviour problems than young men. The literature suggests that in the acculturation process adolescent girls tend to have greater attachment to the family and are provided more benefits from family social support in comparison to young boys (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). Furthermore, immigrant girls are often understood as the agents of cultural and religious transmission (or the gatekeepers of traditions and values), meaning that there are greater expectations placed upon them to spend time with the family and to carry out cultural and religious practices (Dasgupta, 1998). The results of the current study lend evidence to this argument, showing that young women tend to spend more time with the family and engage in greater religious maintenance than boys.

It has also been suggested that migrant girls are vulnerable to lower levels of adaptation due potentially conflicting social role expectations (Dinh & Nguyen, 2006; Yeh, 2003). In this study, however, no differences were found in levels of psychological adaptation between the genders, and males were found to have greater behaviour problems than females. Recent research has found that Muslim boys have significantly more externalizing problems and are found to consistently underachieve in comparison to girls, especially in educational settings (Ahmed, 2009; Oppedal & Røysamb, 2007). Abbas (2007) argues that the discrepancy between Muslim migrant boys and girls may point to deeper issues embedded in the process of negotiating cultural differences. It is suggested that future research should examine this issue in depth.

The current research also found significant differences between the generations of migrants. Specifically it was found that second generation youth have lower levels of respect in the family setting, higher well-being, greater behaviour problems and experience less

147

discrimination distress than the first generation. Literature on the Immigrant Paradox suggests that the first generation of immigrants tend to perform as well, if not better, than host nationals, although this advantage declines over time so that the second and subsequent generations adaptation regresses towards the levels of host nationals or even below (Nguyen, 2006; Sam et al., 2008). In the International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (ICSEY), however, it was found that where there are differences between the generations, second generation immigrants often show better psychological adaptation (comparable to host nationals) than the first generation and the first generation show better sociocultural adaptation than the second generation (Sam et al., 2006). These findings indicate that the second generation do become more similar to host nationals over time, a result which is supported by the fact that levels of family respect and discrimination stress were also lower (more similar to potential host national levels) in the second generation than in the first generation.

Youth from refugee backgrounds were found to have weaker religious identities, to engage in fewer religious practices and to experience more behaviour problems than non-refugee background youth. Refugees are broadly understood to be "involuntary" migrants who have been pushed from their country of residence through necessity initiated predominantly by political conflicts and environmental disasters (Ward, 2001). Such forced migration can have wide ranging effects on ethnic social relations, identity development and mental health (Kim, 1988 cited in Berry, 1997). Refugees are also more likely to be dealing with the consequences of trauma than migrants, often meaning that many young refugees may have experienced disrupted formal schooling (DOL, 2009). This situation has implications for the integration of refugee background youth into the host national society, and especially into the education system. In research conducted by the New Zealand Immigration Service (NZIS) with refugee youth it was found that young people had difficulties in school due to language, discrimination and issues with teachers (NZIS, 2004). Such difficulties potentially lead to greater behaviour problems and becoming distanced from one's religious and/or cultural background, as is evident in this research.

Intercultural Resources

Resources were found to have significant effects on stress and adaptation in the overall sample when controlling for cultural context. Similar to the previous study, perceived multicultural environment had the greatest predictive effects on adaptation outcomes. In fact, perceiving oneself to live in an environment that is accepting of diversity may increase well-

being, and decrease depression, discrimination, and cultural transition stress. Attitudes toward integration, however, only negatively predicted cultural transition stress and neither ethnic nor national identity significantly predicted the outcome variables.

Burnet (1995 cited in Verkuyten, 2009) proposed that social acceptance and recognition of cultural diversity are essential for an individual's feeling of self worth. Following this proposition Verkuyten (2009) argues that the public acceptance of one's group and culture is an important condition for the development of a positive group identity because people want their in-group to be socially recognized, accepted and valued. Indeed multiculturalism has been found to be endorsed more by ethnic minority groups than host nationals in various societies of settlement (Deaux, Reid, Martin, & Bikmen, 2006). Furthermore, relative to majority members, ethnic minorities who endorse multiculturalism derive more positive meaning from their ethnic heritage (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). Therefore, for immigrants multicultural recognition may offer the possibility of maintaining their own culture while also gaining acceptance by the wider society, effectively creating the context for integration.

The results of this study support the proposition that immigrants perceptions of acceptance by the wider society lead to better adaptation outcomes and lower levels of stress. Furthermore, the findings indicate that perceived multiculturalism is a more important intercultural predictor of positive adaptation than attitudes toward integration, ethnic and national identities. However, when the intercultural measures are considered as components of a broader construct, results indicate that in both New Zealand and the United Kingdom intercultural factors are the only resources that protect against the negative effects of stress on adaptation.

In terms of the difference found between the cultural contexts, results show that significantly more young Muslims in New Zealand perceived they lived in an environment that was tolerant and accepting of multiculturalism than Muslims in the United Kingdom. These findings may reflect real differences in beliefs about diversity in each of these nations as it has been found that 89% of host nationals in New Zealand endorse a multicultural ideology in comparison to 65% of host nationals in the United Kingdom (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Furthermore, in the United Kingdom, perceptions of acceptance by the wider society were negatively correlated with discrimination and cultural transition stress, although this was not the case in the New Zealand sample. These findings may suggest that in situations

where there are lower levels of actual acceptance, perceiving the wider society to endorse multiculturalism has a buffering function against stress.

Family Resources

Similar to the previous study, results demonstrate that family respect (or deference to the wishes of one's parents) is negatively associated with adaptation outcomes (lower well-being, greater depression and higher levels of cultural transition stress), whereas current assistance is associated with greater well-being. Effectively the results indicate that family factors have both a positive and negative influence on youth adaptation. The literature suggests that good family relationships, especially high levels of perceived support, have positive consequences for young people (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Kagitçibasi, 2006; Lin, 2007). However, recent research has shown that in order to experience the benefits of family relationships, parents and adolescents must perceive their values to be compatible (Stuart, 2008; Stuart et al., 2010).

In the research on family obligations by Fuligni, Tseng and Lam (1999) it was found that young people believed that they valued respect less than their parents, and therefore perceived there to be disagreements between themselves and their parents. Indeed, it is often found that immigrant parents actually do expect higher levels of obligation to the family than their children are willing to give (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). Phinney and Vedder (2006, p. 170) label such differences "Intergenerational Value Discrepancies" and suggest that these can cause conflicts and disruption in the family. In their research, Phinney and Vedder (2006) found that intergenerational value discrepancies in family obligation were related to poorer psychological and sociocultural adaptation. They concluded that adolescents who have greater discrepancies in their value orientations experience more stress and therefore have poorer adaptation.

While the results of the current study suggest that there is a direct negative relationship between respect and adaptation, there were two suppressor effects found in the prediction of well-being and depression. This is very similar to the findings of the previous study which showed that stress was acting as a suppressor in the relationship between respect and adaptation. Therefore, it seems to be the case that the predictive effect on respect on adaptation may be artefact of the association between respect and stress. Such an association is potentially brought about through real or perceived discrepancies in value orientations between parents and children. Lending support to this argument, it was found that in the New Zealand sample, there were significant positive correlations between stress and respect and

the latent variable of family factors directly predicted stress in the structural equation model. Furthermore, while the relationship between family factors and stress was non-significant in the United Kingdom sample, the correlations between respect and stress as well as the beta weight of the pathway from family to stress was not significantly different to the New Zealand data. These results suggest that particular elements of the family experience are indeed predicting stress, but not directly predicting the adaptation (or maladaptation) of Muslim migrant youth.

Religious Factors

Similar to the results of the previous study, it was found was that religious practices predicted increased levels of well-being and religious identity did not significantly predict adaptation outcomes. Furthermore, when religious factors were measured as a latent construct, they directly and positively predicted greater adaptation. Specifically, when identity and practices were conceptualized as elements of a broader factor (religiosity), they were found to promote adaptation, but to have no direct relationship to stress in the overall sample. However, there were differences between the effects of religious factors on stress and adaptation across the cultural contexts.

After controlling for demographic variables, Muslim youth in New Zealand were found to have stronger religious identities and engage in greater levels of religious practice than youth in the United Kingdom. These results may point to the accessibility and freedom to adopt minority identities in these contexts. While both New Zealand and the United Kingdom are seen to adopt policies of multiculturalism, in each country there are distinct ways in which ideologies of diversity are integrated into everyday life. In the United Kingdom, discourses of diversity have tended to centre on race and minority status (Brighton, 2007; Suleiman, 2009). Until recently, religions were only covered by anti-discrimination legislation if they were also understood to be ethno-cultural entities, meaning that groups such as Jews and Sikhs were protected, but Muslims were not (Abbas, 2010; Platt, 2007). In New Zealand, however, policies relating to freedom of religion date back to the Treaty of Waitangi (signed in 1840) which provided protection for Maori to observe and practice their religions and beliefs, for example, Article 3 grants that Maori have "the same rights as those of the people of England" (HRC, 2010, p. 5). The relationship between indigenous peoples with the British shaped much of the diversity policies in New Zealand today, meaning that freedom of religion has a central place in human rights legislation.

Ultimately, the differences between the religiosity of Muslim youth in New Zealand and the United Kingdom may relate to how easy or difficult it actually is to exercise freedom of religious expression in each context. Lending support to this interpretation is the finding that in the United Kingdom religiosity is positively related to stress and that in New Zealand religious factors are more strongly related to adaptation. This indicates that there is more difficulty in actively being Muslim in this context. In fact, Abbas (2007) suggests that young British Muslims are increasingly found to be in the precarious position of having to choose between their religion and the wider society, rather than being able to integrate the two.

With regards to the other differences in religious factors between the cultural contexts, it was found that in the United Kingdom, family factors are related more strongly to religious factors than in New Zealand. Also, the variable of ethnic identity was found to load onto the latent construct of religious factors in the United Kingdom but not in New Zealand. These results may suggest that for Muslims in the United Kingdom, religious involvement is closely related to family obligation and cohesion, and is interrelated with ethnic identity. Therefore, Muslim youth in the United Kingdom potentially see religion as embedded in the family and community contexts, rather than as a distinct personal resource. One of the reasons this difference may occur is that the Muslim community in the United Kingdom is large, ethnically segregated and less diverse than the Muslim community in New Zealand. Conceptualisations of the Ummah[15] may not be as salient for Muslims in the United Kingdom, and therefore religious involvement may be more related to the most proximal in-groups.

Conclusion and Limitations

Single country studies (such as Study 1 and Study 2) can provide a rich understanding of the experiences of development and acculturation and the factors that shape adaptation for Muslim youth, yet such studies implicitly suggest that there are common experiences for Muslims of different origins and in different settings. In contrast, multiple-country studies can achieve a greater degree of generalisation, but may obscure the complexities of everyday lived experiences of individuals or may not sufficiently address minority relations in the countries considered (Güveli & Platt, 2011; Kelly & De Graaf, 1997). The comparative approach taken in this study was able to retain some of the depth of studies 1 and 2 while also illuminating the extent to which results in the New Zealand context (and the theoretical

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[15] The global community of Islam

152

frameworks used to explain these) can or cannot be applied across more than one cultural setting.

It was found that even after controlling for demographics and levels of resources, Muslim youth in New Zealand were better off than Muslim youth in the United Kingdom (they had lower levels of depression, behaviour problems, discrimination stress and cultural transition stress). Such differences may be the result of structural and cultural integration policies, historical features of migration, or cultural values and host national attitudes. The next study will examine this in greater detail in order to assess what factors in the host society increase or decrease the likelihood for positive adaptation of Muslim youth.

Even though there were differences between the experiences of Muslim migrant youth in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, there were also findings which held across the cultural contexts, and therefore may represent factors that are generalisable. For example, stress was found to have a consistently negative association with adaptation and although this finding is not surprising, it is important to understand how stressors interact with and mediate the effects of potential resources on adaptation. This is particularly evident in the results that demonstrate stress mediates the effect of intercultural factors on adaptation, indicating that intercultural factors have a unique protective effect on adaptation that can only be understood through its relationship to stress. The positive influence of religious factors on adaptation was also found to be evident in both the New Zealand sample and the United Kingdom sample. This result illustrates that regardless of the environment in which one lives, stronger identification as Muslim and greater participation in religious practices leads to better adaptation outcomes. Lastly, the relationship between religious factors and family factors was significant in the overall sample, indicating that these domains are interrelated, albeit distinct components of the young person's developmental ecology.

The comparative approach taken in this study sought to enrich the understanding of Muslim migrant youth development by highlighting the differences and similarities among Muslims in two different contexts. This study is limited by the fact that the two groups of youth were not entirely comparable, although analyses attempted to control for differences in demographics. Another limitation of this study is that it is difficult to make interpretations with regards to why Muslim youth seem to be doing better in the New Zealand environment than they are in the United Kingdom. Study 4 will examine the experiences of Muslim youth in relation to the values and attitudes of the host national society in order to elucidate which attributes of the society of settlement effect youth adaptation.

Chapter 5 The Influence of the Host National Context on Muslim Migrant Youth

The previous three studies focused on the experiences of Muslim youth in New Zealand (studies 1, 2 and 3) and the United Kingdom (study 3). The results of these studies indicate that the adaptation outcomes of Muslim migrant youth are intertwined with the characteristics of the society in which they settle. Specifically, intercultural factors, or the way the young person relates to their intercultural environment, were found to have the greatest influences on both stress and adaptation. Additionally, it was found that the cultural context predicted adaptation outcomes and stress after partialling out the influence of ecological resources. These results suggest that there are unknown attributes of the societal environment that act to promote or diminish positive outcomes for Muslim migrant youth. The following study will seek to investigate how the features of the host nation affect the individual level outcomes of these young people. In order to address this issue, the study will examine how levels of cultural diversity, the size of Muslim community, societal level values and attitudes towards immigrants in 9 Western receiving nations influence the adaptation outcomes and experience of discrimination for Muslim youth. The countries under investigation include 8 Western European nations (Finland, France, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom) and New Zealand. As the socio-political context in New Zealand has already been discussed, the following section will outline the features of Western Europe immigration context.

Islam in the Western European Context

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2010) in 2010 Europe had the greatest number of international migrants (72.6 million) of any region in the world. The number of immigrants in Western Europe grew by 5.6 million between 2005 and 2009, with Germany having the largest number (10.8 million) followed by France (6.7 million) and the United Kingdom (4.5 million) (UNDESA, 2009). Due to these immigration trends, European countries which were relatively homogeneous in the past with regard to their cultural heritage, historical traditions, ethnic composition, language, lifestyles, and religious faith are now more diverse than ever (Inglehart & Norris, 2009).

Europe has historically been a continent of emigration rather than immigration, meaning that the role of immigrants in the establishment of modern European countries is often overlooked (Gallup, 2009). However, people have been migrating from former colonies, and arriving as refugees and guest workers into Europe for a long time, changing

the ethnic and religious diversity of European society (Connor, 2010). This is particularly pertinent in the case of Muslim migrants, in fact, it has even been suggested that in many European countries the term "immigrant" is now virtually synonymous with "Muslim" (Gallup, 2009).

Recent estimates indicate that there are over 23 million Muslims residing in Europe, comprising nearly 5% of the population, a number that is much larger than the estimated 13-18 million often cited (Pew Research Center, 2009; Savage, 2004). Estimates of the numbers of Muslims in Europe vary widely because few nations collect systematic and comprehensive data on the demographics of the Muslim community. A number of states in Europe, notably Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, and Spain, do not allow questions concerning religion on their censuses and other official questionnaires, and other European countries do not legislatively recognize Islam as a religion, even though it is the second largest religion in 16 of 37 European countries (Savage, 2004).

Muslims in Europe come from a variety of different ethnic groups, religious sects and socioeconomic backgrounds. The bulk of Muslim migrants in Western Europe are migrants from Turkey, North Africa, South Asia, and the Caribbean although these ethnic groups are not equally distributed across nations due to political, economic and historical contingencies (Buijs & Rath, 2002; IOM, 2003; Robertson, 2009). Belgium, Sweden, Norway and especially Germany have attracted many ethnic Turkish or Kurdish migrants in order to fill labour shortages, while France, Britain, and The Netherlands, have predominantly received postcolonial immigrants from Morocco, Algeria, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Caribbean (Robertson, 2009). Additionally, Western Europe has recently experienced an influx of heterogeneous newcomers, many arriving as asylum seekers or refugees, including large number of Muslims from Iraq, Somalia, Eritrea, and Afghanistan (Buijs & Rath, 2002).

In Western Europe, Muslim communities are no longer recently arrived migrants, in fact approximately 50% are second and third generation (Buijs & Rath, 2002). More importantly, the birth rate for Muslims is currently more than three times that of non-Muslims, contributing to the massive growth in this group, and leading projections to estimate that Muslims will comprise at least 20% of Europe's population by 2050 (up from 5% currently) (Malik, 2009; Pauly, 2004; Savage, 2004). The growth of the Muslims community has sparked an intense debate around civic and national identities, particularly because the beliefs and practices associated with Islam are thought to be contradictory to secular, Western values (Connor, 2010; Gallup, 2009).

Minkenberg (2007) suggests that one of the major reasons why Muslim migrants are at the centre of current controversies concerning multiculturalism and the integration of ethnic and religious minorities in Europe is that the Western world is undergoing a long-term process where traditional religious values are being replaced by secular values. With the rise of secularization, the religiosity of immigrants is often seen as a barrier to integration, as it is associated with value differences and increased cultural distance (Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008; van Tubergen & Sindradóttir, 2011). One of the key factors in the rhetoric concerning Muslim integration in Europe is the perceived incompatibility between Islamic identification and Western European national identities. It has been suggested that a strong religious identity is anachronistic, and goes against the modern, democratic values of European society (Gallup, 2010).

There has been widespread questioning of whether Muslims can and are willing to be integrated into European society and in particular, whether Muslims are committed to the core values of freedom, tolerance, democracy, sexual equality and secularism (Savage, 2004). Findings of a Gallup poll on interfaith relations (2009) show that the general public in Europe are far more likely than Muslims residing in Europe to believe that religious observance should be minimised for the sake of integration. In fact, 42% of British, 40% of French and 30% of Germans thought that being less expressive about one's religion is necessary for integration, in contrast with 13% of British Muslims, 20% of French Muslims and 18% of German Muslims. Not only are Muslims expected to be less religious than they care to be, the values of Islam are often perceived to be contradictory to European values of gender egalitarianism. Research by Pew Research Center (2006) found that, in general, Western publics do not think of Muslims as respectful of women, but also found that over half of the respondents from the Muslim majority nations surveyed say the same thing about people in the West.

