ACCULTURATION, ETHNIC IDENTITY, VALUES AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN IMMIGRANT AND NON-IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENTAL AND EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

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Index

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

Presentation

The main goal of this doctoral thesis is to study family relationships, values, ethnic identity and life satisfaction of different culture groups living in Seville (Spain). Thought this research, we hope to offer a more complete view of the aspects studied from a developmental perspective. This is especially relevant in Spain, where recent immigration has turned the reality of young immigrants suddenly an important matter. According to the National Institute of Statistic (2012), the increasing of immigration has reached 12% of the total population, which is considered a representative part of Spanish society.

Since the "immigration boom" started in Spain, research in different fields has focused their attention on immigration. However, in the field of psychology, studies have focused more on educational and social areas such as student integration or discrimination. Developmental psychology has had a slower approach in studying this phenomenon. As far as we know, it has been more concerned with ethnic or cultural identity rather than other important issues such as family relationships and values. Therefore we believe this doctoral thesis can offer some answers to matters related to youth development.

In the following pages, we present a short abstract in English of the doctoral thesis that is in Spanish. It is organized in 5 chapters:

- In the first one, we present the main conclusions extracted from the theoretical review of adolescence, acculturation and ethnic identity, values, parent-adolescent relationships and adolescents' well-being.
- In the second one, we show the most relevant issues related to methodology.
- In the third chapter, we jointly present the goals and results, and we discuss these.
- In the fourth chapter, we list the references used in this abstract.
- In the last chapter, we have added the English language version of some of the instruments.

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

CHAPTER 1
THEORETICAL REVISION

The theoretical revision has been organized in five parts (adolescence, ethnic identity and acculturation, values, parent-adolescent relationships and adolescents' well-being), all of them relating to adolescence, the developmental period of human life this study is focused on. We show the main conclusions extracted from the theoretical revision.

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

1. Adolescence.

The need to not generalise about human development from results centred on specific populations has been claimed, and the research in the psychological field has been more and more inclusive of ethnic minority groups (Gielen, 2004; Larson & Wilson, 2004; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Metzger, 2006). For example, several important revisions on normative adolescence qualify their results, regarding their specific social context and including cultural and ethnic variations, as such Zimmer-Gembeck and Collins (2003), Collins and Steinberg (2006), Parke and Buriel (2006), and Coleman and Hendry (2003).

It seems to be a consensus about a common period of time from childhood to adult adulthood in every country (Brown & Larson, 2002), although there are several differences in the time it takes and the tasks that have to be faced in it.

There is no consensus regarding the duration of adolescence (Coleman & Hendry, 2003; Steinberg, 2002), and in Western industrialized societies it is becoming more and more based on social changes (indeed, there has been a proposal to describe a new period that would be called *emerging adulthood*, Arnett, 2000), presenting new challenges to researchers (Collins & Steinberg, 2006).

The consequences of changes taking place during adolescence regarding psychological development are influenced by the interactions within adolescent contexts. As far as the micro-system is concerned, although contexts such as family, peers and school are considered important during this period, these would be modulated by other systems' influences, specially the macro-system. Because of that, the typical tasks of this period are modulated by cultural contexts.

Most crucial task for Western adolescents, such as negotiation of autonomy, one (Brown & Laursen, 2002) may be less important for children who live on the streets in other parts of the world. In Gibbons (2004) words:

> The dominant stand-point of developmental psychology, that adolescence is a period of increasing independence and autonomy in thought and action is challenged by research on adolescents in developing countries. The developmental trajectories for self-concept, perceived similarity to peers, and group identity

appear to follow a different course among some adolescents in developing countries (p.272).

2. Acculturation and ethnic identity in adolescence.

Acculturation and ethnic identity are closed concepts, often used interchangeably, but we conceptualize them differently. Ethnic identity is one of the most relevant aspects of acculturation (Liebink, 2006; Phinney, 1990; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), which focuses on the subjective sense of membership to a cultural group (Sam, 2006), more centred on self-awareness than on behaviors and attitudes following acculturation (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). Acculturation is a broader concept; which refers to the psychological and cultural changes that take place as a result of continued contact between people of different cultural backgrounds (Berry, 2001, 2006).

2.1. Acculturation.

There are several difficulties in the use of adult models of acculturation to study adolescents. These models focus mainly on coping with acculturation stress, while in adolescents, the acculturation process is mixed with the developmental process. Because of that, it is harder to know which process the result depend on. Therefore, it is necessary to study the development of immigrant children from another point of view (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996; Oppedal, 2006; Sam & Berry, 2010; Sam & Oppedal, 2002; Shönpflug, 1997).

There are two basic models, the one-dimensional (Gordon, 1964) and the bidimensional (Berry, 1990). Ever since the bidimensional model was proposed, there have been several new models, including for example, the perspective of the majority group (*interactive model of acculturation*, Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; *concordance model of acculturation*, Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzálek, 2000) or marking differences between areas of acculturation, such more central or internal ones and others that are more external or peripheral (Arend-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Bartolomé et al., 2000; Navas, García, Sánchez, Rojas, Pumares, & Fernández, 2005).

The one-dimensional model was the first to be used, and it related acculturation to assimilation (integration to new society implied necessarily a loss of the culture of origin). The bicultural model maintains there are four basic different strategies of acculturation, depending on the way one maintains original culture and gains the new one, as show in table 1.

Table 1. Strategies of acculturation according to the bicultural model.

		Maintenance of heritage culture and identity	
		+	-
Relationships sought among groups	+	Integration	Assimilation
	-	Separation	Marginalization

Source: Adapted from Berry (2001)

The measure of acculturation is complicated and there is not a consensus about an appropriate instrument (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2007), so very often researchers create their own ones (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006). That situation implies there are several different ways of measuring acculturation, making the possibilities of comparison and generalization quite difficult. In our review, we can say the acculturation process should be measured with a two-dimensional approach (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) including different areas and not using just insolated pieces of experience (Cabassa, 2003; Matsudaira, 2006), taking into account the perspective of the dominant group, created for the age of the population they are going to be used with, and adapted to the host society.

Regarding to research results, we can draw some conclusions. In general, integration strategy is the most used by immigrants and the most expected by mainstream population, while marginalization is the least (e.g., Briones, 2008; Graff, 2010; Matsunaga, Hecht, Elek, & Ndiaye 2010; Phinney et al., 2006; Sobral, Gómez-Fraguela, Luengo, Romero, & Villar, 2010). When acculturation preferences of minority and majority groups are coincident, relationships between them are more harmonious (Bourhis et al., 1997). Integration strategy is the one that has better psychological adaptation results (Coatsworth, Maldonado-Molina, Patin, & Szapocznik, 2005; David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009; Trueba, 2001). Coming to the new country at an early age and spending more time in it are associated with more acceptance of the new culture (Bartolomé et al., 2000; Berry, 1997; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a). When differences between internal and external aspects of acculturation are made, in the first

one separation strategy is more common, so the new culture is less accepted, while in the second one integration or assimilation strategies are more common, so the new culture is more accepted (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006, 2007; Bartolomé et al., 2000; Phalet, Van Lotringen, & Entzinger, 2000; Ward, 2001).

2.2. Ethnic identity.

Although there are different approximations and definitions of ethnic identity (Liebink, 2006; Phinney, 1990), we adopt the developmental perspective. With this concept we mean the subjective sense of ethnic group membership (Phinney, 1996) which we conceive as a multidimensional concept (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Although there is no consensus about these dimensions, from the developmental perspective, which has been joined with empirical methodology, we focus on exploration and commitment components, as Phinney and Ong (2007) do. So, from this point of view, it can be measured as a continuum (Phinney, 1992, see Table 2) or combining these two components to create the same identity status proposed by Marcia (Seaton, Yip, & Sellers, 2006; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006, 2010, see Table 3).

Table 2. Marcia Ego Identity Statuses and Proposed Stages of Ethnic Identity by Phinney.

Marcia (1966, 1980)	Identity diffusion	Identity foreclosure	Moratorium	Identity achievement
Phinney (1989)	Unexamined ethnic identity. Lack of exploration of ethnicity. Possible subtypes: • *Diffusion*: Lack of interest in or concern with ethnicity • *Foreclosure*: Views of ethnicity based on opinions of others		Ethnic identity search (Moratorium) Involvement in exploring and seeking to understand meaning of ethnicity for oneself	Achieved ethnic identity Clear, confident sense of own ethnicity

Source: Adapted from Phinney (1990)

Table 3. Ethnic identity clusters found in Seaton et al. study.

Clusters	Scores
Diffused	Low scores at exploration and commitment subscales
Foreclosure	Low score at exploration and high at commitment subscales
Moratorium	High scores at exploration and low at commitment subscales
Achievement	High scores at exploration and commitment subscales

Source: Created base on information reported by Seaton et al. (2006)

Researchers have focused mainly on minority groups, and their results have shown that ethnic identity is more important for them compared to majority groups (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009; Kroger, 2003; Martinez & Duke, 1997; Phinney, 1990; 2006; Phinney & Alpuria, 1990; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts, & Romero, 1999).

There is evidence that the construction of ethnic identity begins in a rudimentary form in childhood (Ruble et al., 2004), turns to a crucial task in adolescence (Phinney, 1989, 1993), and culminates in an achieved identity at the end of adolescence or the first years of adulthood. Exploration characterizes the adolescence period, especially middle adolescence (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006). Because of that, components of ethnic identity may follow different development styles. However, this development will be based on different factors and individual changes that people have to face during their lives, making re-evaluations of it at later periods of their lives (Phinney, 2006).

As ethnic identifications are influenced by birthplace, there is no expected inclusion of concepts referring to mainstream culture in the first generation of immigrants (Buriel & Cardoza, 1993; Fuligni & Flook, 2005; Phinney, 2003; Rumbaut, 1994). However, youths who arrived at the new country at early ages may include them (Fuligni, Kiang, Witkow, & Baldelomar, 2008). Moreover, those that include these concepts in their self-identifications have a weaker ethnic identity than the ones who do not include them (Fuligni et al., 2008).

There is some research that has studied the relation between ethnic identity and other aspects beyond its development, such as family relationships or well-being. Their results show that family context is one important variable to the development of ethnic identity. For example, a higher cohesion with parents may be related with a higher identification with the origin group (Okagaki & Moore, 2000; Wilson & Constantine, 1999). In the same way, an achieved ethnic identity is related to the adolescents´ well-being (Fuligni, Witkow, & García, 2005; Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006; Liebkind, 1996; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Phinney et al., 2001; Seaton et al., 2006), especially important for ethnic minorities (Louis & Liem, 2005; Phinney, 1992).

3. Values in adolescence.

Change of values it has barely been studied, despite being one aspect affected by the acculturation process. This is one of the reasons we have considered as important and to include them in this study. We use Schwartz´s human value theory, because it offers a well established theoretical and methodological frame. According to this theory (Schwartz, 1994, 2001), values: 1.) Are beliefs linked inextricably to affect, 2.) Refer to desirable goals that motivate action 3.) Transcend specific actions and situations, 4.) Serve as standards or criteria, 5.) Are ordered by importance and, 6.) The *relative* importance of multiple values guides action.

This theory (Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, Harris, & Owens, 2001) identifies a set of 10 different types of values recognized across cultures (see Table 4).

Table 4. Ten basic values in the Schwartz's model

Value	Defining motivational goal
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards
Hedonism	Pleasure, sensuous gratification
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life
Self-direction	Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of *all* people and nature
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is close
Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of traditional and religious customs and ideas
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others or violate social norms
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationships, and self

Source: Adapted from Schwartz & Rubel-Lifshitz (2009)

This theory specifies the conflicts and congruities among these values that give rise to a coherent circular structure of relations among them (Figure 1).The conflicts and congruities among all the values yield an integrated structure. Two orthogonal dimensions summarize this structure:

- *Self-enhancement* versus *self-transcendence* opposes power and achievement values to universalism and benevolence values.