There are two disparate viewpoints on the issue of Muslim integration into Europe, firstly Muslims are thought to resist "peaceful integration" into European society and secondly, Europeans are accused of being hostile toward Muslims and other immigrants (evidenced by anti- immigration policies and legislative attempts to limit the use of religious symbols) (Nyiri, 2007b, p. 2). A recent Pew Research Center survey (2008) found that the attitudes of Europeans toward Muslims are becoming increasingly negative. However, the opposite was found for Muslims in Europe, with results indicating that European Muslims

have considerably more positive views of Westerners than Muslims living in Muslim majority nations, as well as considerably more positive views of host nationals than host nationals have of them (Pew Research Center, 2006). Also, while religion remains an important part of their identity, Muslims in Europe identify strongly with the country in which they live (there are no significant differences in levels of national identity between European Muslims and European non-Muslims). These results are in direct contrast with how the argument that Muslims are not integrated, or do not desire integration (Nyiri, 2007a).

Even though Muslims living Europe generally do not see a contradiction between their religious and national identities, their values do not necessarily conform to those of the general public. For example, while at least two-thirds of the general public in France, Germany and the United Kingdom say homosexual acts and abortion are morally acceptable, Muslims living in these countries have much lower levels of acceptance (Nyiri, 2007b). This indicates that Muslims tend to have value orientations that are distinct from the European wider society, while still identifying with the nation as a whole. In other words, for this group, integration typically does not equate to assimilation, and where "prevailing values run counter to central tenets of their (Muslim) faith, differences will persist and smooth integration will rely at least to some degree on the surrounding society's willingness to accept them" (Nyiri, 2007c, p. 2).

The official conceptualisation of integration in the European Union is that it requires mutual change in immigrant and host communities as well as reciprocal rights and responsibilities. In fact, the common basic principles of immigrant integration demand "the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident"[16] . However, the term integration often practically equates to assimilation, and multiculturalism (rather than promote mutual accommodation) has been argued to support in-group factions and ignore diversity (Verkuyten, 2007b). Sulieman (2009, p. 25) suggests that in Europe "social cohesion is confused with conformity, shared values with homogenised identity, secular with secularist, integration with assimilation, and pluralism with plurality".

In Europe, theories of secularization and multiculturalism assume that traditional cultural and religious beliefs of immigrants will diminish in their importance and cease to create distinctions between individual and groups over time and generation of migration (Koenig, 2005). In many ways this is what European governments are now demanding, for Muslim migrants to take on the values and attributes of the host nation without the

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[16] See the press release of the European Council on the common basic principles for immigrant integration, 19/11/2004: http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/jha/82745.pdf

subsequent accommodation from the wider society that is necessary for real cultural pluralism to exist (Berry, 1997; Connor, 2010). This seems to be having the opposite effect on new generations of Muslim youth than is intended, with studies finding that second and third-generation Muslims are less integrated into European nations than their parents or grandparents were (Savage, 2004). Experiences of discrimination and lack of opportunities for employment, education, housing, and religious expression are compelling young Muslims to turn to Islam rather than their ethnic group or host national society. Young Muslims desire to be integrated, and do adopt that culture of the society in which they were born and raised, yet they do not feel part of the larger society. On the other hand, even though they may be citizens (and may have little knowledge or relationship to their heritage culture), Muslim youth are often viewed as foreigners (Buijs & Rath, 2002).

Contexts of Reception

Although intercultural relations are affected by all groups in contact, research has largely been confined to the study of either the immigrant experience or the attitudes and policies of the receiving society towards migrants. Furthermore, studies usually examine a single national context, but do not critically examine the underlying macro level factors that predict and explain the acculturation outcomes of individuals across contexts. Smith (2004) argues that because it is easier to conceptualize the effects of proximal environmental influences (family, peer and intrapersonal characteristics), researchers tend to ignore the more distal influences on the acculturation process, such as embeddedness in a region or nation. It is obvious that national or cultural context can affect individual level outcomes, and yet it is difficult to draw apart how and what elements of the social setting directly or indirectly impact upon immigrant communities.

Portes and Rumbaut (2006) argue that the receptivity of the receiving society is the most influential factor in immigrant adaptation. They suggest that receptivity is on a continuum, with exclusion of immigrants on one end and their active incorporation into society on the other. Policies and attitudes of the host national society that seek to minimize the differences between groups and facilitate the integration and adaptation of immigrants provide a welcoming context of reception and increase positive migrant adaptation. In contrast, less welcoming contexts of reception may not only create segregation, but can also result in downward assimilation for subsequent generations of immigrants (Connor, 2010; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). This theory is similar to ideological continuum of state integration policies in the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM: Bourhis et al., 1997), where it is

suggested that policies of the state have direct relationships to the acculturation preferences (and outcomes) of both immigrants and host nationals.

However, the relationships between policies and individual outcomes is not straight forward, even pluralist policies (or more receptive contexts) reflect the ideological orientation of the majority and consequently, are often formulated in ways that mean immigrants shoulder the burden of their own adaptation (Bourhis et al., 1997). In research on the national level predictors of religiosity in migrants it was found that individual outcomes were predicted by the values of the society at large, and more specifically, by the context of receptivity (Connor, 2010). This finding illustrates that immigrants cannot be held fully accountable for their own outcomes (they are constrained by societal values), and suggests that even the distal context has effects on individual adaptation.

In their research project on Muslims in Europe, Rath et al. (2001) found that the institutionalisation of Islam by the host nation (e.g., the establishment of schools, Muslim organisations and mosques supported by the host nation) lead to a range of positive outcomes for Muslims including increased socio-economic status and better physical health. They argue that outcomes for Muslims are "to a far greater degree determined by the societies in which Muslims settle than by the Muslims themselves" (2001, p. 287). These results indicate that Muslims in the West do not shape the development of their religious communities in isolation, rather the societies in which they live influence their acculturation and adaptation. In fact, it has been suggested that the problematisation of Islam in Western nations is not the result of Muslims themselves, but is rather a consequence of the (predominantly secular) environments where they live (Koenig, 2005). Despite the value of assessing nation-level predictors of Muslim migrant outcomes, research has privileged the analysis of individual-level characteristics. Meanwhile, policy initiatives, attitudes towards diversity and the cultural values of the nation and their respective effects on the incorporation of Muslim migrants into host societies have remained largely unexplored. The current study seeks to address this gap in research by employing techniques of cross-cultural, multilevel analysis in order to examine the influence of societal level variables on Muslim youth adaptation and experiences of perceived discrimination.

Muslim Youth Adaptation Across Cultures

This study focuses on Muslim migrant youth adaptation across nations utilizing multilevel predictors. At the individual-level the demographic variables of age, gender, generation of migration, orientation towards one's ethnic culture and orientation towards the host national culture are considered. At the country-level, cultural diversity, the size of the Muslim community, cultural values and societal attitudes towards immigrants are used as the major explanatory variables.

Individual-Level Predictors

With regards to demographics, it is expected that similar results will be found in the cross-national study as were found in study 3. In particular, it is hypothesized that the second generation will have greater psychological adaptation, worse sociocultural adaptation and experience less discrimination than first generation of migrants (1a). It is also hypothesized that females will have lower levels of psychological adaptation and higher levels of sociocultural adaptation than males (1b). While age was not included as a predictor in the previous studies, it is included here to control for the effects of developmental trajectories, which tend to mean that older youth report worse adaptation than younger youth as a normative part of the development process (Goldbeck, Schmitz, Besier, Herschbach, & Henrich, 2007). Because age is predominantly a control variable, no hypotheses are made with regards to its predictive effects.

The last two individual-level predictors map on to the intercultural factors component of the previous study and seek to assess the degree to which youth identify with their ethnic culture and the host national society. Although the previous studies found no direct relationships between ethnic and national identity on adaptation outcomes, these variables are included in order to assess the individual's relationship to the intercultural environment. It is hypothesized that stronger ethnic orientations will predict better adaptation and less discrimination (1c) (see literature review in chapter 3). Additionally, host national orientation is hypothesized to predict better adaptation and less discrimination (1d), however this effect may be moderated by a negative context of reception (see discussion of interaction effects in chapter 3). Specifically, when an individual is oriented towards the host society, but the wider society is not accepting of diversity, this may lead to negative outcomes. To address the potential for moderation, a research questions is posed, are the effects of cultural orientations moderated by the context of reception (country-level predictors) (RQ1)?

Country-Level Predictors

Contexts of reception can be understood along two major dimensions, the first concerns demographics, such as whether the host society is culturally homogeneous or heterogeneous and the size and/or vitality of the minority group in question (national demographics), the second concerns the ideological context, such as whether the host society values and promotes immigrant involvement in society. In order to address the first component, the size of the Muslim community and the cultural diversity of the receiving society will be used as country-level predictors, whereas the second component will be measured by societal cultural values and attitudes towards immigrants.

Cultural Demographics

It is thought that as the size of the immigrant group increases, the group feels more protected from the attitudes of out-groups, and therefore, is more likely to achieve successful adaptation in less welcoming contexts of reception (Yang, 1994). However, this is complicated by the fact that as the size of the immigrant community grows, individuals within this community are less likely to feel connected to the group as a whole and the wider society may view the larger community as more threatening. Therefore, it could well be that there is a point where minority numbers enter a critical mass, and more members lead to worse individual adaptation. The current study does not have scope to investigate this issue in depth, and because the size of the Muslim communities in question tend to be quite small (all under 6% or less than the total population), it is hypothesized that the larger the Muslim population, the better adapted Muslim youth will be (2a), although the effect on discrimination is unknown.

Murphy (1965 cited in Berry et al., 2006a) suggests the immigrants will adapt better when cultural communities provide support for immigrants during acculturation and where there is public acceptance of cultural diversity. Indeed, the positive impacts of cultural diversity on immigrant adaptation are found to wide ranging, including increasing the occupational attainment of adults (De Jong & Steinmetz, 2004) and education achievement of youth (Filindra, Blanding, & García-Coll, 2011). Additionally, Vedder, van de Vijver and Liebkind (2006) found that for immigrant youth societal levels of cultural diversity were related to greater ethnic peer involvement, ethnic language use and stronger orientation toward the host culture. This finding indicates that culturally plural contexts may provide an environment that fosters integration, therefore, leading to better adaptation outcomes.

However, Vedder and colleagues (2006) also found that greater diversity was associated with higher levels of perceived discrimination, which is thought to be based on the greater opportunity for discrimination in heterogeneous nations. Based on these findings, it is hypothesized that greater cultural diversity will predict better adaptation for Muslim youth, but also greater perceived discrimination (2b).

Ideological Context

A great deal of research has focused on the determinants of anti-immigration sentiments in host national populations (e.g., Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010; De Jong & Steinmetz, 2004; Filindra, Blanding, & García-Coll, 2011; Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2008; Ward & Masgoret, 2006). However, very few studies have assessed how host national attitudes towards immigrants affect the adaptation of the migrants themselves, and of those that have there is a focus on the impact of negative attitudes or prejudice (Yakushko, 2008). In order to assess the impact of attitudes on Muslim immigrants, it is necessary to examine both the negative and the positive attitudes, as there may be contradictory perceptions held by host nationals (Yakushko, 2008). Indeed, it has been found that host nationals often hold positive attitudes towards the economic contribution of minorities and hold negative attitudes about resource allocation to minority communities (Sibley & Liu, 2004).

Obviously, negative attitudes of host nationals towards immigrants can foster harmful cultural discourses that affect the way immigrants are treated by the wider society, which in turn influences the levels of discrimination experienced by immigrants. It is well established that perceived discrimination has negative consequences for immigrants (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Liebkind, 2004; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), yet whether perceptions of discrimination accurately reflect negative societal attitudes is unknown. It is argued that country-level attitudes of host nationals towards immigrants represent an accurate gauge of prejudice, whereas perceived discrimination is a subjective account of an individual's experiences. Therefore, it is hypothesized that societal negative attitudes will predict worse adaptation and higher levels of perceived discrimination (3a) and societal positive attitudes will predict better adaptation and lower levels of perceived discrimination (3b).

The expression of cultural values are different across national contexts, meaning that immigrants encounter situations where their traditional cultural values may be challenged by the values of the receiving society. Research has demonstrated that cultural distance (the similarity or dissimilarity between the heritage and host culture) is related to greater social difficulty in the acculturation process (Ward, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1993, 2001).

163

Therefore, the values of the host society may contribute to problems in intercultural relations within the society of settlement (Phinney et al., 2006).

The most widely utilised framework of cultural differences in values is based on the work by Hofstede (1980, 2001) who suggested that cultures are shared belief systems between different social groups at the geographic or national level. Using empirical data collected from 53 countries, Hofstede developed a set of quantitative indices that described and ranked countries along four major cultural value dimensions; individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, power distance, and uncertainty avoidance.

Power distance refers to the amount of respect and deference between people of different status groups or the acceptance of inequality in power relations; uncertainty avoidance concerns the extent to which people are anxious about situations that are perceived as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable; individualism – collectivism indicates the extent a person's identity is defined by individual choices and accomplishment in contrast to the degree to which people see themselves as members of groups; masculinity – femininity refers to the relative emphasis on achievement versus maintaining harmonious interpersonal relations. The four dimensions are distinct but interrelated.

Hofstede (1980, 2001) suggests that in high power distance cultures, social inequalities are institutionalized meaning that discrimination against "low status" groups is acceptable. In such cultures, clear hierarchies between groups are important for the collective. In low power distance cultures, the opinions of everyone (regardless of status) are thought to be equally important and individuals in lower status groups can express their opinions and challenge authorities. Following these propositions, it is hypothesized that high power distance cultures will be less favourable towards Muslims migrants, therefore greater power distance will predict poorer adaptation and higher perceived discrimination (3c). With regards to uncertainty avoidance, it has been suggested that cultures that rate highly on this dimension tend to be threatened by ambiguity, resist change, are less tolerant toward out-groups and are less likely to interact with people non-familiar to them (Gudykunst & Matsumoto, 1996; Hofstede, 1980). Therefore, it is hypothesized that cultures with greater uncertainty avoidance will express less positive opinions toward diversity and have fewer Muslim contacts which will relate to poorer adaptation and higher levels of perceived discrimination for Muslim youth (3d).

Because collectivists tend to make greater distinctions between members of the in-group and the out-group, and assign greater priorities to the in-group needs, they often also

practice greater intergroup discrimination (Leong, 2008). In the current study, Muslim migrants are obviously members of a distinct out-group in the national contexts studied, therefore it is hypothesized that individualistic cultures will be less likely to reject this group, leading to better adaptation and lower levels of perceived discrimination for youth (3e). Finally, host communities that are masculine in their orientation are more likely to provide a non-welcoming context of reception for new immigrants because they stress achievement and status more, meaning they are likely to be threatened by resource or symbolic competition (Hofstede, 2001). Therefore, it is hypothesized that cultures higher in masculinity will decrease positive adaptation and increase discrimination for Muslim youth (3f).

Summary of Hypotheses

In summary, the current study utilizes a multilevel research framework to investigate the adaptation outcomes and perceived discrimination of Muslim migrant youth in 9 receiving societies. This research is conducted in order to assess the extent to which the national context has an impact on positive development for Muslim migrant youth. A summary of the hypotheses and research question for the current study is presented in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1 *Study 4 hypotheses*

Individual-Level Predictors
1a Second generation youth will have better psychological adaptation, poorer sociocultural adaptation and experience less perceived discrimination than first generation youth.
1b Females will have lower levels of psychological adaptation and higher levels of sociocultural adaptation than males.
1c Stronger ethnic orientation will predict better adaptation and less perceived discrimination.
1d Stronger host national orientation will predict better adaptation and less perceived discrimination.
RQ1 Are the effects of cultural orientation (1c and 1d) moderated by country-level predictors?
Demographic Country-Level Predictors
2a The larger the percentage of Muslims in the population, the better adapted Muslim youth will be.

2b Greater cultural diversity will predict better adaption and increased perceived discrimination.

Ideological Country-Level Predictors

3a Societal negative attitudes toward immigrants will predict poorer adaptation and higher levels of discrimination.

3b Societal positive attitudes toward immigrants will predict better adaptation and lower levels of perceived discrimination for Muslim youth.

3c Higher power distance will predict poorer adaptation and higher levels of perceived discrimination for Muslim youth.

3d Higher uncertainty avoidance will predict poorer adaptation and higher levels of perceived discrimination for Muslim youth.

3e Individualism will predict better adaptation and lower levels of perceived discrimination for Muslim youth.

3f Masculinity will predict poorer adaptation and higher levels of perceived discrimination for Muslim youth.

Method

Procedure

Data for this study were drawn from the International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (ICSEY) database, an international study of youth and their experiences of adaptation. Specifically, the project investigated "how and how well" (Berry et al., 2006b, p. 14) immigrant and native born youth live in their current intercultural settings. Data were collected from youth aged 13-18 across 13 countries of settlement (see Berry et al., 2006b for detailed information)[17]. A total of 7,997 adolescents participated in the study with an average age of 15.35 ($SD = 1.56$) and a gender distribution of 52% female and 48% male. For ethics procedures on the collection of this data, please see Berry et al. (2006b).

For this study, participants were included in analyses if they self identified as Muslim. This reduced the total sample size to 1443 youth residing in 9 different countries including; New Zealand, France, Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Finland, Norway, Portugal and Sweden. The sample size in each country varied from 22 (United Kingdom and Finland) to 317 (Sweden). There were significant differences across the countries in the percentages of

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[17] Note that the New Zealand sample of Muslim youth was collected as an addition to the study published in the ICSEY book.

females (χ^2 (8) = 36.61, p < .01), the average age (F (8, 1440) = 20.98, p < .01), and generation of migration (χ^2 (8) = 312.59, p < .01). The New Zealand sample yielded the highest percentage of females (70.1%) and the Turkish sample the lowest (40.9%), overall females made up 54% of the total sample. Respondents' average age was highest in the United Kingdom (M = 16.68, SD = 1.32) and lowest in the Netherlands (M = 14.71, SD = 1.58). The mean age of the total sample was 15.30 (SD = 1.58). The Netherlands sample had the highest percentage of second generation migrants[18] (87.6%) and the New Zealand sample had the lowest with (18.6%), overall second generation migrants made up 66% of the total sample. Overall, in terms of ethnicity, 22% of the participants indicated that they were of Asian origin (e.g., Pakistan, India), 21% indicated they were of African origin (e.g., Morocco, Algeria) and 57% indicated they were of Middle Eastern origin (e.g. Turkey, Afghanistan). Subsequent analyses control for the effects of age, gender and generation of migration.