- *Openness to change* versus *conservation* opposes self-direction and stimulation values to security, conformity, and tradition values.

Hedonism values share elements of both openness and self-enhancement.

Figure 1. Theoretical model of structure of relations among 10 value constructs
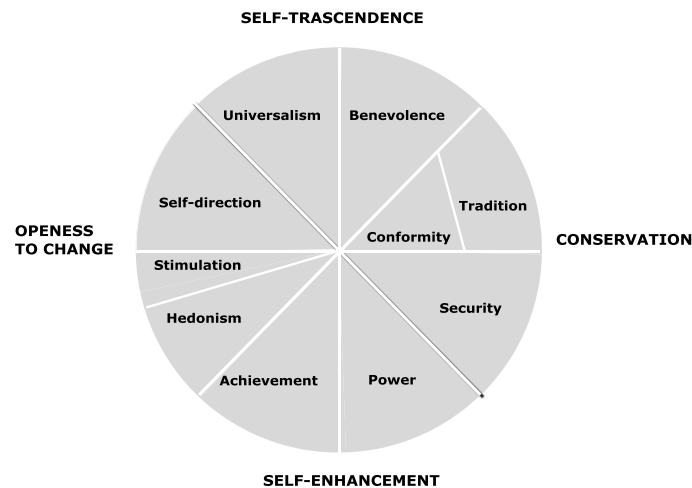
Source: Adapted from Schwartz et al. (2001)

In addition, values can follow individual, collective, and mixed interests. Schwartz (1992) postulated that the set of value types whose attainment serves individual interests (power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction) would emerge as one set of adjacent regions, those that serve collective interests (benevolence, tradition, conformity) would emerge as a second set of adjacent regions opposed to the first set, and those that serve mixed interests (universalism, security) would emerge in regions on the boundary between the individual and collective interests regions.

Concerning immigrant acculturation strategies, collectivist values are associated with separation, individualistic ones with assimilation, self-promotion with integration, and there is not a clear value profile for assimilation (Zlobina, Banase, & Páez, 2008). Regarding acculturation attitudes toward immigration, self-promotion and conservation values are associated with more negative ones and against integration, while openness to change and self-transcendence are associated with more positive ones and favour integration (Davidov, Meuleman, Billet, & Schmidt, 2008; Grad & Sanz, 2008; Kilburn, 2009; Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Sapienza, Hichy, Guarnera, & Di Nuovo, 2010; Schwartz, 2007).

The relation between values and life satisfaction seems to indicate there are a set of values that promote well-being (the ones which respond to intrinsic motivation) whereas there are other ones that would be detrimental (the ones which respond to extrinsic motivation), (Bilbao, Techio, & Páez, 2007; Bobowik, Basabe, Páez, Jiménez, & Bilbao, 2011; Savig & Schwartz, 2000). Although this tendency has been found, not all of the relations have been confirmed and sometimes these are weak. Moreover, values are seem to be related directly with well-being, independently from the congruence with the predominant values context.

4. Parent-adolescent relationships.

In this part, we have focused on the revision of behavioural autonomy and conflicts between parents and adolescents, paying attention to the studies that include participants from different cultural backgrounds and especially the ones which take into account immigrant status.

Generally, research results point to an increase of autonomy along adolescence, independently of the cultural group (Bosma et al., 1996; Dornbusch, Ritter, Mont-Reynaud, & Chen, 1990; Xia, Xie, Zhou, Defrain, Defrain, & Combs, 2004; Wray-Lake, Crouter, & McHale, 2010). However, there is a lower level of autonomy in immigrants and ethnic minorities adolescents compared to non-immigrants and ethnic majorities (Dornbusch et al., 1990; Feldman & Rosenthal, 1990; Fuligni, 1998; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Gutman & Eccles, 2007; Huiberts, Oosterwegel, Vandervalk, Vollebergh, & Meeus, 2006; Leung, Pe-Pua, & Karnilowicz, 2006; Zhang & Fulingi, 2006) and adolescents who live in collectivist societies compared to the ones who live in individualistic countries (Darling, Cumsille, & Pena-Alampay, 2005; Quin, Pomerantz, & Wang, 2009; Supple, Ghazarian, Peterson, & Bush, 2009).These results have been associated to a lesser value granted to autonomy in collectivistic cultures where these minorities usually come from.

As far as conflicts are concerned, it has been claimed that family relationships would be more conflictive in immigrant families (Garcia-Coll, 2005a; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). However, research shows that this hypothesis needs to be clarified. In general, conflict frequency is not higher in immigrant families compared to non-immigrants (Chung, Flook, & Fuligni, 2009; Fuligni, 1998), indeed, in many occasions

conflict levels are lower (Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjalmsdottir, 2005; Smetana & Gaines, 1999). Furthermore, it seems that there is not a reduction in conflict during adolescence (Chug et al., 2009; Fuligni, 1998; Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003), as it has been found in adolescents who belong to mainstream culture in industrialized societies (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998). This result apparently indicates to be a consequence of the delay in autonomy searching, which makes conflicts start at later ages as they have been thought the way autonomy is achieved.

Some clarification is needed concerning these generalisations, such as specific topics or adolescents and parents' gender.

Regarding to the first aspect, it seems conflict arises in the issues adolescents believe are personal (and, because of that, they are under their own jurisdiction) and at the same time their parents think they belong to different domains (and because of that, they have the right to regulate them). During adolescence, there is a progression in the quantity of topics both parents and adolescents believe belong to the personal domain (Fuligni, 1998; Smetana, 2000) and consequently conflicts decrease.

Regarding adolescents' gender, the variety of results does not allow us to make a clear conclusion. Some research points to a lower autonomy among girls, and to a slower gain during adolescence, especially concerning immigrant ones in which parental control is higher. It is not clear if girls or boys have more or less conflicts with their parents, some studies do not find differences (Allison & Schultz, 2004; Yau & Smetana, 2003), others show boys have more conflicts (Hawk, Keijsers, Hale, & Meeus, 2009; Zang & Fuligni, 2006), and other research that are girls who have more conflicts (Rumbaut, 1994). It seems that both autonomy and conflicts would depend on the specific issues being dealt with more than a general tendency. Regarding to parents' gender, fathers have been shown to have more authority than mothers (Steinberg, 1981). It seems conflicts are more frequent with mothers (Chung et al., 2009; Collins & Russell, 1991; Laursen, 1995, 2005; Laursen & Collins, 2009), even more between the mother-girl dyad (Steinberg & Silk, 2002).

Studying family immigration is a complex task because there are many different factors that can influence. For example, the initial difference between cultures (Choi, He, & Barachi, 2008; Rudmin, 2003; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, Byron, & Szapocznik,

2010), the possibility of finding support in the new country, the way the family has immigrated (Perreira, Chapman, & Stein, 2006; Suárez-Orosco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008; Leidy, Guerra, & Toro, 2010, 2010), possible parent stress (economic, Conger, Wallace, Sun, Simons, McLoyd, & Brody, 2002, and acculturative, Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987) as well as the different ways of parents and adolescents adaptation to the new culture (e.g., Birman, 2006; Hwang & Wood, 2008; Kwak, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), that can change family roles (Parke & Buriel, 1998, 2006) and value endorsing (Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1996; Micolta, 2007; Perreira et al., 2006; Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000).

However, neither the difference between parent-adolescent levels of acculturation has resulted in a consistent variable that increases the rate of conflicts between them, nor belonging to a collectivist culture has been a factor per se in generating a lower conflict level.

5. Immigrant adolescents' psychological well-being.

We have focused on satisfaction with life to study adolescents' well-being from a positive point of view. Life satisfaction is the cognitive component of subjective well-being (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, 1999).

Research results show that youths, wherever they may be from, are usually happy with their lives (Calderón, 2008; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Neto, 2001). Initial ideas that pointed towards bad adaptation of immigrant adolescents have not been confirmed (Stodoloska, 2008). Even though, sometimes immigrant adolescents show better adaptation results compared with non-immigrants, taking into account different indicators (e.g., lower mental disorder, Alegria et al., 2008; better academic achievement, Suárez-Orozco, Rhodes, & Milburn, 2009; lower substance consumption, Allen, Elliott, Fuligni, Morales, Hambarsoomian, & Schuster, 2008).This situation has been called *immigrant paradox* (Hayes-Bautista, 2004; Garcia-Coll, 2005b), because it is counter intuitive, based on the difficulties that immigration involves.

However, not all the studies have found that immigrants obtain better results than non-immigrants, in a broad variety of indicators. As far as satisfaction with life is concerned, the diversity of results does not allow drawing a general conclusion. For

example, there are studies that do not find differences between immigrants and non-immigrants (Phinney & Ong, 2002; Sam, 1998; Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006; Calderon, 2008) and studies that have found a lower life satisfaction in immigrants (Ullman & Tatar, 2001).

It seems a set of different factors may have an influence, such as the way acculturation is done (satisfaction is higher when they use integration strategies and lower when they use marginalised strategies, Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b) or disagreements with parents (Demo & Acock, 1996; Harker, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2002; Shek, 1997, 1998, 2002). Among these factors, time spent in the new country seems to be a factor that has a positive influence in satisfaction (Briones, Verkuyten, Cosano, & Tabernero, 2012; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Ullman & Tatar, 2001).

Finally, we have to add to this situation that individuals belonging to individualistic cultures usually are more satisfied than ones belonging to collectivist cultures (Diener & Suh, 2000; Diener, Lucas, & Oishi, 2003; Diener, Lucas, & Scollon, 2006; Rasmi, Chuang, & Safdar, 2012) because in the first one, both own happiness and autonomy searching are more valued. Moreover, other may have some influence, such age (Calderon, 2008; Chang, McBride-Chang, Stewart, & Au, 2003; Man, 1991; Parke & Huebner, 2005; Sam et al., 2006).

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

CHAPTER 2
METHOD

In this chapter, we summarize the most relevant aspects associated to the methodology used. Mainly, we show the most relevant characteristics of the participants and the instruments we have used to collect the data. The objectives and hypothesis are shown simultaneously in the discussion.

1. Participants.

The total sample was formed by 1002 adolescents from 12 to 18 years old, all of them living with at least one of their parents. This sample was divided into two groups, immigrants and natives.

The native group included 501 adolescents who were born in Spain, as well as both of their parents. 52,2% were girls, the average age was 14.28 years-old. Most of them lived with both parents (77,6%).

The immigrant group was formed by 501 adolescents who were born outside Spain, as well as both of their parents. 49,1% were girls, the average age was 14.62 years-old, the average of years living in Spain was 4.47, and the average age when arriving to Spain was 10.14 years-old. 66% came from a country with Spanish as the official language. 67,7% of the sample came from Latin America, 13,2 % from Africa, 3,6% from Asia, 13,6% from East Europe and 2% from the rest of Europe. Most of them lived with both parents (55,9%).

2. Instruments.

2.1. Ethnic identity.

We used the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure Revised, MEIM-R, Phinney & Ong, 2007 (see Appendix 1). Ethnic identity is measured as a multidimensional, dynamic construct that develops over time through a process of exploration and commitment. The scale starts with a question to know participants' ethnic self-identification. We categorized the participants' self-identifications based on Hutnik categories, as show in Table 5.

Table 5. Ethnic self-identifications.