Vedder and van de Vijver (2006) assessed the structural equivalence of the measures used in the ICSEY dataset across the 13 countries studied in the ICSEY project using procrustean rotation. The results of their analyses indicated that all of the measures were structurally equivalent (Tucker's phi over .90), allowing for comparative research to be undertaken.

Table 5.2 *Country characteristics*

	N	Age (*SD*)	% Female	% 2nd Generation
Finland	22	15.36 (1.76)	50.0	28.6
France	294	15.39 (1.45)	58.2	88.0
Germany	106	16.51 (1.31)	48.1	71.4
New Zealand	188	15.77 (1.48)	70.1	18.6
Norway	290	15.25 (1.56)	51.9	56.9
Portugal	26	14.81 (1.70)	57.7	69.2
Sweden	317	14.85 (1.47)	53.6	67.6
Netherlands	178	14.71 (1.58)	46.1	87.6
United Kingdom	22	16.68 (1.32)	40.9	86.4
Total	1443	15.30 (1.58)	54	66

Materials

The current study used elements of the larger ICSEY questionnaire in order to test individual-level (level-1) variables and used archival information as well as data from

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[18] Defined in the ICSEY as having been born in the country of settlement or arrived there before the age of seven.

international surveys to test the country-level (level-2) variables. The level-1 data include two major sections measuring (1) demographics and predictors including: age, gender, generation of migration, host national orientation and ethnic orientation, and (2) adaptation outcomes (life satisfaction, psychological problems, and behaviour problems) and discrimination. The level-2 data consisted of three major sections (1) the size of the Muslim community and ratings of societal cultural diversity, (2) cultural values including: individualism - collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity-femininity, and (3) attitudes towards migrants, both positive and negative. A detailed description of the measures in each section follows.

Individual Level (Level -1) Predictors

Ethnic Orientation[19]

Ethnic orientation is a10-item measure was constructed for the purposes of this study and assesses the degree to which one is behaviourally and affectively oriented towards one's ethnic culture. It consists of four items assessing the frequency on interaction with ethnic friends, e.g. *"How often do you spend free time with peers from your own ethnocultural group?"* from *never* (1) to *very often* (5). Three items measure ethnic pride and belonging, e.g., *"I am proud to be a member of my ethnic group"* from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). The last three items measure proficiency in one's ethnic language, e.g. *"I understand my ethnic language"* from *not at all* (1) to *very well* (5). The overall scale yielded Cronbach's α score of .77 although scores ranged from .63 to .85 for each country.

Host National Orientation

Host national orientation is a parallel measure to ethnic orientation (see above) and was developed for the purposes of this study. This measure consists of the same 10 items used to assess ethnic orientation, but with the majority culture as the referent rather than one's ethnic culture. The overall scale yielded a Cronbach's α score of .76 although scores ranged from α .67 to .84 for each country.

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[19] Note that in the ICSEY study, ethnic and national orientation assess different constructs than in this thesis, specifically in ICSEY "orientations" are used to refer to a cluster of attitudes and behaviours that are analogous to acculturation strategies, whereas in this study "orientation" refers to a set of attitudes and behaviours concerning one's ethnic or national identification.

Country Level (Level -2) Predictors

Percentage of Muslims

The percentage of the national population that identifies as Muslim was taken from the Pew Research Center's study entitled "Mapping the global Muslim population"(2009). This study seeks to provide a demographic estimate of the number of Muslims in the 231 countries and territories for which the United Nations Population Division provides general population estimates. See Pew Research Center (2009) for more information on data sources.

Diversity Index

The diversity index score refers to an index compiled by Berry and colleagues (2006b) as part of the ICSEY project as a standardized measure of cultural diversity across nations. They used four indicators to represent cultural diversity; the percentage of immigrants, an index of cultural homogeneity which assesses the degree to which cultural variation exists in a society (Kurian, 2001 cited in Berry et al., 2006b), ethnolinguistic fractionalisation or the probability the people within the country will share the same language (Ingelhart, 1997 cited in Berry et al., 2006b), and lastly, ethnic diversity which is a rating of the degree to which nations are made of many heterogeneous groups or whether they are homogenous (Sterling, 1974 cited in Berry et al., 2006b). These four indicators were standardized and combined to create a cultural diversity score.

Hofstede's Cultural Values

The ratings reported by Hofstede (2001) on the four dimensions of national culture were used: uncertainty avoidance (norms and values regarding dealing with the unknown), individualism - collectivism (the relationship of the individual to the group), masculinity-femininity (the dominant gender role patterns) and power distance (the degree to which power is distributed unequally). For details on data collection and validation refer to Hofstede (1980, 2001).

Attitudes towards Immigrants

Two variables were developed from questions in the "National Identity" component of the 2003 International Social Survey Programme data (refer to http://www.issp.org). Negative attitudes were constructed with the following items: *People who do not share traditions cannot be fully (nationality, e.g., New Zealanders), Immigrants increase crime*

rates and *Immigrants take jobs away from people born in this country.* Positive attitudes were constructed with the following items: *The Government should help minorities to preserve traditions, Immigrants are generally good for the economy* and *Immigrants make society open to new ideas and cultures.* The overall scale of negative attitudes yielded a Cronbach's α score of .68 and for positive attitudes was .67 although scores ranged from .59 to.79 and from .55 to .74, respectively, for each country.

Individual Level (Level- 1) Outcomes

Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction was assessed using a five-item scale measuring the degree to which adolescents were content with their life (Diener et al., 1985), for example, *"I am satisfied with my life"* from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). The overall scale yielded a Cronbach's α score was .78 although alphas ranged from .77 to .85 across countries.

Psychological Problems

This is a 15-item scale measuring depression, anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms that was developed for the ICSEY project from a variety of sources (e.g., Bieser & Flemming; Reynolds & Richmond 1985 cited in Berry et al., 2006b). The measure asks: *"How often do you experience the following?"* and lists symptoms such as: *"I feel tired",* and *"I feel restless"*. Participants indicate the extent to which they have experienced each symptom on a 5-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). High scores on this scale indicate greater psychological problems. This measure has demonstrated reliability and validity across a range of ethno-cultural groups (Berry et al., 2006b). The overall scale yielded a Cronbach's α score was .83, although scores ranged from .63 to .86 across countries.

Behaviour Problems

The behaviour problems scale has 10 items that measure antisocial behaviour within a school setting. It is very similar to the measure used in studies two and three (see description in Chapter 3), although it includes references to the school environment, e.g. how often have you *"Cursed at a teacher"* from *never* (1) to *many times during the last 12 months* (5). The overall yielded a Cronbach's α score was.81 although scores ranged from .76 to .93 for each country.

Perceived Discrimination

The perceived discrimination scale consisted of 9 items that assess the frequency of being treated unfairly or negatively because of one's ethnic background. Four items measure discrimination from other students, kids outside of school, teachers, and other adults, e.g. ". The remaining five items assess not feeling accepted, being teased, insulted or threatened, e.g., *"I don't feel accepted by [national group]"* from *never* (1) to *very often* (5). The overall scale yielded a Cronbach's α score was .84 although scores ranged from .71to.86 for each country.

Data Analysis

The goal of a multilevel model analysis (MLM) is to predict values on a dependent measure from predictors (and the relationships between predictors) at more than one level (Luke, 2004). Conceptually, multilevel modelling is similar to regression although it does not require independence of observations as a primary assumption for the analysis, a supposition that cannot be upheld with "nested" data that are not independently collected. In nested data sets, participants within a group are expected to have similarities due to their shared environment, and participants across settings are expected to have differences due to group effects (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). Multilevel modelling takes into account the interdependent nature of nested data by estimating the variance associated with the group, differences in average values on the outcome (intercepts) and group differences in the relationship between predictors and outcomes (slopes) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). In the present study, a two-level model is proposed in which individual-level predictors and outcomes of Muslim migrant youth (level-1 units of analysis) are nested within countries of settlement (level-2 units of analysis). The two-level hierarchical models described in this section were estimated using HLM 6.06 software © (Raudenbush, Bryk, Cheong, Congdon, & du Toit, 2004)

Data analytic procedure

The data used in this study consists of 1443 individual observations (level-1 units) nested in 9 countries (level-2 units). The individual-level data consists of four dependent or outcome variables (life satisfaction, psychological problems, behaviour problems, and perceived discrimination), three demographic variables (age, gender and generation of migration) and two level-1 predictors (ethnic orientation and host national orientation). The level-2 data consists of eight predictors (percentage of Muslims in population, rating of

cultural diversity, individualism - collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity - femininity, positive attitudes, and negative attitudes).

One of the drawbacks of multilevel modelling is that a large number of data points are necessary at each level in order to form accurate estimates. Bryk and Raudenbush (2002) suggest that at level-1 there should be 10-to-1 observations-to-predictor rule of thumb, which the data set in this sample (1443 observations and 13 predictors) fulfils amply. However, the guidelines of power with regard to level-2 sample sizes are less clear (Hofmann, 1997). With regard to level-2 effects, more power is gained by increasing the number of groups as opposed to the number of individuals per group, whereas the power of level-1 effects depends more on the total sample size (i.e., the total number of observations). Rules of thumb have been proposed for a two-level model ranging from 30 observations at both level-1 and level-2 to a ratio of 50/20 or 100/10 (see Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). In the present case, there are 9 countries with 22 to 317 observations per country. The level-2 sample size is adequate, but estimation of effects may be constrained by the potentially small amount of level-2 variance. Therefore, due to considerations of power, level-1 and level-2 predictors will be included in the models only if they significantly predict the outcome measures.

Although there are a variety of ways to conduct a MLM, many authors (Luke, 2004; Nezlek, 2001, 2008) suggest that it is often best to forward-step rather than backwards step when building a model, i.e. add predictors one at a time and remove if non-significant for each level of analysis rather than insert all predictors and test for significance[20]. This process can be simplified into four steps assessing (1) a model with no predictors at either level (null or unconditional model), (2) a model with predictors at level-1 with random error (conditional), (3) a model with predictors at level-1 (with the appropriate error structure) and predictors at level-2 and (4) a model with predictors at both levels and cross-level interactions (intercepts and slopes model) (Luke, 2004). This method of model building is described in more detail in Appendix C.

To begin with, a null model is run with no predictors at either level. It provides a baseline to assess the variance components at level-1 and level-2, and it tests whether variation in the outcome exists across groups and among individuals. This information enables subsequent models (containing predictors) to be examined for better model fit. It can also be used to compute the intraclass correlation (ICC: calculated by dividing the level-2

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[20] This also helps to deal with the issue of power, as only significant variables are included in the analysis.

variance by the total variance)[21] or the proportion of variance that can be explained in the outcome at each level in the model. In this study the null model enables examination of the variation in the independent variables within and between countries.

Additional considerations

The statistical adjustment of "grand-mean centering" is required to adjust for individual variation in measures across countries in the sample. Variables are centred by subtracting the mean score on the outcomes across countries from each individual's score. This centering adjustment is important for two reasons. First, it adjusts for the fact that individuals are embedded in countries in a non-random fashion and limits subsequent biases in the estimates of country level effects. Second, if level-1 covariates are related to the outcome measures, controlling for them reduces the error variance at level-1 and increases the accuracy of the country-level effects estimates (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). In this study all predictors are centered on the grand mean with the exception of gender and generation of migration, which are dummy-coded categorical variables.

Also, it is expected that the variation located at the country-level in this study will be relatively small, and therefore, the intraclass correlation will be low. The decision to continue with utilising techniques of multilevel modelling even though variation is expected to be small is based on the following evidence: when measuring psychologically based outcomes (as is the case in this research), the majority of the variance is endogenous to the individual (Nezlek, 2008). Still, examining the contextual effects stemming from the society of settlement on psychological outcomes for migrant youth is illuminating for research application. In policy terms, the goal may be to identify and affect change at the contextual level regardless of the relative impact of individual factors. In most multilevel studies, 10% of variation at level-2 is considered substantial (Cohen, 1998).

Multilevel models include the fixed regression effects, variance components for the random slopes and fixed or random error estimates. Fixed regression effects give the average effect of the independent variable across the sample of groups, and the random slope indicates the variance of the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable between groups (Snijders, 2005). Unlike the statistical parameters, error estimates can be measured as either fixed or random. By fixing the error estimates, an assumption is made that the variance in the relationships between the predictors and the outcome measures does not

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[21] ICC = $\tau 00/ (\tau 00 + \sigma 2)$

173

fluctuate randomly over groups (Snijders, 2005). Including random error, however, tests whether the effects of the independent variables vary randomly across groups (or in the case of this thesis, countries).

For each level-2 equation representing a relationship between the outcome and the level-1 predictor the random error for the relationship between the level-1 predictor and the outcome is included or excluded dependant on whether the predictor is considered as fixed or random (see Appendix C for more information on modelling equations). Conceptually, it is acknowledged that most coefficients are random by nature, and efforts should be made to model them this way, but there are tradeoffs that need to be considered. Random error may be particularly important in cross-cultural research because it permits an examination in the cross-cultural variability in regression coefficients. Nezlek (2010) suggests that allowing error to vary randomly across countries is an important step for multilevel modelling in cross-cultural research as this allows for random sampling variation to be represented in data analysis. However, Nezlek (2001; 2011) also recommends the error terms should be fixed when they have been tested as random and found to be non-significant, because this indicates that errors cannot be estimated accurately.

Although fixing an effect may act in order to mask potential cross-cultural variability in the relationships between independent and dependent variables, without theoretical guidelines about which variables should have a random effect, modelling should be led by the focus of the investigation and parsimony of modelling (Snijders, 2005). Also, Nezlek (2011, p. 21) suggests that even when random error is not included, this does not mean that the coefficient does not vary across groups, but rather that there is "not enough information to separate the true and random variability". In this thesis, random error will be included and tested for significance, if the error is non-significant, the effect will be treated as fixed (or not varying randomly across countries). This procedure is theoretically driven by the notion that similarities (rather than cross-cultural differences) in adjustment are the focus of the study and because there is a small sample of countries, meaning that the fewer the parameters, the more robust the findings will be.

Summary

Four multilevel models will be conducted on the following Level 1 outcomes; life satisfaction, psychological problems, behaviour problems, and perceived discrimination. These models will be constructed in four stages (following the model building process previously described): (1) with no predictors (in order to calculate the ICC and assess

174

changes in explained variance), (2) with the level-1 predictors (age, gender, generational status, ethnic orientation and host national orientation) testing for random error, (3) with level-1 predictors (with the appropriate error structure) and level-2 predictors (Muslim population, cultural diversity, power distance, individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, uncertainty avoidance, positive attitudes and negative attitudes, and (4) the final model will include the significant level-1 and level-2 predictors as well as relevant cross-level interactions between cultural orientations and country-level predictors. In each step of the development of the models, non-significant predictors are excluded in subsequent models. Grand-mean centring will be applied to all predictors with the exception of *gender* which is dummy coded (0= male, 1 = female) and generation of migration which is dummy coded (0 = 1st generation, 1 = 2nd generation). Full maximum likelihood (ML) is used as the method of estimation instead of restricted maximum likelihood (REML), as it has the advantage that models can be tested for significant differences with a likelihood ratio test (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007, p. 830).

Results

Descriptives[22]

Table 5.3 illustrates the descriptive statistics for the individual-level data. The range of average levels of host national and ethnic orientation for Muslim youth across the countries was quite large. Host national orientation ranged from 3.18 in Sweden to 4.27 in Portugal with an overall average of 3.46. Ethnic orientation ranged from 2.94 in Portugal to 4.33 in The Netherlands with an overall average of 4.01[23]. Across all of the 9 countries, the average life satisfaction was above the mid-point of the scale ($M = 3.65$, ranged from 3.27 in United Kingdom to 3.93 in Sweden). In contrast, psychological problems ($M = 2.28$, range from 2.16 in France to 2.51 in Germany), behaviour problems ($M = 1.49$ range from 1.32 in Portugal to 1.69 in Germany) and perceived discrimination ($M = 2.00$ range from 1.85 in Sweden to 2.40 in the United Kingdom) were all below the mid-point of the scale.

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[22] Note that this section is purely descriptive as differences in sample sizes across countries do not allow for statistical comparisons to be justified.

[23] Correlational analyses were undertaken to assess the relationships between ethnic and host national orientation across the countries, findings indicate that there were no significant relationships (positive of negative) between these measures in any of 9 nations.

Table 5.3 *Means of individual level outcomes and predictors by country (SD in parentheses)*

Country	N	Level-1 outcome variables				Level-1 predictors	
		Life Satisfaction	Psychological Problems	Behaviour Problems	Perceived Discrimination	Host – National Orientation	Ethnic Orientation
Finland	22	3.66 (.92)	2.33 (.67)	1.40 (.77)	1.79 (.53)	4.04 (.70)	3.50 (.79)
France	294	3.54 (.83)	2.16 (.70)	1.45 (.62)	1.91 (.73)	3.72 (.60)	3.95 (.58)
Germany	106	3.27 (.76)	2.51 (.70)	1.69 (.65)	2.12 (.70)	3.34 (.52)	3.83 (.72)
New Zealand	188	3.59 (.80)	2.28 (.68)	1.34 (.54)	1.94 (.61)	3.61 (.55)	3.93 (.61)
Norway	290	3.62 (.85)	2.32 (.77)	1.56 (.75)	2.29 (.81)	3.40 (.67)	4.01 (.64)
Portugal	26	3.91 (.70)	2.27 (.45)	1.32 (.51)	1.92 (.71)	4.27 (.48)	2.94 (.85)
Sweden	317	3.93 (.82)	2.26 (.73)	1.46 (.55)	1.85 (.68)	3.18 (.62)	4.11 (.56)
Netherlands	178	3.72(.88)	2.24 (.63)	1.57 (.66)	1.92 (.71)	3.35 (.71)	4.33 (.45)
United Kingdom	22	3.27 (.94)	2.57 (.63)	1.41 (.77)	2.40 (.86)	3.88 (.54)	3.96 (.49)
Total	1443	3.65 (.85)	2.28 (.72)	1.49 (.64)	2.00 (.74)	3.46 (.67)	4.01 (.63)
Total α		.78	.83	.81	.84	.77	.76

Table 5.4 *Means and ratings of country-level predictors (SD in parentheses)*

	Level-2 Predictors							
	Individualism	Power distance	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Negative attitudes	Positive attitudes	% Muslims in Pop	Diversity Index
Finland	63	33	26	59	3.27	3.01	.5	-.65
France	71	68	43	86	3.08	2.78	6.0	-.51
Germany	67	35	66	65	3.39	3.02	5.0	-.85
New Zealand	79	22	58	49	2.78	3.13	.9	.04
Norway	69	31	8	50	3.35	2.79	1.0	-.97
Portugal	27	63	31	104	3.41	3.45	.1	-1.11
Sweden	71	31	5	29	3.04	3.16	2.0	-.59
Netherlands	80	38	14	53	3.21	2.84	5.7	-.78
United Kingdom	89	35	66	35	3.28	2.75	2.7	-.21
Total	68.44	39.56	35.22	58.89	3.20 (.20)	2.99 (.23)		

Table 5.4 illustrates the descriptive statistics for the country-level data In terms of the country-level predictors, the percentage of Muslims in the population was very low, ranging from 0.1% in Portugal to 6% in France. New Zealand had the lowest levels of negative attitudes towards immigrants ($M = 2.78$) and the highest level of cultural diversity, in contrast Portugal had the highest level of negative attitudes ($M = 3.41$) and the lowest level of cultural diversity (although interestingly, Portugal also had the highest level of positive attitudes, $M = 3.45$). Overall, countries in this study had higher levels of negative attitudes towards immigrants ($M = 3.20$) than positive attitudes ($M = 2.99$). Correlational analyses were undertaken to assess the relationships between positive and negative attitudes across the countries, and findings indicated that these measures were significantly negatively correlated in all of the 9 nations (rs .34 to .66, $p < .01$). The countries in this study all had reasonably high ratings on individualism and low ratings on power distance although ratings on masculinity and uncertainty avoidance were much more variable.

Multilevel Models[24]

Prediction of Life Satisfaction

Results of the null model found the variance at level-1 to be .69 and the variance at level-2 to be .04 (see Table 5.4). Calculation of the ICC (.04/(.69 + .04)) indicates that country accounts for 6% of the variance in levels of well-being. While this is a relatively small amount, the Chi-square test of variance between groups was statistically significant, χ^2 (8) = 73.93, $p < .01$, which means that the intercept (mean rate of life satisfaction) varied significantly across countries. The overall mean in life satisfaction across countries was found to be 3.65 on a 5 point scale.

In the second step (model 1), level-1 predictors were assessed for significance[25]. Age, gender, ethnic orientation (EO) and host national orientation (HO) were found to significantly predict levels of life satisfaction. None of these effects was found to have significant random error and therefore the predictors were treated as fixed effects. The results indicate levels of life satisfaction decrease with age (γ_{10}[26] $= -.05$, $t= -3.40$, $p <.01$) and that boys tend to have higher levels of life satisfaction than girls ($\gamma_{20} = -.12$, $t= -2.55$, $p < .05$). Additionally,

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[24] Refer to Appendix C for a full explanation of equations and model building process.

[25] All predictors at level-1 and level-2 were grand mean-centered with the exception of generational status (0= first generation, 1= second generation) and gender (0= male, 1= female) see Appendix C for a detailed explanation.

[26] γ Represents the fixed effect regression parameter for a given dependant variable. This coefficient indicates that for every standard deviation increase in value on the independent variable, the dependant variable is predicted to decrease or increase in accordance.

stronger ethnic orientation ($\gamma_{30} = .20$, $t= 5.15$, $p <. 01$) and host national orientation ($\gamma_{40} = .24$, $t= 6.23$, $p <. 01$) predict greater life satisfaction. These results support hypotheses 1b (that boys have greater psychological adaptation), 1c (that EO predicts better adaptation) and 1d (that HO predicts better adaptation). Upon addition of the level-1 predictors, the between country variance was reduced by 12% but remained significant χ^2 (8) = 68.45, $p < .01$, indicating that there is additional variance to be explained at level-2. The equation representing model 1, including level-1 predictors is illustrated below.

Figure 5.1 *Model 1 life satisfaction*

Level-1	*Life satisfaction* $= \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Age)_{ij} + \beta_{2j}(Gender)_{ij} + \beta_{3j}(EO)_{ij} + \beta_{4j}(HO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \mu_{0j}$ $\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$ $\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$ $\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30}$ $\beta_{4j} = \gamma_{40}$

Controlling for the effects of individual level variables (model 2), level-2 predictors were then entered into the model and assessed for significance. Masculinity and positive attitudes towards migrants emerged as significant predictors of life satisfaction. Results indicate that residing in a country with lower cultural values of masculinity ($\gamma_{01} = .01$, $t= -4.34$, $p <. 01$) and higher levels of positive attitudes towards migrants ($\gamma_{02} = .70$, $t= 4.34$, $p <. 01$) predict greater life satisfaction, supporting hypotheses 3b and 3f. The between country variance was reduced by 95% of its original value and the chi-square became non-significant χ^2 (6) = 5.88, $p > .50$, indicating that there is little variance remaining at level-2 to be explained. The equation representing model 2, including level-1 and level-2 predictors is illustrated below.

Figure 5.2 *Model 2 life satisfaction*

Level-1	*Life satisfaction* $= \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Age)_{ij} + \beta_{2j}(Gender)_{ij} + \beta_{3j}(EO)_{ij} + \beta_{4j}(HO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(MAS)_j + \gamma_{02}(PA)_j + \mu_{0j}$ $\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$ $\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$ $\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30}$ $\beta_{4j} = \gamma_{40}$

Although there was not a lot of variance left to be explained at level -2, the interactions between cultural orientations and country-level variables were each tested for separately for significance (model 3). The only significant interaction to emerge was between host national orientation and positive attitudes ($\gamma_{41} = -.49$, $t = -2.58$, $p < .01$), addressing research question 2, indicating that the effect of host national orientation is moderated by positive attitudes. The between country variance was reduced by 98% of its original value, indicating that the addition of the interaction term explained 3% of the overall variance at the country-level. The chi-square was non-significant, $\chi^2(6) = 4.58$, $p > .50$, suggesting that there is very little meaningful variance at level-2 left to be explained. The equation representing model 3, with predictors at level-1 and level-2, as well as the significant cross-level interaction is illustrated below.

Figure 5.3 *Model 3 life satisfaction*

Level-1	*Life satisfaction* $= \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Age)_{ij} + \beta_{2j}(Gender)_{ij} + \beta_{3j}(EO)_{ij} + \beta_{4j}(HO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(MAS)_j + \gamma_{02}(PA)_j + \mu_{0j}$ $\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$ $\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$ $\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30}$ $\beta_{4j} = \gamma_{40} + \gamma_{41}(PA)_j$

The significant coefficient for the cross-level interaction indicates that the group level variable, positive attitudes towards migrants, moderates the level-1 relationship between host national orientation and life satisfaction. The graphical depiction of this cross-level interaction (see Figure 5.4) shows that at low levels of societal positive attitudes, increases in host-national

orientation are associated with larger increases in life satisfaction than at high levels of societal positive attitudes. This result effectively suggests that a greater degree of host national orientation protects against the negative effect of low levels of societal positive attitudes.

Figure 5.4 *Host national orientation x positive attitudes on life satisfaction*
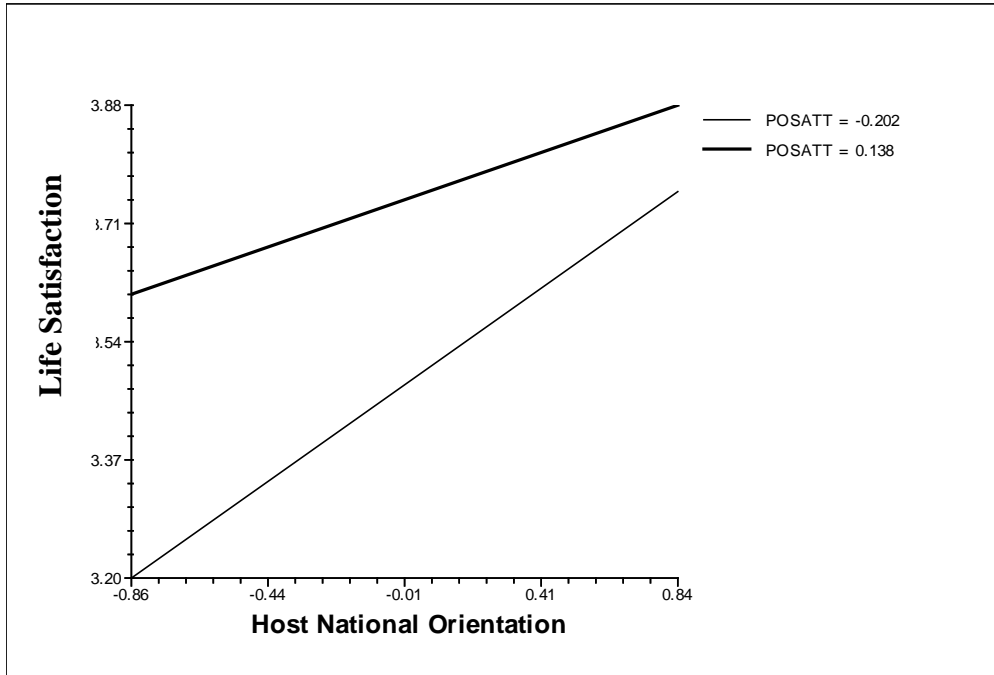
Assessment of fit

To test for differences in fit between the models, the AIC[27] was computed. Although there is no test for significant differences in AIC, lower values represent better fitting models. The results indicate that model 3 is the best fitting model with an AIC of 2899.10. In order to test the fit of this model to the data, statistical significance can be tested by computing the χ^2 likelihood ratio test[28]. This test shows that model 3 (with a reduction of 2 degrees of freedom compared to the null model) is significantly different from the null model, $\chi^2 =$ (3408.88 – 2895.10) 513.78, $p < .01$. Finally, the proportion of reduction in prediction error (similar to R^2 in regression) is calculated. This includes a measure of the proportional reduction in level – 1 prediction error, [29] and a measure of the proportional reduction in level – 2 prediction error

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[27] AIC = [(Deviance) + (2*estimated parameters)]
[28] χ^2 = [(Deviance *Null*) – (Deviance *Final*)]
[29]   =

[30]. For this model $= [1 - (.65 + .001) / (.69 + .04)] = .11$ and $= [1 - \underline{\hspace{3cm}}\ ]$ = .77. Therefore, the full model explains 11% of the variance at level one and 77% of the variance at level-2 in life satisfaction.

Table 5.5 *Life satisfaction models*

	Null Model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Level-1 variance	.69	.66	.66	.65
Level -2 variance	.04	.04	.01	.001
Estimated parameters	2	2	2	2
DF	8	8	6	6
Chi-square	73.93**	68.45**	5.89	4.58
Deviance	3408.88	2901.01	2898.26	2895.10
AIC	3412.88	2905.01	2902.26	2899.10

Summary

In the final model age, gender, ethnic orientation and host national orientation emerged as significant level-1 predictors. The cultural value orientation of masculinity and societal levels of positive attitudes towards migrants emerged as significant level-2 predictors. Additionally, positive attitudes were found to moderate the effect of host national orientation on life satisfaction. These findings indicate that younger participants have higher levels of life satisfaction overall, as do boys and individuals with a stronger ethnic and host national orientations. Furthermore, Muslim migrant youth have higher levels of life satisfaction in societies where there are low levels of masculinity and high levels of positive attitudes towards migrants. Finally, host national orientation may act to buffer the negative effect of low levels of societal positive attitudes on life satisfaction.

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[30]The harmonic mean is used in estimates due to recommendations of Snijders and Bosker (1999)

$= \underline{\hspace{5cm}}$

Table 5.6 *Coefficients for final life satisfaction model*

	Coefficient	*t*	*SE*
Intercept	3.70	96.22**	.04
Individual –level			
Age	-.05	-3.39**	.02
Gender	-.12	-2.51*	.05
Ethnic Orientation	.21	5.46**	.04
Host National Orientation	.22	6.06**	.04
Country - level			
Masculinity	-.01	-4.68**	.01
Positive Attitudes	.77	5.37**	.14
Cross-level Interactions			
Host Orientation x Positive Attitudes	-.49	-2.58**	.19

Prediction of Psychological Problems

Results of the null model found the variance at level-1 to be .51 and the variance at level-2 to be .01. Calculation of the ICC (.01/(.51 + .01)) indicates that country accounts for only 2% of the variance in levels of psychological problems, although the Chi-square test of variance between groups was statistically significant, χ^2 (8) = 25.12, $p < .01$, meaning that the intercept (mean rate of psychological problems) varies significantly across countries. The overall mean in psychological problems across countries was found to be 2.30 on a 5 point scale.

In the second step (model 1), level-1 predictors were assessed for significance. Gender and ethnic orientation (EO) were found to significantly predict levels of psychological problems. The results indicate that boys have fewer psychological problems than girls ($\gamma_{20} = .15$, $t = 3.63$, $p < .01$) and that stronger ethnic orientation ($\gamma_{30} = -.10$, $t = -2.24$, $p < .05$) predict fewer psychological problems, supporting hypotheses 1b and 1c. Neither of these effects was found to have significant random error and therefore were treated as fixed effects. Upon addition of the level-1 predictors, the between country variance was reduced by only 1% and remained significant χ^2 (8) = 28.24, $p < .01$, indicating that there is additional variance to be explained at level-2. The equation representing the level-1 model is illustrated below.

Figure 5.5 *Model 1 psychological problems*

Level-1	*Psychological Problems= $\beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Gender)_{ij}$* $+ \beta_{2j}(EO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \mu_{0j}$ $\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$ $\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$

Controlling for the effects of individual level variables (model 2), level-2 predictors were then entered into the model and assessed for significance. Negative attitudes towards migrants emerged as a significant predictor. Results indicate that residing in a country with higher levels of negative attitudes towards migrants ($\gamma_{02} = .37$, $t = 2.42$, $p < .05$) predicts greater psychological problems, supporting hypothesis 3a. The between country variance was reduced by 20% of its original value but remained significant $\chi^2 (7) = 19.01$, $p < .01$, indicating that there is some variance remaining at level-2 to be explained. The equation representing the model including level-1 and level-2 predictors is illustrated below.

Figure 5.6 *Model 2 psychological problems*

Level-1	*Psychological Problems= $\beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Gender)_{ij}$* $+ \beta_{2j}(EO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(NA)_j + \mu_{0j}$ $\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$ $\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$

The interactions between cultural orientations and country-level variables were each tested for separately for significance (model 3). One significant interaction emerged; between ethnic orientation and power distance ($\gamma_{31} = .01$ $t = 3.16$, $p < .01$). However, the between country variance was not reduced in this step, indicating that the addition of the interaction term did not add to the overall model (therefore, the interaction is not graphically depicted). The chi-square was significant, $\chi^2 (7) = 18.34$, $p < .05$, indicating that there is variance at level-2 left to be explained. The equation representing the model with predictors at level-1 and level-2, as well as the significant interaction is illustrated below.

Figure 5.7 *Model 3 psychological problems*

Level-1 $Psychological\ Problems = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Gender)_{ij} + \beta_{2j}(EO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$

Level-2 $\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(NA)_j + \mu_{0j}$
$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$
$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{31}(PD)_j$

Assessment of fit

The results indicate that model 3 (including level-1 and level-2 predictors as well as cross-level interaction) is not the best fitting model with an AIC of 2728.36, rather model 2 (including level-1 and level-2 predictors) is the best fitting model with an AIC of 2723.74 . In order to test the fit of this model to the data, the χ^2 likelihood ratio was computed. Results indicate that the final model is significantly different from the null model, $\chi^2 = (3011.26 - 2715.74) = 295.52$, $p < .01$. Finally, the proportion of reduction in prediction error indicates that for the final model $= [1- (.49 + .00) / (.51 + .01)] = .01$ and $= [1 - \underline{\hspace{2cm}}]$ $= .11$. Therefore, model 2 explains 1% of the variance at level one and 11% of the variance at level-2 in psychological problems. Overall, the results indicate that Model 2 is the best fitting model.

Table 5.7 *Psychological problems models*

	Null Model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Level-1 variance	.51	.50	.49	.49
Level -2 variance	.01	.01	.001	.001
Estimated parameters	2	4	4	2
DF	8	8	7	7
Chi-square	25.12**	28.24**	19.00**	18.35*
Deviance	3011.26	2717.15	2715.74	2724.36
AIC	3014.26	2725.15	2723.74	2728.36

Summary

In the final model, gender and ethnic orientation emerged as significant level-1 predictors and negative attitudes towards migrants emerged as a significant level-2 predictor. These findings show that girls have more psychological problems overall, as do individuals

with weaker ethnic orientations. Furthermore, Muslim migrant youth residing in societies with higher levels of negative attitudes towards migrants have more psychological problems.

Table 5.8 *Coefficients for final psychological problems model*

	Coefficient	*t*	*SE*
Intercept	2.22	47.74**	.05
Individual –level			
Gender	.15	2.50*	.06
Ethnic Orientation	-.10	-2.21*	.05
Country - level			
Negative Attitudes	.31	2.76*	.14

Prediction of Behaviour Problems

Results of the null model found the variance at level-1 to be .40 and the variance at level-2 to be .01. Calculation of the ICC (.01/(.40 + .01)) indicates that country accounts for only 2% of the variance in levels of behaviour problems. While this is a relatively small amount, the chi-square test of variance between groups was statistically significant, χ^2 (8) = 30.91, $p < .01$, which means that the intercept (mean rate of behaviour problems) varies significantly across countries. The overall mean in behaviour problems across countries was found to be 1.48.

In the second step (model 1), level-1 predictors were assessed for significance. Gender and ethnic orientation (EO) were found to significantly predict levels of behaviour problems and they were both found to have significant random error, meaning that the effects of these predictors on behaviour problems differ across countries: gender, χ^2 (8) = 26.77, $p < .01$, and ethnic orientation, χ^2 (8) = 19.45, $p < .05$. The results indicate that boys have more behaviour problems than girls (γ_{10} = -.28, t = -4.05, $p < .01$) and that stronger ethnic orientation (γ_{20} = -.11, t = -2.32, $p < .05$) predicts fewer behaviour problems, supporting hypotheses 1b and 1c. Upon addition of the level-1 predictors, although the between country variance was reduced by 13%, the chi-square remained significant, χ^2 (8) = 39.92, $p < .01$, indicating that there is additional variance to be explained at level-2. The equation representing the level-1 model is illustrated below.