Adapted labels	Strategies of Ethnic self-identification (Hutnik)	Identifications
Mixed identification	Acculturation	Both mainstream and origin group
Assimilated identification	Assimilation	Only mainstream group
Ethnocentric identification	Dissociation	Only origin group
Marginalized identification	Marginality	Neither mainstream or origin group

Source: Adapted from Hutnik (1986)

The scale is formed by 6 items (3 refer to exploration and the other 3 to commitment). The response options are on a 5-point scale, from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5), with 3 as a neutral position. The score is calculated as the mean of items in each subscale (Exploration and Commitment) or of the scale as a whole. Cluster analysis may be used with the two subscales to derive ethnic identity statuses.

We confirm the underlying factor structure of the scale (correlated two-factor model) founded by Phinney and Ong (2007), submitting the item responses to a confirmatory factor analysis. The internal consistency, assessed by Cronbach's alphas, was.70 for Exploration subscale, .77 for Commitment subscale, and .83 for the combined 6-item scale.

2.2. General acculturation attitudes.

We used the questions proposed by Piontkowski et al. (2000); they measured easily and directly the two issues of Berry's concept (Maintenance of culture and Interest in a relationship). There is one version for immigrants and another one for non-immigrants (see Appendix 2). Crossing the responses to both questions, we can know the general attitudes toward immigration participants have, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. General acculturation attitudes based on responses.

	Maintenance of culture	Interest in a relationship
Integration	High	High
Assimilation	Low	High
Separation	High	Low
Marginalization/Exclusion	Low	Low
Not taken	Neutral	Neutral

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

2.3. Acculturation strategies.

We adapted the questionnaire proposed by Espín, Marín, Rodríguez and Cabrera (1998) and Bartolome et al. (2000), based on Isawij´s (1990) ethnic identity model (see Apendix 3). There were two versions, one for immigrants who spoke Spanish as mother tongue and another one for immigrants who spoke other languages. The first questionnaire was formed by 20 items and the second one had 25, the difference was items related to language.

2.4. Personal values.

We measured personal values based on Schwartz´s (1992) theory, specifically the 21 items Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ, Schwartz, 2003, see Appendix 4), as used in the European Social Survey. The items are proposed as short verbal portraits of 21 different people. Each one describes a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a value. For each portrait, respondents answer, "How much like you is this person?" They check one of six boxes from 1 to 6, labelled: *very much like me* (6), *like me* (5), *somewhat like me* (4), *a little like me* (3), *not like me* (2), *and not like me at all* (1).

In Table 7 we show the correspondence between the questionnaire items and the 10 basic values.

Table 7. Correspondence between value typology proposed and PVQ items (21 items version, and values males).

Value	Ítems
Power	2. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things. 17. It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.
Achievement	4. It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does. 13. Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements
Hedonism	10. Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself. 21. He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure
Stimulation	6. He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life 15. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.
Self-direction	1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way. 11. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.
Universalism	3. He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life. 8. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them. 19. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.
Benevolence	12. It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being. 18. It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.
Tradition	9. I It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself. 20. Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.
Conformity	7. He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching. 16. It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.
Security	5. It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety. 14. It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens

Source: Adapted from Schwartz (2003)

However, the analysis carried out did not enable us to confirm the 10 basic values on our sample. We could not use tradition because of its low reliability and the low percentage of explained variance showed in the confirmatory analysis. The confirmatory factor analysis also showed hedonism fits better in the dimension of openness to change.

2.5. Family relationships.

We created a questionnaire to measure autonomy and parent-adolescent conflict, based on previous instruments (e.g., PADM, Bosma et al., 1996; *Strategic Disclosure Questionnarie*, Darling, Cusmille, & Martínez, 2007; *Issues Checklist*, Prinz, Foster, Kent, & O'Leray, 1979, and Robin & Foster, 1989; *Cuestionario de conflictos familiares*, Motrico, Fuentes, & Bersabé, 2001) and focus groups. The final version was composed of 26 issues (Appendix 5), in which we asked two main questions; who makes the decisions regarding them, ranging from 1 (*parent decides alone*) to 5 (*adolescent decides alone*) and how many times have they argued with their parents in the last month, ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*more than 4 times*). We included 4 last general questions: How often have they argued in the past month, ranging from 0 (*never*), to 4 (*many times*), With whom do they have more arguments (mother, father, both and none), and Who do they obey more (mother, father, both, none). Based on theory and previous research (Alonso, 2005; Assadi, Smetana, Shahmansouri, & Mohammadi, 2011; Daddis & Smetana, 2002; Fuligni, 1998; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Wraky-Lake et al., 2010) the issues were grouped in four social dominions, as:

- Personal: Bodycare, Look, Clothes, Sports, Hobbies, Professional Future, and Politics.
- Prudential: Alcohol, Smoke, and Drugs.
- Conventional: Home chores, Visits, Language, and Religious Activities.
- Multifaceted: Romantic Relationships, Friends, Go out, Money, Television, Mobile, Bedtime, Videogames, Manners, Time In, and Homework.

2.6. Satisfaction with life.

We used The Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS, Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985, see Appendix 6). It is formed by 5 items, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). It has shown good psychometric proprieties (Cronbach's alphas around .80, e.g., Alder & Fagley, 2005; Atienza, Pons, Balaguer, & García-Merita, 2000; Calderon, 2008; Pavot & Diener, 1993; Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006; Vassar, 2008), as we have found in our study. In addition, we checked it has a single factor structure, as it has been showed (Atienza et al., 2000; Calderón, 2008; Diener et al.,1985; Pavot & Diener, 1993, 2008; Vassar, 2008).

2.7. Preferred country of residence.

We ask if the preferred country to live in was Spain or their countries of origin, ranging from 1 (*birth's country*) to 5 (*Spain*).

CHAPTER 3
OBJECTIVES, HYPOTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter we discuss the main results we have found, based on the literature reviewed and research goals. We present each aim and discuss the reasons why the results do or do not confirm what we expected.

Objective 1: To study ethnic identifications and ethnic identity development.

<u>Hypothesis 1</u>. We confirm ethnic identifications are mainly determined by birth place and also that having emigrated at an early age as well as spending more time in Spain favours the inclusion of Spanish identifications.

As we showed in the theoretical revision, ethnic identifications are highly influenced by birth place. Since all the immigrants belong to the first immigrant generation, they have all been born outside of Spain, therefore we did not expect a large inclusion of concepts referring to Spain (Buriel & Cardoza, 1993; Fuligni & Flook, 2005; Fuligni et al., 2008; Phinney, 2003; Rumbaut, 1994).

Despite the fact that our participants belong to the first generation, we observed that about a quarter of them included concepts that refer to Spain in their ethnic identifications, whether combined with terms that refer to their origin places or isolated. Even though, there is the minority (about 9%) who do not refers their origin places in their ethnic identifications.

We think this situation may be caused, in some part, because we have studied the 1.5 generation, considered the second generation by some authors (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006). Even more when having emigrated at a younger age, because they do not have such vivid previous memories, unlike those who emigrated as adolescents or adults. In this way, our results confirm this idea, according to previous research (Fuligni et al., 2008), because the inclusion of Spanish terms was mainly done by adolescents who emigrated at an early age (before 7 years old). Youths who have migrated before 7 years old can be considered members of the second generation (Berry et al., 2006a), because most of their experience has been lived in the new country. If we consider they are similar to those who have already been born in the new country, the pattern found matches previous research that indicates the inclusion of these terms was done by second and third generation (Kiang, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2011).

We also found that time in the new country has its influence over ethnic identifications. In our case, it is difficult to know if this depends or not on the age of arrival. Because our participants were young, both variables were strongly related and

statistical requirements made it was not possible to run an analysis combining both of them.

On the other hand, we expected that native ethnic identifications were mainly determined by birth place, as we have found, but we also expected more marginalized identifications. This is because ethnic identity is supposed not to be so important for them as for ethnic minority groups. In this way, our results match those of research claiming ethnic identity is also important to majorities, not just minorities (Helms, 1990; Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994). In the specific context we have carried out our study, we think there are other circumstances added that have been able to make native adolescents rethink their ethnic identity. These youths are in educational centres and neighbourhoods where there is a large presence of immigrants, so maybe in ethnical homogeneous centres and neighbourhoods the results would have been different. In addition, this result can be a consequence of the relatively recent immigration in Spain. In other countries, like the US, these differences have existed for a longer time and do not make mainstream youths redefine questions pertaining to ethnic identifications.

Although the majority of immigrants identify themselves only with their nationality, we have found there is also a high percentage that use pan-ethnic labels, (exclusively or combined). These are not concepts they use in their countries of origin, rather they are created by the host society. According to Doan and Stephan (2006), ethnic labels are chosen to avoid negative association, such as stereotypes. Fuligni et al. (2008) have pointed that the conservation of national terms by immigrants can be an attempt to avoid being associated with stereotypes to pan-ethnic concepts. However, this situation can be partly explained by the context we are in. Youths who speak Spanish as their native tongue included these pan-ethnic terms, as well as Spanish concepts, more than the rest. In this case, the use of pan-ethnic terms like *hispano* (Hispanic) or *latino* (Latin) in Spain may indicate a common origin with natives. Instead of being associated with negative aspects of their own ethnic group, it can be a way to link with Spanish society. Consequently, these concepts in Spain may be interpreted as labels with positive associations instead of negative ones as happens in other countries.

Following this, although we did not have a specific hypothesis about the differences between origin zones, it may have been expected that immigrants who speak Spanish as a native tongue would have been used more Spanish terms in their ethnic self-

identifications because they speak the same language and have common ancestry. As an example, in Zavella's (1993) study, Hispanics in New Mexico claim to have a Spanish ethnicity more than a Mexican one, because they think it implies a superior social status and more respect. However, a plausible explanation may be similar to the result found by Doan and Stephan (2006). In this study, there were participants who felt forced to choose origin ethnical labels although they did not feel Hispanic, solely because they had a different appearance or a Hispanic surname. In Spain, youths who came from Spanish speakers countries consider they have a different appearance and speak differently, so they feel they cannot identify themselves as Spaniards, but can use terms that refer to a common ancestry, such as *Latinos* (Latin people) or *hispanos* (Hispanics).

> Hypothesis 2. We confirm immigrants have a more achieved ethnic identity than non-immigrants, have done more exploration and have more commitment with their ethnic identities. We also confirm immigrants who identify only with their original culture have a higher ethnic identity.

In general, we confirm the previous result that pointed to adolescents from minority cultures as having a more achieved ethnic identity than members of the mainstream (Calderón, 2010; Kiang & Fuligni, 2009; Martínez & Duke, 1997; Phinney, 1990; Roberts et al., 1999). This matches explanations offered by some authors (Kroger, 2003; Phinney, 2006; Phinney & Ong; 2007). They pointed out that solving questions regarding ethnic identity are crucial aspects for people who belong to ethnic minorities. They have to face fundamental questions relative to who they are and who they will become in the new country, while for people who belong to the mainstream society this aspect is not as important of their self-concept.

Even though there are differences, they were as large as would have been expected. We believe this situation can be partly caused by the reasons we have already discussed concerning the high percentage of native adolescents who identify as Spanish; the presence of immigrants in their immediate context (school and neighbourhood) and that Spain is not a country with a long immigrant tradition. From the social identity theory it has been claimed that identification with one´s own group can be increased by contact with different groups, and this proposal has its base concerning mainstream adolescents, especially when they are a minority in their immediate contexts (Knoweles & Peng,

2005). For example, Perry (2001) found that White adolescents who live in multicultural schools are more dissatisfied with their ethnicity than the ones who attend homogeneous schools; because they feel they need to have a unique sense of cultural identity and pride as other ethnic groups seem to share.

Native youths not only identify with their nationality at the conceptual level, but also their subjective sense of membership associated to these labels is strong. Because of that, these results, combined with the previous ones, can indicate ethnic identity is important for natives, turning a vital issue for their global identity development.

On the other hand, the relation between ethnic identity labels used by immigrants and ethnic identity is partially confirmed. In this way, youths who identify only with their culture of origin show a higher level of achieved identity, coinciding with previous research (Fuligni & Flook, 2005; Fuligni et al., 2008).

The fact that we do not find differences with the ones who include mixed concepts may be explained by the context of our research. Fuligni et al. (2008) indicated that retaining national labels could require more effort, and this could reflect on higher exploration and the commitment level of identity. On the other hand, the inclusion of pan-ethnic and American concepts could be the result of accepting identifications society had imposed on them, for example through documents and official forms. Because of that, accepting them could require less exploration and commitment. In our society, official forms in which people have to be auto-categorized based on their ethnicity are not commonly used. That situation can mean our participants who use pan-ethnic and Spanish concepts have already explored their meaning.

Hypothesis 3. We do not confirm older adolescents have more achieved ethnic identity.

We do not confirm an increase of ethnic identity along adolescence, as it has been found (French et al., 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006; Phinney, 1989, 1990, 1993; Umaña-Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, & Guimond, 2009). Our data coincide with Kiang et al. (2010). However, these authors pointed out that their results do not contradict the identity increase hypothesis throughout adolescence. Although there were not differences between age groups, individuals change across their lifetime. Since we did not do a longitudinal

study as they did, we cannot make the same inference. Generally, we have to accept our result do not support that ethnic adolescence develops alongside adolescence. However, we can offer some possible explanations.

Ethnic identity shows the same pattern in all age groups. Ethnic identity was moderate and ethnic statuses were stable across the three age groups (from youngest to oldest): in the first place achievement (34%, 37% & 39%), in the second moratorium (32%, 29% & 23%), in the third foreclosed (24%, 21% & 22%) and in the last diffused (10%, 14% & 16%). These results indicate immigrants have not yet finished completing their ethnic identity development.

Because we have focused on the first generation and in a county with relatively recent ethnic and racial diversity, people who come from other countries may not have the opportunity to develop their ethnic identities along adolescence, but they are forced to develop them since the moment they become aware of these aspects. This idea is somehow supported by the fact that neither the age of arrival not the time spent in Spain changes their ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity may be more important for them and becomes a key factor to understand who they are, in comparison with ethnic minority adolescents who live in a country with a long tradition of immigration, where cultural diversity has been always such present that they do not feel so different or forced to develop an ethnic identity quickly.

On the other hand, the study of ethnic statuses in natives shows the youngest (12-13 year-olds) have more achieved ethnic identity than the ones at an intermediate age (14-16 year-olds). This may suggest that adolescents initially identify with their nationality in opposition to other ethnicities, without any developmental process. Later in advanced ages, it is when they begin this process, and because of that they do not feel so sure about their ethnic identity.

> Hypothesis 4. Partially confirmed; although ethnic identity was positively related to satisfaction with life of immigrants and non-immigrants, it was stronger in immigrants, mainly caused by the exploration component.

Both immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents are satisfied with their lives, results coincide with previous research (Calderón, 2008; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Neto, 2001; Sam et al., 2006).

However, we did not have a clear hypothesis regarding differences between groups. Our results neither support that immigrant adaptation has to be negative, as the first approach claimed (López, Prosser, Edwards, Magyar-Moe, Neufeld, & Rasmussen, 2005; Stodoska, 2008), nor the immigration paradox.

However, having taken into account different indicators, research has not found a clear base supporting the immigrant paradox. In the case of cognitive subjective well-being neither of previous research showed a consistent result pattern. Sometimes, immigrant adolescents have lower levels compared to natives (Briones, 2008; Ullman & Tatar, 2001), others studies show it depends on the specific immigrants' origin (Neto, 2001), while others do not find differences between immigrants and natives (Calderón, 2008; Phinney & Ong, 2002; Sam, 1998; Sam et al., 2006). Our results match the last ones.

However, the fact that we do not find differences between them does not necessarily imply that satisfaction with life is not affected by emigration to another country. This is a stressful event for everyone, especially in the case of the minors that emigrate of a consequence or their parents' decisions. What is more, in many occasions the decision been made without their participations, which they may not to understand.

Although it can be true that emigrating to a new country makes them less satisfied with their lives, once they adapted to the new culture and they compared their lives with the ones they had in their origin countries they may judge their lives in a positive way as non-immigrants. These specific situations will be discussed in detail further on, where we will see that the orientation to the new culture is one of the variables that affects their satisfaction.

Our results show that an achieved ethnic identity has an influence on better psychological well-being, which matches previous research (Fuligni et al., 2008; Kiang et al., 2006; Liebkind, 1996; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997; Phinney et al., 1997; Phinney et al., 2001; Roberts et al., 1999; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998; Seaton et al., 2006;

Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). However, most of these findings have included only immigrant adolescents.

Some research points to an influence of ethnic identity over satisfaction of immigrants, but not in the case of natives (Louis & Liem, 2005; Phinney, 1992). Considering ethnic identity is more important for immigrants than for non-immigrants (or minority groups compared to the majority), it would be expected ethnic identity to have more influence on immigrants' well-being. Our results support this idea in somehow; although ethnic identity influenced in a positive way life satisfaction of both groups, it was higher in the case of immigrants and it seems to be because of the exploration component.

The search for an ethnic identity meaning may be more important for immigrants, while native adolescents take for granted their ethnic identity skipping this process. In this case, it has its reflection in the valuation immigrants make about their lives. This result is also coherent with the native ethnic identity development we have commented, as they may develop their ethnic identity in opposition to the diversity perceived more than as a result of an exploration process.

Objective 2: To study host and origin country orientations of immigrants and attitudes toward immigration by natives.

> Hypothesis 5. We confirm integration is the priority strategy and marginalization the last for immigrants. However, although we confirm both immigrant and non-immigrants prefer integration attitude as the first, marginalization/ exclusion was not the last, it was the second one. Besides, we found a large percentage of adolescents from both groups without a clear attitude.

The result that integration is the first option both for immigrant and non-immigrants match previous research (Berry et al., 2006a; Briones, 2008; Graff, 2010; Paez & Zoblina, 2005; Sobral et al., 2010).

This situation is perceived as positive because integration is the strategy that has shown to have the best adaptation result and at the same times host society enables them to adopt it. In this way, youth immigrants in Spain can cope properly in both cultural

contexts; can maintain values, customs and beliefs of their culture of origin and can learn and value the new society at the same time. Therefore, this situation allows them to gain the cultural competencies needed to manage in host society and develop a proper ethnic identity.

Moreover, as immigrants and non-immigrants preferences are coincident, we can expect more harmonious relationships between them (Barrette, Bourhis, Personnaz, & Personnaz, 2004, Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000), because most of the time own choices are not only based on one wants to do, but also depend on what the majority let them do. Furthermore, marginalization occurred in a low percentage. This strategy has shown to have the worst consequences, because it leaves adolescents in a vacuum state, with the feeling they do not belong to any culture.

Although we are tended to define youth immigration adaptation in Spain as positive because of the previous reasons, we have found some results that point out some possible arising problems.

For example, about one fifth of immigrants developed separation strategies. These youths are oriented toward their country of birth and they do not identify or identify to a low degree with the new culture. This strategy may can be taken when immigrant feel they are excluded by the new society. Some authors (Delpino, 2007; Rodríguez, 2006) have indicated, for example, that host social rejection some immigrants feel can cause they turn back to their culture of origin. It can even make them join violent bands with compatriots, in which they look for the affection, protection and identity they do not find in the host society. For instance, Zlobina et al. (2004), who also indicate this strategy is the result of the host society´s rejection of immigrants, found this one to be the most associated to emotional problems.

In addition, this situation can be influenced by immigrants overcrowding of immigrants neighbourhoods and schools, which may lead to a weaker desire to become integrated in host society.

In our research we have been able to observe this phenomenon. Some schools in "Macarena" zone seem to be an example of neighbourhood-school ghetto, in which the

excessive overcrowding in the classrooms may to lead to separation, with negative consequences for the minors' development and integration.

However, there were a percentage of adolescents who took up separation strategy, which can be interpreted as a negative aspect and we need to take it into account at interventions. Although, we have to consider our participants were relatively new to Spain (the average was about 4 years and a half). Separation strategy is common in people who have been in the new society for a short time (Bartolomé et al., 2000). We will discuss later that this result can be in fact explained by the time youths have spent in Spain.

Related with acculturation attitudes, an important percentage was not clear about which one to accept and this was higher in immigrants (53% of immigrants vs. 38% of natives). Although this data would be considered as missing, we decided to include it thereby creating a new category because we think it gives us relevant information.

One possible explanation, which we will see in detail later, is the way acculturation attitudes have been measured. The question asked about their general position over immigration was asked in an impersonal way, so neither immigrants may have identified themselves with it nor the natives may have their immigrant classmates in it.

But even so, we cannot obviate that this may be reflecting they do not have a clear position regarding immigration. In this case, adolescents may have not yet consolidated their general options in these matters. Therefore, we can see this situation as an opportunity to intervene in order to develop more positive attitudes toward immigration. In these interventions we need to pay attention to the fact that a 12% of the participants had exclusion or marginalization attitudes.

> Hypothesis 6. We confirm host society influence is more accepted in external aspects while origin culture identification remains stronger in the internal ones.

Although the percentages were different depending on the reference to external or internal aspects, integration remains first in both dimensions. Regarding external aspects, integration and assimilation have similar percentages (36% and 33%, respectively).

Moreover, analysing the scores, the differences (more maintenance identification with internal aspects than with external aspects) were on orientation towards origin culture not to host culture. Taking all these results as a whole, it seems immigrants adapt easily to the society they are living in, both internal and external components, but they are more reluctant to leave behind nuclear aspects of their cultures of origin.

Consequently, our results seem to support the general idea that is more difficult to modify identifications with nuclear aspects of origin culture than peripheral (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Ward, 2001), coincident also with the ones founded in adolescent populations (Bartolomé et al., 2000; Espín et al., 1998; de Regil, 2001). In a coherent way, we confirm that separation is more preferred over internal aspects and integration over the external (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2007; Phalet et al., 2000).

> Hypothesis 7. We confirm immigrants who used Spanish concepts in their ethnic identifications show a higher orientation toward host culture and lower toward the origin one, and vice versa. We do not confirm it regarding general attitudes.

The fact that we do not find a relation between attitudes and ethnic identifications may support what we have already said, that youths understand these questions as impersonal and they do not identify themselves with them.

We confirm expected results regarding to orientations. We understand that the concepts youths use in making their ethnic identifications rest on their orientations. Although we found this relation, integration continues being the priority strategy independent of the ethnic identifications. Taking in account all the results, we can interpret that these behaviours have some influence over the identifications, but they do not completely determine them. They are really *strategies*, we mean, ways of coping in both contexts, which not necessarily have to influence over the definitions of their self-concept. Ethnic identifications are determined mainly by birth place, so when one is born in another country, even if he absorbs the new culture and shows preferences, he is not expected to include host society concepts in his self-definition. Apparently in the second generation this situation may have a higher influence over ethnic identifications. As far as that is concerned, some authors who have studied the second generation understand in some way that self-identifications with the host country can be a sign of integration (Portes, Celaya, Vickstrom, & Aparicio, 2012). In our research, which has have focused

on the first generation, our data show that self-identification with the host country is not a requirement to be integrated.

> Hypothesis 8. We do not confirm age of arrival and time spent in Spain influence acculturation attitudes, but they influenced the strategies in the expected way, and mainly over external aspects.