Figure 5.8 *Model 1 behaviour problems*

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Level-1} & \textit{Behaviour Problems} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\textit{Gender})_{ij} + \\
& \beta_{2j}(\textit{EO})_{ij} + r_{ij} \\
\\
\text{Level-2} & \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \mu_{0j} \\
& \beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \mu_{1j} \\
& \beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + \mu_{2j}
\end{array}
$$

Controlling for the effects of individual level variables, level-2 predictors were then entered into the model and assessed for significance (model 2). Individualism (IDV) and negative attitudes (NA) towards migrants emerged as significant predictors. Results indicate that there is a marginal effect of residing in a country with higher cultural values of individualism ($\gamma_{01} = .01$, $t = 2.19$, $p < .10$) and higher levels of negative attitudes towards migrants ($\gamma_{02} = .46$, $t = 3.94$, $p < .01$) predicts more behaviour problems. These results support hypothesis 3a, that negative attitudes predict poorer adaptation, although the hypothesis that individualism would predict better adaptation (3e) is not supported at the standard level of significance. The error variance for both gender ($\chi^2 (8) = 25.73$, $p < .01$) and ethnic orientation ($\chi^2 (8) = 19.37$, $p < .05$) were significant in this step, and therefore remained random. The between country variance was reduced although the chi-square remained significant, $\chi^2 (6) = 19.81$, $p < .01$, indicating that there is still some variance remaining at level-2 to be explained. The equation representing the model including level-1 and level-2 predictors is illustrated below.

Figure 5.9 *Model 2 behaviour problems*

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Level-1} & \textit{Behaviour Problems} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\textit{Gender})_{ij} + \\
& \beta_{2j}(\textit{EO})_{ij} + r_{ij} \\
\\
\text{Level-2} & \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\textit{IDV})_{j} + \gamma_{02}(\textit{NA})_{j} + \mu_{0j} \\
& \beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \mu_{1j} \\
& \beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + \mu_{2j}
\end{array}
$$

Subsequently, the interactions between cultural orientations and country-level variables were each tested for separately for significance (model 3) and none were found to significantly predict behaviour problems.

The results indicate that model 2 (including level-1 and level-2 predictors) is the best fitting model with an AIC of 2354.15. In order to test the fit of this model to the data, statistical significance was tested by computing the χ^2 likelihood ratio test. This test shows that that model 3 is significantly different from the null model, $\chi^2 = (2689.34 – 2348.21) = 341.13$, $p < .01$. Finally, the proportion of reduction in prediction error (similar to R^2 in regression) was calculated. This includes a measure of the proportional reduction in level -1 prediction error,   and a measure of the proportional reduction in level- 2 prediction error

   . For this model   = [1- (.37 + .001) / (.40 + .01)] = .10 and   = [1 – —————————] = .33. Therefore, the full model explains 10% of the variance at level one and 33% of the variance at level-2 in behaviour problems.

Table 5.9 *Behaviour problems models*

	Null Model	Model 1	Model 2
Level-1 variance	.40	.37	.37
Level -2 variance	.01	.01	.001
Estimated parameters	2	7	7
DF	8	8	6
Chi-square	30.91**	39.92**	19.81**
Deviance	2689.34	2351.92	2348.21
AIC	2693.34	2365.92	2362.21

Summary

In the final model, gender and ethnic orientation emerged as significant level-1 predictors. The cultural value orientation of individualism and societal levels of negative attitudes towards migrants emerged as significant level-2 predictors. These findings show that boys have more behaviour problems than girls, and individuals with stronger ethnic orientations have fewer behaviour problems. Furthermore, Muslim migrant youth residing in societies with higher cultural values of individualism and higher levels of negative attitudes towards migrants have more behaviour problems.

Table 5.10 *Coefficients for final behaviour problems model*

	Coefficient	*t*	*SE*
Intercept	1.64	42.79**	.04
Individual –level			
Gender	-.29	-4.33**	.07
Ethnic Orientation	-.09	-3.32**	.03
Country - level			
Individualism	-.01	2.29*	.01
Negative Attitudes	.46	3.95**	.14

Prediction of Perceived Discrimination

Results of the null model found the variance at level-1 to be .52 and the variance at level-2 to be .03. Calculation of the ICC (.03/(.52 + .03)) indicates that country accounts for 5% of the variance in levels of perceived discrimination. While this is a relatively small amount, the Chi-square test of variance between groups was statistically significant, χ^2 (8) = 76.30, $p < .01$, which means that the intercept (mean rate of well-being) varied significantly across countries. The overall mean in perceived discrimination across countries was found to be 2.02.

In the second step (model 1), level-1 predictors were assessed for significance. Gender and host national orientation (HO) were found to significantly predict levels of perceived discrimination. None of these effects was found to have significant random error and therefore the predictors were treated as fixed effects. The results indicate that boys tend to have higher levels of perceived discrimination than girls (γ_{10} = -.21, t= -5.25, $p < .01$) and that weaker host national orientation (γ_{20} = -.16, t= -5.12, $p < .01$) predicts greater perceived discrimination, supporting hypotheses 1b and 1d. Upon addition of the level-1 predictors, the between country variance was reduced by 3% and remained significant, χ^2 (8) = 71.19, $p <$ .01, indicating that there is additional variance to be explained at level-2. The equation representing the level-1 model is illustrated below.

Figure 5.10 *Model 1 perceived discrimination*

Level-1	$Perceived\ discrimination = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Gender)_{ij}$ $+ \beta_{2j}(HO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \mu_{0j}$ $\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$ $\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$

Controlling for the effects of individual level variables, level-2 predictors were then entered into the model and assessed for significance (model 2). Individualism (IDV), uncertainty avoidance (UA), masculinity (MAS) and positive attitudes (PA) towards migrants emerged as significant predictors. Results indicate that residing in a country with lower cultural values of individualism ($\gamma_{01} = -.02$, $t = -4.04$, $p < .05$), greater uncertainty avoidance ($\gamma_{02} = .01$, $t = 3.92$, $p < .05$), greater masculinity ($\gamma_{03} = .01$, $t = 5.21$, $p < .01$), and lower levels of positive attitudes towards migrants ($\gamma_{04} = -1.15$, $t = -4.73$, $p < .01$) predict greater perceived discrimination. These results support hypotheses 3a, 3d, 3e and 3f. The between country variance was reduced by 80% of its original value although the chi-square remained significant, $\chi^2 (4) = 14.64$, $p < .01$, indicating that there is still some variance remaining at level-2 to be explained. The equation representing the model including level-1 and level-2 predictors is illustrated below.

Figure 5.11 *Model 2 perceived discrimination*

Level-1	$Perceived\ Discrimination = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(Gender)_{ij}$ $+ \beta_{2j}(HO)_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(IDV)_j + \gamma_{02}(UA)_j + \gamma_{03}(MAS)_j +$ $\gamma_{04}(PA)_j + \mu_{0j}$ $\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$ $\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$

Following the data analytic procedure, the interactions between cultural orientations and country-level variables were each tested separately for significance (model 3). A significant interaction between positive attitudes and host national orientation emerged ($\gamma_{11} = .39$, $t = 2.17$, $p < .05$), this addresses research question 2, whether country-level predictors

189

moderate the effect of cultural orientation on outcomes. The between country variance was reduced by 83% of the original amount, but the chi-square was non-significant χ^2 (8) = 8.53, $p > .05$, indicating that there is not very much more variance at level-2 left to be explained. The equation representing the final model with predictors at level-1 and level-2, as well as a cross-level interaction between host national orientation and positive attitudes is illustrated below.

Figure 5.12 *Model 3 perceived discrimination*

Level-1	*Perceived Discrimination = β_{0j} + $\beta_{1j}(Gender)_{ij}$ + $\beta_{2j}(HO)_{ij}$ + r_{ij}*
Level-2	*$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(IDV)_j + \gamma_{02}(UA)_j + \gamma_{03}(MAS)_j + \gamma_{04}(PA)_j + \mu_{0j}$* *$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$* *$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}(PA)_j$*

The significant coefficient for the cross-level interaction indicates that the group level variable, positive attitudes towards migrants, moderates the level-1 relationship between host national orientation and perceived discrimination. The graphical depiction of this cross-level interaction (see Figure 5.13) shows that at low levels of societal positive attitudes, decreases in host-national orientation are associated with larger increases in perceived discrimination than at high levels of societal positive attitudes. This result effectively suggests that a greater degree of host national orientation protects against the negative effect of low levels of societal positive attitudes.

Figure 5.13 *Host national orientation x positive attitudes on perceived discrimination*
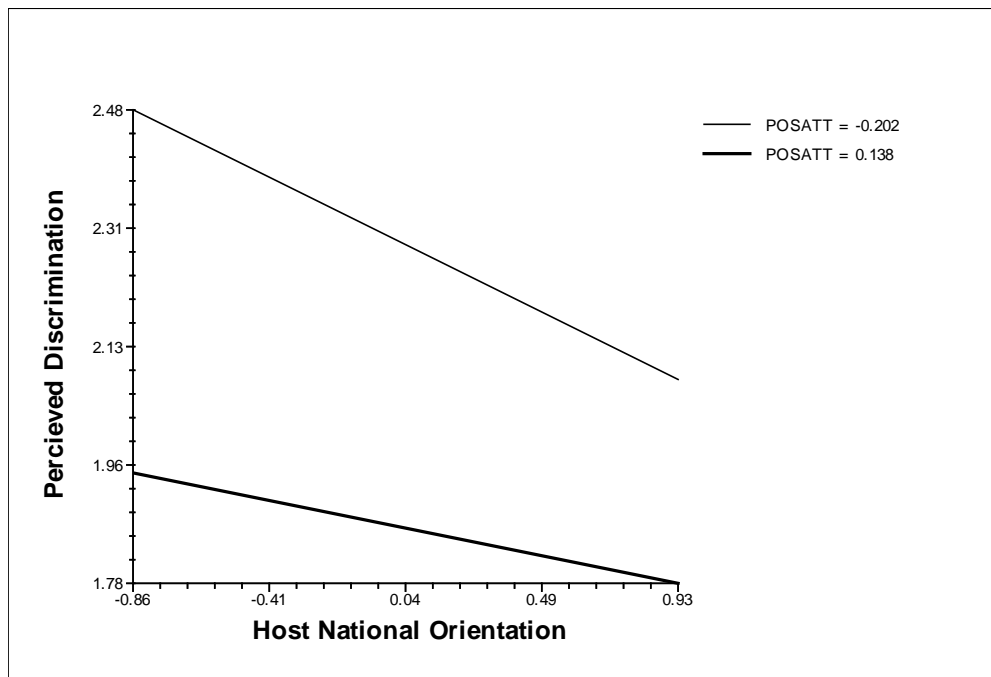
Assessment of fit

The results indicate that model 3 (including level-1and level-2 predictors as well as cross-level interaction) is the best fitting model with an AIC of 2620.43, although this is only marginally different from the AIC of model 2 with an AIC of 2620.50, model 3 is seen as a better fit due to the additional variance explained. In order to test the fit of model 3 to the data, statistical significance was tested by computing the χ^2 likelihood ratio test. This test shows that that model 3 is significantly different from the null model, $\chi^2 = (3001.35 - 2616.43) = 384.92$, $p < .01$. Finally, the proportion of reduction in prediction error (similar to R^2 in regression) was calculated. This includes a measure of the proportional reduction in level – 1 prediction error,   and a measure of the proportional reduction in level – 2 prediction error   . For this model   = [1- (.48 + .001) / (.52 + .03)] = .11 and   = [1 –

———————————] = .64. Therefore, the full model explains 11% of the variance at level one and 64% of the variance at level-2 in perceived discrimination.

Table 5.11 *Perceived discrimination model*

	Null Model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Level-1 variance	.52	.49	.49	.49
Level -2 variance	.03	.02	.01	.001
Estimated parameters	2	2	2	2
DF	8	8	4	4
Chi-square	76.30**	62.47**	14.64**	8.53
Deviance	3001.35	2596.86	2616.50	2616.43
AIC	3005.35	2600.86	2620.50	2620.43

Summary

In the final model gender and host national orientation emerged as significant level-1 predictors and individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and positive attitudes emerged as significant level-2 predictors. Additionally, societal positive attitudes were found to moderate the association between host national orientation and perceived discrimination. These findings show that boys have higher levels of perceived discrimination than girls and individuals with stronger host national orientations have lower levels of perceived discrimination. Muslim migrant youth residing in societies with lower cultural values of individualism, higher cultural values of masculinity and uncertainty avoidance and lower levels of societal positive attitudes towards migrants perceive greater discrimination. Furthermore, stronger host national orientation buffers the negative effects of discrimination when one lives in a country where there are low levels of positive attitudes towards immigrants.

Table 5.12 *Coefficients for final perceived discrimination model*

	Coefficient	t	SE
Intercept	2.13	46.67**	.04
Individual –level			
Gender	-.21	-5.19**	.04
Host National Orientation	-.12	-3.49**	.04
Country - level			
Individualism	-.02	-2.72*	.01
Masculinity	.01	4.03*	.00
Uncertainty avoidance	-.01	3.43*	.00
Negative Attitudes	-1.38	-4.42*	.31
Cross-level interaction			
Positive attitudes x Host national orientation	-.01	2.17*	.01

192

Discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the influence of country-level characteristics on the adaptation outcomes and experiences of discrimination for Muslim migrant youth residing in Western societies. The basis for assessing the relationships across these levels of analysis was to ascertain whether attributes of the society of settlement, both demographic and ideological, affect individual-level outcomes. This study demonstrated that the cultural values and attitudes towards immigrants of the host nation have predictive effects on outcomes (life satisfaction, psychological problems and behaviour problems) and the experience of discrimination for Muslim youth cross-culturally. Furthermore, the positive effects of host national orientation on life satisfaction and discrimination were found to be moderated by the attitudes of the wider society towards immigrants. These results support recent research that has suggested the elements of the macro context, and especially the receptivity of host nationals towards new settlers, are important factors for immigrant adaptation (Bourhis et al., 1997; Horenczyk, 1997; Reitz, 2002).

Individual-level Predictors

Although the major focus of this study was the between group differences for Muslim youth cross-culturally, individual-level differences are often an important source of variation in multilevel models (Nezlek, 2007, 2008). As in the previous studies, the demographic variables of gender and generation of migration were included, and age was added as a control variable due to sampling of younger (and therefore potentially less psychologically developed) adolescents. There were no significant differences found between the generations of migration on any of the variables tested. This result that may be an artefact of the high proportion of second generation migrants in the study, but it may also reflect acculturation dynamics that are specific for Muslim communities. A main effect was found for age, with older adolescents having lower level of life satisfaction than younger adolescents. Such an effect is often found in youth and is thought to represent a developmental trend (Goldbeck et al., 2007), although similar effects were not found for the other outcome variables or experiences of discrimination. Gender was the only individual-level variable that consistently predicted all of the dependant variables. Males were found to have greater psychological adaptation (higher life satisfaction and fewer psychological problems), lower sociocultural adaptation (behaviour problems) and perceive greater discrimination than females. These

results suggest that gender is a very important predictor for Muslim youth, particularly because it seems as though females and males experience worse outcomes in different domains. In acculturation studies, gender differences have received limited consideration and often produce contradictory results (Chung, 2001). Therefore, conclusive evidence as to why males and females have different acculturation experiences is unknown. A comprehensive examination of the effects of demographics on adaptation is outside the scope of this thesis (although differences in Muslim youth outcomes will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter). Therefore, it is suggested that future research should specifically examine the effects of gender, generation of migration and age for this group of young people in more depth.

Cultural Orientation

In this study cultural orientation refers to a set attitudes and behaviours concerning one's ethnic or national identification (e.g., feelings of belonging, speaking the language and having friends who share cultural group membership). Stronger ethnic orientation was found to predict greater life satisfaction, fewer psychological problems and fewer behaviour problems. Whereas stronger host national orientation was found to predict greater life satisfaction and lower levels of perceived discrimination, although these effects were moderated by societal positive attitudes towards migrants. These results lend to the growing evidence that indicates individuals who are able to comfortably incorporate both their ethnic and host national cultural orientations into their lives are likely to have better outcomes (refer to the meta analysis of Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, in review).

Ethnic identification is increasingly recognized as an essential component of the self concept and like other aspects of identity, is of particular importance during adolescence. Previous research has demonstrated that stronger identification and/or engagement with one's ethnic culture predicts fewer psychological and behavioural adjustment problems (Berry, 2005), better school adjustment and work performance (Phinney et al., 2001a), higher self-esteem and life satisfaction (Phinney, 1990; Roberts et al., 1999), and greater acceptance of other cultural groups (Juang, Nguyen, & Lin, 2006).

The findings of this study confirm previous research, suggesting that ethnic orientation is indeed important for the adaptation of migrant youth. However, it is unknown how much overlap there is between ethnic identification and religious identification, as questions of religious identity and involvement were not asked in the ICSEY research. The previous studies in this thesis have shown that religiosity has a stronger effect on adaptation

than ethnicity. Because religious affiliation defines expectations for behaviour and has a strong influence on the conceptualization of ethnic identities, the target of the of the young peoples' "ethnic orientation" may have been their ethno-religious community (rather than their ethnic heritage or cultural identity) (Ajrouch, 2004). Britto (2008) argues that while ethnic and religious identities are not synonymous for Muslim youth, the boundaries between these are unclear, both for the youth themselves and for out-group members. Therefore, for the Muslim youth in this study, ethnic orientation likely includes the influences of religion and this should be taken into account when interpreting the results.

Host national orientation also had a positive effect on youth adaptation, with findings indicating that young Muslims who were more oriented to the receiving society were more satisfied with their lives and experienced less discrimination. Liebkind (2004) suggests that for immigrant adolescents, national identity may increase the feeling of being equal to and accepted by their host national peers, leading to better adaptation (particularly mastery, self-esteem and school adjustment). Furthermore, many authors suggest that individuals who simultaneously identify with both their ethnic heritage and the host national society (have integrated or bicultural identities) consistently achieve more positive outcomes than those with only strong ethnic identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Haritatos & Benet-Martinez, 2002; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993).