As far as attitudes are concerned, our results do not tally with previous research. Despite this situation can be the consequence of the general way to measure attitudes and the specific way to measure strategies, there is also another possible explanation. If we focus on the desires, not being influenced may be coherent because the ones who arrived at an early age or have spent more time in Spain are in fact integrated, so a preference is not need to be shown. This idea is supported by the result that both arrival at an early age and spending more time in Spain were related with the strategies taken in the way expected. For example these youths were less prone to the separation strategy.

Arriving at an early age (such as before starting school, Beiser et al., 1988) make the adaptation process to the new culture easier because of different reasons. Enculturation in parental culture has not been finished so it did not turn in a seriously cultural conflict, flexibility is maxim during these early years (Berry, 1997), they do not have such vivid memories from prior to immigration (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006) or they do not have to face the great difficulties people do when they emigrate as adults (Schwartz, Pantin, Sullivan, Prado, & Szapocznik, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010). Complementary, it indirectly supports the assumption that immigrant children acculturate (assimilate) faster to prevailing cultural values and norms of the host society than their parents do. Since we have found differences into an adolescent group based on age of arrival, it could be expected that these identifications will be intensified compared to adults. It may be because they are more exposed to mainstream culture and learn faster and easily from their environment, while adults have already been socialized in their origin culture, their values and practices are more internalized and they learn the language with more difficulty (García-Coll, 2005a; Phinney et al., 2000).

From our point of view, these explanations are not exclusive, but they deal with different complementary aspects caused by the fact they have emigrated in a

developmental period in which they are in middle of their cultural learning process. Indeed, because they are in this process, youths may perceive both cultures as their own ones, even more the younger they were when they arrived in Spain.

We have indicated there was a high percentage of adolescents who took the separation strategy, and although this could lead to a problematic adaptation into host culture, it was normal among people who had spent little time in host society (Bartolomé et al., 2000). According to our results, time spending in Spain had the influence as expected (Bartolomé et al., 2000; Berry et al., 2006a).

Finally, our results back the idea of not studying acculturation as a unitary phenomenon, because age of arrival and time spent in Spain modified the external aspects, not the internal ones. At the same time, it supports the idea that it is more difficult to change nuclear aspects of culture.

> Hypothesis 9. We confirm integration is the strategy associated with a better satisfaction with life.

This result coincides with previous research (Berry et al., 2006a). When immigrants are able to identify with both cultures they develop an emotional identity sense and personal security. This situation can be viewed as a resource to better well-being and adaptation (Vedder, Van de Vijver, & Liebkind, 2006). Following authors like Trueba (2001), this is because they can cope in both contexts, and consequently benefits their development. This result, as the same time as integration was the strategy adopted by most, indicates that immigrants are adapting to Spain in a positive way.

However, there is one result we need to highlight. It seems it is the orientation to host society what explains this relation, not the orientation to origin country. That is also supported by the difference which was founded between integration and separation strategies, and this difference was more important in the internal aspects. These results as a whole can indicate that it is the possibility to cope with host culture what cause a higher well-being, but not the orientation to the origin culture.

Objective 3: To study value priorities of immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents, to establish differences between both groups and their influence over satisfaction with life.

Hypothesis 10. We confirm youths follow values with collective interest more than individualists, but we do not confirm immigrants follow collective values more than non-immigrants.

Our results show immigrants and non-immigrants have similar value systems. Most of the research has taken for granted initial values variation between them that explained some of the differences in family relationships found (e.g., Greenberger & Chen, 1996).

In our study, some of the results we have found could be due to this similarity in values , as we will comment further in this discussion.

Hypothesis 11. We do not confirm values with intrinsic motivation are related with a higher satisfaction.

Our results do not support that there is a set of healthy values held by people generally satisfied with their lives (Kasser & Ryan, 1993, 1996; Ryan, Chirkov, Little, Sheldon, Timoshina, & Deci, 1999). However, the studies that try to probe this relation in the specific area of life satisfaction have not presented consistent support for this theory. Our results match those of Sagiv and Schwartz (2000), who also did not find this relation in the case of cognitive well-being, but did in the affective. Moreover, some studies that have supported this theory have been done in a partial way, because not all the expected relations were found and/or they were weak (Bobowik et al., 2011).

In our case, results are different from immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents. In non-immigrants, only the basic value *security* was related positively with life satisfaction, and the higher dimension *conservation*. Therefore, he only result we have found contradicts healthy values hypothesis, because theoretically it is a value with extrinsic motivations. Despite the fact that our findings are not coincident with the theory, we think there are some reasons that can lead to find this specific result in our study. Previous research has been done with adult populations; maybe for adolescents *security* is important for their life satisfaction. Another possibility is that the way *security* is measured in the questionnaire does not imply extrinsic motivations. Considering that, "living in a secure surrounding" and that "the government ensures ones safety" are

extrinsic aspects of the individual, they do not show that satisfaction is based on others opinions as the self-determination theory conceived.

In this way, we believe that some relations have been found because of the way values had been measured. *Achievement* value can exemplify this situation. Items that compose it are "It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does", and "Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements". It shows not only that one cares about having success and abilities (intrinsic motivations), but also being admired and recognized by others (extrinsic motivations). Therefore, it presents a mix between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations that can deal with the lack of correlations.

According to what we expected, *power* correlated negatively with immigrants' life satisfaction, because is a value with extrinsic motivations. Even so, we only confirm one of the relations expected, and only in the immigrant group, so we think it is not enough to support the healthy value theory.

Objective 4: To study the influence of gender over parental authority and frequency of conflicts with their children.

> Hypothesis 12. We confirm youths argue mainly with their mothers. In the group of natives, girls argue more with their mothers than boys.

Our data match the general pattern of results found, parent-adolescent conflicts more often involve mothers (Chung et al., 2009; Collins & Russel, 1991; Laursen, 1995, 2005; Laursen & Collins, 2009). This result can be explained by reasons given by Dixon et al. (2008), due to the fact that relationships youths have with their mothers are the closest and interdependent, as well as those pointed by Parra and Oliva (2002), they spend more time together which creates more opportunities to disagree. This last reason is reflected by the fact that most of the issues adolescents argued about concerned everyday issues. Besides, our participants' mothers presented an employment level lower than fathers and therefore it can be inferred mothers spend more with their children, this would at least partially explain the reason arguments take place to a higher degree with the mothers.

However our results only confirm these arguments are more frequent especially in the mother-daughter dyad (Steinberg & Silk, 2002) in the case of natives, not in immigrants. Reasons behind this situation are diverse. It may be because they spend less time together; immigrant mothers work outside home more than natives and they may work for longer hours. However this situation should have given rise to a lower argument rate in general in comparison with native adolescents, which is not found in our results. Therefore, we believe there are other aspects that could bear an influence. In this way, it could be due to cultural customs in which relationships are based on equal closeness both with sons and daughters. In addition, mothers finding themselves in a different country can pay the same attention to both of them. In diverse studies (e.g., Micolta, 2007; Perreira et al., 2006) it has been shown that immigrant's parents worry about their children acquisition of certain host country behaviours. Consequently, it is not surprising this concern is distributed equally among boys as well as girls.

Hypothesis 13. We do not confirm adolescents obey their fathers more than their mothers.

Although adolescents obeyed their mothers more than their fathers (43% versus 31% for the father, and 25% for both of them), we verified that this result was being influenced by the family structure (adolescents lived to large degree only with their mothers). Once the presence of both parents was taken into account, our results show that percentages of adolescents that obeyed their mothers (36%), their fathers (35%) or both of them (29%) were quite similar.

Due to these results we cannot state that in our sample there is an authority difference depending on parents' gender. However, we do find this situation is influenced to a certain degree by immigrant condition. Young immigrants obeyed their mothers to a lesser degree than natives, which can indicate that they are behind in the authority of the father and both. These results can be reflecting that adolescent immigrants come from societies in which the hierarchical masculine structure of power is more prevalent than in Spanish society.

We would also like to point out a result that was unexpected, the fact that older adolescents obeyed their mothers more than those of a younger age. Besides that, this

situation only took place in the group of native adolescents (it went from 33% in the group of the youngest to 53% in the group of the oldest). According to previous studies, when adolescents renegotiate their role in their families, this inevitably diminishes maternal, but not necessarily paternal, authority (Steingber, 1981). This result, along with the fact that natives obey more their mothers, could be revealing a change in Spanish society, which is tending towards a power structure less dominated by men, and, so that, becoming more equalitarian.

Objective 5: To study the development of behavioural autonomy and conflicts between parents and their children, and to know the influence of aspects such as gender, being immigrants as well as the domains and issues that pertain to them.

Hypothesis 14. We confirm older youths have higher autonomy levels.

Results of our study match those that found an increase in autonomy during adolescence (Bosma et al., 1996; Dornbusch et al., 1990; Wray-Lake et al., 2010; Xia et al., 2004; Zimmer-Gembeck & Collins, 2003). In this way, our results indicate that making autonomous decision increases with age (from adolescent' perspective).

In addition, autonomy increased over all domains. As we commented in the review of the research, although the general trend was towards an increase, results of some studies were more consistent in the personal domain rather than in the rest of the domains. In this way, it was precisely the personal one where autonomy was achieved to a higher degree throughout adolescence than in the others. However, we can state our results match those of the general trend in this type of research. Autonomy increased in all the domains, but start up autonomy (12-13 years old) in the personal one was higher than in the rest, even higher than the oldest (16-18 years old) had in general. In this way, older youths in personal domain make decisions in an almost completely autonomous way, whereas in the conventional these decisions are taken jointly with their parents, and in prudential and multifaceted domains, although they are taken jointly, youths have a larger capacity on making these decisions.

Hypothesis 15. We do not confirm natives have higher autonomy than immigrants, neither in general nor in specific domains. There were differences concerning issues, but not in all of them autonomy was higher for natives. Specifically, native youths informed having more autonomy in Videogames, Sports, Hobbies, Go out, Friends, Romantic Relationships and Religious Activities, whereas immigrants had higher levels of autonomy in Home chores, Manners and Time In.

Our results do not match other research in which immigrant adolescents or those belonging to ethnic minorities presented less autonomy in comparison with non-immigrants or those belonging to majority society (Dornbusch et al., 1990; Feldman & Rosenthal, 1990; Fuligni, 1998; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Gutman & Eccles, 2007; Huiberts et al. 2006; Leung et al., 2006; Zhang & Fulingi, 2006) or adolescents of collectivistic societies in comparison to countries considered to be more individualistic (Darling et al., 2005; Quin et al., 2009; Supple et al., 2009). This difference has been interpreted depending on predominant values in those cultures as in non-Western societies a higher value is placed on harmony in relations and respect, so autonomy is not such a priority goal. In our case, it may be that not having found differences is precisely because of the cultural context in which it takes place. All the studies review were done in individualistic countries. In the case of Spain basic values could be more similar to those of families that have emigrated and therefore autonomy has the same value. This affirmation can be backed in the result commented, that values system of immigrant and non-immigrants were quite similar and besides, they were geared to a higher degree towards collective values rather than individualistic ones.

Hypothesis 16. We confirm the expected differences. Autonomy was higher in personal issues followed by multifaceted ones, prudential and lastly conventional ones.

Confirmation is reached on hypothesis derived from social domain theory, as adolescents had more autonomy in issues regarding the personal domain followed by multifaceted, prudential and lastly, conventional (Daddis, 2011). Thus, our results point out that there is higher autonomy in issues considered to be beyond parental control.

In our case, in the prudential domain we only included the participants that carried out the conducts considered and their parents knew it. This exclude that arguing took place less frequently in regards to other domains because their parents simply were unaware of the risk behaviors their children are involved (Smetana & Asquith, 1994).

Finally, results depending on age back up this theory. Although the capacity for decision making in an autonomous way was increased with age in all domains, at the end of adolescence levels of decision making reached were consistent with social domain theory. The oldest made their decisions in an almost unilateral way in the personal domain, whereas in the prudential and multifaceted, adolescents had more to say but they still made them jointly with their parents, and finally in the conventional decisions were made jointly.

> Hypothesis 17. We confirm gender does not have a general influence in adolescent's autonomy, but that it depends on specific issues. Regarding domains, boys had more autonomy in the multifaceted. Referring to issues, boys had higher levels in Internet, Videogames, Money, Time In, Friends and Romantic Relationships, and girls had higher levels in Bodycare and Look.

We do not confirm great differences between girls and boys autonomy as stated in reviewed literature. These differences were based on the idea that girls are usually educated to be expressive and obedient whereas boys are educated to be independent and assertive (Hill & Lynch, 1983). Role gender differences are intensified during adolescence due to pressures to conform to traditional notions of masculinity and femininity (Bumpus, Crouter, & McHale, 2001).

Although it was speculate that girls would have less autonomy than boys, research did not show consistent results to back this direction in one sense or the other. Our findings match those that have not found global differences between boys and girls (Celen, Cok, Bosma & Djurre, 2006; Daddis & Smetana, 2005; García & Peralbo, 2001; Fuligni & Eccles, 1993; Gutman & Eccles, 2007; Smetana, 2000; Smetana, Campione-Barr, & Daddis, 2004).

Besides this, we did not find that girls achieve autonomy slower than boys, as indicated by some previous research (Dornbusch et al., 1990; Gutman & Eccles, 2007; Xia et al., 2004).

We cannot confirm that there is higher control over immigrant girls (Dion & Dion, 2001; Espiritu, 2001; Suárez-Orosco, 2006; Talbani & Hasalani; 2000; Williams, Alvarez & Hauch, 2002). As we commented, this had been pointed out to be one of the most consistent results in studies of immigrant families. Among the reasons given for this, less freedom for example, was granted to girls in the cultures they came from (Wainryb, 2006).

All these results considered globally could be reflecting a trend towards a more gender-egalitarian society as we pointed out regarding mothers' authority. In this way, the fact that there are no differences in the gender of immigrant adolescents in this sense, as opposed to what one would have expected, make us believe that this could be due to the influence of the culture they are living in now rather than a change in the societies they come from.

Although our results do not back the existence of differences due to gender in a general way, the study according to domains and issues does point towards some. As far as domains are concerned, boys had more autonomy in the multifaceted domain, which matches the results by Daddis (2011). Besides, although differences found between boys and girls in specific issues were negligible or small, these did verse on the issues usually found. Boys had more autonomy than in topics that refer to control outside home whereas girls had more autonomy on issues pertaining to general appearance issues (Daddis & Smetana, 2005; Fleming, 2008).

> Hypothesis 18. We do not confirm older adolescents argue less with their parents, neither in a general way nor depending on the domains.

Our results do not match the general pattern research had reported, that rate of conflicts decreases along adolescence (Laursen et al., 1998; Smetana, 2011). However it is also not found that arguments increase, it was in only four issues and the differences between age groups were not very important. Our findings match Smetana et al. (2003),

Chung et al. (2009) Fuligni (1998), who also do not report differences in frequency of conflicts due to age.

However, regarding the following hypothesis we comment a possible explanation for these results as they may partly be due to the influence age has on the relationship between autonomy and frequency of conflict. Precisely the oldest who had less autonomy presented a higher frequency of conflicts.

Hypothesis 19. We do not confirm that natives argue more with their parents than immigrants, neither in a general way nor when distinguishing between domains. As far as issues were concerned, there were some in which immigrants argued more and others in which were the natives.

As we commented in the theoretical review, there were many statements about more conflicts among immigrant families, due mainly to a higher exposure of children to values and norms of the host society (Garcia-Coll, 2005a; Phinney et al., 2000). However, not all results in research backed this. On one hand, young immigrants presented less level of conflicts and disagreements in comparison with natives (Phinney et al., 2005; Smetana & Gaines, 1999), whereas in other research no differences were found (Chung et al., 2009; Fuligni; 1998). Our results, therefore, match these last studies. In this way, immigrant status on its own does not imply an increase in conflicts in the family, at least in our sample.

However, we think there is a possible alternative explanation. Frequency of conflicts are equal both in immigrants and non-immigrants because some different factors are happening at the same time. On one hand we saw how belonging to a culture in which family relationships are emphasised can give rise to avoiding conflicts, and on the other, emigrating can give rise to higher amounts of conflict. It can be that both factors cancel each other out. Besides, as we have also pointed out, we believe predominant values in host society can have a great influence, which in our case presents more similarities with the immigrants' culture of origin than those societies where these studies have typically taken place.

It is also possible that there is no global difference because of the weight of cultural aspects is greater than the consequences derived from emigration we commented. Moreover, we have shown value systems of immigrants and non-immigrants are quite similar, which would partially explain the fact that no differences are found between them. All these results will be commented in further detail when we analyze the joint influence of different aspects of family relations, which we believe can offer a more complete explanation.

Finally, it is necessary to point out that, although there were no differences in the level of conflicts between immigrants and natives, consequences for both groups can be, as Smetana (2008) indicated. These conflicts can be more problematic for immigrant youths as they could mean a transgression of the norms of respect and upholding cordial relations in their families (Phinney & Ong, 2002). Together with this, especially in recently arrived immigrant adolescents, sometimes family is the only system that serves as a base in the new country.

> Hypothesis 20. We confirm adolescents argue more about issues belonging to the personal and multifaceted domains than those belonging to the conventional and prudential ones. In fact, there was an opposite relation in this, adolescents argue more on issues belonging to the conventional domain, in second place multifaceted, third prudential and lastly, personal.

We have commented that our results match previous research related to autonomy through the different social domains. However, they do not match regarding conflicts. In this case, results are contrary to what would be expected, adolescents argued more on conventional issues in first place and on personal matter in the last place. From the point of view of social domain theory authority is more accepted in the conventional, so it would be expected to find less arguments in this domain.

However, these results do not need to be interpreted as contradictory. Autonomy levels of the adolescents presented an opposite pattern, in the first place personal, followed by multifaceted, prudential, and lastly conventional. But it is precisely those domains in which they have less autonomy where conflicts can be expected (since we conceive them as a way to achieve autonomy). In fact, this is confirmed when verifying

the relation between autonomy and frequency of conflicts is moderated by age. Only in the oldest (16-18 years old) perceiving less autonomy gave rise to a higher frequency of conflicts in the conventional and multifaceted domains. In the personal domain, although the relation between autonomy and conflict frequency was found in all the age groups, this was stronger in the oldest. Therefore we think this data is consistent with social domain theory. Although adolescents can admit their parents have authority to regulate certain behaviors more than others, as perceived in the autonomy levels reached in the different domains, when reaching the end of adolescence autonomy needs are greater. Because of that, issues previously considered belonging to the conventional domain may no longer be, consequently they refuse their parent regulation to continue.

Finally, topics that created more arguments were about everyday issues, matching prior research (Bosma et al., 1996; Laursen & Collins, 2004; Smetana & Gaines, 1999). However, we cannot assure how these are experienced in each family, as we commented; these can be hiding other worrying topics that are argued about indirectly (Arnett, 1999).

Hypothesis 21. We confirm gender differences depend on the specific issue being dealt with. Regarding the domains, boys argued more than girls in the personal, there was an interaction between gender and age in the prudential. As far as the issues of the arguments are concerned, girls argued more about House chores while boys do about Language, Videogames, Visits, Bodycare, Sports and Professional Future.

As we showed in the theoretical review, the diversity of the results from the research did not show a clear relationship between conflict frequency and adolescent gender, as some of the results pointed towards higher frequency in boys (Hawk et al., 2009; Zhang & Fuligni, 2006) and in others, girls (Rumbaut, 1994), whereas in yet other research no differences were found that could be attributed to gender (Allison & Schultz, 2004; Yau & Smetana, 2003). In our case, our results match these last researches mentioned.

However, we find differences in the personal domain; boys had more arguments than girls and the development was different, whereas in boys conflicts increased with age and in girls they decreased. We believe that these results do support the idea that

there are certain differences as far as gender is concerned, because it is precisely the personal domain in which parental authority is accepted to a lesser degree. Besides this, perhaps for this reason there is a partial explanation of the contradictory results found in different studies, as they have been done generally or they have included different issues.

> Hypothesis 22. In a general, having more autonomy did not have an influence on a lesser frequency of arguments but it did in the personal domain and in 18 of the 26 issues presented. We confirm this relationship is more marked in older aged adolescents, but not in boys or natives.

We did not find that having less autonomy gives rise to higher frequency of arguments. This was what was expected since conflicts are considered to be a way to achieve autonomy, and they appear precisely when adolescents want to make their own decisions in certain issues and their parents do not allow them (Goossens, 2006; Smetana, 2002). However, we found this result in the personal domain and in a high percentage of the issues presented.

Moreover, not finding it in a general way may confirms the suppositions of social domain theory, as it will depend on the specific issues. Specifically, adolescents consider they should be the only ones to have the right to set the rules in the personal domain. Therefore, when they perceive they cannot make these decisions, more arguments are expected. In other domains in which adolescents consider their parents have authority to set rules, it is coherent not to find an increase of conflict.

As we have already commented, in oldest adolescents this relation was more acute. However, this is not confirmed to be so in the case of boys and natives.

Based on gender, we expected that boys would be more prone to conflicts with their parents when perceiving their privacy is invaded, as Hawk et al. (2009) found. However, our results may match this idea. We have commented that boys had more conflicts in the personal domain than girls, despite having practically the same levels of autonomy. Therefore, one of the possible explanations is that boys, in domains they consider private, claim for more autonomy than girls, independently of the current level they have, and this gives rise to more conflicts. Besides, the fact that girls argue more in the conventional domain when they have less autonomy can be showing that issues are

perceived differently by boys or girls, in such a way that girls consider themselves to be more under parental authority than boys.

We expected that natives, when having less autonomy, would have more conflicts with their parents than immigrants. This was based on the idea that achievement of autonomy would have a higher value in host society than in cultures immigrants are from (Kim & Markus, 1999; Love & Buriel, 2007; Steinberg, 1990), consequently the expression of opened disagreements to achieve it could be more permitted.

However, once again, we think this result is showing that Spanish society and immigrants' societies of origin are not such different in these aspects. As we have commented, previous studies proposed autonomy was more valued in Western industrial societies whereas conflicts could be avoided to uphold cordial relations in immigrant origin societies. In this way, we have shown immigrants and natives to have similar value systems. Therefore, the lack of differences we have found could be based on the similarity of values, which are also mainly collectivistic.

Objective 6: To study the influence of values on the attitudes and acculturation strategies of immigrant adolescents and the attitudes of native adolescents towards immigrants.

> Hypothesis 23. We do not confirm a clear relation between values and acculturation attitudes and strategies.

Our results do not permit establishing a clear relation between values and immigrant acculturation, either through their attitudes or their strategies, as had been found in adult population (Zlobina et al., 2008). No link was found between values and acculturation attitudes, and there were so many correlations between values and acculturation strategies that did not enable us to establish clear conclusions. Therefore, our results suggest values and immigrant acculturation are not related to each other.