Saroglou and Mathijsen (2007) argue that Muslim migrants face particularly difficult challenges in maintaining developing collective identities and maintaining a sense of belonging to multiple cultures. Indeed, in many Western contexts, Muslims are often thought to be unable to combine their ethnic identities with commitments to the nation-state (because these are viewed as incompatible) (Gallup, 2009; Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008; van Tubergen, 2006; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). The current research, however, found that there was no significant relationship between ethnic and national identities in any of the countries studied, supporting the notion that it is possible for identities to vary independently (Berry, 1997). In fact, previous research has found that Muslim migrants tend to endorse religious and national identities, and have been found to have both stronger national identities and higher levels of religiosity than other immigrant groups (Nyiri, 2007a; Saroglou & Mathijsen, 2007). Saraglou and Galand (2004) found that religiosity in Belgian Muslims predicted stronger national identity, whereas in native Belgians religiosity predicted weaker national identity, indicating Muslim migrants may be inclined to have bicultural or multicultural identities.

Furthermore, the current study found that there were interaction effects between host national orientations and positive attitudes towards immigrants. Specifically, host national identification is more strongly positively associated with life satisfaction for youth in countries that have less positive attitudes toward immigrants, suggesting that orienting toward to host society can be protective under conditions where the minority group is devalued. Additionally it was found that stronger host national orientation reduces the negative effect on low levels of societal positive attitudes on discrimination. Clearly these results suggest that host national orientation of Muslim youth has complex relationships with the actual acceptance and tolerance of the society towards new settlers. Therefore, migrants cannot be fully understood to be agents of their own adaptation outcomes, and the host national society must take on some of the responsibility for integration of immigrant communities.

Country-level Predictors

Two sets of country-level predictors were included in the multilevel models to account for the cultural demographics (societal levels of cultural diversity and the size of the Muslim population) and the ideological context (cultural values and attitudes towards immigrants). Neither of the demographic variables was found to significantly predict any of the dependant variables for Muslim youth, although attitudes and cultural values were found to have main effects on both adjustment outcomes and discrimination.

Attitudes

The association between attitudes of the wider society and immigrant adaptation has been widely discussed in the literature and is generally assumed to have linear effects on immigrant acculturation, i.e., greater positive attitudes predicts better adaptation and greater negative attitudes predicts poorer adaptation (Bourhis et al., 1997). Additionally, previous research has established that immigrants' perceptions of host attitudes are related to acculturation outcomes, specifically, immigrants report higher life satisfaction when they believe that host nationals endorse integration (Ward, Kus, & Masgoret, 2008) and lower levels of discrimination, identity conflict and psychological problems when they believe that there are consensual attitudes towards acculturation (i.e., they prefer integration and believe host nationals also do) (Kus & Ward, 2009). Horenczyk (1997) argues that understanding immigrant's perceptions of host national attitudes can provide perspective in acculturation research, but suggests that it is also important to take the actual attitudes of host nationals towards immigrants into account. However, research does not often examine the direct links

between national attitudes and settlement outcomes for immigrants (see Ward, Masgoret, and Vauclair (2011) for an exception), but rather focuses on building predictive models to explain the precursors of attitudes towards immigrants (De Jong & Steinmetz, 2004; Ward & Masgoret, 2006, 2008).

In this research, the direct links between host national attitudes and Muslim youth outcomes were examined; positive attitudes were found to predict greater life satisfaction and less perceived discrimination, whereas negative attitudes towards immigrants predicted greater psychological problems and lower life satisfaction. Attitudes towards immigrants have uniform effects on life satisfaction (negative attitudes decrease life satisfaction and positive attitudes increase life satisfaction), but not on the other outcome measures. In fact, positive attitudes predict less perceived discrimination, but there is no main effect evident with negative attitudes. Whereas negative attitudes predict more psychological problems, but there is no main effect evident with positive attitudes. These results suggest that in cultural contexts where there are high levels of negative attitudes towards immigrants, even though Muslim youth do not perceive more discrimination, they are still psychologically affected by the negative attitudes of the host society. In contrast, in cultural contexts where there are high levels of positive attitudes towards immigrants, Muslim youth perceive the society to be more accepting and less discriminatory.

In their research with majority and ethnic minority Dutch in The Netherlands, Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2003) found that for host nationals, attitudes towards diversity were on a bipolar continuum with positive attitudes and endorsement of integration at one end and negative attitudes and endorsement of assimilation on the other. In the same research it was found that for minorities, positive attitudes, cultural maintenance and integration were relatively independent. Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2003, p. 263) argue that "These differences suggest that the underlying psychological processes of acculturation and multiculturalism (including structure, meaning, implications, and consequences) are different for majority and minority group members". The findings of the current study illustrate a similar trend, negative and positive attitudes represent mutually exclusive standpoints for host nationals, but they are not necessarily perceived this way by Muslim youth (accounting for the non-uniform nature of the results). Future research should investigate the complex relationships between actual and perceived attitudes and their relationship to immigrant adaptation in more depth.

Values

The current study found that the cultural values of the wider society do indeed predict individual-level outcomes for Muslim youth, partially supporting the hypotheses, masculinity predicted lower levels of life satisfaction and increased discrimination, individualism predicted increased behaviour problems and decreased discrimination and uncertainty avoidance predicted decreased discrimination. These results are similar to the research by Leong and Ward (2006) on the influence of cultural values on attitudes towards multiculturalism, in which it was found that masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and collectivism were negatively related to support for attitudes and policies that promote social cohesion.

Leong (2008) suggests that the relationships between values and attitudes toward immigration may be explained by examining the host national perspectives on acculturation through the dimensions of "invasion" versus "enrichment". Societies that endorse an invasion ideology perceive immigration and multiculturalism as threatening (economically and culturally), whereas endorsement of an enrichment ideology reflects the perception that cultural diversity benefits the host society. Invasion is predominant in cultures that value competitiveness and instrumentality and lack interpersonal concern (masculine cultures), or that are preoccupied with the negative consequences of immigration, such as the potential loss of jobs and the competition for resources (uncertainty avoidant cultures). Whereas enrichment is predominant in cultures where there are benevolent and universalistic values (which may broadly relate to individualism) (Leong, 2008). Additionally, research has found that values relating to the importance of power, subtle prejudice and anti-religious attitudes had negative predictive effects on societal tolerance towards Muslims, whereas the values of universalism and benevolence predicted increased tolerance towards Muslims (Saroglou, Lamkaddem, van Pachterbeke, & Buxant, 2009). This formulation lends evidence to the results of the current study that show masculinity predicts lower life satisfaction and masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and (less) individualism predicts greater discrimination.

The only finding that does not seem to fit the typology of Leong (2008) is that Muslim youth have greater behaviour problems in individualistic nations. One interpretation of this may be that because Muslim youth tend to come from more collective cultures where individuals rely on their family and other in-group members for support, moving to an individualistic culture may create cultural value conflicts that potentially manifest in behaviour problems (Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, Elgeledi, & Bourhis, 2008). In order to assess

whether value conflicts are associated with greater behavioural problems for immigrant youth, future research should examine of the relationships between societal values and the experience of identity conflict (Ward, Stuart, & Kus, 2011).

Conclusion and Limitations

Although cross-cultural studies are inherently hierarchically ordered (as individuals are nested in countries) there is a noticeable lack of empirical cross-cultural research using multilevel analytic techniques (Fontaine & Fischer, 2011; Taras, Kirkman, & Steel, 2010). Steel and Taras (2010) argue that one of the main reasons for this is the possibility of generating ecological fallacies, or inappropriately making generalisations about relationships between country-level variables and individual-level outcomes. As a result, it is often the case that the potential for ecological inference (bridging levels of analysis) is limited (Steel & Taras, 2010). In the current study, multilevel modelling provided a means of testing the predictive effects of country-level indicators on individual-level outcomes, effectively enabling ecological inferences to be drawn concerning the acculturation and development of Muslim migrant youth in Western settings.

The aim of the current study was to investigate whether variation in Muslim migrant youth outcomes across countries could be accounted for by the attributes of the society of settlement after controlling for individual-level variables. Results suggest that the attitudes and values prevalent in the society of settlement have direct effects on Muslim youth adaptation and perceived discrimination. Of particular interest it was found that levels of positive attitudes moderated the effects of host national orientation on life satisfaction and discrimination. This result potentially indicates that in situations where there are low levels of positive attitudes towards one's group, taking an assimilative approach to acculturation (taking on a stronger host national orientation) is functional for youth adaptation. Recent research by Kus (2011)found similar results in a study of Russian minorities in Estonia. Kus suggests that in situations where a group potentially struggles to incorporate elements of their heritage and host cultures (due to internal or external constraints), taking on a host national orientation allows minorities to feel equal to majority members (Kus, 2011).

However, there are a number of limitations to take into consideration when interpreting the results of the current study, in particular the adequacy of the sampling. In order to form comprehensive and generalisable results, the countries sampled should show sufficient variability across independent and dependent variables (Fischer, Ferreira, Assmar, Redford, & Harb, 2005). In fact Georgas and Berry (1995) argue that cross-cultural research

199

should sample nations that vary in terms of economics, education, mass communication, population and religion to enhance cross cultural differences. In the current study only Western nations were sampled, variability, and therefore, broader generalisations about Muslim migrant youth cross-culturally are limited. Another limitation is that country averages were used that are an aggregation of individual effects, meaning that the within-country variation on values and attitudes towards immigrants is obscured. Although cultural values are thought to be reasonably stable, attitudes are more variable, therefore future research should attempt to test for the stability of the results over time (Steel & Taras, 2010).

It is noteworthy that all of the multilevel models explained a reasonable amount of within (1%-11%) and between country (11%-77%) variance in the outcomes, indicating that the explanatory variables selected for the models are important to the lived experiences of Muslim youth in Western contexts. This shows that we already know a lot about what is influential in the lives of young people, and that comprehensive predictive models should be developed that are able to make ecological inferences to test acculturation and development theories. The specific implications of country-level variables on Muslim migrant youth outcomes and the broader application of the results of this study are discussed in the following chapter discussing the key findings and implications of this thesis.

Chapter 6 General Discussion

This research investigated the experiences of Muslim migrant youth in Western contexts. The major aim of the thesis was to develop a comprehensive understanding of the ways young Muslims conceptualise and successfully deal with adversity, or their "pathways to positive development". The studies presented in the thesis take novel approaches and use multiple methods in order to build complex and multifaceted models describing Muslim youth acculturation and development. The first study qualitatively examined the accounts of successful adaptation of Muslims in New Zealand. The themes derived from this study were used to build a framework representing resources, risks and outcomes of acculturation for Muslim migrant youth. Studies two and three subsequently tested this framework in two cultural contexts, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. Results of these studies found that there were differences in adaptation outcomes and levels of stress across the two countries studied that were not fully accounted for by the influence of ecological resources. The fourth and final study sought to investigate whether variation between cultural contexts in youth outcomes could be explained by the societal-level variables (cultural diversity, size of the ethnic community, cultural values of the receiving society and attitudes of host nationals towards immigrants). This study found that the attitudes and values of the host society predicted adaption outcomes and experiences of discrimination for Muslim youth across the nine nations investigated. Studies two, three and four each built upon the in-depth information derived from the qualitative study, seeking to add context and generalisability to the research. The following chapter will discuss the contributions, implications and limitations of the thesis and will make suggestions concerning the direction of future research.

New Perspectives and Methodological Approaches

A case is sometimes made that research involving disempowered communities is intrusive and cannot ethically be conducted by members outside of the group in question (Bridges, 2001). The dispute against "outsider" research suggests that out-group members cannot understand or accurately represent the experience of the community and that research tends to be exploitative and may further disempower the community by having others articulate their views (Bridges, 2001). These arguments can create difficulty for researchers who are attempting to investigate the issues of at risk or minority groups, and may lead to important topics receiving less attention than they deserve. Such issues may account for the

notable lack of psychological research on Muslims in the West, even though this group represents an important and growing migrant group (Abu-Rayya et al., 2008a; Abu-Rayya et al., 2008b; Balsano & Sirin, 2007). The current thesis establishes that research from an outsider's perspective can be presented in an ethical way that does not exploit or undervalue the experiences of community members. Such research is possible if questions are driven by both theory and insiders insight, and if a broad knowledge of group dynamics and the ecological context are incorporated into the research design.

One of the major contributions of the current thesis was that a voice was given to the lived experiences of Muslim migrant youth. Rather than solely taking a theoretical, top-down approach in investigating the complexities of the acculturation for these young people, the research used qualitative evidence to produce a conceptual framework that was then tested quantitatively. Effectively, the first study of this thesis was used as a foundation to develop hypotheses, which were reflected on throughout the course of the research in order to inform the interpretation of the subsequent results. The use of multiple methods for the collection and analysis of data can confirm the accuracy of the results and offer elaboration and clarification of research findings (Foss & Ellefsen, 2002).

The field of youth acculturation is complex and involves many intertwining factors, meaning that no single method or research study can capture the whole reality for immigrant youth. By combining methods of investigation, there is an opportunity to move among different kinds of information, between the broad and the in-depth and between macro and micro levels of investigation (Foss & Ellefsen, 2002). As Foss and Ellefsen (2002, p. 244) argue that "Knowledge gained from qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be seen as irreconcilable pools of knowledge, but as different positions on a continuum of knowledge". By drawing upon these "pools" of knowledge, this thesis enabled a comprehensive representation of the multifaceted reality for Muslim migrant youth to be developed.

The current thesis not only integrated methods, a broad understanding of Muslim migrant youth acculturation in Western contexts was developed by drawing upon multidisciplinary literature and multiple theories of psychological adaptation. Interdisciplinary approaches are increasingly thought to be the best way toward understanding complex and multilevel issues (Belzen, 1997; Maton, Perkins, & Saegert, 2006). In fact, Christens and Perkins (2008) suggest that research can only begin to achieve ecological validity by attending to multiple levels of analysis across various domains

(sociocultural, physical, economic, and political). This thesis drew upon a number of literatures and approaches, these included aspects of developmental, acculturation, family and social psychology. All of these perspectives were synthesized within a positive psychology framework that situated the experiences of Muslim migrant youth within their ecological context. Therefore, this thesis was able to integrate the previously disparate (and predominantly negative) research on Muslim migrant youth in the West.

Key Findings and Implications

Family Resources

The current thesis presented a number of novel findings, for example, it was found that families function as both assets and obstacles for youth adaptation. The qualitative study established that family relationships were an essential source of social support for Muslim youth and feelings of obligation towards one's family motivated young people to achieve successful outcomes. However, the findings of the subsequent studies indicate that the relationships between family variables and adolescent adaptation are more complex than was thought. Effectively, the quantitative results indicate that interdependence or embeddedness in the family is positively associated with psychological adaptation, whereas deference to the wishes of one's parents is negatively associated with psychological adaptation and positively associated with sociocultural adaptation.

Research has found that during acculturation the family plays a vital role in youth development that can be either positive or negative dependent on the relationships the young person has with their parents. On the positive side, a well functioning parent-child relationship can function to alleviate or buffer the stressful aspects of intercultural contact (Pe-pua, Gendera, Katz, & O'Connor, 2010; Stuart et al., 2010). On the negative side, acculturation may lead to increased intergenerational conflict between parents and youth, which in turn is associated with greater stress (Farver, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002). The novelty of the current thesis is that results indicate the relationship a young person has with their parents can be both a negative predictor and a positive predictor of adaptation at the same time.

One of the ways to interpret these findings is through the research of Kagitçibasi (2003, 2005) on autonomy and relatedness. According to Kagitçibasi (2003) both autonomy (the desire for independence) and relatedness (the desire for interdependence) are necessary for healthy adolescent development. This is particularly true for immigrant youth because

embeddedness in the family is integral for cultural transmission and the development of autonomy is crucial for sociocultural adaptation to the wider society (Stuart et al., 2010). However, it has been found that as migrant children begin to develop a sense of autonomy and independence, fears concerning loss of heritage culture can become increasingly salient for parents. Such fears may result in immigrant parents adhering more strongly to traditional values. In contrast, as immigrant adolescents develop a sense of autonomy, they tend to adopt and transform elements of both their ethnic culture and the host national culture (Chung, 2001; Kwak, 2003; Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000). Specifically, as adolescents adapt to the wider society, they may demand more autonomy than parents are willing to give, or parents may demand more obligations than youth are willing to give (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). In fact, research has demonstrated that there is often agreement between immigrant adolescents and their parents on amounts of embeddedness or connectedness, but not on conflict or autonomy (Kwak, 2003).

In the current research, it was found that family interdependence fostered positive adaptation, but family obligations were associated with increased stress. This may be because youth are attempting to develop autonomous-related selves, effectively maintaining orientations towards the family at the same time as exercising autonomy (Kagitçibasi, 2003). In many ways, strong family obligations do not allow the young person the autonomy they want, and may even need, in order achieve successful outcomes in their cultural environment, which, in turn, may be associated with greater stress and poorer adaptation. These results add to the growing body of literature on family acculturation, showing that it is important to distinguish between the potential positive and negative effects of the family variables on adolescent adaptation. Following from these results, it is suggested that a more comprehensive understanding of family processes is necessary for future research on youth acculturation.

Religious Resources

Another valuable finding of this research was that religiosity is a significant positive contributor to adaptation for Muslim youth regardless of the cultural context in which they reside. The research demonstrated that Muslim youth who maintain their religious roots (both identity and practices) have significantly better outcomes than youth who do not. These results support previous studies that have found religiosity has positive effects on many areas of adaptation for immigrants, for example, it is associated with increased self-esteem, greater

perceived social support, and a greater sense of cultural continuity (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 1999; Gungor, Fleischmann, & Phalet; Pargament, Smith, Koenig, & Perez, 1998; Peek, 2005).

Although the positive influence of religiosity on immigrant adaptation has been well established, the discourse concerning Islamic identity in Western contexts suggests that the religious values of Muslim migrants do not allow for integration and successful adaptation to be achieved for this group (Smith, 2002). Proponents of these arguments propose that the values of Islam are contradictory to the ideologies of the predominantly secular, Western societies in which Muslim migrants reside (Minkenberg, 2007). In fact, it has been suggested that in European societies, the maintenance of Islamic religious values erode social cohesion and undermine multiculturalism (Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008; van Tubergen & Sindradóttir, 2011). These opinions may be used as an endorsement of assimilationist policies and as a means to legitimize the alleged threat Islamic beliefs and practices pose to Western values.

Contrary to the arguments of secularization, the current research found that Islamic religiosity provides an important foundation of values and behaviours for Muslim youth. Religiosity also consolidates a connection to the global community of believers, or the Ummah. In this thesis, religious identity and practices were a central element in encouraging the successful adaptation of Muslim youth. Furthermore, results indicate that maintaining religiosity does not mean that young Muslims are less likely to see themselves as a member of the wider society, and religiosity is not negatively associated with attitudes toward integration.

Another notable finding was that religion moderates the relationship between discrimination and cultural difference on adaptation in different ways. The results indicate that religious identity is protective against discrimination, supporting previous studies that find identity buffers the negative attitudes of the out-group (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Brondolo, Brady Ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009). However, contrary to previous research it was found that the negative effect of cultural differences on adaptation was amplified by religiosity. One way of interpreting this is that religious identity protects against discrimination because it is seen as an unjustified and prejudicial act, therefore, self-esteem is preserved and the individual maintains the moral high ground. Cultural differences, however, are not necessarily unjustified, or even controllable. When migrants settle in a new environment, differences between one's group and the host nation are inevitable, and these

differences increase the salience of minority status and exacerbate the stress of acculturation (Oyserman, Kemmelmeier, Fryberg, Brosh, & Hart- Johnson, 2003).

The current research demonstrates that religion plays an vital, albeit often overlooked, part in the acculturation experiences of immigrants. Future research should examine the effects of religiosity on identity formation for immigrant youth, especially to examine the interrelationships between ethnicity and religion, how changes in one affect the other, and whether religiosity has the same effects on adaptation outcomes as ethnic identity. Additionally, research should examine the rhetoric concerning Islamic religiosity and consider the underlying reasons why arguments of secularisation are mobilized in opposition to Muslim identities.

Intercultural Resources

One of the most novel findings to emerge from this thesis was that perceptions of living in a multicultural environment are associated with better adaptation and less stress for Muslim youth regardless of the actual multicultural ideology of the wider society in which they reside. The findings demonstrate that subjective multiculturalism is consistently the strongest predictor of positive adaptation, more so than cultural identity and attitudes towards integration. These results support previous acculturation research that finds immigrants perceptions of acceptance by the wider society have important implications for how they engage in the acculturation process (Kus & Ward, 2009; Ward, Kus, & Masgoret, 2008). In fact, the research of Verkuyten (2009) found that endorsement of a multicultural ideology was positively related to self-esteem for minority groups.

However, no other known research study has examined the implications perceived multiculturalism (believing oneself to live in an environment that is tolerant and accepting of diversity) has on immigrant adaptation outcomes. Verkuyten (2004) suggests that multicultural recognition, or endorsing social diversity, provides a context in which both minority and majority people with high cultural identification can maintain positive self-esteem. Following on from this suggestion, it is proposed that one of the major reasons why perceiving the society to be multicultural is so important for Muslim youth is that it may create a context where integration, or maintaining one's own values while also gaining acceptance by the wider society, is possible. Because the potential for integration creates opportunities for self exploration, the experience of conflict between heritage and host national values is lessened. The results of this study, therefore, may indicate that perceiving oneself to live in a multicultural environment may be the antecedent to adopting an

integration strategy or to becoming identity integrated. Future research would greatly benefit from including measures of subjective multiculturalism into acculturation studies, particularly to test the relationships between this measure and other aspects of intercultural relations.

Contexts of Reception

It is often found that the cultural and environmental setting where acculturation takes place has crucial influences on individual-level outcomes, the setting can constrain the way that individuals are able to engage in the acculturation process, alternatively the context can act to promote positive adaptation. Berry (1997) suggests societies that endorse a multicultural ideology are more accepting of diversity and allow migrants freedom of choice in their acculturation strategies, meaning they are more likely to adapt successfully. However, opponents to multiculturalism suggest that it can lead to increased group distinctions, conflict and separatism and that it is antithetical to the notion of equality and the ideal of meritocracy (see discussion in Verkuyten, 2004). Although there are contradictory arguments concerning the value of multiculturalism, all commentators agree that how the wider society deals with cultural diversity has fundamental implications (positive or negative) for the outcomes of individuals and groups living within that society. However, very little research has investigated the impact of societal attitudes and values related to diversity on the lived experiences of individuals. Through the use of multilevel modelling, the current thesis was able to address the gap in the research.

The findings of the research indicate that acceptance of diversity by host nationals is important for the adaptation outcomes of Muslim youth. Results demonstrate that the attitudes and values of the host society have direct influences on Muslim youth adaptation above and beyond the young person's cultural orientation. Specifically, it was found that socio-political contexts that foster positive attitudes towards immigrants encourage better adaptation for Muslim youth, whereas contexts that foster negative attitudes towards immigrants are associated with poorer adaptation for Muslim youth. Also, it was found that Muslim youth who orient towards the society are protected from the negative attitudes of the majority. These results suggest that multiculturalism does facilitate positive adaptation for immigrant youth. Furthermore, in contexts that are not accepting of diversity, youth are more likely to receive benefits from assimilating to the host society than they are from maintaining their ethnic culture.

It is suggested that the relationships between societal level variables and Muslim youth adaptation outcomes can be interpreted using Leong's (2008) research framework of

host attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism. In this framework, host national perspectives on acculturation can be understood as characterised by "invasion" experiences, meaning host nationals regard immigration and multiculturalism as a threat, versus "enrichment" experiences, where host nationals perceive there to be social and economic benefits of multiculturalism. This framework fits well with the sociological research on contexts of reception by Portes and Rumbaut (2006), who suggest that there are three factors that create a context of reception that enables the economic incorporation of immigrants; diversity policies, labour market conditions and ethnic community characteristics. In fact, perspectives of enrichment that are coupled with the conditions of a welcoming context of reception may be the basis for the development of multicultural ideologies. Future research would benefit from incorporating these frameworks in order to develop a better understanding of the circumstances that facilitate institutional and social acceptance of multiculturalism.

An Integrated Model of Adaptation

One of the major contributions of this thesis was the development of the *Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation.* Because this model was developed from the qualitative data, it provides an ecologically valid way of understanding the resources and risks embedded in the process of acculturation for Muslim migrant youth. Specifically, the model suggests that the positive adaptation outcomes for individuals and groups "at risk" are embedded in the relationships between risk or stress factors and ecological resources.

Although the interactions between resources and risks in the prediction of positive outcomes has been discussed extensively in the resilience literature (Harvey & Delfabbro, 2004; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten, 2001), these theories are not often applied to the context of acculturating peoples. This thesis examined resilience as an active process that Muslim immigrant youth engage in, meaning that positive adaptation is a function of the successful management of risk through the mobilisation of resources. Following this theoretical interpretation of resilience, the current thesis introduced the concept of "pathways to positive development" and tested the processes involved in developing resilient (adaptive) outcomes in the face of adversity.

Overall, this thesis demonstrated that the key components of the Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation are generalisable across two distinct socio-political contexts. Indeed, the research found that the pathways to positive development for Muslim youth in both New Zealand and the United Kingdom involve the active negotiation of the

relationships between one's family, religion, intercultural context and the stressors of acculturation. In order to validate that structure of the model, future research should attempt test different sets of risks, resources and outcomes with a diversity of minority groups under the framework outlined in the Integrative Risk-Resource Model of Positive Adaptation.

Limitations and Future Directions

All research is constrained by the design, methods and measures used. In the current thesis, the qualitative data were used in order to develop an ecologically valid framework for Muslim youth development. In the process of translating the qualitative accounts of Muslim youth into a testable model, decisions were made to as to which themes were important for further study, which variables to include or exclude and how to measure the constructs. The variables chosen, and the way they were measured are likely to affect the outcomes obtained. Therefore, future research should attempt to replicate the findings using different measures of the latent constructs, and integrating more elements from the initial qualitative themes (particularly the influences of media, community and peer networks). Furthermore, research should also attempt to move beyond simple linear relationships between resources, risks and outcomes and begin to explore the potential bidirectional associations amongst the variables. In fact, one of the major limitations of the current thesis was the cross-sectional nature of the data collected, meaning that it is not possible to make causal statements regarding the relationship between the constructs. Research that attempts to understand the complex and interrelated processes of acculturation and development should endeavour to carry out longitudinal studies throughout the period of adolescence in order to make inferences about the stability of predictive effects over time. Nevertheless, it must be made clear that the predictive models described in this thesis are a deliberate simplification of the complex reality of adaptation for Muslim migrant youth.

Another limitation of the current thesis is the selection and size of the research samples. Participants in studies one, two and three were self-selected, therefore, it is possible sampling may be biased towards youth who are more active in the Muslim community, and therefore, have higher ethnic identification and religiosity. Additionally, the samples studied in this thesis were relatively small, were drawn from only two receiving societies and had a limited age range, with many participants in the upper limit of youth or young adulthood. These factors limit the generalisability of the research and mean that caution must be exercised in the interpretation of the results. Furthermore, the multilevel model was constrained by the relatively small amount of countries included and the low levels of

209

variance in the measures. Future studies should attempt to replicate the results of the research with larger samples across nations that are culturally heterogeneous.

One of the major limitations of this study is the treatment of Muslims as a homogenous ethno-religious group. Despite the fact that Muslims come from a range of (economic, cultural and religious) backgrounds, the current thesis predominantly represented the group as having a unified social identity. This conceptualisation of group belonging has both benefits and drawbacks; it allows acculturation research to examine how previously unexplored aspects of identity impact upon outcomes, although it also masks some of the internal dynamics of this diverse group of people. Future research should attempt to incorporate elements of religious identification into acculturation research, but should also investigate whether there are significant differences in the process of adaptation between sub-groups of Muslims (e.g., Sunni and Shia). Most importantly, research with other groups of immigrants needs to be carried out in order to assess the generalisability of the findings. Specifically, it would be of interest to examine whether the pathways to positive development found in this thesis are evident for youth of other religious groups (e.g., Christian, Buddhist or Hindu) who migrate into a variety of secular and religious contexts.

Conclusions

One of the major challenges for cultural psychology is to understand how the emerging diversity of social political environments affects the lived experiences of individuals. Wong and colleagues suggest that the most crucial application of the study of culture is "to understand what contributes to the development of toxic, pathological cultures of tyranny, terrorism, and despair, and what contributes to…cultures of freedom, compassion, and optimism" (Wong, Wong, & Scott, 2006, p. 2). Nowhere is this more applicable than in the relationship between the Western and Islamic worlds, where it has been suggested that a "Clash of Civilizations" is on the cusp of occurring (Huntington, 1996). The current research began from the call of the Alliance of Civilizations (2006) to build bridges between societies and to promote intercultural dialogue and understanding. The priority area of youth was the main focus of this thesis, particularly with regards to how Muslim youth understand their own experiences of acculturation in Western societies and how they achieve successful adaptation outcomes.

At the individual level, Muslim youth demonstrated resilience in the many creative ways they mobilised the resources in their environments to deal with the difficulties they face living in a Western environment. The findings indicate that youth selectively and

purposefully maintain aspects of their religion and culture while transforming others to better fit in their environments. Therefore, it is suggested that acculturating young people may need to develop new modes of belonging in order to affirm and retain meaning with regard to their religion and heritage cultural at the same time as adapting to the culture of the host society. Indeed, young people may be better equipped for the challenges of acculturation if they are both flexible and stable, embracing cultural change and ethno-religious continuity at the same time.

At the host-national level, broader cultural transformations may be necessary in order to create enriching experiences (Leong, 2008) and welcoming contexts of reception for immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Wong and colleagues (2006) argue that the positive psychology of cultural transformation can be understood as a form of macro-stress management, because it involves creating a positive environment for diversity in general rather than seeking solutions of specific problems within nations. Such an approach requires leadership at a national level as well as the development of multicultural competencies and acceptance of diversity by individuals within the host nation. The results of this thesis demonstrate that both the perceived and actual levels of acceptance of diversity are essential for Muslim youth outcomes. Therefore, as a general approach, discourses of social cohesion and inclusion should be widely encouraged and policies that celebrate the benefits of cultural pluralism should be integrated at the national level.

These findings of this thesis call into question the value of the anti-Islamic policies and practices that are currently gaining support in many Western countries. The French banning hijab, the Swiss outlawing the construction of minarets, and the burning of the Quran in the United States in reaction to the proposed mosque near Ground Zero, all undermine the attempts of Muslim migrants to lead integrated lives and achieve successful outcomes in Western societies. It may even be the case that, by not constructively addressing issues of social cohesion, Western nations have set the scene for increased inter-group tension. In fact, the recent killings of 77 people in Norway by Anders Breivik, who believed that Islam and multiculturalism must be annihilated to preserve a Christian Europe, can be seen as evidence that anti-Islamic rhetoric can result in violence and hatred. Ultimately, it is not sufficient for Muslim youth to recognize the value of maintaining their own identities and aspire to achieve integration, it is imperative for nations to recognize that not only is this possible for Muslims to be contributing members of Western societies but that this is also desirable.

Policy should be directed toward supporting the development of resilience for immigrant youth while also seeking to address the stressors of acculturation. Specifically, it seems though Muslim migrant youth manage their experiences in Western contexts reasonably well, and possess a solid foundation in their religious beliefs and values. Consequently, receiving societies should be more tolerant of religious diversity, supportive of immigrant Muslim communities and sufficiently accommodating to ensure the freedom of religious expression in contemporary multicultural societies. Policy should not be directed at minimizing differences or assimilating individuals into the host national culture, but rather should promote religious and cultural maintenance as well as host national competence. How policies can effectively encourage true integration is presently unknown, but it is argued that there are conditions under which multiculturalism can thrive, but these must be negotiated by both majority and minority groups.

In summary, this thesis offers insights into the lived experiences of a group of young people who are at the centre of international debates concerning multiculturalism and the acceptance of diversity. Muslim migrant youth in Western contexts do indeed tread the "fault lines of global conflict" (Sirin & Fine, 2007, p. 151), which leads them to be at greater risk, but does not necessarily mean they are poorly adapted. The current research found that host national contexts that foster the marginalization of minorities can have wide ranging effects on young people's experiences of stress and may create barriers that prevent Muslim youth from becoming productive members of their communities. In parallel to this finding, Muslim youth who do not engage with the host society, who do not mobilize their resources and do not believe they live in a tolerant environment are likely to fare poorly both psychologically and socioculturally. Although societies are divided on how to deal with the rhetoric of the "Clash of Civilizations" (Huntington, 1996), the dynamics of the situation indicate that both Muslims and non-Muslims in the West need to work together in order to create the conditions for successful integration.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Study 1 Materials

Appendix A1: Interview and Focus Group Information Sheet

Jaimee Stuart	Professor Colleen Ward	
Email: *Jaimee.stuart@vuw.ac.nz*	Colleen.ward@vuw.ac.nz	*463-6037*

Would you like to be take part in a group where you can talk about what it means to be a young Muslim person in New Zealand? At the moment a team of researchers from the School of Psychology, Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) are carrying out a study about identity and wellbeing, and we would like you to take part.

What is the purpose of this research?
    This research will allow us to examine how people perceive and comprehend everyday tasks.

Who is conducting the research?
    Jaimee Stuart is a PhD student. Professor Ward is supervising this project. This research has been approved by the University ethics committee.

What is involved if you agree to participate?
    If you agree to participate in this study, we ask that you spend about an hour talking (in a group with other Muslim young people) about things that are important to you. This group discussion will be audio recorded, but your name or any other information about you will be removed from any records, meaning that you can say anything you like and it will be anonymous
We anticipate that your total involvement will take no more than an hour.
During the research you are free to withdraw at any point.

Privacy and Confidentiality
    We will keep your consent forms and data for at least five years after publication.
You will never be identified in my research project or in any other presentation or publication. The information you provide will be coded by number only.
In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, your coded data may be shared with other competent researchers.
Your coded data may be used in other related studies.
A copy of the coded data will remain in the custody of Jaimee Stuart

What happens to the information that you provide?
    The data you provide may be used for one or more of the following purposes:
The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, or presented at scientific conferences.
The overall findings may form part of a PhD thesis or other research project that will be submitted for assessment.

If you would like to know the results of this study, they will be available by email approximately January 2009. If you have any further questions regarding this study please contact any one of us above.

Appendix A2: Consent Form

By signing this form you agree to participate in the research outlined in the information sheet. This means that:

Your name will never be associated with your responses to the transcript or taped recordings.

No identifying or sensitive information will be quoted in the reports or publications, although we may use portions of the interviews in the final report.

By signing this form you are stating that:

1.   You have read through and agree with the procedures described in the information sheet.
2.   You consent to publication of results.
3.   You consent for your group discussion to be audio taped and transcribed.

Name

Email Address

Signature

Date

_____

[Two copies: one for the participant and one for the researcher]

Part 1 Introduction
Short introduction to the process and outcomes of the focus group. Consent form distribution.

Part 2. Getting to know them
How old are you?
Can you tell me a bit about yourself and what your experience has been like coming and living in NZ? (Where does your family come from, how long have you been in NZ?)
What things have changed for you? What things have stayed the same?
What are the good things about living in NZ? What are the bad things?

Part 3. The Issue of Identity
Imagine you meet someone who doesn't know anything about you, what would you tell them about yourself? (Prompt for ethnic/religious identity – What ethnicity would you say that you are?)
Again imagine you are still talking with this person, and they don't know anything about being Muslim; what would you tell them about being Muslim? What would you like them to know?
This person is the same age and gender as you, but they were born in NZ– how do you think their life is different or the same to your life?
Now imagine someone just like you who lives in your home country, how is their life different from your life in NZ?

Part 4. Identity across context
Think about the ways you identify yourself – come up with three different words that describe your identity. What are the words and why did you choose those things?
Now think of a couple of words to describe yourself: (do one at a time)
a. With your family
b. In school
c. With your community/at mosque
Were the things you chose different or the same? Why do you think that they were different or the same?
Do these identities work together or are they in conflict?
 How do you manage different ways of being and behaving?

Part 5. Future orientation and closing
Now that we have had our discussion if I asked you to identify yourself in one word what would you say?
What are your hopes and expectations for the future?
Anything that you would like to add or any questions that you might have.

Debriefing
Thank you for your time.

Thanks for taking part in the group discussion; we hope you had a good time.

We are carrying out this study because we want to know the challenges that young Muslim people face in fitting into New Zealand life and culture. We also want to know all of the really good things that make you to feel as though you belong and what young people are happy about in their lives. There are potentially many difficulties for people who migrate into another culture and we would like to know how young people handle and resolve these problems in different ways.

When people move to another place they have to adjust to the ways things are done in the new culture. For some Muslim young people this can mean that there are ways of doing things in New Zealand that are really different from the ways things are done in the family or in the country where you grew up. Sometimes this can be confusing or annoying, other times it can be interesting or fun.

There are lots of different ways that young people deal with coming to New Zealand, some do really well and are happy, but others may find it hard. Some research suggests that young people have various ways of defining and presenting themselves in different settings, meaning that it may be easy to deal with things in some places (like home or school) and not in others. Because there are lots of different ways of dealing with the issues that come from moving to a new country, it is important to study exactly what the process of adjustment means for young people.

This research is important because we want to know what is happening for you; both the things that are good and the things that are difficult. By discussing these things we may be able to make the process of adjusting to New Zealand culture easier for other young Muslim people.

Thanks again,

Please contact Jaimee Stuart, Jaimee.stuart@vuw.ac.nz if you have any questions at all, or if you want to talk about the research.

Appendix B: Studies 2 and 3

Appendix B1: Information Sheet Study 2

Jaimee Stuart   Professor Colleen Ward
Email: Jaimee.stuart@vuw.ac.nz   Colleen.ward@vuw.ac.nz   *463-6037*

This is the second part of a study that is being carried out by a team of researchers from the School of Psychology, Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) about identity and wellbeing of young Muslim people.

What is the purpose of this research?
This research will allow us to examine how young people manage their identities over time.

Who is conducting the research?
Jaimee Stuart is a PhD student. Professor Ward is supervising this project. This research has been approved by the University ethics committee.

What is involved if you agree to participate?
If you agree to participate in this study, we ask that you spend about 30-40 minutes filling in a survey. This survey is anonymous so your answers will never be associated with your name.
You will receive a movie voucher for one adult or a $10 petrol or food voucher for your participation.
During the research you are free to withdraw at any point.

Privacy and Confidentiality
By reading this information and completing the survey, you consent to the publication of reports, articles and presentations associated with this data.
You will never be identified in my research project or in any other presentation or publication. The information you provide will be coded by number only.
In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, your coded data may be shared with other competent researchers and if in hard copy, kept for 5 years.
Your coded data may be used in other related studies.
Your coded data will be securely stored will remain in the custody of Jaimee Stuart.

What happens to the information that you provide?
The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, or presented at scientific conferences.
The overall findings may form part of a PhD thesis or other research project that will be submitted for assessment.

If you would like to know the results of this study, they will be available in a report on the CACR website www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr by October 2010. If you have any further questions regarding this study please contact any one of us above.

Jaimee Stuart	Professor Colleen Ward	Professor Lena Robinson
Jaimee.stuart@vuw.ac.nz	Colleen.ward@vuw.ac.nz	Lena.Robinson@uws.ac.uk

Would you like to be take part in a study about what it means to be a young Muslim person in the United Kingdom? At the moment a team of researchers from the School of Psychology, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (VUW) and the University of West Scotland (UWS) are carrying out a study about identity and wellbeing for young Muslim people, and we would like you to take part.

What is the purpose of this research?
This research will allow us to examine how young people manage their identities and relate to other people.

Who is conducting the research?
Jaimee Stuart is a PhD student. Professor Ward is supervising this project and Professor Robinson is collaborating on this project. This research has been approved by the Victoria University ethics committee.

What is involved if you agree to participate?
If you agree to participate in this study, we ask that you spend about 30-40 minutes filling in a survey.
During the research you are free to withdraw at any point.

Privacy and Confidentiality
By reading this information and completing the survey, you consent to the publication of reports, articles and presentations associated with this data.
You will never be identified in this research project or in any other presentation or publication. The information you provide will be coded by number only.
In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, your coded data may be shared with other competent researchers and if in hard copy, kept for 5 years.
Your coded data will be securely stored will remain in the custody of Jaimee Stuart.
Your coded data may be used in other related studies.

What happens to the information that you provide?
The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, or presented at scientific conferences.
The overall findings may form part of a PhD thesis or other research project that will be submitted for assessment.

If you would like to know the results of this study, they will be available in a report on the CACR website www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr. If you have any further questions regarding this study please contact any one of us above.

1. Background Information

1. How old are you? _____

2. What is your gender?

Male	Female
1	2

3. What is your highest level of schooling so far?

Year 10 or below	Years 11 - 13	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	Diploma/ Certificate	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6

4. What country were you born in? _____

5. If you were not born in host country, how long have you been in host country?

6. What is your status in the host country?

Permanent Resident	Citizen	International Student	Other
1	2	3	4 (please specify) _____

7. What is your religion?

Islam	No religion	Other please specify _____
1	2	3

8. What is your ethnic background? (e.g. Malay, Indian, Iraqi)

9. What is the background of your parents?

	Mother	Father
Ethnic background	_____	
Country of birth	_____	
Religion	_____	

10. Did you and/or your parents come to *the host country* as refugees?

Yes	No
1	2

11. Is your ethnic language English?

Yes	No please specify _____
1	2

12. What is your proficiency in English and your ethnic language?

	Very poor	Poor	Neutral	Good	Very good
My ethnic language	1	2	3	4	5
English	1	2	3	4	5

2. Family

The following questions relate to how much you agree with your family on a number of issues. Rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements

SECTION A	Strongly Disagree		Not sure		Strongly Agree
1. Spend time at home with your family during the week.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Run errands that the family needs done.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Spend holidays with your family.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Help out around the house.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Spend time with your family on weekends.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Eat meals with your family.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Treat your parents with great respect.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Follow your parents' advice about choosing friends	1	2	3	4	5
9. Do well for the sake of your family.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Follow your parents' advice about choosing a job or major in college.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Make sacrifices for your family.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B	Strongly Disagree		Not sure		Strongly Agree
1. My family and I agree on the aims, goals and things important in life.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My family and I agree on friends.	1	2	3	4	5
3. My family and I agree on the amount of time we spend together.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My family and I agree on demonstration of affection for each other.	1	2	3	4	5
5. My family and I agree on behaviour in a setting where *host nationals* are the majority.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My family and I agree on behaviour in a predominantly ethnic setting.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My family and I talk things over.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Overall, I am satisfied with the relationship with my family.	1	2	3	4	5

3. Identity

SECTION A
Rate both how you think of yourself and how important it is to be part of the following groups using the scale below.

1= Not at all   2= A little   3= Somewhat   4= Quite a bit   5= Very much

	A member of your ethnic group (i.e. Ethiopian, Iraqi)	A *host country* member	A Muslim
1. Do you think of yourself as:	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
2. How important is it to be part of these groups?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

SECTION B
Things might be done differently in the host society than in other places. Below is a list of some of the ways cultures might differ from one another. Rate much distress you feel when adjusting to these differences.

	Not at all distressed		Not sure		Very distress
1. The type of food eaten.	1	2	3	4	5
2. The type of clothes worn.	1	2	3	4	5
3. The number of people who are of different ethnicities than you.	1	2	3	4	5
4. What offends people.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The language spoken.	1	2	3	4	5
6. How ambitious (or not) people are.	1	2	3	4	5
7. The amount of privacy young people have.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Type of recreation and leisure time activities.	1	2	3	4	5
9. How parents treat children.	1	2	3	4	5
10. The sense of closeness (or lack of) felt among family members.	1	2	3	4	5
11. The amount of body contact such as touching or standing close.	1	2	3	4	5
12. The degree of friendliness and intimacy between unmarried men and women.	1	2	3	4	5
13. General standard of living.	1	2	3	4	5
14. The way people act and feel towards friends.	1	2	3	4	5
15. The number of people of your religious faith.	1	2	3	4	5
16. How much friendliness and hospitality people express.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Your own opportunities (or lack of) for social contacts.	1	2	3	4	5

	1	2	3	4	5
18. How free and independent women seem to be.	1	2	3	4	5
19. How formal or informal people are.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C
The following statements describe some things people do and feel when they live in a country that is different from their own. Indicate whether you agree or disagree.

	Strongly Disagree		Not sure		Strongly Agree
1. I have friends both from my group and friends who are *host nationals*.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I prefer social activities which involve both people from my group and *host nationals*.	1	2	3	4	5
3. It is important to be fluent in both my ethnic language and English.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I would be as willing to marry a *host national* as I would someone from my own group.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I feel that my group should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adapt to those of *the host country*.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel that I am a part of the *host national* community.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I am proud of being a *host national*.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I am happy to be a *host national*.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I feel that I am a part of my ethnic community.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I am proud of being a member of my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I am happy to be a member of my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Multiculturalism in *the host country* is a good thing.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Many groups mix freely in the *host country*.	1	2	3	4	5
14. It is bad that there are so many people of different backgrounds in *the host country*.	1	2	3	4	5

4. Religion

SECTION A	Strongly Disagree		Not sure		Strongly Agree
1. I often think about the fact that I am Muslim.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Overall, being Muslim has a lot to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5
3. In general, being Muslim is an important part of my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5
4. The fact that I am Muslim often enters my mind.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I am usually conscious of the fact that I am Muslim.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Being Muslim is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
7. In my everyday life, I often think about what it means to be Muslim.	1	2	3	4	5
8. In general, I'm glad to be Muslim.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I never regret that I am Muslim.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as Muslim.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B	Never		Sometimes		Very often
1. I pray 5 times a day.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I contribute to charity.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I fast during Ramadan.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I think about my pilgrimage to Mecca.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I refer to the hadith when thinking about how to behave.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I read the Quran.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I go to the mosque.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I eat Halal food.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I dress modestly.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C

How does it make you feel when people do the things listed below because of your ethnic or religious background?

	Not at all distressed		Not sure		Very distressed
1. People act as though they are better than you.	1	2	3	4	5
2. You are excluded or ignored.	1	2	3	4	5
3. You are treated with less respect than other people.	1	2	3	4	5
4. You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.	1	2	3	4	5
5. People act as though they are afraid of you.	1	2	3	4	5
6. You are called names or insulted.	1	2	3	4	5
7. You are threatened or harassed.	1	2	3	4	5

5. Adaptation

SECTION A

	1	2	3	4	5
1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.					
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am satisfied with my life.	1	2	3	4	5
4. So far I have got the important things I want out of life.	1	2	3	4	5
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I understand my life's meaning.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My life has a clear sense of purpose.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I am always searching for something that makes my life feel significant.	1	2	3	4	5
10.I am seeking a purpose or mission for my life.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B
How often do you experience the following?

	A little of the time	Some of the time	Good part of the time	Most of the time
1. I feel down-hearted and blue.	1	2	3	4
2. I have trouble sleeping at night.	1	2	3	4
3. My heart beats faster than usual.	1	2	3	4
4. I get tired for no reason.	1	2	3	4
5. My mind is as clear as it used to be.	1	2	3	4
6. I find it easy to do the things I used to.	1	2	3	4
7. I am restless and can't keep still.	1	2	3	4
8. I feel hopeful about the future.	1	2	3	4
9. I am more irritable than usual.	1	2	3	4
10.I find it easy to make decisions.	1	2	3	4
11.I feel that I am useful and needed.	1	2	3	4
12.My life is pretty full.	1	2	3	4

SECTION C

Many young people have at some time been involved in negative activities. How often have you been involved in any of the following?

	Never	Yes, but not during the last year	Once during the past year	A few times during the last year	Many times during the last year
1. Had serious argument with someone outside of your family.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Drawn graffiti on property that wasn't yours.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Stolen money or something else from your family.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Taken things from a shop without paying.	1	2	3	4	5

5. Purposely destroyed things.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Sworn at someone because you were angry.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Bullied someone.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Smoked or drunk alcohol.	1	2	3	4	5

What do you think is the most important thing that helps you succeed in your life in New Zealand?

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your participation.

Thanks for taking part in this survey.

We are carrying out this study because we want to know the challenges that you, as a young Muslim person, face in fitting into New Zealand (the United Kingdom) life and culture. We also want to know all of the really good things that make you to feel as though you belong and what you are happy about in your life. There are potentially many difficulties for people who migrate into another culture and we would like to know how you handle and resolve these problems.

When people move to another place they have to adjust to the ways things are done in the new culture. This can mean that there are ways of doing things in New Zealand (the United Kingdom) that are really different from the ways things are done in the family or in the country where you grew up. Sometimes this can be confusing or annoying, other times it can be interesting or fun.

There are lots of different ways that you might deal with coming to New Zealand (the United Kingdom). Some people do really well and are happy, but others may find it hard. Some research suggests that young people have various ways of defining and presenting themselves in different settings, meaning that it may be easy to deal with things in some places (like home or school) and not in others. Because there are lots of different ways of dealing with the issues that come from moving to a new country, it is important to study exactly what the process of adjustment means for young people like you.

This research is important because we want to know what is happening for you; both the things that are good and the things that are difficult. By discussing these things we may be able to make the process of adjusting to New Zealand (the United Kingdom) culture easier for other young people, both Muslim and non-Muslim.

Thanks again,

Please contact Jaimee Stuart, Jaimee.stuart@vuw.ac.nz (or Professor Lena Robinson Lena.Robinson@uws.ac.uk) if you have any questions at all, or if you want to talk about the research.

A report on the findings from this research will be available at the completion of the study. This will be published on the Centre for Applied Cross-Cultural Research website http://www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/

Appendix C1: Data Analytic Strategy for Multilevel Models

The null model is represented by the equation:

Equation 1 *Equation for a model with no predictors (null model)*

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text{Level-1} \qquad & Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + r_{ij} \\
\text{Level-2} \qquad & \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \mu_{0j}
\end{aligned}
$$

Y_{ij} is the score on the outcome measure for a person ('i') in a group ('j'), it consists of the mean score of the group 'j'(β_{0j}) plus the random error at level-1 (r_{ij}). Each level-1 coefficient has a separate level-2 equation where β_{0j} (the mean score of group 'j' on the outcome) is equal to the grand mean (γ_{00}) plus the random error at level-2 (μ_{0j}). Assuming that a relevant amount of variation exists at both levels 1 and 2, the second step in MLM requires entering testing all level-1 predictors for significance, and then entering the significant predictors into the model and subsequently assessing the variance accounted for in the outcome.

Entering level-1 predictors into the model changes the equation so that the score on the outcome is modelled as a function of a predictor (or predictors) at level-1. This is represented by the following equations;

Equation 2 *Equation for a model with one level-1 predictor*

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text{Level-1} \qquad & Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}X_{ij} + r_{ij} \\
\text{Level-2} \qquad & \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \mu_{0j} \\
& \beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \mu_{1j}
\end{aligned}
$$

As in the previous level-1 equation for the null model, Y_{ij} is the score on the outcome measure for a person ('i') in a group ('j'), it consists of the mean score of the group 'j'(β_{0j}), and random error at level-1 (r_{ij}) but now also includes a level one predictor (X_{ij}) and the slope for the relationship in group 'j' between the outcome and the level-1 predictor (β_{1j}). At level-2, the equation for mean score on the outcome for a given group (β_{0j}) remains the same. An additional equation is used to compute β_{1j} (the relationship in group 'j' between the outcome and the level-1 predictor) which consists of the overall regression coefficient for the relationship between the level-1 predictor and the outcome (γ_{10}) and the random error of the slope (μ_{1j}). Because each level-1 coefficient has a separate level-2 equation, each level-1 predictor produces an additional equation at level-2. The following equations represent a model with two predictors at level-1 (predictor 1 = X predictor 2 = Z);

Equation 3 *Equation for a model with two level-1 predictors*

Level-1	$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}X_{ij} + \beta_{2j}Z_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \mu_{0j}$
	$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \mu_{1j}$
	$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + \mu_{2j}$

It must be noted that for each level-2 equation representing a relationship between the outcome and the level-1 predictor (β_{1j}, β_{2j}, etc.) the random error for the relationship between the level-1 predictor and the outcome (μ_{1j}, μ_{2j}, etc.) is included or excluded dependant on whether the predictor is considered as fixed or random. Random effects are those which are theorised to differ across groups, meaning that random error term should be included. Fixed effects, in contrast, are not considered to differ across groups and therefore, the error term is excluded. In order to test whether effects are random or fixed, random error is first included and tested for significance. If the random error is significant, the effect differs across groups, if it is non-significant, the random error term is removed and the effect is considered to be fixed. In this study, all significant level-1 predictors are first allowed to vary randomly across countries and then entered into subsequent steps with the appropriate error structure. This permits an examination in the cross-cultural variability in regression coefficients. Nezlek (2010) suggests that this is an important step for multilevel modelling in cross-cultural research as countries are usually sampled randomly and this sampling should be represented in data analysis.

Once the level-1 model has been developed (with significant predictors and the appropriate error structure), level-2 predictors can be added. Entering level-2 predictors into the model only changes the equation for mean score on the outcome of a group (β_{0j}). Specifically, β_{0j} includes the grand mean (γ_{00}) and the random error at level-2 (μ_{0j}) but now also includes a level-2 predictor (W_j) plus the regression coefficient for the relationship between the level-2 predictor and the outcome (γ_{01}). This is represented by the following equations;

Equation 4 *Equation for a model with a level-1 predictor and a level-2 predictor*

Level-1	$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}X_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}W_j + \mu_{0j}$
	$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \mu_{1j}$

Additional level-2 predictors also only impact on the equation for mean score on the outcome of a group (β_{0j}), for example the equation for a model with two predictors (predictor 1 = W predictor 2 = V) at level-2 would be $\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}W_j + \gamma_{02}V_j + \mu_{0j}$.

The last step in the development of the model is the addition of all potential cross-level effects. These should be included (at least initially) in all level-2 equations even if their main effect is not significant (Nezlek, 2010). Using the previous example of a model with a level-1 (X) and a level-2 predictor (W) (see Figure X), in order to test for an interaction between X and W in the prediction of the outcome the following equations would be constructed;

Equation 5 *Equation for a model with a level-1 predictor, a level-2 predictor and a cross-level interaction*

Level-1	$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}X_{ij} + r_{ij}$
Level-2	$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}W_j + \mu_{0j}$
	$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}W_j + \mu_{1j}$

The addition of interaction terms changes the equation for β_{1j} (the relationship in group 'j' between the outcome and the level-1 predictor) which previously consisted of the overall regression coefficient for the relationship between the level-1 predictor and the outcome (γ_{10}) and the random error of the slope (μ_{1j}), but now includes the level-2 predictor (W_j) plus the regression coefficient for the relationship between the level-2 predictor and the outcome (γ_{01}).