We planned the analysis as studies of correlations, because it was not possible to establish if values are modified by acculturation or if that happens in the opposite way. This could be the reason why there is no clear relationship between these two aspects. In addition, it is also understandable to find different results in adolescents than in adults, because adolescents are in the middle of their development in both aspects. Besides, we

do not discard one last possibility, which we will comment later; that this result is derived from how each individual person has interpreted the meaning of these values.

Hypothesis 24. This hypothesis is partially confirmed. It was confirmed that the *self –transcendence* gives way to more positive attitudes or integration, and that *open to change* gives way to more positive attitudes (although not integration attitudes). However *conservation* did not give rise to more negative or exclusion attitudes, in fact they did so in a positive way. Although *self-promotion* did not give rise to more negative attitudes or exclusion, *power* (which belongs to this dimension) had a negative correlation with the attitude towards immigrants' participation in Spanish society.

Results of the relation between *self-transcendence* (especially universalism value), and acceptance or integration expectations of immigrants by natives are consistent with the general pattern found in adults (Davidov, Meulemen et al., 2008; Grad & Sanz, 2008; Kilburn, 2009; Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Sapienza et al., 2010). Moreover, *universalism* presented the highest relation with these positive attitudes, coinciding with Schwartz (2007). The goals of this value include acceptance, appreciation and concern for the welfare of others even in the cases of those who are different.

However, *conservation* not only was not associated to more negative attitudes, as have been found in adults, but also it was negatively associated. A possible explanation of this contradictory result may be that in our research *tradition* (which belongs to *conservation*), was not included in this dimension and it can be the most determinant in the relation. According to the items, people who grant great importance to tradition are those who, for example, state as a priority following the customs of their religion or their family. Therefore, natives could feel their customs to be threatened by the immigrants' ones.

Moreover, in adolescence *conservation* may not give rise to more negative attitudes, maybe because this value dimension has a different meaning. For example, *conformity* (one of the values that conforms *conservation*) is formed by items "He believes that people should do what they are told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching" and "It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong". In this way, we

believe that it would largely depend on how adolescents interpret these items. For example, native adolescents may believe that accepting immigrants is the correct thing and what should be done.

As far as values of *self-promotion*, only *power* gave rise to an attitude towards not participation of adolescents in Spanish society.

Objective 7: To study the influence of acculturation variables and values on family relations.

Hypothesis 25. We do not confirm immigrants more oriented towards host society than origin, who prefer to participate in Spanish society to a higher degree than to keep up their customs, and with a lesser achieved ethnic identity are those with more conflicts with their parents and more behavioural autonomy. We confirm individualistic values increase autonomy, but they only increased conflicts in the natives. We confirm collectivistic values reduce conflicts.

Regarding autonomy of immigrants, we want to indicate that variables associated with acculturation do not exert any influence. We expected that a higher orientation towards host culture would be associated with a higher autonomy, basing on the idea that in Spanish society this is more valued than in immigrants' societies of origin. Therefore a higher orientation towards Spanish society would imply, in some way, an increase in autonomy.

We believe this reinforces explanations we have offered regarding the result of not having found differences between natives and immigrants in their levels of autonomy. This could be due to the fact that autonomy was not valued in the same way in the countries immigrants are from and in Spain.

However, alternative explanations are possible. It could be that a higher or lower orientation in itself does not have to bring about higher autonomy but will depend on how this influence is managed within the family. We have based on the autonomy they really have, this does not mean that their parents grant it to them, thus it could be, for example, that orientation towards host culture would have given rise to an increase of desire for higher levels of autonomy in adolescents. It can also be that fathers and mothers finding

themselves in a new context in which they consider their children should take a larger amount of decisions to adapt and become autonomous members in this new society. In consequence, they really do grant them this autonomy, aside from the orientation of the adolescents.

As well, in both groups, variables that explained autonomy were the same. Age was the most important, consistent with lines of research we have already commented in this discussion. Along with this, mixed values reduced autonomy and individualistic values increased it.

In many researches results associated to having more or less autonomy have been interpreted as depending on predominant collectivistic and individualistic values in the societies of origin without having been directly evaluated, but rather taken for granted depending on the countries of origin of the minors (Sam, 2006a). Moreover, belonging to a society in which certain values predominate does not mean that all their members follow them in a uniform way (Smetana, 2002; Turiel, 2002). In our research, these values have been measured, pointing out that their influence is important. However, taking into account their specific contribution, it was not as much as expected. In our case, individualistic values explained the increase of autonomy, so they back autonomy in context in which these values are relevant, such individual autonomy is even more important.

On the other hand, *mixed* values (formed by basic values of *universalism* and *security*), were negative related to autonomy. These values theoretically combine both individualistic and collectivistic interests, and their influence over autonomy is not clearly defined. A possible explanation is that these are interpreted as collectivistic values. This can be reinforced also because of the high correlation between collectivistic values and mixed ones ($\alpha = .75$). For example, if we take into account how the items are stated to form *universalism*, two of the three items present clear concerns for general community, specifically "He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life" and "It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them". This affirmation is backed by this value presented a very high correlation ($\alpha = .73$, both in natives as well as immigrants) with the *benevolence* value (which is collectivistic), being in fact the highest correlation among

values found. Moreover, considering the analysis of basic values, in immigrants, it was benevolence the value that influences autonomy, not universalism.

Another possible explanation is that adolescents interpret values in a different way than adults. For example, in adolescence, security is granted to a great degree by family core. Making decisions in an independent way implies moving away from the protection that parents provide.

Finally, as far as the values are concerned, we do not find a relationship with collectivistic values, which were expected to reduce autonomy. Again, maybe it is because we did not include the *tradition* value in our study. This situation can partially explain the results, even so, the other two values should have shown their influences. Once again, this can be due to the high correlation with the *benevolence* value, which we can see in the immigrant group, does exert its influence when studying the influence of basic values.

As far as the frequency of the conflicts is concerned, in immigrant adolescents, we also point out in the first place that cultural variables do not have any influence. As happens with autonomy, this result was the opposite of what we expected. As we pointed out in the theoretical review, faster acculturation children was one of the circumstances that could have an influence on the increase of conflict with parents (García-Coll, 2005a). Therefore it is surprising that none of the variables taken into account is associated with an increase in conflicts. A possible explanation may be that these levels are congruent with those of their parents, which we have not measured, although, as we have commented in the review of research, there is also no congruent support for this.

Collectivist values reduced the frequency of conflicts in both group, and individualistic values increased them in the native one. However, their specific contribution was not as high as expected. In the case of the low contribution of *collectivism* in conflict reduction, this could be also due, as we have just commented in regards to autonomy, that *tradition* was not included. This may be one of the aspects of collectivism that contributes in this reduction in conflicts if we consider the items that form it, upholding family traditions was one of them.

Objective 8: To know the specific importance of different aspects considered on adolescents' psychological well-being.

Hypothesis 26. In the case of young immigrants, we do not confirm that autonomy, values, age of arrival in Spain, time spent in Spain, preference for their place of residence and orientation towards the culture of origin have an influence on life satisfaction, but having less conflicts with parents, a higher orientation towards host culture and a more achieved ethnic identity increase life satisfaction. Boys and older adolescents were less satisfied with their lives.

In the case of native youths, as well as immigrants, having higher autonomy did not have an influence on higher satisfaction with life, and higher ethnic identity and fewer conflicts with parents did have influences.

Ethnic identity remains as the most important explanatory variable of life satisfaction both in natives and immigrants; in fact, it explains equal percentage (7%). This confirms ethnic identity is important for both groups, not only for immigrants.

However, another complementary explanation for ethnic identity remaining as most important regressor, is that it may be showing adolescents have an achieved identity in other components of their self-concept. Identity status achieved has generally presented the best psychological adaption (Marcia, 2002). An ethnic identity achieved identity in it way be reflecting that adolescents have solved matters pertaining to their identity in other aspects and this is what makes it so important. This idea can also be based on the fact that it is ethnic identity what exerts its influence and not orientation towards the country of origin, as we will comment further on.

Aside from ethnic identity, another series of variables proved to be important for life satisfaction, although their contribution was lower. Practically all the relations stay the same which had been seen separately, but it is verified that their specific influence is lower when they are all taken into account.

Years of residence in the country did not have an influence on immigrants' life satisfaction, as opposed to the general trend found (Briones et al., 2012; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Ullman & Tatar, 2001), but it does match that of Calderón (2008). However they also do not coincide with results of this last research in which it is stated

that age of arrival in Spain did have an influence on life satisfaction. We believe that these two results do not contradict the general trend found in prior research, as in reality it may be that the factors given of having arrived at an early age and spent time in the country that gives rise to higher life satisfaction. These circumstances enable adapting to the new country is done in a more positive and easier way but in them do not mean that a better life satisfaction will be had. Life satisfaction will depend on the concrete results derived from the circumstances (e.g., learning the language, values, and cultural competencies). This affirmation we believe is sustained by the result found that it is matters pertaining to orientation towards host country which give rise to higher satisfaction, and as we have been showing throughout this work, this orientation towards the host country is made easier because of arriving at an earlier age and having spent more time in the country.

On the other hand, as shown in the analysis we have been presenting in an isolated way, orientation towards country of origin was not associated with higher satisfaction. This, together with the fact that ethnic identity was the most important explanatory variable, can be showing that the youths make a distinction between both aspects. For them it is not the same to carry out a series of behaviours that identify themselves with their cultures of origin, as those of elaborating their sense of belonging to it. This can also be upheld by the fact that although there was an important correlation between them, it was not high (.40). However, complementary, this can also be due to what we have commented earlier on, that this situation is showing youths have an achieved identity in other aspects of their self-concept.

We found that having less conflict with parents increases life satisfaction, consistent with previous research (Demo & Acock, 1996; Harker, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2002; Shek, 1997, 1998, 2002). As the family system is very important in adolescence, relations with parents have their influence on youths' satisfaction. Therefore, our results are supported on finding that the low or absence of conflict and disagreement can be a protection factor for adolescents' well-being, although it should be pointed out that its influence is not as high as expected (only justified around 2%). This circumstance had almost the same weight in both groups, so it was not more important for immigrants.

It could be expected that keeping more cordial relations in immigrant families would give rise to higher levels of satisfaction, in the same way as a higher level of

conflict would affect them more. This is derived from research that highlighted the great importance family has for immigrants due to their values of origin as well as the support these offered in the new country, at times the only support. Indirectly, this result can also be informing us that family relations are equally important for both groups studied.

As far as values are concerned, *power* (which had shown its influence in an isolated way in adolescent immigrant´s satisfaction), it does not remain in the model. In the case of natives, *security* remains as a predictor variable. Besides, as we have already commented, according to Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) this last value should correlate negatively, from the point of view of healthy values theory because it has an extrinsic motivation, and it has also been found in previous research (Bobowik et al., 2011). This results, jointly with those we have commented earlier, show more consistently that we do not find support for the existence of healthy values, at least not so as far as cognitive subjective well-being is concerned.

Finally, age and gender made a small contribution to immigrants' life satisfaction but not in the case of natives. The diverse results found in research concerning age influence do not enable establishing clear conclusions. Our results regarding immigrants coincide with research done outside the context of the United States, which indicated a reduction in satisfaction with age (Man, 1991; Chang et al., 2003; Parke & Buriel, 2005; Calderón, 2008), as well as that of Sam et al. (2006). Regarding natives, our findings are coincident with research carried out in the United States (Dew & Huebner, 1994; Gilman & Huebner, 1997; Wilson, Henry, & Peterson, 1997). In this way, our results also do not indicate a clear relationship between age and life satisfaction, as it only took place in the group of immigrants and the contribution was very low. As well, these results can be due to the age of arrival and time spent in Spain.

Regarding gender, we did not find an association with life satisfaction, as Huebner et al. (2012) indicated in their review. Contribution was only found in immigrants, but in an isolated way the correlation was not significant. Thus these results may be influenced by other aspects.

Objective 9. To identify acculturation profiles in immigrant adolescents.

Hypothesis 27: We found the four acculturation profiles expected. As far as relations expected:

Integration profile is the most frequent and associated with mixed ethnic identification.

Separation profile present more ethnocentric ethnic identification, it is associated with less time spent and an older age of arrival to Spain, and with a greater preference for living in immigrants' countries of origin.

Assimilation profile is associated with more assimilation ethnic identification, with a younger age of arrival and more time spent in Spain, and with a higher preference for living in Spain.

Marginalization profile is the less frequent one, in which there is a higher proportion of youths that do not identify with any ethnic group and is the one presenting least life satisfaction.

No confirmation is done of the hypotheses regarding autonomy and conflicts. As far as values are concerned, separation profile was related wit individualistic values.

We found similar profiles to other research that have attempted to shape different groups according to the diverse variables associated to the acculturation process (e.g., Berry et al., 2006a; Sobral et al., 2010). Identification of these profiles enables us to study the acculturation process in a more comprehensive way.

However, we would like to start the discussion of these results by pointing out that in spite of confirming the four acculturation profiles expected these should be considered very cautiously.

The acculturation variables included show in each profile expected directions. Integration and separation profiles presented the highest orientation towards culture of origin in the same way that integration and assimilation profiles to host culture. Integration and separation profiles also presented the highest levels of ethnic identity, but

it the exploration component was higher in the integration profile. Finally, the marginalization profile presented the lowest degrees in all these variables.

However, some things need to be commented. Acculturation attitudes did not discriminate profiles properly; they mainly differentiated the marginalization profile from the rest. Although ethnic identity showed the expected relations with ethnic identifications, it cannot be taken directly as an indicator of a higher or lower orientation towards culture of origin and host culture. It will depend precisely on which ethnic group participants identify with. This may explain partially why the integration profile showed higher ethnic identity exploration than the separation one. In the integration there were more adolescents categorized as having a mixed ethnic identity. For them ethnic identity process can be more complicated, and therefore cause a higher effort in their search of its meaning.

These results considered jointly, lead us to think that these profiles do not discriminate our participants in an accurate way. Besides, each variable included is associated with different aspects whose simplification can give rise to interpretation errors. In fact, based on the results, variables that are discriminating the clusters are mainly those oriented towards host culture and towards culture of origin, and the remaining ones are distorting these data. Even so, we have decided to include this analysis in our research because in different studies this procedure is used and thus it offers us the chance to carry out a consideration on this way of proceeding.

We believe these reasons explain the similar percentages of adolescents found in each profile. Joining variables, the large proportion of immigrants is no longer found in the integration profile, although it is still the most numerous one, percentages in each one of the profiles are quite similar. On the other hand, if this result were really so, it would be revealing a situation that requires close attention. As we have shown throughout this study, the rest of the profiles present a series of circumstances that can give rise to complications in the adaptation process.

In spite of what we have just stated, by means of the study of these groups, confirmation is done of the relations that had been obtained separately in each variable. Next we comment briefly some of the more relevant.

As expected, adolescents belonging to the integration profile were the ones most satisfied with their lives, and their levels of life satisfaction were similar to the ones in the assimilation profile. That confirms that being adapted to the culture one lives in gives rise to higher life satisfaction. It seems that, taking all the indicators as a group, for the participants in our study orientation towards their countries of origin is not as important for their satisfaction as orientation towards the one they are living in.

Regarding to values, once again the great differences expected were not found. In this case, results can be showing Spanish society is a little more individualistic than society immigrants come from, as the profile of separation was the one in which they presented less individualistic values.

Results found regarding family relations confirm what we commented earlier, in other words, that there are no relation between family variables and acculturation. Among hypotheses, we expected assimilated youths would have higher frequency of conflicts as this distance from culture of origin and nearness to host culture.

There were no differences between adolescents whose mother tongue was Spanish and those whose not. There was speculation in the literature about the influence of language and acculturation matters, in such a way that for people coming from a country with the same mother tongue as the host, adaptation would be easier (Schwartz et al., 2010). In many cases mastering the language has even been used as the exclusive acculturation measure (e.g., Pasch, Deardorff, Tschann, Flores, Penilla, & Pantoja, 2006). Our results indicate we should not study the acculturation process with proximity. Acculturation is a much more complex phenomenon, which does not depend simply on if one speaks the language or not. Obviously, this is a circumstance that eases adapting to a new country but it does not explain and enable all adapting directly. Acculturation implies many more aspects that cannot be reduced to speaking the language of the host country. Besides, it also points to not taking for granted that adolescents whose language is the same will carry out this process more easily.

However, this situation can be interpreted because of the circumstances of the participants in the research. In the first place, all of them had a minimal ability to speak Spanish, enough to be able to fill out the questionnaires. Besides, they were in schools and in the full process of learning. Thus in immigrants just arrived at older ages; this fact

would have really made a difference, as it would have enabled them to handle integration in the new society easier. In the second place, as all belonged to the first generation, they were also not affected in the identification with the culture of origin as it is presupposed that they all speak the same language of origin.

Finally, we must carry out a brief commentary on the differences we have found depending on the areas immigrants came from. Although it was not a goal of our research, so we did not have specific hypothesis related, we considered including them in the analysis to detect if the form of adaptation that takes place could be associated in any way with the area immigrants came from. We must warn that these results should be considered very cautiously as we have grouped the adolescents in large categories in which very different nationalities are included. Besides, groups do not have the same sizes and we do not know if they are equivalent in their basic characteristics. Indeed, we have not been able to control other types of variables in the analysis that can be the real explanation for the results. For example, we do not know if some of them are due to aspects such as having emigrated at an earlier age. Generally, in view of the results found, it seems that the area adolescents come from could have an influence on some of the acculturation process. Specifically Africans carried out integration in a higher degree, while Asians took separation and Eastern Europeans assimilation. On Latin Americans we do not find a general line of results, although we have often shown some differences. However prior to extracting conclusions on adaptation of different cultural groups, it is necessary to make more specific analysis.

CHAPTER 4
REFERENCES

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

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CHAPTER 5
APPENDIXES

Next, we present some of the instruments we have used to collect the data. We think this data is important in understanding some of the crucial aspects of this brief abstract, therefore we have added it with proposal clarifications only. They have not been used in English either or in the order and format we display them in.

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

APPENDIX 1. ETHNIC IDENTITY.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R), Phinney and Ong (2007).

In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be (write down all you want ranking from importance)

_____

Strongly disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neither agree or disagree 3	Agree 4	Strongly agree 5

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX 2. ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES.

General attitudes toward immigration, Piontkowski et al. (2000).

Strongly disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neither agree or disagree 3	Agree 4	Strongly agree 5

Native version					
1. Spanish people should let immigrants live in our country as they are accustomed to.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Spanish should let immigrant participate completely in Spanish life.	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants version					
1. People from my country should try to live in Spain as we are accustomed to.	1	2	3	4	5
2. People from my country should try to participate completely on Spanish life.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX 3. ACCULTURATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Based on Ethnic Identity and Acculturation Questionnaire, Bartolome et al. (2000), Espín et al. (1998).

1. How many friends do you have?	A few	Some	Many
From your birth country			
From Spain			
2. Do you meet at the weekend to have fun (going to the movies, play…) with your classmates?	Never	Sometimes	Many times
From your birth country			
From Spain			
3. Do you know some word, idiom or song?	None	Some	Many
From your birth country			
From Spain			
4. Do you speak with your family about important events, fests and characters?	A little	Sometimes	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
5. Have you participated on typical fests or events?	Never	Sometimes	Many times
From your birth country			
From Spain			
6. How much do you like music, dance, painting, etc?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
7. How much do you like the fests?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
8. How much do you like typical food?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
9. How much do you like people' way of dressing	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
10. Would you like to know more things?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
11. If you had had able to choose your appearance, would have you liked to look like people?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
12. If you had ha able to choose your birth's place, would you have liked to be born in?	Nothing	Something	A lot
Your birth country			
Spain			
13. How important is for you to be supportive with people (giving money, helping, etc?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

14. How important is for you to go to demonstrations to solve people problems?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
15. How important is for you to defend customs and traditions?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
16. How important is for you to learn languages or linguistic expressions?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
17. Would you like to marry someone?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
18. Is it important for you to follow norms and customs?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
19. Do you agree with religions believes?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			
20. Do you agree with the way of being of people?	Nothing	Something	A lot
From your birth country			
From Spain			

Note: Item 3 was not included in the non Spanish native speakers' version.

Additional questions in non Spanish native speakers.

21. With your family, do you speak in?	Never/ hardly ever	Sometimes	Almost always/ always
Language of my birth country			
Spanish			
22. With your friends, do you speak in?	Never/ hardly ever	Sometimes	Almost always/ always
Language of my birth country			
Spanish			
23. How do you write in?	Bad	Regular	Well
Language of my birth country			
Spanish			
24. When you get angry or you are very happy, in which language do you usually do it?	Never/ hardly ever	Sometimes	Almost always/ always
Language of my birth country			
Spanish			
25. When you think or pray, do you do it in?	Never/ hardly ever	Sometimes	Almost always/ always
Language of my birth country			
Spanish			
26. The radio station you listen, do they speak in?	Never/ hardly ever	Sometimes	Almost always/ always
Language of my birth country			
Spanish			

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents

APPENDIX 4. VALUES QUESTIONNAIRE

Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ), 21- items, male version, Schwartz, (2003)

Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and tick the box on each line that shows how much each person is or is not like you.

How much like you is this person?

Very much like me 1	Like me 2	Somewhat like me 3	A little like me 4	Not like me 5	Not like me at all 6

1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. It's important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. I It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. It's very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. It is important to him that the government ensures13 his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure.	1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX 5. ISSUES AT THE FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Helping with household chores ("Chores").

2. What time to go to bed ("Bedtime").

3. Use of language ("Language").

4. Time spending and websites visited on the Internet ("Internet").

5. Use of mobile-phone ("Mobile").

6. What TV shows to watch and time spent on it ("Television").

7. Types of video games played and time spending on it ("Videogames").

8. How often to visit relatives and friend's parents ("Visits").

9. Whether to smoke or not ("Smoke").

10. Whether to drink or not ("Alcohol").

11. Whether to take drugs or not ("Drugs").

12. How to behave at meal times ("Manners").

13. How often to wash or to take a shower ("Bodycare").

14. What clothes to wear ("Clothes").

15. How one should look, regarding hair-style, piercings and general appearance ("Look").

16. How to spend pocket-money ("Money").

17. Which sports to take part in and time spending on it ("Sports").

18. Which hobbies to take part in ("Hobbies").

19. Where to go when going out ("Go Out").

20. What time to come home at night ("Time In").

21. Who to go around with ("Friends").

22. Sexuality and partners ("Romantic Relationships").

23. Whether to take part on religious activities or not ("Religious Activities").

24. How much time to spend on homework, grades at school ("Homework").

25. Opinion about political matter ("Politics").

APPENDIX 6. SATISFACTION WITH LIFE SCALE

Satisfaction With Life Scale, Diener et al. (1985)

Strongly disagree **1**	Disagree **2**	Neither agree or disagree **3**	Agree **4**	Strongly agree **5**

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	1	2	3	4	5
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am satisfied with my life	1	2	3	4	5
4. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The conditions of my life are excellent.	1	2	3	4	5

Acculturation, ethnic identity, values and family relationships in immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents