Child and parental acculturation attitudes and child well-being:

Concurrent and longitudinal relationships among children in immigrant contexts.

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Sussex

February 2016

Statement

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Cecilia Cordeu Cuccia

- Signature:………………………………………

Acknowledgements

It has been a wonderful journey, a family project that is ending successfully and that I hope has been positive not only for me, but for my husband and our children. As is expected, I have many people to say thank you to.

My partner in life, my husband, Juan Pablo Rivero Perez, has been my pillar since we met. Thank you for dreaming this journey together, thank you for taking so good naturally and so effectively the role of raising our children, of being a stay-at-home-dad for four years. You also helped in different aspects of my thesis: eres multifacético!

My wonderful boys, Daniel and Gabriel, you motivated me to concentrate on other (more) fundamental parts of my life so as not to be consumed by the PhD research. Thank you for existing and being the most wonderful human beings I have met so far in my existence. For teaching me what it is to love and be loved unconditionally.

To my incredible supervisor Professor Rupert Brown: You believed I could do it, even in the moments I was not so sure myself. You supported me both academically and personally through these four years, the Master year and the three PhD ones. Rupert, you are an inspiration for me, not only academically, but also in how to live a successful, fulfilling and loving life. A life where you can pursue dreams, looking to understand how to better the world and having always time for fun and family. It was an honour to work with you and I really enjoyed and looked forward to our conversations and your advice.

To my parents, Andrea and Jose Luis, and my in-laws, Charo and Pepe, for pitching in to help us finance this family project and for supporting us emotionally throughout the years. To my parents, for teaching me to care for others, to feel outraged with injustice, to understand that there is something I can do to change things that are not all right in this world and for your love that shows because you are always there when needed. To my in-laws: for being supportive, for preaching with example, for sharing wonderful holidays and for all your love.

My siblings were there to read drafts, and if I needed someone to talk to. The rest of the family in Chile, Peru and Argentina, for sending us good vibes, yummy things to eat, and wishes that we come back home soon. It is wonderful to feel missed and loved.

To my loving husband Juan Pablo:
Fue un viaje hermoso, gracias por todo: Te amo.
To my two wonderful boys, Daniel and Gabriel:
Que este mundo les permita crecer en libertad, en amor y en diversidad. Los amo.

In loving memory of my father in law
José Rivero Herrera
(1940-2015)

"Ninguna cultura es una identidad herméticamente cerrada. Todas las culturas están influidas por otras culturas y a su vez tienen posibilidad de ejercer influencia sobre estas. La necesidad de los pueblos de vivir y trabajar en paz debería conducir al respeto de todas las culturas, o al menos de aquellas que valoran la tolerancia y el respeto hacia los otros."

"No culture is a hermetically closed identity. All cultures are influenced by other cultures and at the same time have the possibility of influencing them. The need of the people (pueblos) of living and working in peace should be driven towards the respect of all cultures, or at least of those that value the tolerance and respect towards others"

(Jose Rivero Herrera, 2003, p.65)

Multiculturalismo, identidades multiples y bilingüismo. José Rivero. En Educación y Globalización: los desafíos para America Latina. Vol. 1. CEPAL, Corporación Escenarios y Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos. http://www.oei.es/oeivirt/temasvol1.pdf 2003

CASA ABIERTA

Quiero estar bien con mis hermanos
De Norte a Sur, al fin del mundo,
Saber oír y dar mis manos,
Sudar jugando algo bien sano.
Todos aquí somos humanos,
Que más me da el color, la raza,
Dentro tenemos sentimientos
Que necesitan de sustento,
Si adentro hay buenos sentimientos,
No se pueden quedar adentro.
Aquí está mi casa abierta,
Hay un plato por ti en nuestra mesa,
Sombra de árbol para tu cabeza,
Libro abierto a tu vida,
Mi puerta.
Casa abierta,
La amistad no cuestiona tu credo,
A la tierra le gusta que amemos
Sin distingo de culto y bandera,
Casa abierta.
Quisiera darte buena suerte
Y ser tu amigo hasta la muerte,
Que la distancia no me entuma
Y la amistad no se consuma.
Todos aquí somos humanos…

Nombre: Casa Abierta
Letra y Musica: Salvador Cardenal
Barquero
Grabada por: Duo Guardabarranco
(Katia Cardenal y Salvador Cardenal)
Album: Casa Abierta
Cancion incluida en tesis con autorizacion
de Katia Cardenal.

OPEN HOUSE

I want to be all right with my brothers
From north to south to the end of the world
Know how to listen and give my hands
Sweat playing something very healthy
All of us here are humans
What does it matter the colour, the race
We have feelings inside
That need nourishment
If there are good feelings inside
They cannot stay inside
Here is my open house
There is a plate for you at my table
Shade of a tree for your head
An open book for your life,
My door.
Open house,
Friendship does not question your creed,
The earth likes for us to love
Without distinguishing beliefs or flags,
Open house.
I would like to give you good luck
And be your friend until death,
That I am not numbed by distance
And the friendship doesn't consume itself.
We are all humans here…

Name: Open House
Lyrics and Music: Salvador Cardenal
Barquero
Recorded by: Duo Guardabarranco
(Katia Cardenal and Salvador Cardenal)
Album: Open House
Song included in thesis with authorization
of Katia Cardenal.

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX
CECILIA CORDEU CUCCIA
DPHIL PSYCHOLOGY
CHILD AND PARENTAL ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES AND CHILD WELL-
BEING: CONCURRENT AND LONGITUDINAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
CHILDREN IN IMMIGRANT CONTEXTS.

Summary

The acculturation process is an important part of the experience that immigrant children and their families go through when adapting to live in a new country. Most studies on acculturation have included immigrant groups – mainly adults – living in North America and Europe. This thesis seeks to redress that imbalance by focussing on the acculturation attitudes and well-being of children and adolescents both in Chile and the United Kingdom (UK). A further important aspect is to examine how the discrepancies in acculturation within the family relate to children's well-being and family relationships.

In this thesis, a bi-dimensional approach (both desire for culture maintenance *and* culture adoption/desire for contact with other groups) is used to test various hypotheses about the relationship between acculturation orientations - children's, parents' and discrepancies between the children and parents - and well-being of children. Several features characterise the research: two different receiving contexts (UK and Chile); different national origins of participants (with immigrant background and non-immigrant background); use of cross-sectional, longitudinal and qualitative methods; use of both perceived parent and actual parent scores; and the presence of social mediators and moderators (e.g., perceived discrimination, perceived peer acceptance, perceived school climate and perceived family relationship).

The main findings were that, both in UK and Chile, immigrant children showed preference for maintenance of their heritage culture (CM) and establishing contact with receiving groups (DC) (or adopting the receiving culture (CA)), and that this preference was related to better well-being than other options, both concurrently and longitudinally. The acculturation discrepancies between children and parents had different consequences on well-being if they were on CM, CA or DC, depending on the measure used to calculate the discrepancies and also for immigrant and non-immigrant children.

The findings are discussed in relation to the existing literature, and implications are drawn for improving psychological adjustment of immigrants and for future research that is needed.

Table of Content:

INTRODUCTION

The current period is considered by some scholars as the "age of migration" (Castles & Miller, 2009).

> "While movements of people across borders have shaped states and societies since time immemorial, what is distinctive in recent years is their global scope, their centrality to domestic and international politics and their enormous economic and social consequences." (p.3)

Despite the impact it is having, it is only 3.2% of the world population that are international immigrants, around 232 million people (United Nations, 2013). In receiving developed regions they constitute 10.8% of their total population, while in developing regions they are 1.6%. The numbers would surely increase if we consider the descendants of these first generation immigrants that potentially might form then minority ethnic groups in each country. The presence of these "second generation" or "mixed origin" groups probably influences the psychological impression that majority members have in receiving societies that immigrants have invaded their country.

Migration in the last 20 years has changed its characteristics: the number of women that migrate leaving their families behind has increased significantly, the number of children on their own has also increased, immigration is now characterized by its transnational character (immigrants settle in the receiving country but maintain active ties with their heritage country) and it is in many cases a family process (families that are reunited or that migrate together) (Cano & Soffia, 2009).

Not all receiving societies are politically/socially or economically organized to receive immigrants. In this thesis, the studies were conducted in two countries with distinct levels of preparation to receive immigrants. UK has a policy directed to immigrants; it is a historically culturally diverse society and has settled community of immigrants and British citizens with immigrant (or ethnic minority) backgrounds. While Chile is a receiving country that, although is not new to immigration, has increased the amount of Latin American immigrants it has received in the last 20 years. This influx of people, considered by the "majority" population as physically and culturally distinct from Chileans, arrives in a society that is not politically, social or economically organized to receive them.

In Chile there is a shared cultural understanding that it is a racially homogenous population, although racial discrimination (historically directed towards indigenous citizens) is an everyday issue. At the same time, historical conflicts with neighbouring countries and the negative cognitions and emotions associated with them, are kept alive through the educational system and social media. The immigrants that are now arriving to Chile from neighbouring countries are racially distinct from this homogenous image that a part of Chileans have of themselves.

In these different receiving contexts the children with immigrant background participating in this study live and undergo their acculturation process.

In the context of family migration, the children are generally silent as they do not participate in the decision making of immigration (Pavez, 2012); while, in the study of the acculturation process, children are generally not included as participants (Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

Motivation for this research

My interest in this research is academic, social and personal.

At an academic level, I want to answer questions in regard to the relationship between acculturation preferences and well-being. I am especially interested in parent-child discrepancies and their relation to children psychological adaptation that are still not satisfactorily explained in the literature. I am interested in observing if the diverse receiving contexts described before relate to different effects on children's acculturation preferences (and parent-child acculturation discrepancies) and well-being.

At a social level, I look to identify areas and variables where social and community interventions can intervene to help improve the adjustment of immigrant (and non-immigrant) children and their families in the multi (inter) cultural societies we live in.

At a personal level, my own experience as an immigrant child since the age of three and, being the mother of two children that are currently growing up in a receiving country, and that later will return to their birth country where they will grow up as children of immigrants, motivated me to want to understand this acculturation process more comprehensively.

I consider important here to make explicit some of my personal experiences that might have influenced the selection of variables under study and also the emphasis in

the analysis of the findings. My personal experience of discrimination strengthened my heritage identity and hindered my motivation to acquire the *majority* identity, even though I grew up in the receiving society. Although I did not identify with both countries, I was bicultural in my knowledge of practices and language, moving wisely between both cultures. I did not have acculturation discrepancies with my parents; my guess is that there was sufficient conflict in regard to cultural differences and identity outside of the family for me to question also cultural preferences inside. These experiences, together with the review of the literature, prompted my interest in the family acculturation process, in the importance of separating the domains of acculturation, and the important role that perceived discrimination and other social interactions with peers, in school and within the family might have on the orientation towards the acculturation preferences and well-being.

My interest lies in understanding how children might be living this process today, and detect possible aspects of the process that can be intervened so it improves their adjustment.

Organization of thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. In chapters 1 and 2, I present the literature framework in which my thesis is based. The relationship between children's acculturation attitudes and their well-being is discussed in chapter 1; while the relationship between parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children's well-being is discussed in chapter 2.

The results of the three studies conducted (one in UK and two in Chile) are presented from chapters 3 to 5. In chapter 3, I present the findings obtained from the quantitative studies run in UK and Chile that answer the question in regard to how children's acculturation attitudes relate to their well-being both concurrently and over time. In chapter 4, I present the result from those same studies that answer the question about if and how parent-child acculturation discrepancies affect children's well-being concurrently and over time. In chapter 5, I present the results of the qualitative study done in Chile that looked to deepen the understanding of the findings to respond the two main questions of the research. In each chapter I present the method of each study, the results of the analysis, a discussion in regard to each question and the limitations that were found in the process of answering them with that methodology.

Finally in chapter 6, I present a general discussion of the thesis, the general limitations, the policy and practical implications and future research in parent-child acculturation discrepancies.

CHAPTER 1

ACCULTURATION AND ADAPTATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

The concept of acculturation

Acculturation has an ancient history as a concept for humanity, while in psychology it became an important field of study from the middle of the 20th century (Rudmin, 2003; Sam, 2006).

I will understand acculturation as it is conventionally defined in the cross-cultural field today: "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). This definition points to the cultural changes that come upon two or more groups after they have established on-going contact. There are various groups with different cultures that can come into contact with each other: indigenous groups with *majority* groups in the same country; national migrants with national receiving groups; international origin groups (i.e., immigrants, refugees, sojourners) with groups in the society they settle in. I will focus on the process of acculturation for immigrants when they come into contact with the *majority* group that lives in the country they settle in. It is important to note that the acculturation process begins even before the immigrant has arrived in the receiving country and that goes on during all the life of people that live in multicultural societies (Liebkind, 1996).

At the group level the changes that come with acculturation have to do with culture and structure; while at the individual level they have to do with behaviours and attitudes (Berry, 2006). The changes that take place at the individual level were conceptualized by Graves as *psychological acculturation* (1967, as cited in Berry, 1997). More specifically, at the individual level the main domains that might change have been found to be: values, behaviours and identity (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010).

There are four frameworks that are currently used to study the process of change that occurs in intercultural relationships: a) Stress and coping (e.g., Berry, 2006); b) Culture-learning (e.g., Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999); c) Social identification (e.g., Hutnik 1991); and d) Developmental (e.g., Sam, 2006; Masgoret & Ward, 2006). These four

approaches are not contradictory; they just centre their attention on different aspects of the acculturation process. That is why recent research groups have proposed including the four frameworks into one comprehensive model (Relative Acculturation Extended Model, RAEM, Navas, Rojas, Garcia & Pumares, 2007).

For this thesis I am including a core concept of each of the four frameworks. The main focus of my thesis is how immigrant children cope with the acculturation process and how it affects their psychological well-being (i.e., life satisfaction and self-esteem). I will explain the core concepts in relation to the focus of my thesis in the following paragraphs.

From the culture-learning framework I take two concepts: culture distance and language. The concept of culture distance is understood as how different and similar people perceive the heritage and receiving cultures, it is considered as a source of stress when it is large, and a benefit when it is smaller (Ward & Searle, 1991). In this thesis, I will study immigration in a receiving culture that has a large culture distance with the heritage culture of the immigrants participating in the study (i.e, UK); and a receiving culture that has a smaller cultural distance with the heritage culture of the immigrants that take part in the study (i.e., Chile). Language is highlighted in this approach as the main mode of communication in human relations, therefore it is important to consider how it is used in the acculturation process. In my research, the use of idioms and accent are included as important elements in the acculturation process.

The social identification approach highlights the importance of ethnic identity, although it has been criticised for essentializing a dynamic, social dimension of identity (Verkuyten, 2005). Ethnic identity is generally measured as a self-description but it is not only self-identification to a group; one also has to consider how important the label is for the person's life and how much the person feels part of the group. I measured group identification separately from acculturation because "The strength of in-group identification should not, however, be confused with cultural orientation in terms of endorsement of heritage culture and/or adoption of host culture" (Liebkind, 2006, p. 81). As was mentioned before, immigrants seem to have less difficulty with adopting the receiving culture and establishing contact with other groups, than with incorporating the *majority*'s one into their identity (Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere & Boen, 2003).

It is important to consider what groups the person feels they belong to as these form part of the person's self-concept, and then how the groups in the social context the

person lives in affect his/her well-being. The identification with one's heritage group, positive self-esteem and positive values have been related to the thriving adaptation of Latin adolescents in USA (Alvarado & Ricard, 2013). When speaking of ethnic identity it is also important to talk about national identity. It is generally considered in the literature that national identity has to do with feeling part of nation that is geographically situated (Deaux, 2006). This is considered different to ethnic identity, which relates to feeling part of a group of people with which the person shares history and shared meanings. This ethnic identity can cross national borders. They are both social identities, and which one is relevant for an individual depends on the context in which they are brought up. In this study, it made more contextual sense to ask immigrant children about their national identity, because ethnic identity for Latin Americans in the region appears intertwined with their nationality as they come to live in another country, and the national identity becomes more salient (Wiley, 2013).

The developmental perspective considers that acculturation and development are parallel processes and that developmental processes have to be considered in order to separate them from acculturation explanations of changes. I will give more details about the "stress and coping" and "developmental" models further on.

I consider it important to focus the effect of acculturation preferences on psychological well-being in order to centre the attention on those positive aspects of mental health that can be promoted in children. An important number of studies on acculturation orientations (and especially parent-child acculturation discrepancies that will be discussed in chapter 2) centre the discussion on the *negative* outcomes of the acculturation process (i.e., drug use, mental health problems) probably because they relate to social problems that need solutions. Focusing also on positive outcomes allows us to understand if and how the process of acculturation has an effect on them and suggestions can be given to schools and parents about how to promote their development. Life satisfaction and self-esteem have been used interchangeably by many researchers as proxies of well-being. In this research I follow the literature that differentiates between these concepts and seek to find if the pattern of the relationship they have with acculturation preferences differs with each one.

Life satisfaction is understood as subjective well-being (Diener, Oishi & Lucas, 2003), and it relates to the person's cognitive appraisals of his/her overall life satisfaction and in relation to specific life domains (Huebner, 1994). While self-esteem

relates to how much the person considers his/herself to be worthy, an affective evaluation of the person's self (Harter & Whitesell, 2003).

So life satisfaction can be related to the appreciation of the person's evaluation of their life in general and in interaction with the world, while self-esteem can be related to appreciation directed at the internal image of the person. Self-esteem appears in the literature positively related to adaptation, feeling positive about one-self motivates the person to adapt in order to continue feeling a high self-esteem (Sam & Berry, 2006).

Interestingly, psychological well-being has also been found to function as predictor of other life events, such as future health, quality of social life, income, productivity, pro-social behaviour, peer acceptance (Diener, 2012) and acculturation orientations. For example, self-esteem has the role of mediator in the relationship between acculturation preferences and mental health of adolescents (Oppedal, Roysamb & Sam 2004).

I will also use the term "*majority*" to talk about the receiving society dominant group, generally composed of those that have lived for generations in the country and that have control over the social, cultural and political decisions in the country. The term "*minority*" I will use for the immigrants that arrive to the receiving society and that have less power. I acknowledge that the contextual situation is far more complex, since there are other groups in the society that are also minorities in the sense of numbers or having less social power, such as indigenous people, racial and cultural groups.

Uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional models of acculturation

The first conceptualizations of acculturation were uni-dimensional (Sam & Berry, 2006). Acculturation was viewed as a process that had assimilation to the *majority* culture as its positive outcome. It was conceived as a uni-dimensional continuum from preferring the heritage culture (that was termed 'separation'), to adoption of the receiving countries' culture (that was termed 'acculturation'). During the process, immigrants could have a phase were they felt related to both cultures or to none, but in order to adapt positively it was expected of them to assimilate to the receiving culture. This model implied that an "adapted" immigrant needed to leave behind the culture of heritage in order for positive outcomes to occur. This model is currently still applied by some researchers in the field, and is also part of some national policies in their approach to immigration (Araujo, 2008; Dinh & Nguyen, 2006;

Ghuman, 1991; Lin, 2009; Tartakovsky, 2012; van de Vijver, Helms-Lorenz & Feltzer, 1999). In the period from 1988 to 2002, over 40% of acculturation studies applied this uni-dimensional concept (Yoon, Langrehr & Ong, 2011).

The main criticism of this model focuses on the issue that not all immigrants' well-being is necessarily related to assimilating to the receiving society while simultaneously abandoning their own culture. On the contrary, when immigrants have both cultures it often appears to have positive outcomes for their adaptation (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2007; Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Sam & Berry, 2006).

As an alternative to the uni-dimensional conceptualization, bi-dimensional models emerged (Berry, 1997; Berry & Annis, 1974; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault & Senécal, 1997; Hutnik, 1991). The most cited framework in the field is that presented in the 1970s by John Berry and colleagues in Canada. In the intergroup relationship between an immigrant group and the receiving society *majority* group, the immigrant group is generally in a numerical but also power *minority*, so it is assumed that their culture is the one in question. Based on anthropological research, such models identified for the *minority* group two main areas that were affected when they interacted with a group from a different culture: changes in cultural continuity – how much the *minority* group preferred (or not) to maintain their own heritage and identity (termed culture maintenance - CM); and changes in the intergroup relations – how much the *minority* group preferred (or not) to have contact with and participate in relationships with the other groups (termed desire for contact - DC) (Berry, 2006)[1]. The combination of these two areas or dimensions in a matrix, yielded a simple classification of acculturation attitudes or "types" that immigrant groups and individuals might use (Figure 1, left side).

A high desire to maintain the heritage culture and identity and high desire to have relationships with other groups was called "Integration"; a high desire to maintain the heritage culture and identity and low desire to have relationships with other groups was called "Separation"; a low desire to maintain the heritage culture and identity and high desire to have relationships with other groups was called "Assimilation"; and a low desire to maintain the heritage culture and identity and low desire to have relationships with other groups was called "Marginalization". The type of items used in this research tradition tap on domains of life such as cultural traditions, language, marriage, friends

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[1] Through the thesis I will use commonly acronyms to refer to the acculturation dimensions: Culture Maintenance (CM), Desire for Contact (DC) and Culture Adoption (CA).

and social activities. Examples using the social activities domain are: "I prefer social activities which involve both [receiving society nationals] and [my ethnic group]" (i.e, "integration"); "I prefer social activities which involve [members of my ethnic group only]" (i.e, "separation"); "I prefer social activities which involve [receiving society nationals] only" (i.e, "assimilation"); and "I don't want to attend either [national] or [ethnic] social activities" (i.e, "marginalisation") (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006, p. 309)

Figure 1.1: Acculturation attitudes or types, taken from Berry (2006).
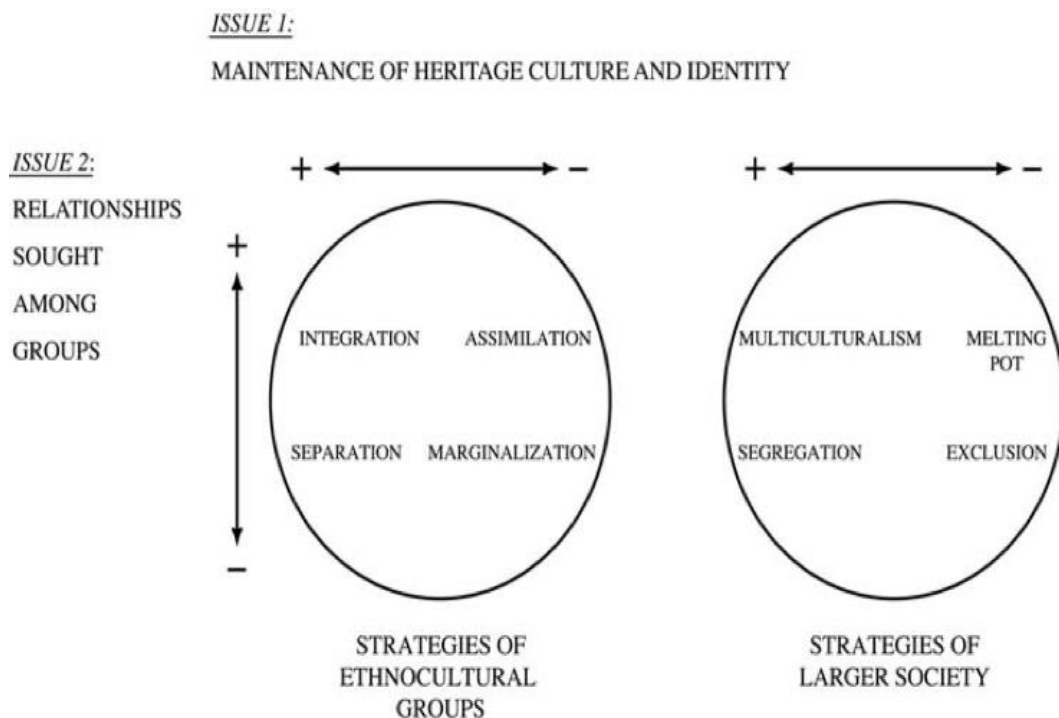
In a cross-national study involving 13 nations, this research group also added questions on cultural identity (how much the person felt belonging to the ethnic or national group); ethnic and national language proficiency and use; and ethnic and national peer contact (Berry et al., 2006). The combination of the acculturation attitudes and these other dimensions produced four acculturation profiles related to acculturation attitudes: "integration" (i.e., combined both cultures in every dimension), "ethnic" (i.e., preferred the ethnic culture in all the dimensions), "national" (i.e., preferred the receiving societies' culture in all the dimensions) and "diffuse" (i.e., have what appears as a unclear culture preference) (Berry et al., 2006).

As with the immigrant group, the *majority* group's acculturation expectations for immigrants can also be classified by combining the acculturation dimensions (Figure 2, right side). "Multiculturalism" is related to the acculturation strategy of "integration", and it has to do with embracing cultural diversity in the society; "segregation" is related to "separation", when *majority* members expect minority groups to maintain a their ethnic culture and not interact with the receiving society; "melting pot" relates to "assimilation", when *majority* members desire minority members integrate to the receiving culture and leave their own culture behind; finally, "exclusion" relates to "marginalization".

The importance of studying the *majority* groups' acculturation preference has been much emphasized by the research group of Bourhis et al. (1997). Their framework resembles Berry's model, so I will present examples of items that measure these expectations from their studies, but using Berry's terms for the acculturation expectations from the larger society and Bourhis terms in parenthesis. "Multiculturalism" ("integrationism"): "It would be best for immigrants to maintain and preserve their own culture of origin while also adopting aspects of mainstream culture"; "melting pot" ("assimilationism"): "immigrants should give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting mainstream culture"; "segregationism": "it's ok for immigrants to maintain their culture of origin as long as they do not mix it with mainstream culture"; and "exclusion" ("individualism"): "whether immigrants maintain their culture of origin or adopt mainstream culture makes no difference because each individual is free to adopt the culture of their choice" (Host Community Acculturation Scale, HCAS; Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi & Schmidt, 2009, p. 451).

I have defined two main frameworks of understanding acculturation that have to do with uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional conceptualizations of the process. In measuring this process there are also two main methods. In the first, that I will term "unitary scale", the items seek to understand if the participant is higher in one culture or the other. This way of measuring is characteristic of the uni-dimensional models, but it is also used in some bi-dimensional models that directly measure the acculturation approaches (e.g., "fourfold scale", examples of items can be found in page 7). The second method, that I will term "separate scale", uses items that ask participants their inclination towards one of the dimensions in each item. To measure orientation towards culture maintenance participants could be asked to rate if "I think my cultural group in Germany should maintain its religion, language and clothing"; to rate the participants

orientation towards desire for contact they could be asked to rate "I think it is important that members of my cultural group also spend time with Germans after school" (items from Zagefka & Brown, 2002). This allows the participant to express their inclination towards one culture independent of their inclination to the other. In this "separate method", both the scale and the framework can be considered bi-dimensional.

Arends-Toth and van de Vijver (2007) compared the "unitary" and the "separate" methods of measuring acculturation using three scales to study how Turkish immigrants adapted to the Netherlands. The scales used and the problems identified were: An "unitary" one statement scale, where participants that answered in the middle were not distinguishable between integration and marginalization; a "unitary" four statement scale, where each statement presented one of the acculturation strategies, this method made a longer questionnaire and participants were confused in some items due to the double barrelled nature of the sentences; finally, a "separate" two item questionnaire, where the preference towards heritage and receiving culture were evaluated independently. The 1-item and 2-item scales had similar effects, but the 2-item measure allowed the researcher to evaluate the relationship between the preferences to both cultures. Independently of this finding, the three methods are still used. In this thesis, I will prefer to use the "separate" scales' approach (for a detailed analysis of these methodological issues see Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In my study I followed the suggestions that the "separate" scales approach is the most beneficial. The two dimensions (i.e., culture maintenance and desire for contact) can then be included in hierarchical multiple regressions, where their main effects and the interactions between them can be included and therefore the effect of each dimension on its own and in combination can be observed (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Demes & Geeraert, 2014).

Although I have stated the importance of measuring the orientation to each acculturation dimension independently, it might be of interest to compute from this information the four acculturation types. There are two main methods to create the four acculturation "types" from the 2-item "separate" scales method. One is by dividing each participant's preferences using the median of the sample, those above the median were considered in favour of the acculturation dimension, while those below the median were considered against it (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). The other is dividing the participants' answers using the midpoint of the scale as reference, again those above the midpoint are in favour and those below the midpoint are not (Brown et al., 2013). The use of one or other strategy to compute the acculturation "types" depends on the use it is going to

have in the study. If we want to know the distribution of the attitudes in a particular sample, then the midpoint method is appropriate, but because it often provides unequal cell distributions, it is not useful if the objective is to compare groups statistically (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In this thesis I used the midpoint method because I was interested in knowing the distribution in the sample of the acculturation "types". An important issue is to decide what the actual "midpoint" means (in this thesis it was a score of 3 in the scale). It could be agreeing, not agreeing or unclassifiable. I chose not agreeing, therefore, with a score from above the midpoint (>3) to 5 then the person is classified as "high" in the dimension, from the midpoint to 1 the person is "low" in the dimension. (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2007).

Interestingly, even Berry's research group has varied the method they have used for assessing the acculturation process, sometimes separately by culture using the two acculturation dimensions (i.e., separate scales) (Dona & Berry, 1994; Sabatier & Berry, 2008), and sometimes using items that attempt to measure the acculturation attitudes directly (i.e., unitary scales) (Berry et al., 2006).

There are two criticisms of Berry's model that I have considered in the design of the studies in this thesis. One pointed at the issue that there could be other dimensions that immigrants consider in the acculturation process, such as "culture adoption" (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Following these authors, Bourhis et al. (1997) suggested to change the contact dimension that related to behavioural intentions, to another attitude, one in regard to how much the immigrant individual desired to (or should from the *majority* point of view) adopt the culture of the receiving society (termed "culture adoption" – CA). I consider that this is an important addition because although desire for contact seems fundamental for intergroup relations and immigrant's adjustment, it is actually the inclusion of the orientation towards culture adoption of the receiving culture that taps on an aspect that is comparable with culture maintenance of the heritage culture. By asking directly about the orientation to both cultures we can actually measure if the participant is more inclined to one, the other or both. Desire for contact measures the inclination to interact with *majority* people (which can be accomplished without adopting the culture), while culture adoption measure the inclination to incorporate the *majority*'s culture (which can be accomplished without interaction with the people).

The other criticism is that, although "ethnic" or group identification is part of the process of acculturation, it should be studied independently from the dimensions already described (Hutnik, 1991; Liebkind, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005). An immigrant

might adapt to the receiving culture but that does not imply that he/she will adopt the identity of that group. That is why it is important, as will be mentioned later, to distinguish different domains of acculturation, because a person might adopt certain practices and language but might not adopt the identity. This can only be recognized if we have measures that detect it.

Snauwaert et al. (2003) compared what they considered the three conceptualizations of bi-dimensional acculturation in use at the time: the conventional one, that combines CM with DC (i.e., Berry); the adoption model, that combines CM with CA (i.e., Bourhis); and the identification approach, that combines heritage and *majority* culture identification (i.e. Hutnik). They found the three combinations yielded different results in regard to the acculturation attitudes that were preferred by the participants. In particular, immigrants from Turkey in Belgium favoured more the adoption of the receiving culture and having contact with them than identifying as part of that group. And that "integration" was more favoured when using the contact dimension, while "separation" was preferred when using the other two combinations. Although the findings appear very interesting the study requires replicating, taking into consideration that they used only one item per dimension.

I have designed studies for this thesis that use a "separate scale" measure, including three dimensions (culture maintenance, desire for contact and culture adoption) and I am measuring group identification separately with a self-categorization and evaluation measure. I will use the midpoint of the scale to calculate the acculturation type attitudes of each group for classification purposes, but the main analysis will be done using the whole scale of each of the acculturation dimensions.

Acculturation and child development

The groups that are considered more vulnerable in immigration are women and children. They are at the same time the less studied in acculturation research (that mainly has relied on student college samples) and are the growing groups in migration (Adsera & Tienda, 2012; Sam & Berry, 2006).

When studying an acculturation process with children and adolescents, it is important to take into consideration developmental processes. We should assume that the cognitive and behavioural structures in regard to acculturation are still under construction at this stage. That is why it is important not to study children's

acculturation process using exactly the same methods or measures as with adults, because the developmental issues may be confounded with the process of adaptation (Aronowitz, 1984). Sam (2006) and colleagues consider acculturation and development as parallel processes that occur during the life span. Their model posits that children obtain competences through acculturation that allow them to function in society: "acculturation development is a process towards gaining competence within two distinct cultural domains in order to have a sense of belonging and be able to participate successfully within both" (Oppedal, 2006, p.97). Which competences they adopt depend on contextual factors, such as family relationships (parent-child especially) and the quantity and quality of the intergroup relationships. These relationships define the "developmental pathway" of the child. (Sam, 2006), and "for children and adolescents growing up in a multi-cultural society, acculturation is to be understood as the developmental process towards adaptation and gaining competence within more than one cultural setting, in addition to the creation of novel individual cultures" (Sam & Oppedal, 2003, p.11). The importance of gaining this cultural competence is that it heightens self-esteem of the child and increases the access to social support both from the heritage group (i.e. family) and receiving society (i.e. school) (Oppedal, et al., 2004). Therefore we can view acculturation as one of the developmental tasks that immigrant children (and any child in a multicultural society) have to achieve.

To take into consideration the developmental aspect of acculturation, I decided to include a range of ages from late childhood (8) to late adolescence (17) in order to see if there were any differences by age. At the same time, the inclusion of a *majority* group in the longitudinal study is intended to serve as a source of comparison to see if the parent-child discrepancies (described in chapter 2) analysed are due to developmental circumstances characteristic of adolescence, or if they are related to acculturation.

The importance of the social context

Acculturation is a way to adapt to society that can have positive or poor results. Adaptation has been divided into psychological (i.e. personal and social well-being) and socio adaptation (i.e. the ability to manage daily life in a new cultural context) (Ward & Searle, 1991; Sam, 2006). The acculturation preferences have to do with how the

immigrant groups or individuals decide is the best way for them to adapt to the receiving society, but this process is not done in a vacuum.

The context, which includes what the receiving society considers acceptable for immigrants to do (both the state policies and the *majority* group's acculturation expectations), influences and sometimes limits the immigrants' options (Bourhis et al., 1997, 2009; Berry et al., 2006). Yoon et al.'s (2011) content analysis of acculturation studies from 1988 to 2002 showed that of 138 papers only 4 included discussion about the social context.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (1979, cited in Sam & Berry, 2006) considers that to understand children's behaviour and development in a comprehensive way we have to take into consideration the microsystem (i.e., main carer relationship), mesosystem (i.e., the interrelations with immediate environment), exosystem (i.e., the settings where the child is not present) and macrosystems (i.e., cultural attitudes and ideologies) that surround him or her. That is why when analysing an acculturation process we have to consider the characteristics of the heritage and receiving society and the family and community in which the child is immersed.

Some of the characteristics of the context that are important to look at are: the receiving societies policies in regard to immigrants and cultural diversity; the culture distance between the heritage and receiving societies cultures; the *majority*'s acculturation expectations and the process of acculturation of families.

Family and school are fundamental social contexts of influence for children's identity and acculturation preferences (Awokoya, 2012; Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011). The identity development of a person starts in childhood, with the ascription of a name and the particular socialization practices of each family and culture: the child receives an ascribed identity from parents, and it is the parents' beliefs but also their behaviours that influence the child (Vedder & Phinney, 2013). In this thesis I am interested not only in identifying how individual children respond but also how they react as part of a family and how other members of their family (i.e., parents) influence their acculturation preferences.

How much the school accepts diversity influences the child's well-being (Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005). It has been found that the family and social contexts' acceptance of biculturalism provides a secure social space where the child can safely identity with two cultures if he/she is inclined to do it (Vedder & Phinney, 2013). The Societal-Social-Cognitive-Motivational theory (SSCMT; Barrett & Oppenheimer,

2011) posits that the child's discourses and actions (we could include here their acculturation preferences and identity), are influenced by the heritage and receiving societies historical, political and social circumstances; by the parents' preferences in regard to how and where they should live; by peers and other social actors' beliefs and actions; and in interaction with the own child's cognitive/ perceptual/ motivational/ affective processes and levels. This contextual-developmental conception is a useful framework to understand how the acculturation process has a common background for a group of immigrants or a family but individual differences as a lived experience.

The immigrant groups that have participated in acculturation research vary in each country, because generally the studies focus on the group that is either the numerically largest *minority* or the one that has more cultural distance with the receiving society. One important observation from the literature is the diversity of acculturation patterns that can exist due to the contextual and particular immigration process that each group, family and individual goes through in a particular society. We can see, for example, that Muslim adolescents in Paris-France and Montreal-Canada, despite the similarities in culture between those two contexts, have different acculturation preferences and interactions with their environment. A possible explanation is the difference in policies in regard to diversity and parenting in both countries (Sabatier & Berry, 2008). The importance of carrying out studies on the acculturation process for different immigrant origin groups in other receiving societies is highlighted when the few studies that are not in developed societies show differences in how each group functions. So, even comparing similar countries, the outcomes of children vary due to a wide number of macro and micro level factors (Crosnoe & Fuligni, 2012). At the same time we can also see that there are differences between *minority* groups in the same receiving country. Pakistani and Nepalese immigrants' life satisfaction in Hong Kong related both to perceived social support and only Nepalese to perceived discrimination. While psychological distress was related for both to the perception of discrimination and acculturative stress but only to Pakistani to perceived social support (Tonsing, 2013).

The study of acculturation preferences' effect on well-being both of *minority* and *majority* groups, as well as its effect on intergroup relations, has generally been concentrated in receiving western developed societies (i.e., North America – USA and Canada; Western Europe – United Kingdom, France, Germany, Finland, Netherlands) (Yoon et al., 2011). The few studies I had access to that were carried out in developing

countries that are receiving immigrants showed that the *majority*'s discourse is either one of "melting pot" or "multiculturalism" depending on the country, but also on the methodology of measurement that was used; while the immigrants do not have a fixed pattern of acculturation (Arostica, 2012; Caro, Castro, Gómez & Yáñez, 2012; Sirlopú & van Oudenhoven, 2013).

In the present study, I will measure how acculturation relates to children psychological adaptation and will consider various contextual variables. The quality of the relationships within the family (i.e,-family relations) will be included as a predictor of children's well-being but also as a possible mediator in the relationship between parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children's well-being (more about this in chapter 2). At the same time, I will incorporate three other social variables that might influence acculturation preferences and children's well-being: how much they feel accepted by their peers (peer acceptance); how supportive they perceive their social climate at school (school climate); and, if they perceive discrimination towards others or themselves because of skin colour, language differences or country of origin (perceived discrimination). Finally, the studies will be developed in two different receiving country contexts, UK and Chile.

History of immigration into UK

The United Kingdom is a country with high level of historic immigration. After the Second World War in the XX century, the immigration became constant and mainly from the countries that belonged to the Commonwealth. From the end of the last century the diversity of cultural origins of immigrants has increased, and London is considered a multicultural city (Vethanayagam, 2010). The 2011 Census indicated that 11.9% of the population in UK was born overseas, an estimate of 8% of these immigrants were born outside the EU. The cultural identity of 14% of the UK population is non-white and London is the city with more diversity in the country.

History of immigration into Chile

Chile is a country with low level of historic immigration. Until the XX century, the majority of the immigration was of European origin (mainly from Spain, Italy and Germany) and some Asian and Arab groups. Immigrants from border countries such as

Argentina have been consistent over time, but it is after the recovery of democracy in the 1990s that the interregional immigration increased notably, due to the social and economic stability of the country (Cano & Soffia, 2009). The 2012 National Census indicates that 2,04% of the Chilean population consisted of immigrants, 90% of whom were of Latin-American origin.

Majority **members' acculturation preferences**

As was mentioned before, the context of reception is a vital part of the acculturation process. The policies in regard to immigration and cultural diversity not only impact directly on the lives of immigrants, but also through the effect they have on the *majority* (and other groups) that live in the receiving society (Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey & Barrette, 2010). Receiving societies tend to have assimilationist ideologies ("melting pot" in Berry's conceptualization) and this has a direct effect on *majority* members' acculturation preferences. Some studies have found that *majority* members prefer an assimilationist acculturation strategy from immigrants, while others have found that they prefer integration ("multiculturalism") (Sam & Berry, 2006).

The prejudice towards the *minority*, stereotypes about the *minority*, the positive and negative affect towards the *minority* and the presence of perceived threat that the *majority* feels with a particular immigrant groups' presence appear to be important predictors and mediators of the relationship between acculturation and intergroup relations (Kosic, Mannetti & Sam, 2005; Matera, Stefanile & Brown, 2011; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker & Obdrzalek, 2000; Rohmann, Piontkowski & van Randenborgh, 2008; Zagefka, Brown, Broquard & Leventoglu, 2007; Zagefka, Brown & González, 2009; Zagefka, Tip, González, Brown & Cinnirella, 2012). It seems that if the *majority* group has a negative attitude towards an immigrant group, they prefer for them to assimilate, and have the worst evaluation of immigrants if they perceive them to want to separate (Kosic et al., 2005). This relates to Matera et al.'s (2011) findings that culture maintenance was only valued when in combination with desire for contact, not on its own. In this study the "integration" approach was considered positive but it also depended on how threatened the *majority* felt with the presence of the *minority* group.

The threat appears subdued when there is a perception of concordance between the acculturation attitudes of both *majority* and *minority* groups (Rohmann et al., 2008). Experimental evidence was found on the direct effect that the perception of *minority*'s

acculturation preferences had on *majority* members own preferences (Zagefka et al., 2012), while the perception of the *majority*'s preference influenced the Mapuche minority in Chile (Zagefka, González & Brown, 2011). For example, a high desire for contact from immigrants relates to the *majority*'s preference for "integration" by also diminishing *majority* members' negative affect towards the *minority* (Zagefka et al., 2007). Finally, an integration approach from the *majority* relates to more favourable effect on intergroup relations, and a mismatch in preferences with the *minority* group has negative outcomes for intergroup relations (Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

Another interesting point is that for *majority* members the dimensions of culture adoption and desire for contact each combined with culture maintenance yield similar results, so they might be tapping to the similar concepts. The difference appeared in two aspects, culture maintenance did moderate the relationship between desire for contact and the outcomes, while culture adoption related negatively to intergroup outcomes when *majority* members perceived symbolic threat (Matera, Stefanile & Brown, 2012).

If studies with *majority* groups in acculturation are few, in regard to *majority* children they are even scarcer (Aronson & Brown, 2013; Kunst & Sam, 2014; Vethanayagam, 2010; Verkuyten, Thijs & Sierksma, 2014).

Majority children appear to have various identities and knowledge about diverse cultural practices (Vethanayagam, 2010). As with adults, *majority* children in Netherlands value "assimilation" more than "separation" and "integration" for immigrants, and these findings are stronger for lower status migrant groups and when *majority* children are higher in national identification (Verkuyten et al., 2014). While in USA, when *majority* members perceive *minority* groups to desire "integration" then they have higher prosocial behaviour towards them (Aronson & Brown, 2013). In Germany, Kunst and Sam (2014) found that devalued immigrants are less welcomed, and second generation of immigrants are preferred to assimilate, which brings conflict because immigrants want to maintain their culture.

There are various factors, then, that influence the acculturation expectations of the *majority* group for immigrants: the social context, the perception they have of that group (threatening or not, valued or devalued), the perception they have of the groups' acculturation preferences, and if the immigrants are 1st generation or born in the receiving country. The findings in the literature point out that *majority* members preferred "assimilation" or "integration" influenced by the context they lived in, and

there appeared to be a concordance between what the adults and children of the *majority* preferred.

In the present study I have included a sample of *majority* children and parents (in the study conducted in Chile) in order to have empirical evidence of how this group considers that immigrant children in their country should deal with the acculturation process. They will answer the same questionnaire as the immigrant children.

Minority acculturation preferences and adaptation

Using Berry's model the preferred acculturation strategy of immigrant groups is usually "integration", high in orientation towards heritage culture and high orientation towards the receiving society's dominant culture or desire for contact with other groups (Berry et al., 2006; Ferguson, Bornstein & Pottinger, 2012; Graff, 2010; Koydemir, 2013; Sam, 1995; Vadher, 2009; Yoon et al., 2013; van de Vijver et al., 1999). The concept of biculturalism is comparable to that of "integration" but related to incorporating two cultures (not desire for contact): "Biculturalism and acculturation are tightly intertwined, with biculturalism being one of the four ways to acculturate" (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012, p.2). This preference for integration or biculturalism has appeared also in studies using other models or methods (Ghuman 1991; 1997). In second place, immigrants appear to prefer separation, high in culture maintenance and low in desire for contact or culture adoption (Sam, 1995; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Koydemir, 2013). In Berry et al.'s (2006) cross-national study (13 nations, 5366 participants), they divided adolescents in four profiles of acculturation (similar to the acculturation attitudes of their original model). They found that the largest group was "integration profile" that included 36.4% of the sample; while the second largest was the "ethnic profile" composed of 22.5% of the sample; the "national profile" was the lowest with 18.7%. A "diffuse profile" that did not have a clear orientation in their culture preferences or identity included 22.4% of the sample. So, this indicated that although an "integration" attitude was the preferred one, if we take into consideration the four possible attitudes as independent options, there was still nearly two thirds of the immigrants that participated that had an alternative preference to "integration".

The integration orientation appears to be more favourable for mental health (Yoon et al., 2013); for psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry et al., 2006; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001); for affective and cognitive well-being

(Koydemir, 2013); for family relations and psychological adjustment (Portes & Hao, 2002) and high school performance (in the presence of a low threat context) (Baysu, Phalet & Brown, 2011). In their meta-analysis that included 83 studies, Nguyen & Benet-Martinez (2012) found a positive relationship between biculturalism and psychological, social and health adjustment. Importantly, there are two main limitations of this study that are actually generalizable to the main research in the area: the majority of the studies consulted for this meta-analysis were conducted in USA with Latino and Asian samples, and they were cross-sectional in their methodology.

Findings more relevant to the present study, that focus on children and adolescents acculturation orientation and their relation to their well-being, appear to show a trend towards children preferring "integration" and this preference relating positively to their self-esteem, perception of peer acceptance and social competence (Brown et al., 2013; Nigbur et al., 2008; Rutland et al., 2012). In England, a study carried out with British South-Asian children between the ages of 5 and 11 found that, although they preferred "integration", it was not related to higher self-esteem, but their greater orientation towards culture maintenance was (Nigbur et al., 2008). The same group of children were measured two more times with a 6 month interval each time point. When older children were higher in ethnic identity at T1 and higher in English identity at T1 (i.e., bicultural), then they had more peer acceptance at T2; while this relationship was opposite for younger children, their highest peer acceptance at T2 related to higher ethnic identity and lower English identity at T1 (Rutland et al., 2012). It is important to point out that in this analysis they found that higher peer acceptance at T1 influenced children's positive orientation for ethnic identification at T2, showing that if minority children perceived themselves in an environment that accepted them, then they felt more secure to maintain their culture. Children that maintained their preference for integration during the study showed significant increases in social competence and peer acceptance in each time point, while the children that had other acculturation attitudes did not have significant changes over time (Brown et al., 2013). These positive effects of an "integration" attitude were accompanied by a teacher evaluation at the final time point of measuring that indicated more emotional problems in these children (Brown et al., 2013). This last finding gives some indication that the effects of an acculturation attitude are not straightforward and that they may have different implications for psychological and social adaptation. At the same time, it highlights the importance of having outcome measures that are not only self-reported by

participants, which gives us a wider sense of how the participant is adapting. Despite this anomalous finding, an "integration" attitude did relate to more positive outcomes for children with South-Asian background in UK.

As has been stated before, the majority of the research in acculturation has studied the acculturation process of immigrant groups to western developed countries. It is important to study other countries also that act as receiving societies in order to see if the pattern of acculturation preferences differs. In a study conducted in Bulgaria, Turkish-Bulgarian adolescents were found to favour their Turkish identity and culture maintenance, over their Bulgarian identity and culture adoption (Dimitrova, Bender, Chasiotis & van de Vijver, 2013). The Turkish identity had a positive relation to both socio-cultural adjustment and well-being. The authors believe that in the Bulgarian context of high-perceived discrimination and pressure to assimilate, adolescents of Turkish heritage hold on to their identity as a positive source of improving their adaptation (Dimitrova et al., 2013).

In the acculturation literature generation differences in the immigrant population are taken into consideration. People who are not born in the country they reside in are called "immigrants" or "first generation immigrants", while the descendants of these immigrants are referred to as "second generation immigrants" (or third or fourth, depending on the generation). At the same time, studies in regard to immigrant minorities acculturation are generally conducted with non-white immigrant groups, that is, it is rare to find studies of acculturation of Canadian-American or European-American immigrants in USA, or Irish in UK or white Europeans in other European countries. Therefore, it is the non-white people that have immigrant background in their family that are usually referred to as immigrants, even though they are born in the receiving country and can have generations of residence in it. In this thesis, a sample of children born in Chile whose parents are immigrants participated. In legal terms they are Chilean, not immigrants. I consider that the term "second generation immigrant" is not accurate, and there are political reasons to stop using it. Although I do not think that the term I use is the best option, I chose to use children of "mixed origin", considering their immigrant and non-immigrant background.

So, taking all the aforementioned I have decided in this thesis to test longitudinally (3 time points) if immigrant children's high orientation towards culture maintenance (CM) and desire for contact (DC) (or CM and culture adoption (CA)) relates to positive well-being over time in a developing receiving country.

The role of perceived discrimination

The perception of discrimination appears to be an important factor in the adaptation process of immigrants to a receiving society and has negative consequences for immigrants' psychological adaptation (Berry et al., 2006; Ghuman, 1997; Graff, 2010; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola & Reuter, 2006; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Rivera et al., 2011; Zeiders, Umaña-Taylor & Derlan, 2013). All these research studies mention it as a factor in the social context, that produces acculturation stress or lower well-being, relates to greater preference for heritage identity or for immigrants' assimilation in order to adapt. Some research even report that perceived discrimination has a higher effect on well-being of immigrants than the acculturation preferences (Berry et al., 2006; Te Lindert, Korzilius, van de Vijver, Kroon & Arends-Tóth, 2008). Although the contextual observation and analysis of the presence of racism, xenophobia and discrimination is important in a comprehensive study of acculturation, it is the subjective perception of discrimination that influences the immigrants' responses (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

A main hypothesis in regard to discrimination is that as a reaction to discrimination, people will choose to define themselves more strongly as members of their own group, instead of as members of a national *majority* group that discriminates against them (Branscombe et al., 1999).

Branscombe's rejection-identification model has found empirical evidence (Ai, Aisenberg, Weiss & Salazar, 2014; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Dimitrova, et al., 2013; Heim, Hunter & Jones, 2011; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007), while other studies have not confirmed it (Ahmed, Kia-Keating & Tsai, 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006; Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Srivastava, 2012; Wiley, 2013). The majority of the studies have been cross-sectional, therefore the direction of the relationship between ethnic/group identification and perceived discrimination has not been clearly identified.

For Latin American immigrants in USA, the perception of rejection from *majority* members related to loss of identification with USA and did not influence their identification with their own culture (Wiley, 2013). While the perception of rejection from Latin American people lowered their ethnic identity and increased their *majority* identification (Wiley, 2013)

Another factor that interacts with perceived discrimination is social support. Social support from *majority* networks in the receiving society and from heritage

networks in the home country are positive for immigrants' well-being; while heritage support in the receiving country is only positive when immigrants do not perceive discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). Parental support, specifically, was related to lower report of perceived discrimination and higher self-esteem, but if this was accompanied with favouring heritage values, then the immigrant adolescents perceived slightly more discrimination and sought less contact with the majority (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001). It is not clear in these studies what is the causal relationship between the perception of discrimination and heritage culture preference or support.

Given the importance of perceived discrimination in the well-being of immigrants, it was included in the thesis as a possible mediator or moderator of the relationship between acculturation preferences and well-being. However, it is important to note that the measure is the *perception* that the participants have of discrimination and not an "objective" index.

Protective and risk factors for immigrant's positive adaptation

Protective factors of the immigrant's process of adaptation found in the literature include the fulfilment of social expectations of the immigrant (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012), social networking with the heritage group in the receiving country (Leong, Park & Kalibatseva, 2013), maintaining contact with parents while serial migration is taking place (Smith, Lalonde & Johnson, 2004), perceived social support of parents, peers and teachers (Tartakovsky, 2012) and biculturalism (Bacallao & Smokowki, 2005).

Some of the risk factors identified in the literature are perceived discrimination (Tartakovsky, 2012); family conflict (Srivastava, 2012); perceived discrimination, acculturation stress and family conflict (Leong et al., 2013); and serial migration that encounters long periods of separation (Smith et al., 2004).

Some studies have found that negative parenting and conflictive family relations are risk factors for immigrant children's psychological adaptation. In a longitudinal study, Dinh, Roosa, Tein and Lopez (2002) found that the relationship from acculturation to behaviour problems is mediated by poor parental involvement, while McQueen, Getz and Bray (2003) found it went through family conflict. In another study, the link between ethnicity and internalizing problems in Indian-British children was mediated by parents' reports of social support, maternal positivity and paternal

negativity. It appeared that when parents perceived less social support, this affected negatively their parenting style, which impacted negatively on children's well-being (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2005). Interestingly, there were different findings for fathers and mothers. Fathers' harsh discipline (positively) and mothers' warmth (negatively) related to children's negative emotionality (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2008).

In this thesis, I considered possible mediators in the relationship between acculturation orientation and children's well-being, such as perception of quality of family relations, perception of peer acceptance, perception of discrimination and perception of school climate. I also considered the possibility that these same variables were moderating the relationship, serving as protective factors or depressors of the relationship.

Methodological issues in measuring acculturation

The decision of how to measure acculturation is a complex one because the concept is multidimensional and contextually influenced; there are many variables that are affecting the process. When choosing scales it is important to consider that all psychological instruments have some bias attached to them (van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). The questionnaire I used was derived from a tested questionnaire for immigrant children used in UK (Nigbur et al., 2008) that I then used in Chile for the first time.

As mentioned before, two distinct methods have been used to measure acculturation based on Berry's bi-dimensional model: measuring the four attitudes directly, "unitary scale" (one scale per strategy; or using vignettes/videos representing each strategy); and, measuring the two underlying dimensions separately, "separate scale": culture maintenance, and desire for contact or culture adoption (Berry, 2006). When using the second method, as explained previously, the "categorical" acculturation preferences can be obtained by dividing the sample using the midpoint of the scale. However, apart from their use in being able to "classify" participants into one of the four acculturation preferences, I would agree with Brown and Zagefka (2011), Birman (1998) and Demes and Geeraert (2014) that it is preferable to use the two underlying dimensions as the main measurement method. First, one does not lose information by collapsing interval measures into discrete categories. Second, one can separately estimate the effects of CM, DC (or CA) and their interactions using multivariate techniques. Third, as noted earlier, the "direct" measures favoured by some researchers

(e.g., Berry et al., 2006) have the undesirable characteristic that they are double-barrelled in nature (see, Brown & Zagefka (2011) for a full methodological discussion).

Acculturation is an on-going process, it is not static so it is important to measure over time, to see if there are changes, in which direction and influenced by which factors (Fuligni, 2001). Generally the studies are cross-sectional, sometimes they try to include the ongoing factor by including a variable that is related to time such as, time of migration. But in order to measure change and the possible causal effect between variables the best methodology is longitudinal (Sam & Berry, 2006; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Also in order to separate the acculturative from developmental changes, it is important to study both immigrant and non-immigrant children over time (Fuligni, 2001).

In the present study I centred the analysis on the underlying dimensions, "separate scale", and only categorized the attitudes because it was theoretically interesting to see how the attitudes were distributed in the sample. Several of the measures used were proven in UK, and were tested in this thesis in Chile. Finally, I designed a cross-sectional and a longitudinal study with immigrant and non-immigrant children.

Conclusion

This thesis is conducted in a bi-dimensional framework, using a "separate scale" method as a measure of acculturation attitudes (culture maintenance, culture adoption and desire for contact).

The literature shows that for adults and children, the positive orientation towards both their heritage culture and the mainstream one in the receiving country has mainly positive consequences for their adaptation. In this thesis I want to see if this finding appears when studying the well-being of immigrant and non-immigrant children in a developed and a developing country.

The main question that will be answered in this thesis in regard to this literature is: What is the relationship between children's acculturation preferences and their well-being in two different receiving contexts, United Kingdom and Chile?. The secondary questions that will be answered are: What are the acculturation attitudes that have the best outcome for immigrant children's life satisfaction and self-esteem in these contexts?; Are there social mediators in the relationship between acculturation

preferences and well-being?; Are there social moderators that buffer the relationship between acculturation preferences and well-being?

These questions will be answered in chapter 3.

In the following chapter, I will present the parent-child acculturation discrepancy literature and present the second main question of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

ACCULTURATION DISCREPANCIES WITHIN THE FAMILY AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILDREN'S ADAPTATION AND WELL-BEING.

In the previous chapter I presented the main findings in the literature in regard to the acculturation process of immigrant children and their psychological adjustment in the receiving society. The framework on which this thesis is based considers acculturation as (at least) a bi-dimensional process that includes the immigrant's orientation both towards his/her heritage culture (CM), as well as to the receiving culture (CA) and their desire to establish and maintain contact with the majority group (DC). There is a certain consensus in the acculturation literature that a high orientation to CM and CA (or DC) relates to more positive outcomes for the immigrants, and for the majority.

In general, studies have been conducted with adults and adolescents, but fewer have considered children. At the same time, a consideration of contextual factors is not always taken into account. An important contextual factor that I will consider in this chapter is that many immigrant children and adolescents are part of a family whose other members are also going through the process of acculturation. Both parents and children are in the process of adjusting to life in the receiving country, all of which are acculturating individuals. This naturally raises the question of the relationship, similarity or discrepancy, between the parents' acculturation attitudes and those of their children, and the impact of that relationship on the child's well-being. At the same time, children are exposed to some different aspects of the receiving culture than their parents (e.g., at school, peer group), and so some discrepancies might not be so surprising.

In this chapter I will discuss the acculturation process within the family and how the existence of parent-child discrepancies (differences between parent and child in acculturation orientations) has been found to affect children's adjustment. I will present the existing ways to measure the discrepancies, and highlight other important methodological decisions that were made for this thesis. Finally, I will present the question that I expect to answer in regard to parent-child acculturation discrepancies.

Acculturation in the family

Family can be considered as a structure formed of various subsystems that have rules and assumptions of what is expected in the family or subsystem. In regard to acculturation, this affects how the different subsystems experience the process: such as the couple, the parents, the siblings, and the parent-child subsystems (Chun, 2006). The latter subsystem is the one that has been more studied and is the one I will focus on in this thesis.

In immigrant families, children are socialized in the family in regard to their heritage culture and in regard to what is considered acceptable by parents to adopt of the receiving culture (Farver, Narang & Bhadha, 2002; Farver, Badha & Narang, 2002). This explains the finding that child and parents' acculturation preferences are generally similar especially for children up to early adolescence, both in heritage and receiving cultures (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Goforth, Pham & Oka, 2015). Different aspects of parenting influence the process of acculturation. For example, when adolescents perceive that their parents support their autonomous decisions, then they generally are more oriented to their heritage culture (Abad & Sheldon, 2008).

Despite the similarities in the process of acculturation between parents and children found in some studies, there is also evidence to support the claim that it develops differently for different members of the family (Bornstein & Cote, 2006). Parents generally have been socialized and become adults in their country of origin, whilst children arrived young or were born in the receiving country. Therefore the children of immigrants are generally socialized in two cultures, it could thus be expected for them to be more experts than their parents in the receiving culture and to have a better knowledge of both cultures. Parents are also going through the process of acculturation, as said before, and have their own personal orientation towards the heritage and receiving cultures and to the possibility of interacting with the *majority*. They generally incorporate their orientation into their parenting and rearing practices. Because children, especially after starting formal schooling, enter into interaction with other social groups and environments (peers and school), they have the opportunity to develop their own acculturation preferences, influenced by all these new groups they encounter and their general social experiences. The parent-child acculturation discrepancies that might appear can produce conflicts in that relationship and in the family relationships.

It is important, though, to distinguish developmental conflicts that occur in families from those caused by acculturation discrepancies. The former relates acculturation to typical normative parent-adolescent conflict generally in regard to individuation and autonomy issues. While the latter ones have to do with discrepancies in regard to cultural values, identity and behaviours that are put in question in the context of encountering more than one cultural framework in daily life (Le & Stockdale 2008).

Origins of the study of acculturation discrepancies

Scholars and health intervention centres that worked with immigrants in the 1970s observed that parents and children within immigrant families differed in the level of adaptation to the receiving culture and that this related to negative effects on children's psychological/social adjustment and family relationships (Tezler, 2010). Szapocznik and colleagues focussing primarily on clinical observation of Cuban immigrants in Miami, stated that in immigrant families it was common to observe "acculturation differences" between parents and children, characterized by children's greater preference for the receiving culture than their parents that had negative effects on children's adjustment (Szapocznik, Rio, Perez-Vidal, Kurtines, Hervis & Santisteban, 1986; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). This has been known as the "acculturation gap-distress model" (Tezler, 2010) and stated that, in the presence of an acculturation gap (i.e., discrepancy), where the child was more oriented to the receiving culture than parents – and, by default, less oriented to the heritage culture than parents - , the family relationship deteriorated (i.e., conflict appeared) and this related to adolescent mal-adjustment in society (i.e., drug abuse) (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Acculturation gap-distress model (Tezler, 2010)

| Acculturation gap | → | Family Conflict | → | Youth Maladjustment |

Just in the last 15 years has this model found empirical evidence to support its proposed mediation effect. This evidence, though, has not been conclusive (Tezler, 2010). In order to understand the different findings in the literature it is important to take into consideration the different methodological approaches that have been used: If the researcher of a particular study understood acculturation as uni-dimensional or bi-

dimensional; if the study used quantitative, qualitative or mixed methodology; how the acculturation discrepancy was operationalized; and what were the characteristics of the sample. I will present the findings in acculturation discrepancies taking into account these different considerations and justify my choices for this thesis.

There are various terms that have been used in the literature to relate to acculturation discrepancies: acculturation gaps; intergenerational cultural dissonance (ICD; Choi, He & Harachi, 2007); intergenerational culture conflict (ICC; Lui, 2015) and acculturative family distancing (AFD; Hwang, 2006). In this thesis I will use the term acculturation discrepancies and I will separate it from family conflict or family relationship, as was suggested initially by Szapocznik and colleagues.

Uni-dimensional or Bi-dimensional framework

In chapter 1, I presented the uni-dimensional and bi-dimensional frameworks that are used to conceptualize the acculturation process. In few words, the uni-dimensional framework considers that immigrant groups adapt to the receiving country by gradually leaving their heritage culture behind and adopting the mainstream culture. The bi-dimensional model states that immigrants can choose to maintain their heritage culture, and can adapt to the mainstream one and maintain contact with other groups in the receiving country as independent dimensions. It should be understood from chapter 1 that the bi-dimensional framework is considered today as a more comprehensive way of understanding the acculturation process than the uni-dimensional framework.

Nevertheless, in the acculturation discrepancy literature, some researchers still use a uni-dimensional framework (Buki, Strom & Strom, 2003; Crane, Ngai, Larson & Hafen, 2005; Dinh & Nguyen, 2006; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau & McCabe, 2008; Marsiglia, Nagoshi, Parsai, Booth, & Castro, 2014; Pasch et al., 2006; Schofield, Parke, Kim & Coltrane, 2008; Silverstein & Chen, 1999; Tardif & Geva, 2006; Ying & Han, 2007). I will consider their findings in this review but taking into account the limitations of this uni-dimensional conceptualization of acculturation.

Research using the uni-dimensional model of acculturation has found that immigrant children are more oriented to the host culture than parents (Crane et al, 2005) and this has negative consequences for the children's adaptation (Dinh & Nguyen, 2006; Gil & Vega, 1996). However, due to the uni-dimensional framework they use, we do not know if they are also oriented to the heritage culture.

Analysing the acculturation discrepancies bi-dimensionally allows one to detect the complexity of parent and children's differences in their orientation to one or the other culture. The differences might be not in <u>all</u> the aspects in regard to a culture, but might be related to a specific domain: language, values or behaviours (Birman, 2006; Birman & Trickett, 2001). For example, Costigan and Dokis (2006a) found that, for Chinese immigrant families in Canada, children were lower in heritage language use than parents, but higher in heritage media and values than parents; while in regard to the receiving culture, children were more highly oriented to it than parents, in language, media and values. When some studies use only certain domains as proxies of acculturation (e.g., language), it is important to consider their findings as related to that specific domain because the effect of the discrepancy might not be the same in other domains.

In the Costigan and Dokis (2006a) study, the difference between parent and child in the heritage culture might be only in regard to parents expecting the child to maintain the heritage language; on the other hand, the child may not consider it as something important, but may not have problems with other aspects of the heritage culture as values. Even more specifically, it might be heritage language use in public domains and not in private domains that differs between generations; or specific values that are in discord, like when it is appropriate to date and not if it is important to respect adults; or specific behaviours, what clothes to wear but not what to eat. These distinctions allow us to acquire a more comprehensive picture of the complex acculturation process that occurs within immigrant families. This is why in this thesis I have considered different domains by using items in regard to language, identity and cultural practices from the heritage and receiving cultures.

Research using qualitative methodology has identified the life domains in which immigrant children and families observe acculturation discrepancies (Cordova, Ciofu & Cervantes, 2014). It cannot be assumed that the differences in acculturation will be the same for all immigrant families independent of their heritage origin, the receiving country, the historical moment and other demographic factors. Cordova et al. (2014) found that Latin American origin adolescents in USA did not only find as sources of conflict differences in desire (or not) to adopt mainstream values or use of English language with parents. They also had two important conflicts related to acculturation: one in regard to their role as English translators for their parents, that is not socially

validated; and two, the differences in treatment and expectations for each gender within their families.

As presented in chapter 1, this thesis is conceived under the bi-dimensional framework (i.e., "separate scales"), that considers evaluating how parents and children position themselves in regard to the dimensions of culture maintenance, desire for contact and culture adoption when they deal with the acculturation process, taking into account both the heritage and mainstream receiving cultures. At the same time, I will take into consideration three domains: cultural practices, national identity and language use.

Direction of the discrepancy

If we combine parents and children's acculturation orientations towards the heritage (e.g., CM) and mainstream culture (e.g., CA) (or desire for contact (e.g., DC)), we can observe that the discrepancies can be found in one or both cultures each time, and with the parent or the child being more oriented to one or the other. In regard to the direction of the discrepancy between parents and children, the "acculturation gap-distress model" focuses in only one of the possible differences (Tezler, 2010). For example, let us examine a typical family of the "acculturation gap-distress model": a parent prefers a "separated" attitude (i.e. high in orientation towards heritage culture and low in orientation to receiving culture), while the child prefers an "assimilated" attitude (i.e., low in orientation towards the heritage culture and high in orientation towards the receiving culture). In this case, parent and child differ in their orientation towards both cultures: high from parent and low from child in regard to heritage culture, and low from parent and high from child in regard to receiving culture. The "acculturation gap-distress model" assumes that this combination is generally the case within immigrant families. However, another example that is not considered in this model of discrepancy is when a parent prefers "integration" while the child prefers "assimilation". In this case, the discrepancy appears only in regard to the children having less orientation to the heritage culture than parents, while they agree in their high orientation towards the receiving culture. As we can see, it is important to consider if the differences lie in one or both cultures, and if the child or the parent is the one with the more favourable orientation towards it.

Although less frequent, other combinations of preferred orientations towards heritage and receiving cultures exist and it is important to take them into consideration when studying the effect of parent-child acculturation discrepancies on family functioning and well-being of children (Tezler, 2010). There are 4 main acculturation discrepancies that can be identified between parent and child acculturation preferences (see Figure 2.2): When children are more inclined to the receiving culture than parents (type 1); when children are less inclined to the receiving culture than parents (type 2); when children are more inclined to the heritage culture than parents (type 3); or when children are less inclined to the heritage culture than parents (type 4). The acculturation discrepancy type 1, is the typical discrepancy described in the "acculturation gap-distress model", and the discrepancy type 4 is generally the one that is assumed to accompany it. The fact that the discrepancy type 1 and type 4 are assumed to be together relates to uni-dimensional models of acculturation, in which, as explained before, the belief is that immigrants adapt to the receiving culture by immersing themselves in it and leaving their heritage culture behind.

Figure 2.2: Types of acculturation discrepancies between parent and child

	Children acculturation attitude	
Direction of gap or discrepancy	**Receiving culture**	**Heritage culture**
child>parent	Receiving cultural gap higher (1)	Heritage cultural gap higher (3)
child<parent	Receiving cultural gap lower (2)	Heritage cultural gap lower (4)

Taken from Tezler (2010, p.319): child>parent indicates that the child is more oriented to the culture than the parent; child<parent indicates that the child is less oriented than the parent to the culture. The numbers in parenthesis indicate the 4 different types of acculturation gaps or discrepancies.

In Tezler's review (2010) on the acculturation discrepancy literature, she reports that 6 out of 23 studies analysed took into consideration the four gaps mentioned above. The rest of the studies only took into consideration discrepancy type 1 (i.e., child is more oriented to receiving culture than parent), or just took into account the existence of an acculturation difference without detailing the specific culture it relates to or the direction of the difference (e.g. if it is the parent or the child that are highly oriented towards it). In all these cases findings have shown different degrees of impact on the well being of children, which I will discuss later.

How the acculturation discrepancy is operationalized

There are six different methods that have been used in the last 15 years to operationalize the acculturation discrepancies.

- Asking directly for the perception that the participant has of the discrepancy that exists between parents and children (Dinh & Nguyen, 2006; Le & Stockdale, 2008);
- Combining the acculturation orientations or dimension preferences of parents and children in groups that match and that do not match (match- mismatch method) (Asvat & Malcarne, 2008; Gorgorian, 2009; Juang, Syed & Takagi, 2007; Kim, Chen, Li, Huang & Moon, 2009; Lau et al., 2005; Lim et al., 2008; Pasch et al., 2006; Liu, Benner, Lau & Kim, 2009; Tardif & Geva, 2006; Weaver & Kim, 2008);
- Subtracting one score from the other, not considering if the result is positive or negative (absolute difference method) (Ahn, Kim & Park, 2008; Ansary, Scorpio & Catanzariti, 2013; Birman, 2006; Crane et al., 2005; Ho & Birman, 2010; Kwak & Berry 2001; Lim et al., 2008; Martinez, 2006; Marsiglia et al., 2014; Merali, 2002; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Sam & Virta, 2003; Schofield et al., 2008; Smokowski, Rose & Bacallao, 2008; Wang, Kim, Anderson, Chen & Yan, 2012);
- Subtracting the parent score from the children score, taking into account if the result is positive or negative (signed difference method) (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Cespedes & Huey, 2008; Costigan & Dokis, 2006a; Cox, Roblyer, Merten, Shreffler & Schwerdtfeger, 2013; Livas & Polo, 2014; Schwartz et al., 2012; Tezler, Yuen, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2016; Updegraff, Umaña-Taylor, Perez-Brena & Pflieger, 2012; Ying & Han, 2007;));
- Including the main effects of the parent and child acculturation attitudes and the interaction of these in a regression (interaction method) (Birman 2006; Costigan & Dokis, 2006a; Goforth et al., 2015; Ho & Birman, 2010; Rasmi, Chuang & Hennig, 2014; Tezler et al., 2016; Smokowski et al., 2008).
- Including parent and child scores in a multilevel model that considers them part of a same group in a subsequent level of analysis (multilevel method) (Cano et al., 2015; Delgado, Updegraff, Roosa & Umaña-Taylor, 2011; Kim, Chen, Wang, Shen & Orozco-Lapray, 2013; Schwartz et al., 2015).

The importance of choosing one method over the other is that it has been found that different methods, in the same sample, can produce different results. Lim et al. (2009) found that the discrepancy calculated as an "absolute difference" did not relate to youth distress in their Chinese sample, but the "match-mismatch method" showed that adolescents that were less oriented to the receiving USA culture, and more oriented to the heritage one than mothers, had more psychological distress.

The direction of the discrepancy appears relevant to understand what is occurring within the family. Intuitively we can say that it must impact differently on the family functioning, and on the children's adaptation, if the parent is more oriented to the receiving or heritage culture than the child. I will talk about this more in detail later, but if we take this at face value we can see that the first three methods above do not consider the direction of the discrepancy, and therefore might be disregarding important information (Tezler, 2010). The "signed difference method" is a better option because it takes into consideration the direction of the difference, if the parent or the child is more oriented towards the acculturation variable. The benefit of this method is somewhat counterbalanced by the caution that is needed when interpreting its results. It is important to take into account if the mean difference is positive (child more oriented to the culture in question than parents) or negative (parent more oriented to the culture in question than the child) and yet these variations may not always be precisely interpretable when examining correlational data (e.g., a negative correlation between 'discrepancy x (child – parent)' and well-being could indicate that the more a child exceeds the parent on dimension x, the lower the well-being, OR the more the parent exceeds the child on dimension x, the higher the well-being). To some extent, these interpretative ambiguities can be clarified by considering the overall mean differences between children and parents (are they on average positive or negative?), although such group means can, of course, still obscure many pairwise differences between children and parents in either direction. The "interaction method", on the other hand, allows one to observe both the main effects of the acculturative attitude of each member of the family and the combined (interactive) effect of both on the outcome variables. The issue in this case is if the acculturation scores of parent and child are highly correlated. If this is the case, it is important to check for multicollinearity when analysing the data.

I decided to use the "signed difference" and the "interaction" methods because they are the most commonly used in the literature and also widely accepted. In order to test if these methods yielded different results, they were both used in this study. The

"multilevel modelling method" has appeared only very recently in the literature and therefore I decided not to include it.

The literature that has found no effect of the acculturation discrepancies on family relationships or child adjustment has used the "match-mismatch" and "absolute difference" methods (Lau et al., 2005). As stated before, the main limitation of these studies is that we have lost information related to the direction of the discrepancies that allow a more comprehensive understanding of the process.

Relevant findings in these studies are that when both parent and child were high in heritage identity then this related to high family cohesion and satisfaction with parents (Ho & Birman, 2010), was protective against depressive symptoms (Asvat & Malcarne, 2008; Liu et al., 2009) and related to higher GPA and math scores (Liu et al., 2009). At the same time, when parent and child were both high in orientation towards the receiving culture then there appeared to be less intergenerational conflict (Tardif & Geva, 2006). Now, if both parent and child had a bicultural orientation then adolescents appeared to have better psychological outcomes (Weaver & Kim, 2008). Recent findings also point to the positive relationship between adolescent's high orientation towards the heritage culture and a positive family functioning and well-being, independent of their orientation to the receiving culture or their parent's orientation to either culture (Tezler et al., 2016).

Findings taking into consideration the direction of the discrepancies

The "acculturation gap-distress model's" initial observation that parents, as a group, were generally more oriented to the heritage culture, and children, as a group, were more oriented to the receiving culture has been found in various studies (Birman, 2006; Costigan & Dokis 2006b; Ho & Birman, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2015). But at the same time, other findings point out that 30% to 40% of children were higher in heritage orientation than parents (Schwartz et al., 2015). Meanwhile, other studies have found that there is no clear pattern of discrepancies within families (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007). In their study with Indian-British children and their parents, Atzaba-Poria & Pike (2007) found that only 39% of mothers and 56% of fathers were more traditional than children; while only 46% of mothers and 41% of fathers were less westernized than children. In this same line, for a sample of Soviet Jewish adolescent and parent refugees in USA, 24% of the parents were higher than their children in USA identity; while 50%

of adolescents were higher in Russian identity and 21% higher in Russian behaviour than their parents (Birman, 2006). Ho & Birman (2010) found similar percentages with Vietnamese origin families, were 31.7% of the parents reported higher USA identity than their children, and 25% of adolescents reported higher Vietnamese identity than parents. These findings alert us to not assume the patterns that will appear in discrepancies, and also the importance of measuring different domains of acculturation, because the differences may appear in one aspect and not in another.

I will present now the findings from the literature in each of the type of discrepancies that were described previously (see Figure 2).

Discrepancy Type 1

The acculturation discrepancy type 1 occurs when the child is more oriented to the receiving culture than the parent. The general finding has been that it affects family functioning negatively but that there is no definitive relationship to adolescent maladjustment.

Parent-child acculturation discrepancies have been related negatively to family functioning but, only with differences in regard to certain life domains and results vary by cultural group and if the report of family functioning is given by the child or parent (Birman, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2015; Ying & Han, 2007).

In regard to child adaptation there are contradictory findings. Some studies have found that children's adaptation is not affected by their higher orientation towards the receiving culture concurrently (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Birman, 2006). It may even lead parents and children to consider this greater orientation to the receiving culture as something positive for children (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). Recent longitudinal negative effects have been found on more depressive symptoms two years later (Ying & Han, 2007); and depression symptoms and lower academic performance for Chinese adolescents in USA (Kim et al., 2013).

Schwartz et al. (2015) found that 85% of the adolescent participants were higher in orientation to receiving culture *practices* than parents, but in the other domains, *identity and values*, they were similar. When studying the effect of the discrepancy in receiving culture practices on adolescent behaviour 6 months later, it related to negative *adolescent* reports of communication with parents and then to greater risks of cigarette and alcohol consumption; while, when it related to *parent* reports of communication,

then it predicted greater sexual risk in adolescents (Schwartz et al., 2012). But when studying the effects of the discrepancies in receiving culture two and a half years later, they found that it had a positive effect on family functioning and it had a positive effect on adolescent outcomes. Basing their study on this same data, Cano et al. (2015) found positive effects related to lower levels of depressive symptoms but, if associated with higher adolescent individualism, then adolescents presented more smoking behaviour.

The contradictory findings between Schwartz et al. (2015) and the previously mentioned longitudinal studies might be due to methodological differences. Firstly, the participants are Southeast Asian Americans (Ying & Han, 2007) and Chinese-American (Kim et al., 2013), while in Schwartz et al.'s papers, the participants are Hispanic-American. Ying & Han (2007) measured acculturation with one item only in regard to how much participants and parents preferred "the USA way" of doing things. This does not allow to differentiate what the participant is thinking about when answering (i.e. language, practices, identity, and values). In Kim et al. (2013) the receiving country orientation was not subdivided by life domains; this might have influenced the results, where they found negative effects of this discrepancy at Time 2, four years later.

The majority of the literature points to negative consequences for family functioning when the child is more oriented to the receiving culture than parent in concurrent analysis. And in longitudinal analysis, depending on the ethnic group and if the studies have or not included life domains, there can be negative or positive effects of this discrepancy on adolescent adjustment. Taking into consideration Schwartz et al.'s (2015) comprehensive study, it appears to be that for immigrants from Latin American countries in USA, this type 1 discrepancy has neutral and even positive effects on adolescent adjustment. It remains to be observed for other ethnic origin groups and in other receiving contexts.

Discrepancy Type 2

When the child is less oriented to the receiving culture than parents it is described as acculturation discrepancy type 2. Although this might seem a less expected discrepancy, it might be on the rise due to the current immigration processes, where parents (especially mothers), immigrate before their children who then meet up with them sometimes years later. The parent arrives first and begins the process of adaptation

before. This might relax his/ her expectations in regard to his/her child's acculturation orientation (Cox et al., 2013).

It seems to have more negative consequences for adolescents' adjustment and family relations (Birman, 2006); Indian-British children appear to present more internalizing problems (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007); and, there is more psychological distress (Lim et al., 2009). While Costigan and Dokis (2006a) found that, when the discrepancy is in regard to the mother having a higher orientation to mainstream media use, then it relates to positive achievement motivation for adolescents. Again, this last finding points out to the importance of considering different life domains that might be affected by the acculturation discrepancies, for some life domains the effect might be positive and for others negative.

That the child might have a less strong orientation to the receiving culture than parents is less found in the literature, but appears to be related to family conflicts and negative adolescent maladjustment.

Discrepancy Type 3

It is also considered less frequent and less expected when the child expresses a greater orientation towards the heritage culture than parents (discrepancy type 3). Some research has found negative consequences for adolescents adjustment and family functioning: greater externalizing and internalizing problems (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007); when daughters were more Mexican oriented than mothers, then it related to higher family conflict, higher depressive symptoms and risky behaviours in adolescents (Updegraff et al., 2012); greater depression of adolescents, and report of more family conflict, when children use Chinese language and media more than mothers (Costigan & Dokis, 2006b); and report of less family cohesion and satisfaction with parents from adolescents (Ho & Birman, 2010).

Rasmi et al. (2014) found that when young adult Arab-Canadians perceived themselves to be more heritage oriented than their parents then they also perceived more intergenerational conflict in the family and more personal identity conflict. But when the parent-child relationship was strong then it reduced the negative effect of the discrepancy. Because this study is cross-sectional we cannot know if the perception of conflict influenced the perception of discrepancy or the other way around.

Interesting are the different effects of the child's positive orientation towards the heritage culture on its own, and as a discrepancy with the parents' orientation over time. Cano et al. (2015) found that higher adolescent collectivism related to decreased perception of positive family functioning, but when the adolescent was higher in collectivism than the parent, this related to a more positive view of family functioning.

In general, this discrepancy appears to have negative consequences on family relationships and child adjustment, but it can have positive effects when mediated by a relationship of quality between parent and child, and can be positive over time.

Discrepancy Type 4

Finally, when the child is less oriented to the heritage culture than the parent, it is discrepancy type 4. The general finding is that this discrepancy is detrimental both for family functioning and child adjustment: negative effects on family cohesion and adolescent less satisfaction with parents (Ho & Birman, 2010); more family conflict when child is less oriented to Chinese media and language than mother, and when less oriented to Chinese values than father, related to more depressive symptoms (Costigan & Dokis, 2006a); discrepancy in obedience related to greater depressive symptoms (Livas & Polo, 2014); and related to parent report of conflict with child and then to behaviour problems in adolescent (Goforth et al., 2015). In contrast Updegraff et al. (2012) found, in a cross sectional study, that when mothers were more heritage oriented than their daughters, then this related to less adolescent depressive symptoms and risky behaviours. Schwartz et al. (2015), found opposite results in their longitudinal study. When adolescents were lower than parents in Hispanic practices, collectivistic values and heritage identity at T1, then they evaluated family functioning worse at T4 (one and half years later), and there was greater risky behaviour and less positive development at T5 (one more year later).

Conclusions in regard to parent-child acculturation discrepancies

The pattern of discrepancies between parents and children is not rigid and is contextually dependent. In a two and a half-year study (5 time points), Schwartz et al. (2015) found that the discrepancies in receiving (U.S.A) practices, heritage (Hispanic) practices and receiving (U.S.A) identity increased over time, while the discrepancies in

regard to heritage identity decreased over time. This finding is important to take into account because the point in time when the measures are taken will influence the findings.

Although some studies included in this section found a direct link between acculturation discrepancies and adolescent adjustment outcomes, the majority of them consider that, as is stated in the "acculturation gap-distress model", the relationship is mediated by family functioning. In a meta-analytic review of studies on intergenerational cultural conflict (ICC), Lui (2015) found 68 studies that focus on Asian and Latino American samples in USA. She found that acculturation mismatch (i.e., discrepancies) positively correlated with intergenerational cultural conflict, and negatively to mental health and educational outcomes. While Schwartz et al. (2015) found that 19 of 21 relationships studied were mediated by family functioning (especially adolescents reports).

In contrast to the "acculturation gap-distress model's" original hypothesis that a discrepancy in adopting the receiving culture is more detrimental for adolescent adaptation through family functioning, it appears to be that it is the discrepancy in heritage culture that might have worst outcomes. Adolescent positive links to the heritage culture related to less aggression and positive family relationships (Smokowski et al., 2008). Of course, as we have seen, the finding depends on the method used to measure acculturation, to conceptualize the discrepancy and the ethnic group that is participating. When using a bi-dimensional conceptualization of acculturation, a scale with items referring to various domains, and a conceptualization of the discrepancy that allows one to consider the direction of the difference, we can then attribute the findings to differences in social factors such as: ethnic origin, time spent in the receiving country, the receiving context and family functioning.

In this thesis I will take into consideration the four possible discrepancies, to see if they appear in the families that participate in the study. I will include family relations as a possible mediator. And I will conceptualize the discrepancy both as a "signed difference", considering the direction of the relationship, and as an "interaction".

Methodological framework

Qualitative and quantitative methodology

The majority of the studies in the area are based on quantitative data and analysis. They seek to find the patterns of the phenomenon under study, in this case, to see how do acculturation discrepancies relate to and affect the well-being and adaptation of immigrant children and their families. There are few studies that use a qualitative method of data gathering and analysis. This kind of research is very useful to explore new understandings of known phenomena and to comprehend the why of human behaviour (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Chuang & Gielen, 2009; Cordova et al., 2014; Kennedy & MacNeela, 2014).

In Bacallao and Smokowski's (2007) qualitative study, the discrepancy in acculturation (i.e., especially in regard to receiving country's language and knowledge of the receiving culture) between parents and children is seen as an asset because adolescents helped parents navigate the system. The negative side of the acculturation process was not in the discrepancy, but in the little time that parents had to spend with children due to work obligations. This related to adolescents description of experiences of loneliness, isolation, and an increase of risk-taking behaviour. At the same time, parents perceived the receiving society as threatening and therefore increased their authoritarianism and this increased the conflict within the family.

Kennedy and MacNeela's meta-ethnography (2014) includes eleven studies that highlight the important effect that the acculturation process (and immigration process) has on family functioning. Children's roles change in the context of experiencing the immigration process. As was mentioned before, they become an important link for their parents' process of adaptation, be it by acting as language brokers or as cultural brokers in general. At the same time, children are more alone, parents work long hours and often they cannot count on extended family to give support. The relationship with parents is strained but still they are the source of contact with the heritage culture for the adolescents. Children feel they have to take advantage of the opportunity given by their parents' decision to migrate to benefit their future. One of the important goals is to navigate the school system and find a space within the peer network.

Combining qualitative and quantitative methods is not necessarily straightforward; it needs for them to be considered within a theoretical framework that

integrates the interpretative and positivist perspective (Yardley & Bishop, 2010). Yardley and Bishop (2010) propose to research from a pragmatist perspective that takes into account that when we search for answers to questions through research we have to consider our preconceptions and the intentions we have in seeking that knowledge. There are different ways that these two methodologies can be combined taking into consideration the constraints of each method in their understanding of the social world. The use of a "mixed method" approach is not necessarily correct because in general the methods are applied separately and even are published later in different papers. So the knowledge obtained from each study is not presented as a unitary interpretation of the phenomenon that is studied. Therefore, Yardley and Bishop (2010) suggest talking about ""composite analysis" (that) recognizes that the analysis is composed of independent parts, but that the whole is greater than the sum of these parts" (p. 18). This approach allows for each method to maintain their validity without having one to be more important than the other. Tritter (2013) considers that combining both methodological approaches is a way to triangulate the information, but states that it is very important to justify the order in which the different methods will be carried out.

The complexity of the acculturation process for a family can be better-comprehended applying methods from both approaches that can have a complementary role in understanding the experience through which the people living the acculturation process are going through. Therefore, I have designed the research for this thesis in the following way: first, I conducted a quantitative cross-sectional study in UK to evaluate if the same patterns found in the literature in regard to acculturation preferences and well-being occur and to test the instruments. Second, I conducted a quantitative longitudinal study in Chile to assess how the relationships between these variables relate over time and in a different cultural context. Finally, I conducted a qualitative interview based study with immigrant families in Chile, to have a more in-depth approximation to their contextual experience of the acculturation process. These qualitative findings could help explain the ones obtained from the quantitative study but could also be new understandings of the process that were not included in the initial construction of the quantitative instruments used.

Cross sectional and longitudinal studies

The majority of the studies on acculturation discrepancies are cross-sectional (see Tezler, 2010; Lui, 2015), although there at least a handful of longitudinal papers that have been published in recent years (Cano et al. 2015; Kim et al. ,2013; Schofield et al., 2008; Schwartz et al. 2012; Schwartz et al., 2015; Silverstein & Chen, 1999; Weaver & Kim, 2008; Wang et al., 2012; Ying & Han, 2007)

While cross sectional studies present a correlation between the variables under study, a longitudinal method allows one to draw slightly stronger causal inferences. In this study I have used both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs.

Outcomes and mediators

The outcomes that are studied in the acculturation discrepancy literature are generally related to child maladjustment and family conflict: child depression (Lim et al., 2009; Liu et al., 2009), academic achievement (Liu et al., 2009), risky behaviours (Martinez, 2006; Pasch et al., 2006), conduct problems (Lau et al., 2005) and family functioning (Ho & Birman, 2010; Lau et al., 2005; Schofield et al., 2008). Few studies have focused on positive psychological adaptation – life satisfaction and self-esteem - as outcomes of acculturation discrepancies (Basañez, Dennis, Crano, Stacy & Unger, 2014; Hamid, 2007; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Sam & Virta, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2015). In this thesis, the focus will be on these two well-being measures, how acculturation discrepancies might be negatively affecting the psychological well-being of immigrant children.

Family conflict has been studied as a product of acculturation discrepancies, but also, in the "acculturation gap-distress" model, it is considered the main mediator in the relationship between acculturation and child adjustment (Basañez et al., 2014; Goforth et al., 2015; Lui, 2015; Schwartz et al., 2015). Lui (2015) and Basañez et al. (2014) consider that the main problem that should be studied is the intergenerational conflict in regard to culture differences, because it is this, which is causing negative consequences.

To follow this lead, a family scale is presented in this thesis, but the focus is not on the conflict but on family positive functioning – respect, communication, parent monitoring and warmth (Costigan & Dokis, 2006b; Cox et al., 2013; Martinez, 2006). I will test the mediation model, that family functioning is mediating the relationship

between acculturation discrepancies and children's adjustment. In the presence of discrepancy, a positive family functioning may relate to positive psychological adjustment (Cano et al., 2015).

In order to contextualize the acculturation discrepancy that is occurring with the family, I have also included other social relationships that might mediate the effect of the discrepancy on well-being. These are: peer acceptance, perceived discrimination and school climate.

Characteristics of the sample

Age of participants (E)

The age of the participants in the literature ranged from 10-years-old to adulthood, generally involving middle age adolescents. There is a gap in studies with younger children and young adolescents. In this thesis I will include a sample from 8 to 16-years-old (mean age 11.36) in the quantitative analysis, and to 17-years-old in the qualitative study in order to see if the age of the participants has an effect on the acculturation measures and outcomes.

Receiving country

The studies on acculturation are generally carried out in North America (USA and Canada) with participants' heritage origin from Asia (Middle East and Chinese) and Latin America. There are an important number of studies in Europe (UK, Germany, Finland and Spain) with participants with Asian, Russian, African and Latin American heritage. That is why I am interested in this thesis to present research conducted in UK but also in Chile, a recent receiving country of immigrants. In the UK my sample will consist of children from diverse ethnic origins, mainly from countries of Asian and American origins, while in Chile the sample will consist of Latin American immigrants.

Minority and majority samples

Acculturation research, as mentioned in chapter 1, has focused on the experience of immigrant families. This has neglected the intergroup aspect of the acculturation process (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In the case of the literature on acculturation

discrepancies, a handful of studies have included both the immigrant and mainstream groups in the analysis (Desai, 2006; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Phinney, Ong & Madden, 2000; Sam & Virta, 2003; Tardif & Geva, 2006). In some of them, clear differences are found between immigrant and non-immigrant groups, while in others, the lines are less definitive and various similarities are found (Phinney et al., 2000; Sam & Virta, 2003). An important issue is that including both groups allows to question if the acculturation discrepancies relate to the immigration experience or just to developmental differences with parents. Kwak and Berry (2001) found that both immigrant and non-immigrant children and parents differed in regard to what were the children's obligations; while for immigrant groups the differences were mainly in regard to children's rights and parental authority. In this thesis, a majority subsample was included in the longitudinal study in order to consider their experience in the process of acculturation.

Perceived and actual parent data

The use of perceived parent or actual parent data is alternatively used in the literature. In this thesis I decided to use both measures in order to observe the differences in results, and also because I consider that both might influence children's well-being and family relationships.

Merali (2002) found that dyads of Latin American parent and adolescent in USA did not judge accurately the acculturation preference of the other. This is used as an example of the importance of using actual data from children and parents instead of perceived data. But, finding out that they are not necessarily accurate perceptions does not make them have less of an effect on children's well-being. If children perceive their parents to have a certain acculturation orientation, even if this perception is not "accurate", they will probably act upon it, so it seems important to have these perceptions. That is why in this thesis we will seek out to have both the perception children have of their parents' acculturation orientations and the actual parents' orientation preferences.

Conclusion

The research on parent-child acculturation discrepancies conducted under the "acculturation gap-distress model" framework has found that they are generally negative for immigrant adolescents' adjustment in the receiving country and that this relationship is mediated by the quality of the family relationships. Certain contradictory findings detected in the literature relate to the methods that are used in measuring the acculturation discrepancies and defining which direction of differences are studied. Taking into account the findings, limitations and suggestions found in the literature on this area, in this thesis I will study the parent-child acculturation discrepancies using two methods: "signed difference" and "interaction"; I will consider the four type of discrepancies described in the literature; I will include a cross-sectional and longitudinal study; and in two different receiving cultures.

The principal question that will be answered is: How do parent-child acculturation discrepancies relate to children's acculturation attitudes and their well-being in two different receiving contexts (i.e., United Kingdom and Chile)?

There are secondary questions that will be answered: which direction of discrepancies appear and do they have a similar or different relationship to well-being?; Do the effects of the discrepancies vary with perceived parent and actual parent data?; Do the acculturation discrepancies relate differently to immigrant or non-immigrant children?; and, Which are the concurrent and longitudinal effects of the acculturation discrepancies?.

In the next chapter, I will present the results that answer the question presented in chapter 1 in regard to how do acculturation orientations of children relate to their well-being in two different receiving contexts, concurrently and over time.

In chapter 4, I will analyse the results that seek to answer the questions in regard to the relationship between parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children's well-being presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ACCULTURATION PREFERENCES AND CHILDREN WELL-BEING

Introduction

As noted in chapter 1, the first question to be answered in this thesis is in regard to re-examining the literature findings of how children's acculturation preferences relate to their well-being. It is of interest to identify what acculturation preference relates to the best outcome for immigrant children's life satisfaction and self-esteem in two culturally different receiving countries (i.e., UK and Chile). At the same time, I want to identify if there are social mediators in the relationship between acculturation preference and well-being; and if there are social moderators that buffer this relationship.

As was detailed in chapter 1, what has been found is that immigrant children who adopt an "integration" orientation tend to have higher positive outcomes in regard to well-being, such as higher self-esteem, higher life satisfaction, and less negative outcomes, such as depression, drug use and behavioural problems (Berry et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2013; Nigbur et al., 2008).

In order to assess if I find in my samples these similar tendencies of the relationship between children acculturation preferences and their well-being and to try out the measures that will be used throughout my thesis, I conducted a first cross-sectional study (May 2013) with immigrant children in London, UK. Then I developed a longitudinal study (three time points, March to December 2014) with immigrant, non-immigrant and mixed origin children in Santiago, Chile. I will present the results of the UK study and then the Chilean one.

For each study I present how the acculturation variables related to well-being (using correlations, hierarchical multiple regressions for the cross-sectional analysis and path analysis for the longitudinal study). I also see if there are differences by gender or age. And finally, if culture maintenance moderates the relationship between the other acculturation dimensions and well-being.

Study 1: Cross sectional study, London UK

Method

Participants.

The cross-sectional study was conducted in London, UK. The sample consisted of 57 children (28 girls, 29 boys; ages 8 to 11-years-old, mean age 9.9 years, from Year 3 to 6) that had at least one immigrant parent (34 different nationalities of parents). The majority of the children were born in England, except 10 (born in Spain and Poland). They attended a primary school in North East London. The school that participated had 74% students whose families had English as a second language, 2.9% self-classified as white British, and 34.7% received a free school meal. This follows the general situation of state schools in London.

Measures.

Nine scales of the attitude questionnaire will be analysed in this chapter[2]. The majority of the scales were adapted from the ones used by Brown, Rutland and Watters (2007), and Nigbur et al., (2008). They are presented here in the order they appear in the questionnaire.

Life Satisfaction (LS): The items used were obtained from a shortened version of Huebner's Life Satisfaction scale (1991) using five items. In the five point scale ("not at all" to "very much", with pictures of a dog in corresponding different sizes) children had to answer if they agreed or disagreed with the statement that is presented (e.g. "My life is going well", "I would like to change things in my life", " I would like a different kind of life", " I have a good life", "My life is better and happier than it is for most children".) ($\alpha = 0.84$).

Self-esteem (SE): The items were obtained from the global sub-scale of Harter's (1982) "Perceived competence scale for Children. In this four-point scale the items presented to children consisted of two phrases (e.g. "Some kids like the kind of person they are, but

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[2] The other three scales are analyzed in chapter 4: perceived parent acculturation preferences (culture maintenance, desire for contact and culture adoption).

(α=0.46). The reliability for the CM scale was low, a factor analysis yielded two factors, Practices and Identity. The scale was then subdivided in these two subscales with two items each, the reliability is still low but improves from the general one: CM Practices (α=0.41), and CM Identity (α=0.38). The reliability for the CA scale was also not optimal, but it was in the same level as the subscales of culture maintenance. In order to have a congruent analysis the CA was also divided into Practices and Identity resulting in the following reliabilities: CA Practices (α=0.41), and CA Identity (α=0.42).The other three items asked if they thought the children in the picture should have contact with majority children, (It is important for children to (be friends; play) with others whose families have lived always in England; It is important for children to be friends with children from other cultures or countries): DC, α= (0.66). The answers were given from a five Likert scale ("not at all" to "very much" that were with pictures of a dog in corresponding different sizes). For the DC scale, we eliminated the item about being friends with children from other cultures, (α=0.84).

Perceived discrimination (PD): this scale consisted of two situations that could happen at a school. These situations took place in the playground were a child is badly treated by peers because of the a) country their family come from: "A child is playing in the school playground. Some other children come along and call out horrible names to the child because of the country her or his family comes from originally"; and b) the child's skin colour being different: "A group of children are playing in the playground. Another child would like to join in. The other children say that the child can't play with them because she/he has a different skin colour." In relation to each situation two questions were asked using a five point Likert scale "never, once, two or three times, quite often, very often": Has it happened at your school?; Has it happened to you?. The reliability of the total scale was α=0.80. I calculated the reliability for a Group PD (including the two school items), α=0.72, and a personal PD (including the two personal items), α=0.69.

Perceived peer acceptance (PA): a shorter version of the Loneliness and peer acceptance scale of Cassidy and Asher (1992) was used. Ten items asked children how they felt about their peer acceptance at school: Do you have other kids to talk to at school?; Is it hard for you to make friends at school?; Do you have lots of friends at school?; Do you feel alone at school?; Is it hard to get kids in school to like you?; Do

you have kid to play with at school?; Do you get along with other kids at school?; Do you feel left out of things at school?; Are you lonely at school?; and Do the kids at school like you?. They answered with a five point Likert scale ("not at all" to "very much" with pictures of a dog in corresponding different sizes), (α=0.88).

Perceived family relations (FR): this scale was formed based on items from previous research (Deater-Deckard, Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2004;Olson, 1986; Pike, Coldwell & Dunn, 2006;). Four items were used one for each of the following aspects: parent control, parent attention, communication and respect (i.e. "My mum and dad let me choose my friends", "If I have a problem my mum and dad help me", "In my family I can say how I am feeling", "In my family we all respect each other"). They answered with a five point Likert scale ("not at all" to "very much" with pictures of a dog in corresponding different sizes), (α=0.47). To improve the reliability the item about choosing friends was eliminated, (α=0.62).

The demographic information requested included: age, gender, and country of birth for the child, country of birth of the mother and father, age of arrival in the country if born outside of England, languages spoken, class and school.

Procedure.

For the study, the head-teacher gave consent for the research to be done at the school and therefore gave consent for the children to participate. Parents received an information sheet through the school and were asked if they wished their child to opt-out of the research. The children were informed before the study took place and asked to indicate if they did not want to participate. The day of the research they were asked again if they agreed to take part by writing yes or no in the first page of the questionnaire. They were also told that they could stop their participation at any time.

In the study the children answered individual questionnaires in group-class settings. The children in the classroom that did not want to answer were given an activity to do by the class-teacher while the rest participated in the study. The questionnaire was read out loud by the researcher, while showing big scale pictures of the answering Likert scale, and the prototype questions of each section.

After each group finished answering the questionnaire they were presented in small groups with a puzzle to put together that depicted pictures of children of various ethnicities playing together. A conversation then occurred between all the class and the researcher that was used as a context to debrief of the study.

Ethical considerations.

The "Science and Technology Cross-Schools Research Ethnics Committee (C-REC)" of the University of Sussex approved this study, on 21 of May of 2013, reference number ER/CC392/1 [RBCC0413].

Results

As we can see in table 3.1, only self-esteem (SE) correlated with one of the acculturation preferences, i.e., culture adoption identity (CAi); while life satisfaction (LS) did not correlate with any of them. It is interesting that the self-identification with the heritage identity was correlated with the culture maintenance acculturation preference; while the self-identification with a hyphenated identity, related to both their culture adoption identity and desire for contact (DC). Finally, in regard to the mean answers, only the culture adoption practices (CAp) had a mean lower than the midpoint of the scales, indicating that there might be a problematic issue for the participants in regard to incorporating the traditions, language, and food that constitute typical practices of the country they live in. Culture maintenance practices and identity (CMp and CMi) did not correlate either with CA (CAp or CAi) or DC; this points out to them being independent (orthogonal) variables.

Table 3.1: Correlations, means, standard deviations and N of Study 1.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	FR
LS (1)		**.69*****	.17	.44*	.33	-.17	.05	.06	.26 ✠	-.26 ✠	-.13	.32*	.42**
SE (2)			**.49****	**.45***	.16	.04	.06	.12	**.30***	.01	-.10	**.27***	**.38****
HeId (3)				.02		**.40***	**.44***	-.09	.25	.05	-.22	-.04	.06
BrId (4)					-.26	-.05	.06	.21	.05	-.02	.04	-.14	.11
HyId (5)						-.21	-.20	.42 ✠	**.77*****	**.63****	.00	**.46***	.07
CMp (6)							-.02	.17	.14	.11	.09	.19	-.16
CMi (7)								.09	.14	.16	-.32*	-.06	.17
CAp (8)									**.34***	**.27***	.15	-.02	.02
CAi (9)										**.29***	-.00	.20	.12
DC (10)											-.12	.05	-.05
PD (11)												-.16	**-.30***
PA (12)													.18
M	3.85	3.21	4.53	4.45	4.92	4.56	4.71	2.94	4.29	3.97	1.79	4.15	4.52
SD	1.05	.86	.84	.71	.25	.57	.51	1.07	.82	1.29	.85	.88	.81
n	57	56	33	29	19	57	57	57	57	57	56	57	57

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. Gen=gender child; LS(1)= Life Satisfaction; SE(2)= Self-esteem; HeId(3)= Heritage identity; BrId(4)= British Identity; HyId(5)= Hyphenated identity; CMp(6)= culture maintenance practices; CMi(7)= culture maintenance identity; CAp(8)= culture adoption practices; CAi(9)= culture adoption identity; DC(10)= desire for contact; PD(11)= perceived discrimination; PA(12)= Peer Acceptance; FR= family relations; M= mean; SD= standard deviation; n= number of cases.

Using Berry's classification of acculturation attitudes, I calculated their distribution in this sample, pairing the acculturation dimensions as follows: 1) CM and CA practices; 2) CM and CA identity; 3) CM practices and DC; 4) CM identity and DC. The acculturation attitude was obtained by combining the high and low scores of the children in relation to the midpoint of the scale for each dimension, resulting in the following classifications: high in both scales was "integration", high in CM and low in the other scale was "separation", low in CM and high in the other scale was "assimilation", and low in both was "marginalization". The frequencies of each acculturation attitude are presented in Table 3.2. We can see that the combination of both CM scales with DC yielded the same results, the majority of the children preferred an "integration" approach to acculturation, with a very low second place for "separation" and only minimal presence of the other two approaches. The combination between the two cultural dimensions (i.e., maintenance and adoption) presented different results: if focusing on the practices, then children preferred "separation", and in second place "integration"; while if they were focusing on identity, then they notably preferred "integration".

Table 3.2: Immigrant children acculturation strategies Study 1

	CM and CA practices	CM and CA identity	CM practices and DC	CM identity and DC
Integration	22	**47**	**42**	**42**
Separation	**33**	8	13	13
Assimilation	0	2	1	1
Marginalization	2	0	1	1

CM=culture maintenance; CA=culture adoption; DC=desire for contact

Four models of hierarchical linear regressions were run to see how the child acculturation preferences related to each of the dependent well-being variables separately: self-esteem and life satisfaction. Two models included CM and CA as predictors and two models included CM and DC as predictors. The steps of the hierarchical regressions were as follows: in the first step gender and age were entered as control. In the second step, the child acculturation variables were added (CM practices, CM identity, CA practices and CA identity; or CM practices, CM identity and DC). In the third step the interactions between the respective acculturation variables were added. The interactions of the acculturation variables were included to see if the orientation

towards culture maintenance might moderate the relationship between culture adoption or desire for contact and well-being of children with immigrant background.

Culture adoption (CA) and desire for contact (DC) were included in separate regressions each in combination with culture maintenance (CM), because the literature generally uses them as measures of a similar acculturation dimension and as interchangeable. Their correlation in this study is positive but low, culture adoption practices with desire for contact (r=.27*) and culture adoption identity with desire for contact (r=.29*), one only explains about 7% or 8% of the variance in the other.

Table 3.3: Differences in scales by gender.

Scale	Mean Boys	Mean Girls	T-Test	BCa 95%
Life Satisfaction	3.55	4.18	2.37*	.09, 1.16
Self Esteem	2.95	3.46	2.36*	.08, .959
Culture Adoption identity	4.04	4.57	2.60*	.12, .950

✠ =p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Age was first included as a control variable but it did not have any effect on the dependent variables. Due to the small sample it was later removed from the regressions so as to have fewer variables involved. Gender was included as control because significant differences were found between girls and boys on the well-being scales and CA identity (see Table 3.3). The results of the four hierarchical regressions are presented in Table 3.4. Boys tended to present lower life satisfaction and self-esteem consistently on all the regressions run.

Culture maintenance and Culture Adoption.

The first two columns show the results of the regressions with CM and CA variables as predictors of well-being. As we can see in step 3, the interaction of CM identity and CA identity had a significant relationship both on life satisfaction and self-esteem.

Table 3.4: Hierarchical regressions of children acculturation preferences on their well-being.

| | CM& CA | | | | | | CM & DC | | | | | |
| | Life Satisfaction | | | Self-esteem | | | Life Satisfaction | | | Self-esteem | | |
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	.09			.09			.09			.09		
Gender		.27	-.30*		.22	-.31*		.27	-.30*		.22	-.31*
Step 2	.18			.14			.21			.10		
Gender		.28	-.28		.24	-.23		.26	-.33*		.23	-.31*
CM p.		.24	-.25✠		.20	-.03		.23	-.26*		.20	-.01
CM i.		.26	-.00		.22	.01		.26	-.02		.23	.04
CA p.		.13	.01		.11	.02							
CA i.		.18	.19		.15	.22							
DC								.10	.27*		.09	-.02
Step 3	.27			.29			.31			.27		
Gender		.28	-.35*		.23	-.31*		.25	-.36**		.21	-.35**
CM p.		.25	-.14		.20	.09		.23	-.19		.19	.09
CM i.		.26	-.00		.21	.01		.26	-.01		.22	.11
CA p.		.13	-.00		.10	.01							
CA i.		.18	.24✠		.14	.27✠							
DC								.09	.29*		.08	-.02
Int. p.		.24	.16		.19	.12							
Int. i.		.27	**.27***		.22	**.38****							
Int.p/dc								.14	**.34***		.12	**.39****
Int.i/dc								.21	-.06		.18	.09

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CMp=culture maintenance practices; CMi=culture maintenance identity; CAp=culture adoption practices; CAi=culture adoption identity; DC=desire for contact; Int.p.=interaction CM and CA practices; Int.i.= interaction CM and CA identity; Int.p/dc= interaction CM practices and DC; Int.i/dc=interaction CM identity and DC.

On life satisfaction, the simple slope analysis[3] (see Table 3.5 & Figure 3.1) showed that when children had low orientation towards maintaining their cultural identity then this did not affect the relationship between their orientation towards adopting the receiving culture and their life satisfaction. It is when children had a high orientation towards maintaining their culture identity, that culture adoption identity had a positive relationship with their life satisfaction. It the child was high in CA identity then LS was high; if the child was low in CA identity then LS was low.

Table 3.5: Values of CM identity moderating relationship between CA identity and LS

Values of CM identity	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.51	.09	.23	.71	-.37, .54
.29	.57	.23	.01	.12, 1.03

R^2: 0.15. CM= culture maintenance, CA= culture adoption, LS=life satisfaction

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[3] All the analysis of mediation and moderations throughout this thesis will be conducted using macro PROCESS for SPSS (www.afhayes.com). In all the figures that represent interactions, solid lines indicate high values of the moderator (+1SD), and dotted lines indicate low values (-1SD).

Figure 3.1: CM Identity moderation of relationship between CA Identity and LS
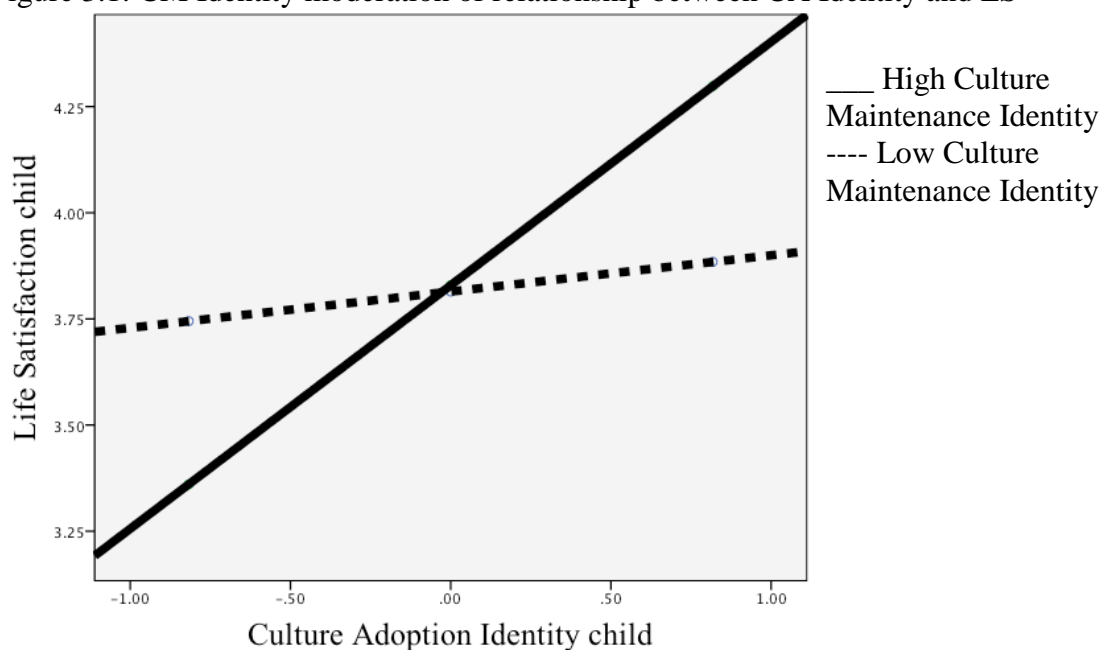
As in the case of life satisfaction, for self-esteem, the plot of the interaction showed that when children had low orientation to maintaining their cultural identity then this did not affect the relationship between their orientation towards adopting the receiving culture and their self-esteem (see Table 3.6, see Figure 3.2). When children had high orientation towards maintaining their culture identity then this related positively to the relationship between their culture adoption identity and their self-esteem.

Table 3.6: Values of CM identity moderating relationship between CA identity and SE.

Values of CM identity	b	SE	p	CI
-.51	-.08	.14	.56	-.20, .37
.29	.55	.19	.01	.17, .93

R^2: 0.21. CM= culture maintenance, CA= culture adoption, SE=self-esteem

Figure 3.2: CM Identity moderation of relationship between CA Identity and SE
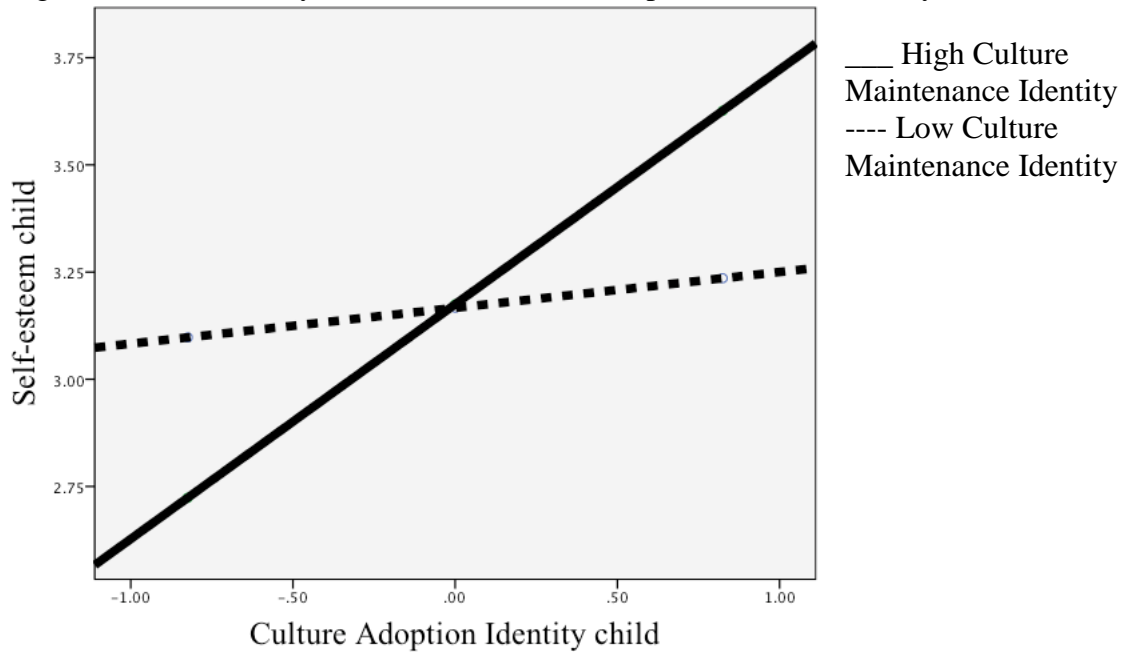
The results of the interaction of CM and CA identity on life satisfaction and self-esteem point out to the benefit that an orientation towards a bicultural identity (i.e. high orientation towards the heritage and receiving culture) had for the well-being of children with immigrant background, following established findings in the acculturation research. It is interesting that in this sample, it is the identity aspects of their acculturation that are related to their well-being and not the practices.

Culture maintenance and Desire for contact.

The last two columns in Table 3.3 show the results of the hierarchical regressions run with CM and DC as predictors for well-being. Culture Maintenance practices had a significant negative relationship to LS (step 2). It is interesting that this main effect of CM appears only when we have DC instead of CA in the model. Desire for contact had a positive main effect on LS (step 2). The interaction of CM practices with DC was significant for SE and LS (step 3).

The analysis of the interaction on LS (see Table 5.7 and Figure 3.3) showed that when children had low orientation towards maintaining their cultural practices then this did not affect the relationship between their DC and their life satisfaction. It was when children had a high orientation towards maintaining their culture practices that this related positively to the relationship between their DC and their life satisfaction (high DC then high LS; low DC then low LS).

Table 3.7: Values of CM practices moderating relationship between DC and LS.

Values of CM practices	b	SE	p	CI
-.57	.06	.08	.48	-.10, .22
.44	.38	.15	.01	.08, .68

R^2: .19. CM= culture maintenance, DC= desire for contact, LS=life satisfaction

Figure 3.3: CM practices moderation of relationship between DC and LS.
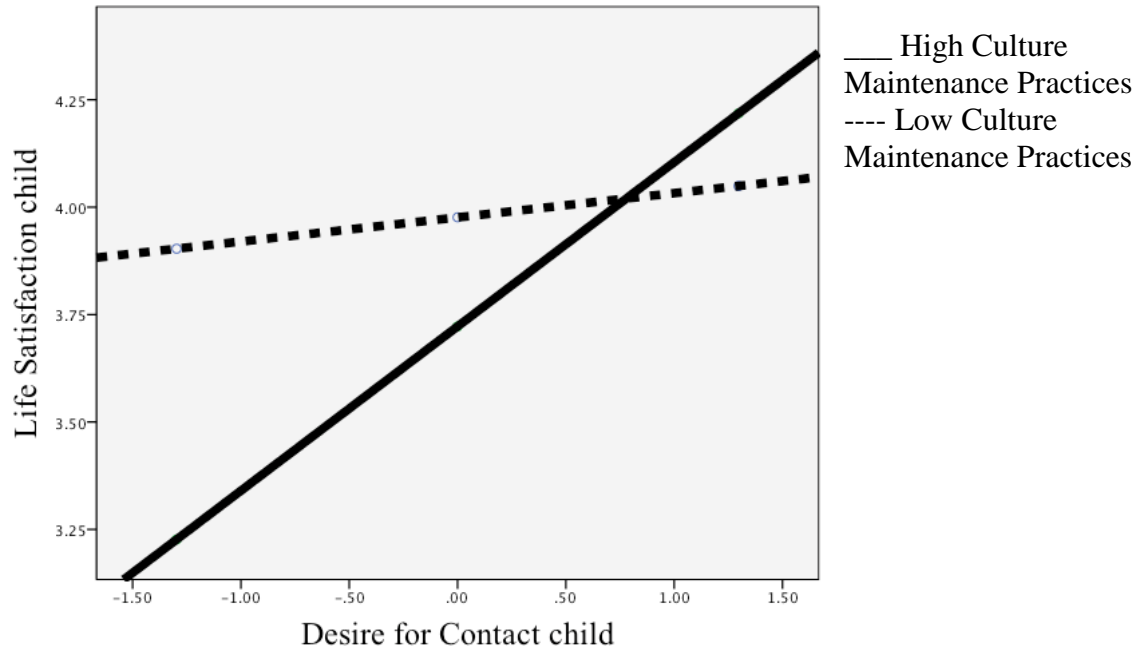
In the regression on self-esteem the interaction of culture maintenance practices with desire for contact was again significant in step 3. The plot of the interaction shows that when children were high in CM practices this related to a positive relationship between DC and SE (high DC, then high SE), and when CM practices were low the relationship between DC and SE was negative (high DC, then low SE) (see Table 3.8 and Figure 3.4).

Table 3.8: Values of CM practices moderating relationship between DC and SE.

Values of CM practices	b	SE	p	CI
-.57	-.18	.13	.16	-.43, .07
.44	.17	.10	.12	-.04, .38

R^2: 0.14. CM= culture maintenance, DC=desire for contact, SE=self-esteem

Figure 3.4: CM Practices moderating relationship between DC and SE.
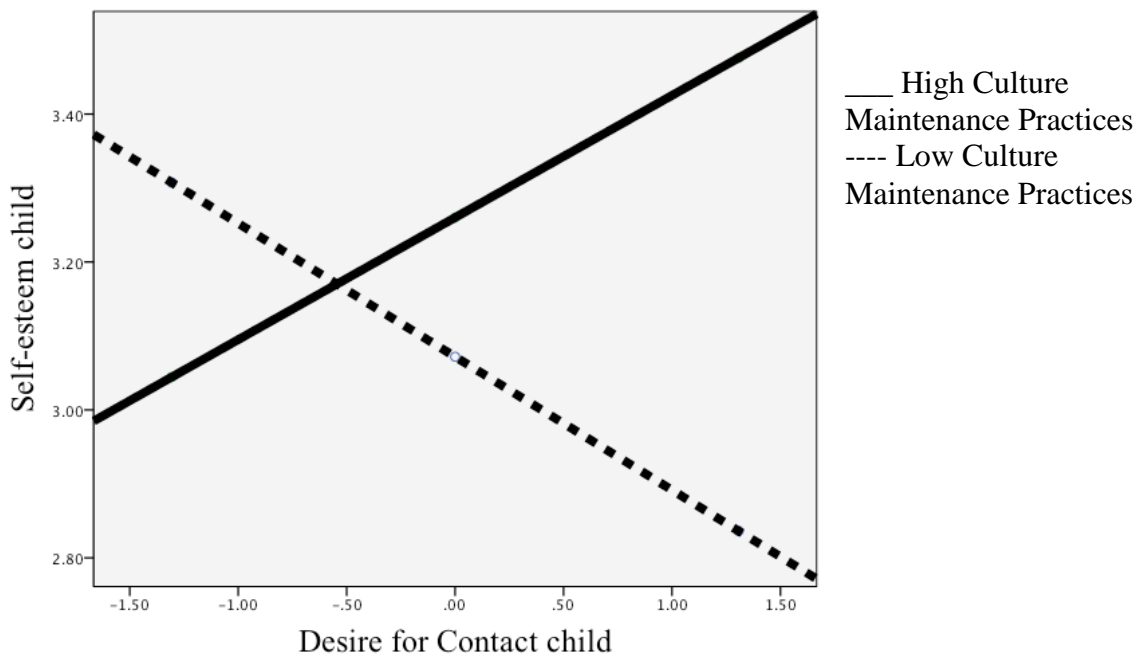
The regressions with DC as predictor showed that an "integration" approach for acculturation, that includes high CM practices and high DC, relates to positive well-being for immigrant children (both life satisfaction and self-esteem). Interestingly, for life satisfaction, it is detrimental if children are less inclined to interact with majority children; while for self-esteem, it is detrimental not to maintain the heritage culture practices.

Testing for social mediators in the relationship between acculturation and well-being.

I was interested in testing if the relationship between the acculturation preferences and well-being went through social related variables, such as perceived discrimination, peer acceptance and family relations. To test this possibility they were added in a step four to the previous four hierarchical regressions (see Table 3.9 that has the results of the step 4). The previous three steps showed the same results tendency as the ones presented in Table 3.4, with minimal variations in beta values but not in significance, so they are not presented here again.

The first two columns show the results of the regressions of CM and CA; while the other two show the results of CM and DC regressions.

The effect of gender was non-significant when adding the relational variables. As we can see in the first column of Table 3.9, only the interaction of CM and CA

identity, that was significant on life satisfaction in step 3 (see Table 3.4), was no longer significant in step 4. Family relations might have mediated the relationship between the interaction of CM and CA identity on immigrant children's life satisfaction: therefore we tested for a mediated moderation. The analysis showed no indirect effect from the moderation to life satisfaction through family relations b=.14, BCa [-.14, .57]. The three social variables did not mediate the relationship between acculturation preferences and well-being of immigrant children. It is noteworthy that family relations appeared as an important independent predictor for LS and SE.

Table 3.9: Step 4 of Hierarchical regressions of immigrant children acculturation preferences and social related variables, on their well-being.

| | CM & CA | | | | | | CM & DC | | | | | |
| | Life Satisfaction | | | Self-esteem | | | Life Satisfaction | | | Self-esteem | | |
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 4	.36			.36			.44			.36		
Gender		.29	-.22		.25	-.22		.25	-.23✠		.22	-.23✠
CM p.		.27	-.15		.23	.16		.23	-.18		.21	.16
CM i.		.27	-.00		.22	-.01		.27	-.02		.24	.09
CA p.		.13	.01		.11	-.01						
CA i.		.18	.18		.14	.25✠						
DC								.09	.29*		.08	-.00
Int. p.		.25	.08		.21	.11						
Int. i.		.28	.21		.23	.36*						
Int.p/dc								.14	.26*		.12	.34*
Int.i/dc								.22	-.01		.19	.15
PD		.17	.07		.14	.08		.17	.05		.15	.05
PA		.17	.18		.15	.01		.15	.22✠		.13	.08
FR		.17	.27*		.14	.28*		.17	.30*		.15	.32*

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CMp=culture maintenance practices; CMi=culture maintenance identity; CAp=culture adoption practices; CAi=culture adoption identity; DC=desire for contact; Int.p.=interaction CM and CA practices; Int.i.= interaction CM and CA identity; Int.p/dc= interaction CM practices and DC; Int.i/dc=interaction CM identity and DC; PD=perceived discrimination; PA=peer acceptance; FR=family relations.

Group self-identification and well-being.

As pointed out before, the results obtained in the analysis of Study 1 seem to highlight the benefit of having a bicultural identity for immigrant children's well-being. I decided to test if this finding also appeared by using the self-identification scales: heritage, British and hyphenated self-identification. Approximately half of the sample can be classified as identifying with a bicultural identity (n=33): they either chose a heritage and British identity; a heritage and hyphenated identity; a British and hyphenated identity; or a hyphenated identity; while the other approximately half of the

sample chose only a mono-cultural identity: either British or a foreign nationality (see Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Self-identification of immigrant children Study 1

Heritage	British	Her + Bri.	Hyphenated	Bri. + Hyp.	Her. +Hyp.
16	8	14	9	7	3
Mono-cultural identity		**Bi-cultural identity**			
24		33			

Bri.=British, Her.=Heritage, Hyp.=hyphenated

An independent sample t-test carried out with both these groups showed that the bi-cultural group scored significantly higher in positive evaluation of their self-selected identity (MBicultural=4.72, MMonocultural=4.25, t(55)=2.626, p=.011, 95%BCa[.11, .82]) but there was no difference in their response to all the rest of the variables in the study, not even in regard to their well-being.

When identification with the group was measured with the acculturation scale, CM identity did not relate to well-being on its own, while CA identity did, and both did together when CM identity moderated the relationship with well-being. This gives us an indication that the measurement of identification with the heritage or receiving cultures that is accomplished by the items used in the acculturation scale (i.e. Children should feel proud of the country their family came from originally) is not measuring the same psychological identity aspects as the ones in the self-identification scale (i.e. How proud are you of being (*group*)?). As can be seen, one of the reasons for this different effect might be because of the wording of the items. In the acculturation items, I asked about what they thought immigrant children should do, and in the self-identification items I asked what they thought about their group identity for themselves.

The role of perceived discrimination.

In line with previous research that has pointed to the importance that perceived discrimination has on the well-being of children with immigrant background (Berry et al., 2006), it is interesting to analyse the results in regard to this variable in this sample.

There was no effect of perceived discrimination on well-being using it as a continuous variable as a predictor in the regression analysis.

It is not recommended to categorize a continuous variable (Altman, 2005), but in this case I found it theoretically interesting to separate the children that reported no perception of discrimination from the ones that reported at least one such experience. Around 70% of the children perceived discrimination in at least one of the situations presented in the questionnaire. Of these reports, 26.3% (15) were of perceived discrimination to others at their school (PDo), and 43.9% (25) were of perceived discrimination directed to themselves in their school (PDp) (note that in some cases it is the same child that reports both situations). I compared the means in LS and SE of the children that did not report PD (noPD) from the ones that reported at least one episode (PD) (i.e. directed at others or themselves) finding no difference between them (to LS: MnoPD=3.86, MPD=3.86; t(55)=.004, 95%BCa [-.61, .62]; to SE: MnoPD=3.23, MPD=3.19, t(54)=.171, 95%BCa [-.46, 55]).

Following the rejection-identification literature (Branscombe et al, 1999), I tested if identifying with the heritage culture moderated the effect of the perception of discrimination on well-being. When including PD in an interaction with CM identity in a regression on well-being, the interaction had marginal relationship on self-esteem (β=.30 p=.06, 95%BCa[-.02, .67]. The analysis of the interaction showed that in the presence of a high CM identity there was no significant relationship between PD and SE. But when CM identity was low, this had a non-significant negative effect in the relationship between PD and SE: high PD, low SE; low PD, high SE (see Table 3.11 and Figure 3.5). It could be said then, that CM "protected" the children from otherwise adverse effects of PD (see also Tip, 2012).

Table 3.11: Values of CM identity moderating relationship between PD and SE.

Values of CM identity	b	SE	p	CI
-.52	-.13	.38	.74	-.89, .64
.29	.05	.21	.82	-.38, .48

R^2: 0.04. CM= culture maintenance, PD=perceived discrimination, SE=self-esteem

Figure 3.5: CM identity moderation of relationship between PD and SE

_____ High Culture
Maintenance Identity
---- Low Culture
Maintenance Identity
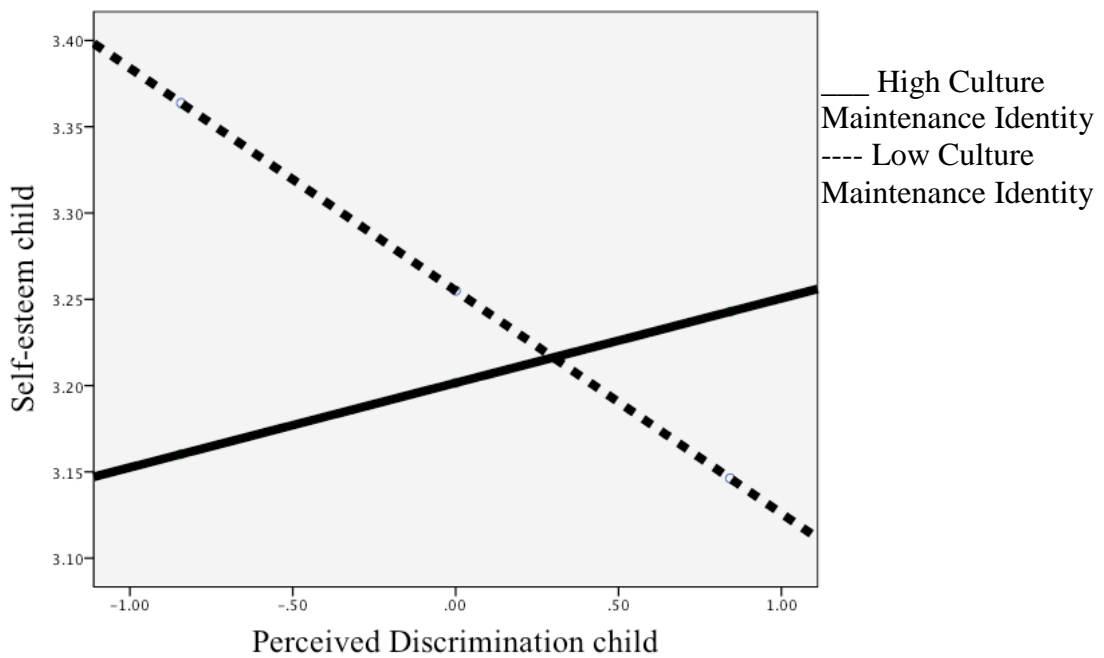
Main findings of Study 1.

In regard to the acculturation attitudes preferred by immigrant children in UK, when combining CM and DC or CM and CA identity, they prefer "integration"; while when combining CM and CA practices they prefer "separation".

In regard to the main effects of the acculturation variables studied, when they expressed a high desire for contact their life satisfaction was higher, while when they had a high orientation towards maintaining their culture practices, then their life satisfaction lowered. Interestingly, there appeared to be a moderation of children's orientation towards maintaining their heritage cultural practices on the relationship between desire for contact and both life satisfaction and self-esteem: When children were high in their CM practices this had a positive effect in the relationship between their desire for contact and their well-being. So although, the main effect of CM practices to life satisfaction was negative on its own it related to a positive relationship between DC and well-being.

When paired with culture adoption identity, a high orientation towards maintaining the heritage culture identity had a positive effect on the relationship between culture adoption identity and well-being, supporting the literature findings in

this regard that a bicultural identity relates to positive well-being for immigrant children (Berry et al., 2006).

      The perception of the quality of their family relations appeared highly related to the well-being, both life satisfaction and self-esteem, of children with immigrant background participating in this study.

      Finally, although perceived discrimination (PD) did not appear as an important predictor of children's well-being, there was a tendency in the data that showed that the presence of a low CM identity was detrimental by reducing SE in the presence of PD, while a high CM identity ameliorated this effect.

Study 2: Longitudinal study, Santiago, Chile.

Study 1 allowed us to test the findings in the existing literature that when children with immigrant background preferred higher levels of culture maintenance, in combination also to higher levels of culture adoption or desire for contact then, it related to positive well being. It also served as a pilot to try out the scales that were used in the longitudinal study carried out in Chile.

With Study 2 we had the following objectives: to test if the same findings in regard to the positive effect a bicultural acculturation preference has on well being appears in a sample of immigrant children that are in the process of acculturating into a similar culture to their heritage culture. At the same time I wanted to see if this also occurs with majority children and with children who are born in the receiving country but whose parents are immigrants. The main methodological objective was the possibility of studying the longitudinal relationship of acculturation and well being by having a three-time point design, since it allows for stronger causal inferences from any observed associations. This last objective was possible only with the immigrant sub-sample that had a sufficient number of participants.

Method

Participants.

The study was conducted in Santiago, Chile. The number of participants at each time point, age (range and mean) and percentage of boys are detailed in Table 3.12. They were attending Years 4 to 10 in four schools of two boroughs: Santiago and Independencia that have high percentage of immigrants compared to the rest of the city. The population of the four schools was composed nearly 50% of immigrants (the majority from Peru). They were schools with higher percentage of immigrants within each borough, and that is why they were invited to participate in the study. The percentage of immigrant children is unevenly distributed within the country and within the cities.

The children were divided into three groups according to their cultural/national background of origin: immigrant (born in a country different than Chile); majority (born in Chile); mixed origin (born in Chile from immigrant parents). The countries of origin

of the immigrant children were: Peru (161), Ecuador (15), Colombia (24), and others
(12)[4]; time of immigrant children living in country at the beginning of the study: 27.6%
up to a year; 35.7% between two and four years; 36.7% five or more years. The
majority of the parents of the immigrant (74%) and the mixed group (81.7%) were from
Peru. An important note on the age of the sample is that 96% is 14 or younger, there are
12 children who are 15 years old and 4 who are 16 years old. The 15 and 16 years old
have probably repeated school years or entered into a younger group when applying to
schools in Chile after arriving from abroad.

Table 3.12: Participants Study 2, three-background origin

Group	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	T1, T2 & T3
Immigrant	205	191	170	152
Mixed	79	76	66	61
Majority (Chilean)	125	103	96	78
Total	409	370	332	291
Age	8-16 years M= 11.36	8-16 years M= 11.23	8-16 years M= 11.33	8-16 years M=11.26
Gender	56% Boys	54% Boys	53% Boys	53% Boys

Measures.

The attitude questionnaire consisted of the nine scales of the previous study[5],
new items were added to some of the scales and a new School Climate scale was added.
This scale was created and suggested by the first school were the questionnaire was
going to be applied. It was then added to the questionnaire in all schools (previous
approval of the Ethical committee). The same Likert scale from Study 1 was used
throughout the questionnaire.

The scales were reduced after the first wave in order to obtain a shorter version
for the second wave that made the process of answering quicker for the children. The
reliabilities presented are of the reduced and final scales at each time point. We are only
presenting in this chapter the scales that will be used to analyse how the children's
acculturation preferences relate to their well being in a cross-sectional analysis and a

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[4] The total n of the immigrant children's nationalities is 212 because there were 7 children that answered
at T2 but not at T1.
[5] As in Study 1 three scales will be analyzed in chapter 4 (perceived parent acculturation preferences).

longitudinal one and the possible mediators of these relationships. The rest of the measures used in the questionnaire will be analysed in the next chapter.

Self-esteem (SE): the same measure was used as in Study 1. From the initial six items used at T1, one was eliminated because it was less reliable "Some kids are not happy with the way they do a lot of things but other kids think the way they do things is fine". So the scale finally had five items: unhappy/pretty pleased with themselves; don't like/ like way they lead life; happy/not happy with themselves as person; like the person they are/wish they were someone else; happy being the way they are/wish they were different. (T1: α= 0.66, T2: α=0.69 , T3: α=0.70).

Life Satisfaction (LS): the scale used was the same as in Study 1 adding two new items: "my life is just right" and, "I have what I want in life". From the initial seven items used at T1, two were eliminated because they were less reliable ("I would like to change things in my life"; "I would like a different kind of life"). The scale finally had five items. (T1:α= 0.80, T2: α=0.81, T3: α=0.85).

Culture Identity of Children (CI): the scale was the same as in Study 1 but with nationalities corresponding to the immigrants that might arrive to Chile. Children were presented with words that described heritage or national origin (e.g. Colombian, Chilean), and skin colour (e.g. white, brown). The hyphenated options were eliminated to make the questionnaire more reader friendly for the children. The procedure was the same as in Study 1. Only the national origin was analysed. The evaluation of immigrant nationalities (i.e. not Chilean) was included in a Heritage identity sub-scale (T1:α=0.85, T2: α=0.91 , T3: α=0.94). The evaluation of *majority* nationality (i.e. Chilean) was included in a self-identified Chilean identity scale (T1:α=0.87). It is important to note that not all participants chose a heritage and *majority* nationality, because it depended on their self-identification. I was interested in knowing how children with immigrant background evaluated the *majority* identity (i.e. Chilean), so, I asked all the participants in the three time points to answer the same four items in regard to the Chilean identity. This meant that at Time 1 the children that self-identified as Chilean had to answer twice their evaluation of this identity: when they self-identified and when it was included as a given identity in the questionnaire. The questionnaires for Time 2 and

Time 3 were personalized for each child: in the identity part of the questionnaire I wrote down the two identities children had chosen at Time 1 and asked them to re-evaluate them. The children that did not choose the Chilean identity at Time 1 were asked to evaluate this identity again at Time 2 and Time 3, even though they had not chosen it. This allowed to have a Chilean identity sub-scale that is constituted by all the participants answers to the question on their evaluation of this identity through the three time points (T1:α=0.95, T2: α=0.95 , T3: α=0.95).

Acculturation Preference of Child (Culture Maintenance scale (CM), Culture adoption scale (CA) and Desire for contact scale (DC)): a similar set of items as in Study 1 was used and the same procedure. Seven items per culture were used: food, traditions, feel part of and proud of the culture. The language domain was divided in to words and accent; and music was added to the practices domain. Two items from each scale were eliminated to shorten the questionnaire (accent and feel part of). The scales were: Culture Maintenance (CM), T1: α=0.77, T2: α=0.79 , T3: α=0.78; and, Cultural adoption (CA), T1: α=0.71, T2: α=0.78 , T3: α=0.82. The other four items asked if the children with immigrant background should have contact with, be friends with, play with or go to the house of Chilean children. One item was removed after Time 1 (go to the house of Chilean children): the scale was Desire for Contact (DC), T1:α=0.71, T2: α=0.80 , T3: α=0.78.

Perceived discrimination (PD): this scale consisted of four situations that could happen at a school (two more than the ones used in Study 1). In three of the situations children were presented with stories that happened in the playground were a child is badly treated by peers. Each story emphasized a different reason for this negative treatment: a) the country their parents come from; b) the child's skin colour being different from the majority; and c) the child's accent and word use is different. A final situation pictured a child complaining because a teacher spoke offensively of their country of origin, this item was eliminated to shorten the questionnaire. In relation to each situation two questions were asked: Has it happened at your school? And, has it happened to you? To shorten the questionnaire I took out the situation with the teacher. (T1:α=0.75, T2: α=0.80, T3: α=0.83).

Perceived peer acceptance (PA): the same shorter version of the Loneliness and peer acceptance scale of Cassidy & Asher (1992) was used. To shorten the questionnaire four items were eliminated: "is it hard for you to make friends at school?"; "is it hard to get kids in school to like you?"; "do you feel left out of things at school?"; and "are you lonely at school?" (T1:α=0.76, T2: α=0.80 , T3: α=0.79).

Perceived family relations (FR): Three items of Study 1 were used (except: "If I have a problem my mum and dad help me") and eight more items were added. Two were general questions about family relations (i.e. respect and speak), and then there were 18 sentences regarding parents' behaviour towards the child, 9 in regard to what the mother would do and 9 in regard to the father: "tries to make me feel better after talking about my worries"; "listens to my opinions and ideas"; "explains the reasons of the decisions she makes about me"; "knows where and with whom I am all the time"; "generally talks to me with a friendly and warm voice"; "doesn't like the way I behave at home"; "is always remembering to me the things that she doesn't allow me to do"; "gets angry and nervous when I make noise in the house". To shorten the questionnaire items were removed (3 reversed items and "choose friends"). (T1:α=0.86, T2: α=0.89 , T3: α=0.91).

Perceived school climate (SC): It consists of 10 items: I like my school; my school is better than other schools; my teachers treat me well; my classmates treat me well; I trust my teacher; my classmates trust me; there are conflicts in the school; the problems that appear are resolved adequately by the teachers; there is a harmonic climate in the classroom; there is a harmonic climate in the school. To shorten the questionnaire four items were eliminated: trust and treat classmates, conflicts in school, and problems solved by teachers (T1:α=0.78, T2: α=0.82 , T3: α=0.85).

In order to observe if the reliability was affected by age group: children (8 to 11-years-old) and adolescents (12 to 16-years-old), the reliabilities for each scale were calculated (see appendix Table 3.1). The reliabilities were similar for both age groups, except in the case of self-esteem, where the reliability was lower for the younger children. This might be due to the scale used which is rather difficult for younger children to understand how to answer it correctly.

The demographic information requested was the same as in Study 1 plus: country of birth of grandparents, number of people living in the house and number of rooms. The last two questions were instead of the SES scale.

Procedure.

The scales were translated using back translation: the questionnaire for children was divided in two, and each half sent to a different bilingual person that translated each half from English to Spanish. Then each half was sent to other two bilingual persons that translated now from Spanish to English. The researcher acted as referee if there was a difference in the translation and decided accordingly.

The questionnaire was piloted with a thirteen year old classroom of nineteen children at one of the schools participating in the research the year before the longitudinal study began. This pilot study allowed to confirm if the instructions and the items were comprehended by children.

Four schools (out of thirty six contacted) accepted to participate in the study. Two of the head-teachers agreed to take responsibility for the study, and opt-out letters were sent to the parents (resulting in 320 participants). The other two preferred to send opt-in letters to parents (resulting in 101 participants). Letters with information about the research were sent to parents and asked for consent. Children were informed of the study beforehand and were asked for assent before the study began.

The questionnaire was applied to the children in classroom settings in the schools that used the opt-out option from Year 4 (Chilean year 3) to Year 9 (Chilean year 8), while in the opt-in schools the questionnaire was applied in smaller year groups in a vacant classroom assigned by the school. The researcher read the questionnaire out loud while the participants answered, some of them chose to continue to answer independently, especially at Time 2 and Time 3 when they already where familiar with the questionnaire. The questionnaires at Time 2 and Time 3 were personalized for each child allowing a consistent answer in the three time points.

In the first page of the questionnaire children were told what the questionnaire was about, and given the opportunity to state their assent by ticking a yes or no box of wanting to participate. They were also told that they could end their participation whenever they wanted during and after the application of the questionnaire.

At the end of each application, children that participated were handed a gift, at Time1 and Time 2 it was a coloured ink pencil. At Time 3, a small bag with a coloured ink pencil, a sheet with stickers and a debriefing text. The debriefing was also done verbally when all the class or group had finished answering.

Ethical considerations.

The "Science and Technology Cross-Schools Research Ethnics Committee (C-REC)" of the University of Sussex approved this study, on 03 of November of 2013, reference number ER/CC392/2 [RBCC1013].

Results

First, I will present the results for the immigrant sub-sample, then the majority sub-sample and finally the mixed origin sub-sample.

For the immigrant sub-sample I will present the results at time 1, as a cross sectional study, to observe the concurrent relationship between child acculturation variables and their well-being. The increased N at Time 1 allows also to examine various relationships between the variables with more statistical power. Then I will present the relationship of these variables over time (3 time points), using path analysis.

For the majority children (i.e. Chilean children with Chilean parents) and finally for mixed origin children (i.e. Chilean children with immigrant parents), I will only present the cross sectional findings at Time 1. For these two smaller sub-samples the longitudinal analysis was not carried out due to being underpowered.

Immigrant children

I will present first the acculturation strategies preferred by the children using the same methodology as in Study 1, the difference is now we have 2 combinations: CM with CA, and CM with DC; and at three time points.

As we can see in Table 3.13, at all time points children preferred high CM and high CA/DC ("integration"), in second place they preferred high CM and low CA/ DC ("separation"), while the lowest preference for either CM or CA/DC increased at T2 and T3 ("marginalization") and high CA/DC over CM is not preferred ("assimilation"). There was no difference in frequency for children and adolescents.

Table 3.13: Acculturation strategies of immigrant children Study 2, 3 time points.

		Integration	Separation	Assimilation	Marginalization
Time 1	CM / CA	167	30	5	5
	CM / DC	183	14	2	8
Time 2	CM / CA	123	43	9	17
	CM / DC	139	27	7	19
Time 3	CM / CA	112	40	3	15
	CM / DC	121	31	4	14

CM=culture maintenance, CA=culture adoption, DC=desire for contact

Cross-sectional results at Time 1

As we can see in Table 3.14, gender did not correlate with any of the variables in the study, while age correlated with the majority of them. The majority of the correlations were moderate to low. It is interesting that the only scales that life satisfaction and self-esteem did not correlate with were Chilean identity and culture adoption. Life satisfaction and self-esteem were moderately correlated (r=.56***). Noteworthy was that heritage identity correlated with CM, but not with CA and DC; while Chilean identity correlated with CA and DC but not with CM. Perceived discrimination (PD) did not correlate with any acculturation variable, while the other possible mediators (peer acceptance - PA, family relations - FR and school climate - SC) correlated with all three acculturation dimensions. CM correlated both with CA and DC in this sample, albeit low (r=.32***, and .34*** respectively)[6].

I ran two hierarchical regression models on Life Satisfaction and then two on Self-esteem, with age and gender as controls in step 1; the acculturation variables (CM and CA or CM and DC) in step 2; the interaction of the corresponding acculturation variables in step 3; and the possible mediators (perceived discrimination, peer acceptance, family relations and school climate) in step 4.

Child gender did not relate to life satisfaction (β=.07, p=.33) or self-esteem (β=.04, p=.61) therefore gender was removed from the regressions. In general, older children had less life satisfaction and less self-esteem, this might relate to the sample including adolescents (see Table 3.15).

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[6] Multicollinearity analysis was run throughout the thesis with the acculturation dimensions in Study 2 due to their positive correlation and none was found.

Table 3.14: Mean, SD, Correlations of all scales Time 1, Study 2, immigrant children

	LS	SE	HeId	ChId	CM	CA	DC	PD	PA	FR	SC
Age	-.27***	-.23**	-.19✠	.12✠	-.34***	-.19**	-.19**	.00	-.30	-.33***	-.37***
GEN	.04	.02	-.02	-.11	.09	.01	.08	.02	.09	.05	.03
LS		.56***	.19**	.10	.29***	.12✠	.28***	-.21**	.33***	.34***	.41***
SE			.13✠	.07	.23**	.11	.20**	-.23**	.34***	.26***	.28***
HeId				-.01	.35***	-.02	.11	-.02	-.20**	.27***	-.03
SkId				.23*	.42***	.22	.25*	.25*	.10	.29*	.17
ChId					-.04	-.33***	.21**	.00	.13✠	.06	.06
CM						.32***	.41***	.07	.18**	.32***	.25***
CA							.51***	.05	.19**	.17*	.30***
DC								-.09	.25***	.27***	.30***
PD									-.27***	-.03	-.09
PA										.30***	.34***
FR											.38***
M	3.91	3.37	4.56	2.77	4.32	3.73	4.17	2.05	4.31	4.06	3.84
SD	.86	.65	.69	1.26	.64	.71	.73	.91	.72	.79	.88
n	206	207	205	202	207	207	207	206	205	204	198

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. Gen=gender child; LS= Life Satisfaction; SE= Self-esteem; HeId= Heritage identity; ChId= Chilean identity; CM= culture maintenance; CA= culture adoption; DC= desire for contact; PD= perceived discrimination; PA= Peer Acceptance; FR= family relations; SC= school climate; M= mean; SD= standard deviation; n= number of cases.

Culture Maintenance and Culture Adoption preferences and well being.

In Table 3.15, I present the results of the hierarchical regressions run with CM and CA as predictors of life satisfaction (first column) and self-esteem (second column).

Table 3.15: Immigrant children T1 CM and CA on their life satisfaction & self-esteem

	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	B
Step 1	.08			.06		
Age		.03	-.28***		.02	-.23**
Step 2	.13			.08		
Age		.03	-.22**		.03	-.18*
Culture Maintenance		.10	.22**		.08	.17*
Culture Adoption		.09	.01		.07	.02
Step 3	.13			.09		
Age		.03	-.22**		.03	-.18*
Culture Maintenance		.11	.22**		.08	.19*
Culture Adoption		.09	.01		.07	.01
Interaction CM & CA		.13	.00		.10	.04
Step 4	.31			.22		
Age		.03	-.12✠		.03	-.14✠
Culture Maintenance		.10	.17**		.08	.15✠
Culture Adoption		.08	-.07		.07	-.04
Interaction CM & CA		.12	.01		.09	.04
Perceived Discrimination		.06	**-.18****		.05	**-.19****
Peer Acceptance		.09	**.16***		.07	**.20****
Family Relations		.08	.12✠		.06	.06
School climate		.07	.23**		.06	.09

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CM=culture maintenance; CA=culture adoption

In the first column we can see that, immigrant children's orientation towards maintaining their culture, their peer acceptance and school climate related positively to their life satisfaction; while their perception of discrimination related negatively to their life satisfaction.

In the second column we can see that, their orientation towards culture maintenance related positively to their self-esteem, but this relationship became marginal in step 4. I then tested if either perceived discrimination (negatively related to self-esteem) or peer acceptance (positively related to self-esteem) mediated this relationship.

A parallel multiple mediator model was run. There is a direct effect of CM on SE, and an indirect effect through peer acceptance controlling for perceived discrimination. There was no indirect effect through PD (see Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6: Parallel multiple mediator model from CM to SE through PA and PD
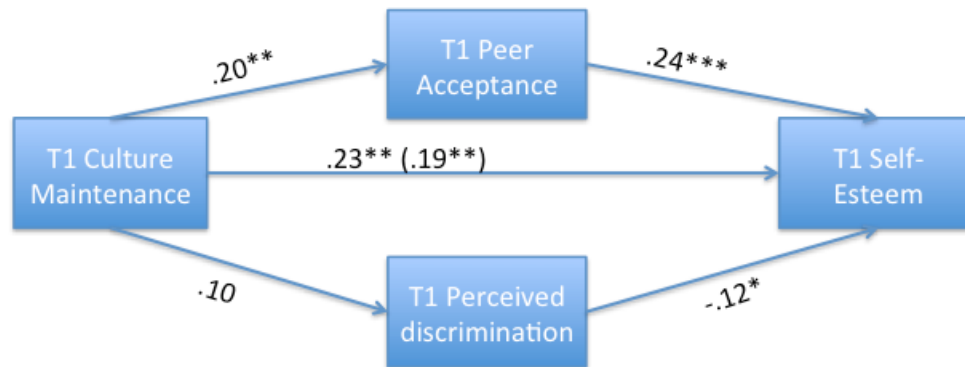
Unstandardized betas. *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Culture Maintenance and Desire for Contact preferences and well-being.

In Table 3.16 we have the results of the regression of CM and DC on life satisfaction (first column) and self-esteem (second column).

Table 3.16: Immigrant children T1 CM and DC on their life satisfaction and self-esteem

	Life Satisfaction			Self Esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	.08			.06		
Age		.03	-.28***		.02	-.23**
Step 2	.15			.09		
Age		.03	-.20**		.03	-.17**
Culture Maintenance		.10	.16*		.08	.13✠
Desire for Contact		.09	.17*		.07	.11
Step 3	.15			.10		
Age		.03	-.21**		.03	-.18*
Culture Maintenance		.11	.17*		.08	.16✠
Desire for Contact		.09	.17*		.07	.12
Interaction CM & DC		.10	.04		.08	.07
Step 4	.30			.22		
Age		.03	-.12✠		.03	-.15*
Culture Maintenance		.10	.14✠		.08	.14✠
Desire for Contact		.08	.04		.07	.02
Interaction CM & DC		.09	.01		.07	.06✠
Perceived Discrimination		.06	-.18**		.05	-.19**
Peer Acceptance		.09	.15*		.07	.21**
Family Relations		.08	.12✠		.06	.07
School climate		.07	.21**		.06	.07

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CM=culture maintenance; DC=desire for contact.

As is shown in the first column, culture maintenance and desire for contact had a positive main effect on immigrant children's life satisfaction (first column of Table 3.15).

The main effect of CM became marginal and of DC non-significant in step 4, when PD, PA and SC were entered into the regression. I tested if one of these variables mediated the relationships between each acculturation dimension and life satisfaction.

In the case of CM, the direct effect from CM to LS was significant, controlling for the possible mediators. The indirect effect was also significant through both peer acceptance and school climate and not through perceived discrimination, controlling always for the respective other two (see Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Parallel multiple mediator model from CM to LS through PA, SC and PD
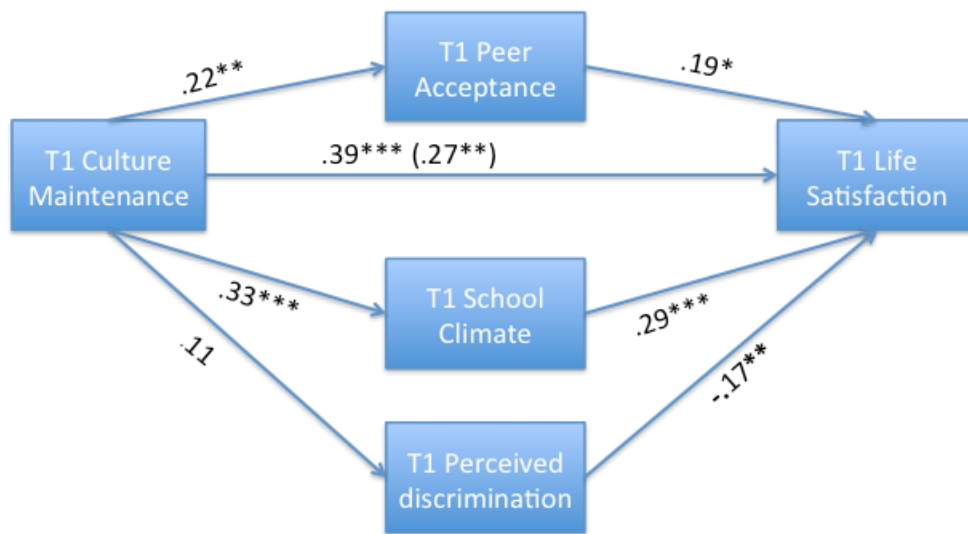
Unstandardized betas. *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

In the case of desire for contact, when controlling for the mediators, the direct effect to life satisfaction was no longer significant. The indirect effect went through peer acceptance and school climate, and was not significant through perceived discrimination (see Figure 3.8).

The analysis showed that both peer acceptance and school climate mediated the relationships between the acculturation variables - culture maintenance and desire for contact - and life satisfaction. In the case of DC, the relationship to LS went completely through the mediators. Both mediators had to do with the relationship with others in school, so it appeared that for immigrant children the quality of the relationships they established in school affected how much their CM related to their LS but especially how much their contact with others did.

Figure 3.8: Parallel multiple mediator model from DC to LS through PA, SC and PD
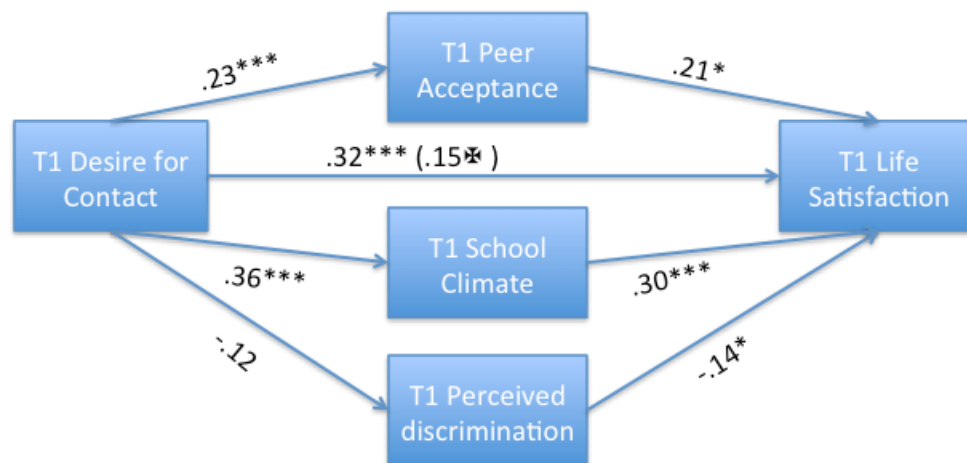
Unstandardized betas. *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

If we look now at the second column in Table 3.15 we can see that the acculturation dimensions (CM and DC) did not relate to self-esteem but, there was a negative main effect of perceived discrimination and positive of peer acceptance on self-esteem.

So, the cross sectional analysis showed that immigrant children's positive orientation towards culture maintenance related to their well-being, apparently mediated by school climate for life satisfaction, and by peer acceptance for both life satisfaction and self-esteem. In the case of desire for contact the relationship to life satisfaction was mediated fully by school climate and peer acceptance. At the same time immigrant children preferred an "integration" approach to acculturation. Finally, perceived discrimination did not appear related to acculturation but had in itself an important relation to well-being. I will study an important aspect of the relationship of PD with acculturation and well-being in more detail in the following section.

The role of perceived discrimination.

As in Study 1, I tested the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al, 1999). Perceived discrimination and culture maintenance were tested in a regression to see if CM moderated the relationship between PD and self-esteem. In the first step I controlled for age, in the second step I included the CM and PD main effects, and in the third step, their interaction. There was a main effect of CM (β=.17, p=.02, 95%BCa [0.03, 0.32]), PD (β=-.24, p=.00, 95%BCa [-0.27, -0.08]) and of the interaction (β=.16, p=.02, 95%BCa [0.03, 0.35]).

From the analysis of the interaction (see Table 3.17 and Figure 3.9), we can see that as in study 1, for children low in CM, PD was negatively related to SE but for those high in CM, there was no relationship between PD and SE. Once again, high CM appeared to buffer children from the adverse effects of discrimination.

Table 3.17: Values of CM moderating relationship between PD and SE

Values of CM	b	SE	p	CI
-.64	-.33	.09	.00	-.52, -.15
.64	-.07	.07	.29	-.21, .06

R^2: 0.14, CM=culture maintenance, PD= perceived discrimination

Figure 3.9: CM moderation of relationship between PD and SE

___ High T1 Culture Maintenance child
---- Low T1 Culture Maintenance child

Self-identification and well-being.
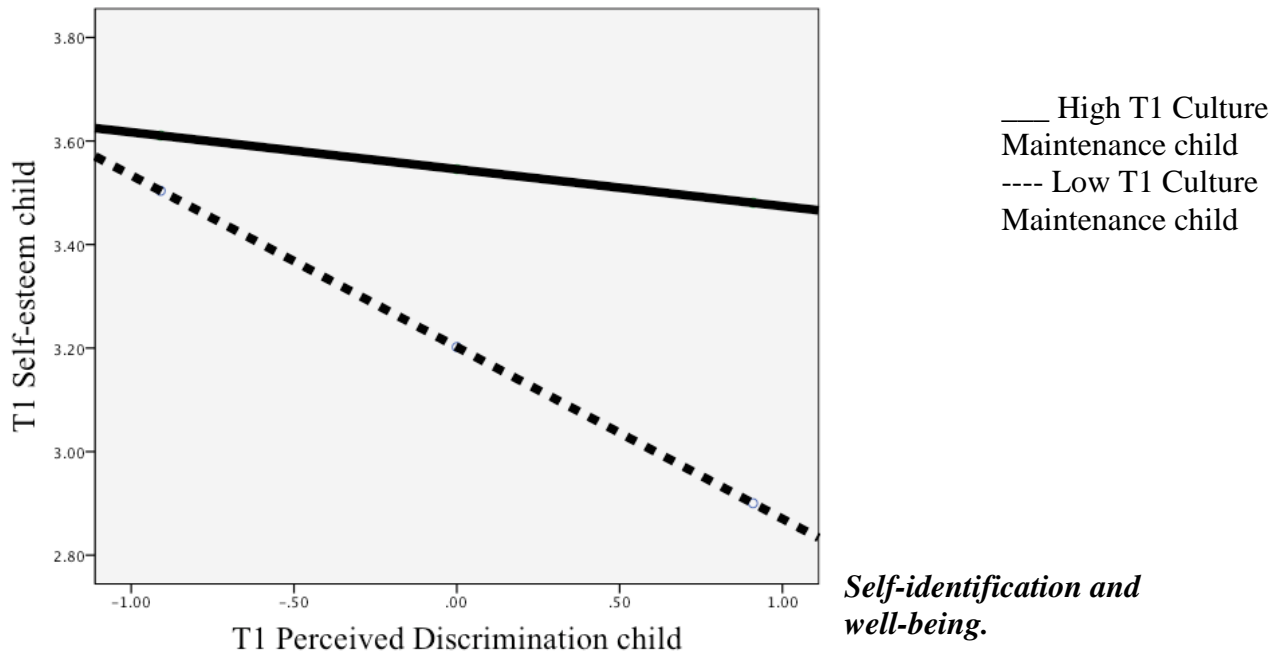
The identity scales did not relate to well-being of immigrant children at T1 when regressed from LS and SE. Repeating the exercise from Study 1, I calculated that 47 participants self-identified as bicultural (they chose both a heritage and the receiving country identity), while 159 chose only a heritage identity, and only 1 chose only the receiving country identity. When performing an independent T-test between the mean answers of the bi-cultural and heritage identity groups, the mean difference was significant for only three variables: a) their evaluation of their identity, children that chose a heritage identity evaluated it higher than bicultural children [Mheritage=4.57, Mbicultural=3.99, t(203)=5.14, 95%BCa [-.79, -.36]]; b) for their evaluation of Chilean identity, bicultural children evaluated that identity more positively than heritage identity

children [Mheritage=2.56, Mbicultural=3.44, t(199)=4.41, 95%BCa [-.79, -.36]]; c) for perceived discrimination, heritage identity children perceived more discrimination than bicultural children [Mheritage=2.12, Mbicultural=1.84, t(203)=1.84, 95%BCa [-.53, -.02]]. There were no differences in the acculturation variables between the bicultural and only heritage self-identified children. Although it is interesting to see that children that identified only with a heritage identity evaluated their own identity more positively, evaluated more negatively the receiving country identity and perceived more discrimination, it did not relate to their general well-being, which is the dependent variable under study. Therefore the two identity sub-scales were excluded from the longitudinal analysis presented on the next section.

Longitudinal analysis

To test the longitudinal relationship between the acculturation preferences of immigrant children and their well-being, two path models were run following the basic model presented in Figure 3.10.

Figure 3.10: Path model for longitudinal child acculturation variables and well-being
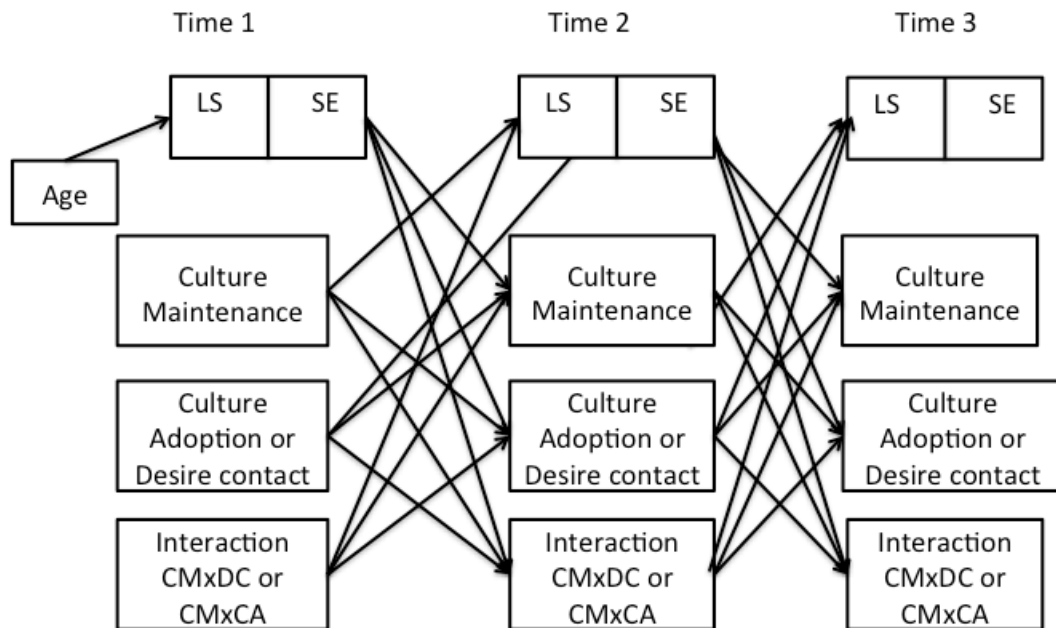
Note: SE: self-esteem LS: life satisfaction. At each time point, both well-being measures covaried; the acculturation dimensions and interaction covaried; and stability paths were included.

Self-esteem and Life Satisfaction were included together in each model as dependent variables in order to control for possible influences on each other. One model included Culture Maintenance (CM) and Culture Adoption (CA) as predictors, and the other included Culture Maintenance (CM) and Desire for contact (DC). The acculturation variables DC and CA, as explained before in Study 1, were included in separate models because they correlate and because they are generally used as dealing with similar dimensions of acculturation.

Age was included as control for the Time 1 dependent variables. The acculturation variables and their interaction were included at each time point. The predictors at T1 and T3 were allowed to covary, while some of the covariances at T2 were included in order to achieve good fit. The defined paths were from T1 to T2, T2 to T3 and T1 to T3. In order to make the model more parsimonious, the paths from T1 to T3 were at first fixed, but the model fit worsened, so they were left in the model.

Testing for selective attrition effects in the longitudinal study.

To test if at T2 and T3 the dropouts was a selective group or if it was random, I ran a between subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) for each scale. The ANOVA was 2 (yes or no dropout) X 3 (group of origin: immigrant/majority /mixed) X 2 (age group: child/adolescent). The results showed that from T1 to T2 the dropout group were adolescents with lower responses in the following scales: SE, LS, orientation towards CM and CA, PR, FR and SC. It is a safe assumption that the participants that decided to not participate were adolescents that were more negative to the possibility of participating in an activity that required more effort on their part.

From T2 to T3 the dropout and continuing participants did not differ in any of the scales.

Correlations and means of scales.

Correlations and mean scores of the variables at times 2 & 3 point are included in the appendix table 3.2a & 3.2b. As always, gender did not correlate with the variables in study, while age correlated negatively. Self-esteem correlated with CM and DC inconsistently at the different time points but not with CA. Life satisfaction correlated with the acculturation variables at T1 and T3 but not at T2. The acculturation scales had a low correlation at T1 and low (CM/CA) and moderate (CM/DC) at T2 and T3.

Culture Maintenance, Culture Adoption and well-being over time.

The path model with CM and CA as predictors of child well-being had a good fit (χ^2 = 40.83; df= 29; p-value=0.71; CFI=0.99; RMSEA= 0.04;SRMR=0.05) (see Figure 3.11).

The child SE (T2) had an effect on future CA preferences (T3), when immigrant children felt better about themselves they tended to have higher orientation towards CA. Their orientation towards CM (T1) had an effect on future CA (T3) preferences too, while their CM (T2) had an effect on self-esteem. This might show that when they had higher orientation towards CM then they were more interested in adopting the receiving

culture and also it improved their self-esteem over time. The interaction between CM and CA (T1) had an effect on SE and LS over time (T2).

Figure 3.11: Path model with child CM and CA as predictors of SE and LS
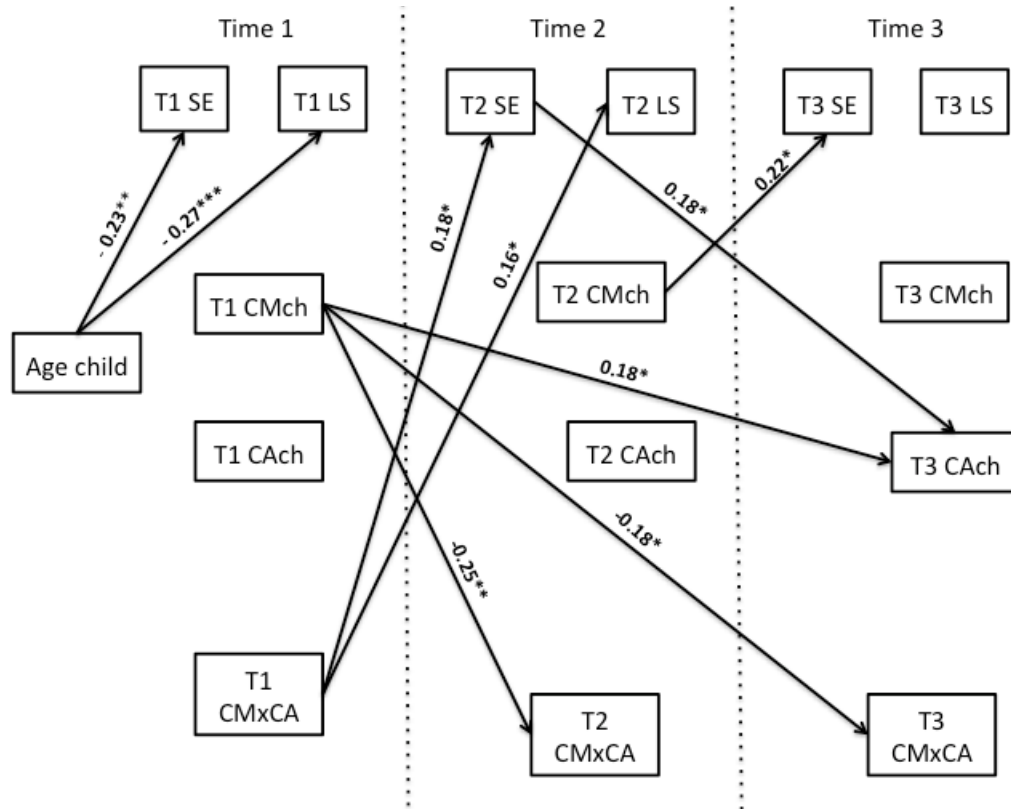
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; CMch=child Culture Maintenance; CAch=child Culture Adoption; CMxCA=interaction CMch and CAch; R^2 aSE 5,1%, bSE 10,4%, cSE 22,1%, aLS 7,4%, bLS 26,5%, cLS 39,5%. χ^2 = 40.834; df= 29; p-value=0.712; CFI=0.985; RMSEA= 0.044; SRMR=0.053. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

When analysing the interactions, I tested the moderator effect of CM on the relationship between CA and SE, and CA and LS. In the case of the relationship with SE, as in Study 1, when CM was high the relationship between CA to SE was positive (i.e. high in CA then high in SE); when CM was low the relationship was negative although non significant (i.e. high in CA then low in SE) (see Table 3.18 and Figure 3.12).

Table 3.18: Values of CM (T1) moderating relationship between CA (T1) and SE (T2)

Values of CM	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.62	-.13	.10	.22	-.33, .08
.62	.19	.08	.02	.03, .35

R^2=0.05, CM=culture maintenance, CA=culture adoption, SE=self-esteem

Figure 3.12: Moderation of CM (T1) on relationship between CA (T1) with SE (T2).

___ High T1 Culture Maintenance child

---- Low T1 Culture Maintenance child
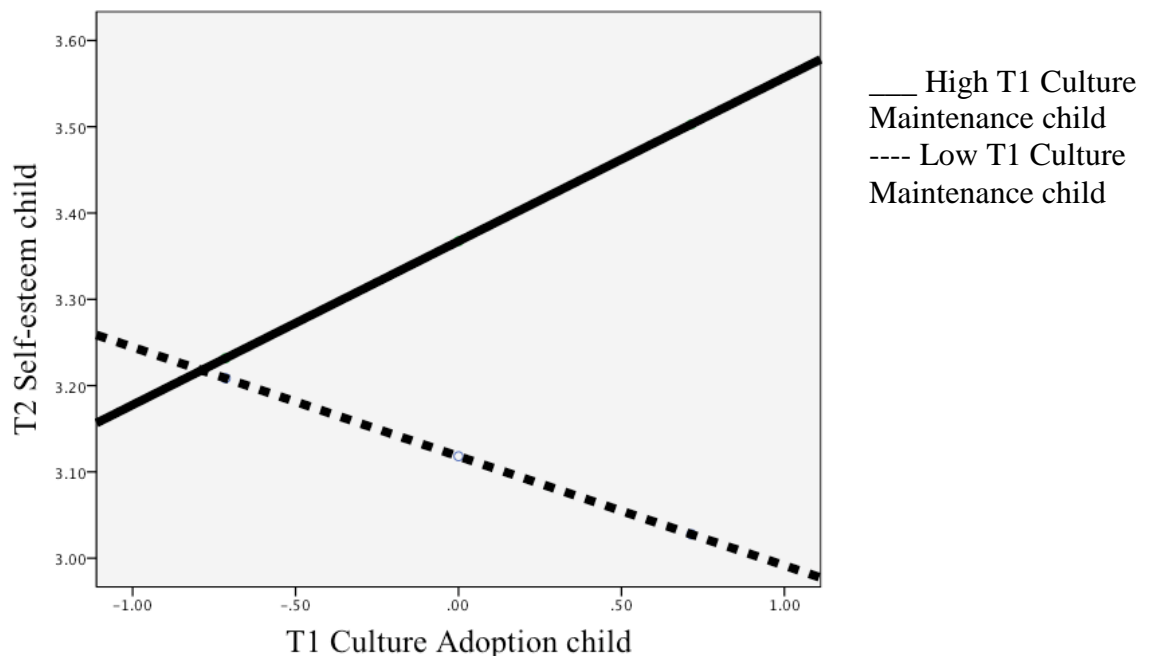
The moderation of CM on the relationship between CA and LS followed a similar pattern (Table 3.19 and Figure 3.13). When children had high orientation for CM it related to a positive relationship between CA and LS (i.e. higher CA then higher LS); while if CM was low then the relationship between CA and LS was weakly negative (high CA then low LS).

Table 3.19: Values of CM (T1) moderating relationship between CA (T1) and LS (T2)

Values of CM	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.62	-.08	.13	.52	-.33, .16
.62	.26	.09	.00	.08, .44

R^2=0.07, CM=culture maintenance, CA=culture adoption, LS=life satisfaction

So, as in the cross-sectional analysis, the results follow Berry's proposal that an "integration" approach, that combined a positive orientation towards culture maintenance and culture adoption, related to a more positive well-being over time, both for life satisfaction and self-esteem.

Figure 3.13: Moderation of CM (T1) on relationship between CA (T1) with LS (T2)
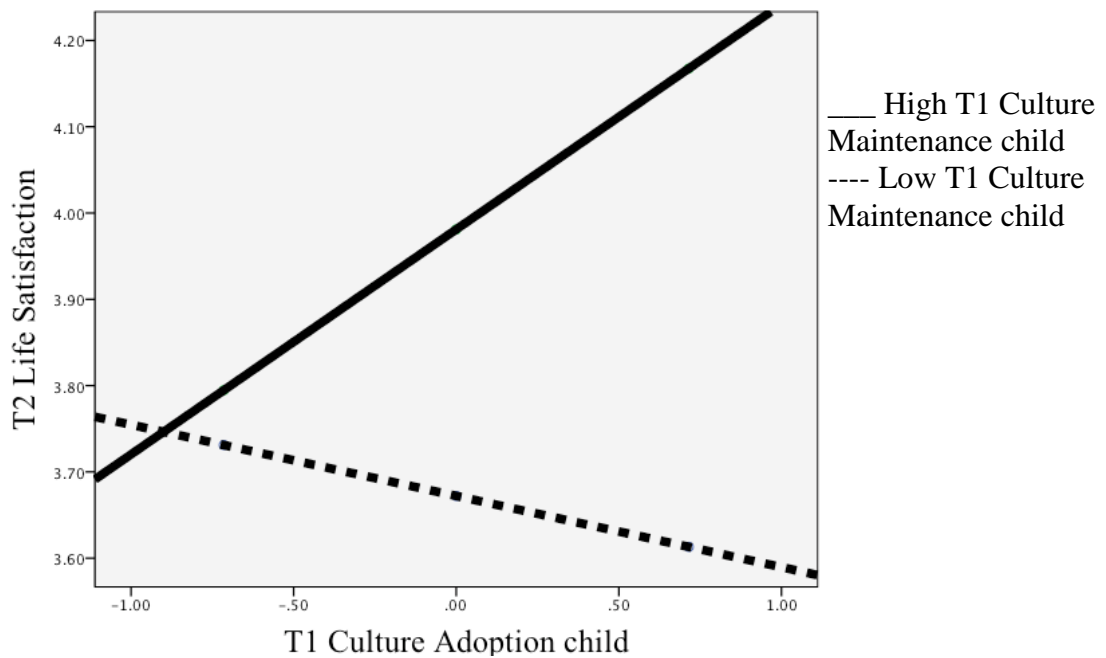
Culture Maintenance, Desire for Contact and well-being over time.

The path model with CM and DC as predictors, had an acceptable fit ($\chi^2 = 60.71$; df= 28; p-value=0.00; CFI=0.96; RMSEA= 0.07; SRMR=0.06) (see Figure 3.14). Self-esteem (T2) related to child DC (T3) over time: when immigrant children felt better with themselves then they had higher desire for contact in the future. And when they preferred to maintain their culture it influenced their future desire for contact (T1 to T2 and T2 to T3). The interaction between CM and DC (T1) related to life satisfaction over time (T2) and to child DC (T1 to T3).

Figure 3.14: Path model with child CM and DC as predictors of SE and LS
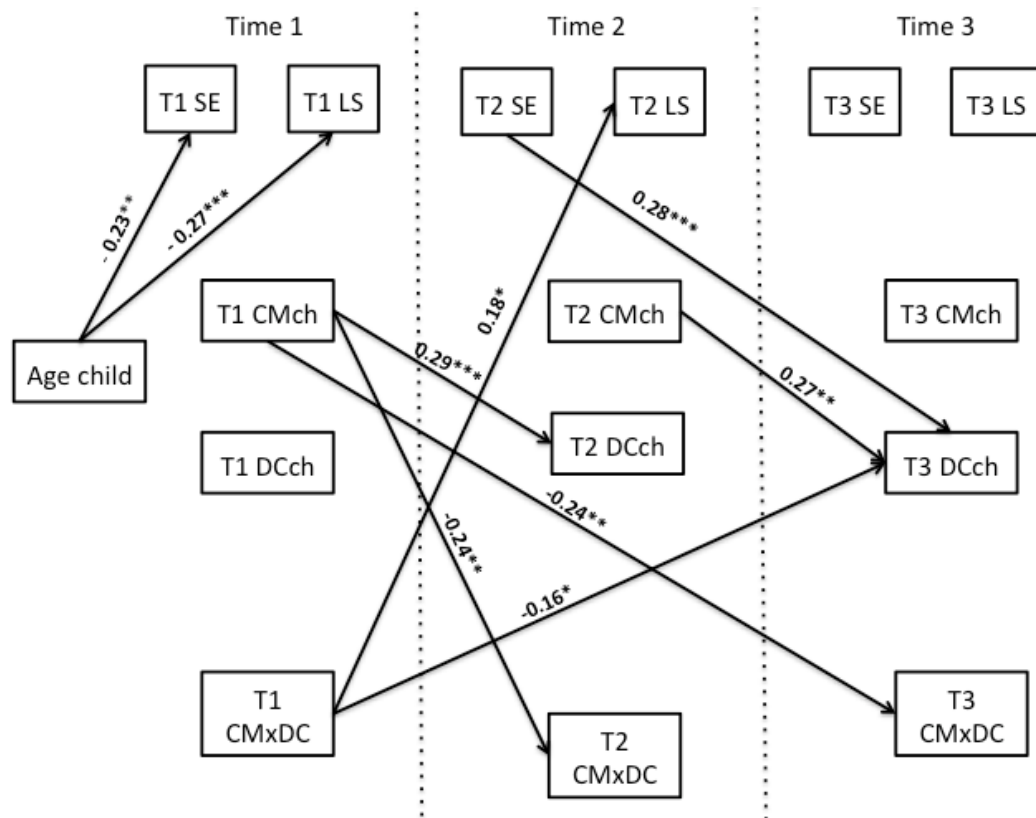
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; CMch=child Culture Maintenance; DCch=child Desire for Contact; CMxDC=interaction CMch and DCch; R^2 aSE 5,2%, bSE 8,1%, cSE 22,4%, aLS 7,4%, bLS 25,3%, cLS 37,8%. $\chi^2 = 60.71$; df= 28; p-value=0.00; CFI=0.96; RMSEA= 0.74; SRMR=0.06. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

The analysis of the interaction showed that it was when the values of culture maintenance were higher that it had a positive effect on the relationship between desire for contact and life satisfaction (high DC then high LS) (see Table 3.20 and Figure 3.15). This results supports Berry et al's findings that immigrant children who adopt an "integration" orientation will have higher life satisfaction.

Table 3.20: Values of CM (T1) moderating relationship between DC (T1) and LS (T2)

Values of CM	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.62	.05	.11	.64	-.17, .28
.62	.40	.13	.00	. 15, .65

R^2=0.10, CM=culture maintenance, DC=desire for contact, LS=life satisfaction

Figure 3.15: Interaction CMxDC T1 child on LS T2

___ High T1 Culture
Maintenance child
---- Low T1 Culture
Maintenance child
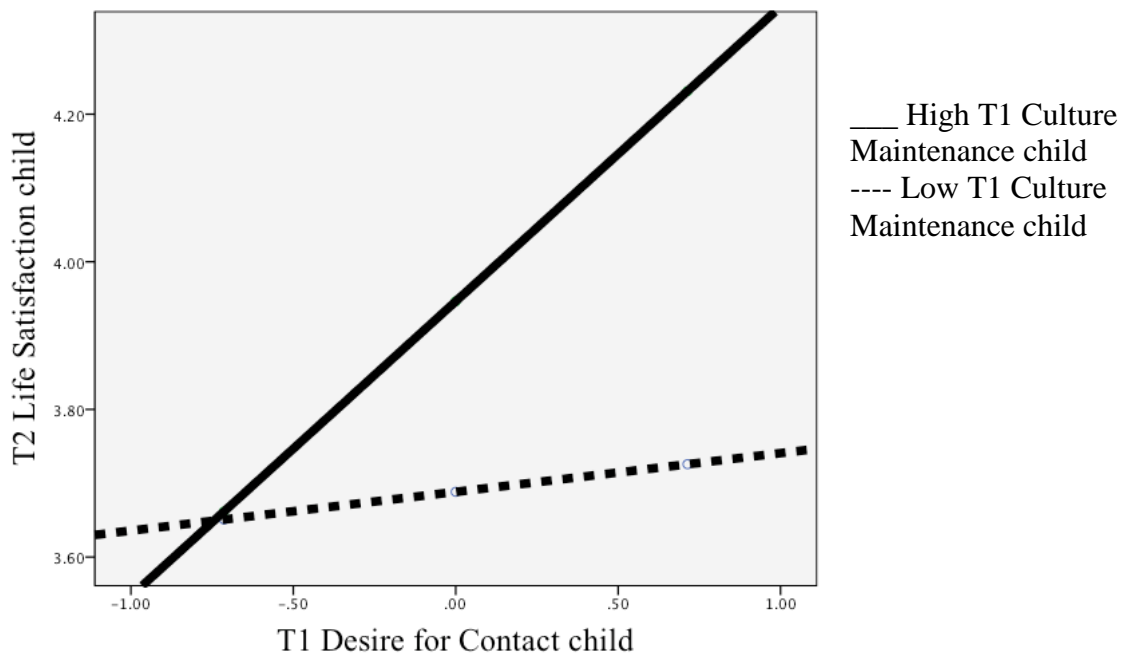
Main findings for immigrant children study 2

For immigrant children in this sample, their SE related to their CA and DC over time, so how they felt about themselves influenced how much contact they would engage with in the future and how much they wanted to adopt to the majority culture. On the other hand the relationship of CM with their well-being appeared to go from the acculturation dimension to SE, or from CM to other acculturation dimensions, but not the other way around. It seems that CM was not influenced by previous well-being. The orientation towards maintaining the heritage culture moderated the relationship of the other two acculturation variables with their well-being, CA and DC for life satisfaction and CA for self-esteem. As has been highlighted throughout this section, it was the combination of a preference for high CM together with, either high DC or high CA, that related to a more positive well-being in this group of children.

Chilean (*majority*) children

As was stated at the beginning of the description of study 2, I will present only the cross-sectional findings at T1 for Chilean children, due to not having enough participants to allow the longitudinal analyses to have sufficient statistical power.

In order to follow Berry's (2006) classification of *majority* groups' acculturation preferences, I divided the participants' responses using the midpoint of the scales as described in Study 1. The acculturation attitude that *majority* children preferred for immigrant children was mainly "multiculturalism", in both combinations of dimensions (see Table 3.21). This preference was in concordance to the immigrant children preference for "integration".

Table 3.21: Acculturation attitudes of Chilean children, Study 2, Time 1.

	Multiculturalism	Segregation	Melting pot	Exclusion
CM / CA	104	12	6	4
CM / DC	105	11	5	5

CM=culture maintenance, CA=culture adoption, DC=desire for contact

In Table 3.22 we can see that the correlation among the variables for the Chilean subsample are moderate to low and few.

Age related to life satisfaction but only marginally to self-esteem, while gender related to self-esteem. At the same time, age correlated only with family relations, while gender correlated with culture maintenance. The acculturation variables correlated moderately with each other: that means they were not completely independent from each other.

I ran the same hierarchical regressions as for immigrant children, to see if the patterns were maintained. Child gender did not relate to life satisfaction (β=.05, p=.56), but it did to self-esteem (β=.24, p=.01): girls had lower self-esteem. I decided anyway not to include gender so as to maintain the same models as with the immigrant children. Older children had lower well-being (see Table 3.22).

Table 3.22: Correlations, mean and SD, Time 1, Chilean (*majority*) children

	LS	SE	HeId	ChId	CM	CA	DC	PD	PA	FR	SC
Age	-.35***	-.17†	-.17	-.20*	-.11	-.09	-.01	-.03	.16†	-.18*	-.18
GEN	-.04	.18*	-.05	-.02	-.25**	-.15†	-.17†	.05	.07	.09	-.01
LS		.53***	.29	.10	.12	.12	-.01	.00	-.05	.44***	.28**
SE			.31	.10	.13	.04	-.02	-.04	.02	.29**	.15†
He Id				.25	-.23	.14	.15	-.01	-.04	.24	.23
Sk Id				.27*	.17	.28*	-.20	-.14	-.17	.21	.07
Ch Id					.23*	.20*	.15†	-.09	.12	.27**	.30**
CM						.61***	.63***	-.04	.17†	.22*	.19*
CA							.67***	-.06	.16	.23**	.24**
DC								-.07	.21*	.18*	.18*
PD									-.19*	-.15	.02
PA										.14	.19
FR											.40***
M	3.95	3.32	3.92	4.66	4.18	3.82	4.16	2.14	4.06	3.99	3.63
SD	.86	.66	.88	.49	.75	.76	.85	.87	.72	.77	.84
n	124	127	22	126	126	126	126	125	125	125	124

† =p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. Gen=gender child; LS= Life Satisfaction; SE= Self-esteem; HeId= Heritage identity; ChId= Chilean identity; CM= culture maintenance; CA= culture adoption; DC= desire for contact; PD= perceived discrimination; PA= peer acceptance; FR= family relations; SC= school climate; M= mean; SD= standard deviation; n= number of cases.

Culture Maintenance and Culture Adoption preferences and well being.

The first column in Table 3.23 shows the results for the hierarchical regressions on LS and the second column shows the results on SE.

Table 3.23: Hierarchical regressions results of CM and CA on well-being of Chilean children

	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	.17			.03		
Age		.04	-.42***		.03	-.18*
Step 2	.19			.05		
Age		.04	-.41***		.03	-.17†
Culture Maintenance		.12	.07		.10	.16
Culture Adoption		.11	.07		.10	-.05
Step 3	.25			.05		
Age		.04	-.38***		.03	-.17†
Culture Maintenance		.12	.17		.10	.16
Culture Adoption		.11	.14		.10	-.05
Interaction CM & CA		.07	.29**		.07	-.00
Step 4	.33			.11		
Age		.04	-.31***		.03	-.13
Culture Maintenance		.11	.12		.11	.11
Culture Adoption		.11	.07		.10	-.11
Interaction CM & CA		.07	.24**		.07	-.04
Perceived Discrimination		.08	-.02		.07	-.03
Peer Acceptance		.09	-.02		.09	.00
Family Relations		.09	.26**		.09	.22*
School climate		.09	.08		.08	.05

†=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CM=culture maintenance identity; CA=culture adoption.

There was an effect of the interaction between CM and CA to life satisfaction (first column, step 3); while family relations had a positive relationship with life satisfaction and self-esteem (first column, step 4).

The analysis of the interaction showed that as with immigrant children, it was at high levels of CM that the relationship between CA and LS is positively affected. When Chilean children preferred an "integration" approach for immigrant children their life satisfaction was higher (see Table 3.24, and Figure 3.16).

Table 3.24: Values of CM moderating relationship between CA and LS

Values of CM	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.75	-.03	.11	.79	-.26, .20
.75	.33	.14	.02	.04, .62

R^2=0.08, CM=culture maintenance, CA=culture adoption, LS=life satisfaction

Figure 3.16: Interaction CM (T1) and CA (T1) on LS (T1) for Chilean children

___ High T1 Culture Maintenance child
---- Low T1 Culture Maintenance child
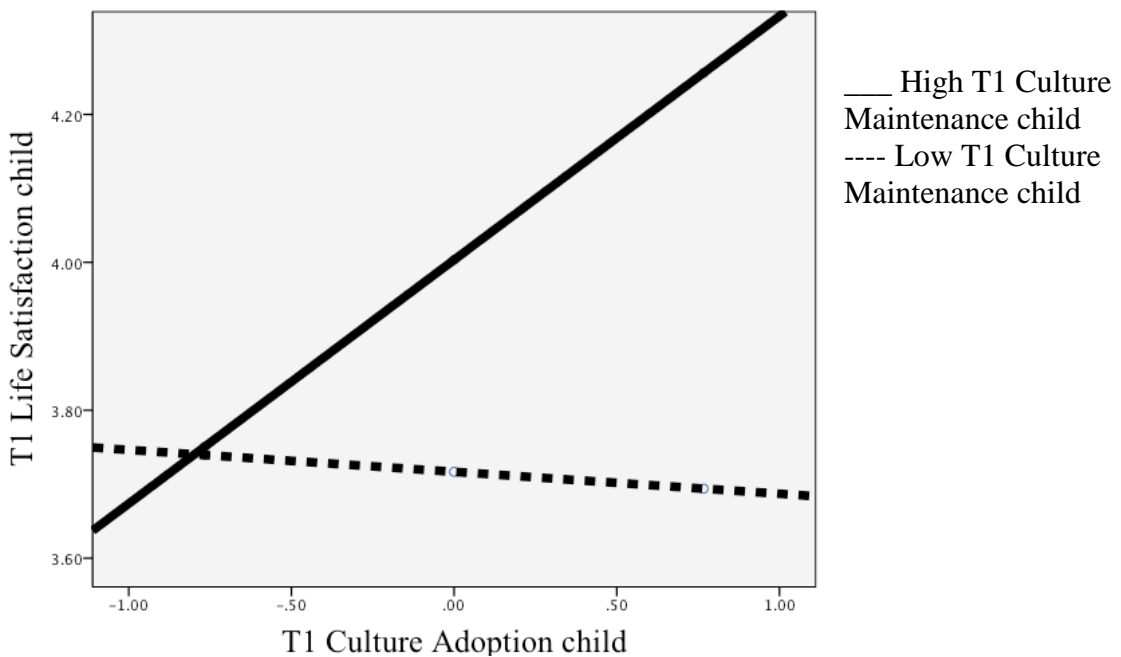
Culture maintenance and desire for contact preferences and well-being.

The results of the hierarchical regressions with CM and DC as predictors show that there was no effect of the acculturation dimensions on *majority* children's self-esteem, the only main effect was of family relations (second column of Table 3.25, steps 3 and 4 respectively).

The first column of Table 3.25, shows us that the interaction between CM and DC related to LS (step 3). This relationship was no longer significant when FR entered the model. I will first present the analysis of the interaction of CM and DC on LS. Then I will analyse the possibility that the relationship from the interaction to LS also goes through FR (mediated moderation).

Table 3.25: Hierarchical regression of CM and DC on well-being of Chilean children

	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	.17			.03		
Age		.04	-.42***		.03	-.18*
Step 2	.19			.06		
Age		.04	-.40***		.03	-.16☐
Culture Maintenance		.12	.18		.10	.21☐
Desire for Contact		.11	-.09		.09	-.13
Step 3	.22			.06		
Age		.04	-.39***		.03	-.16☐
Culture Maintenance		.13	.24*		.11	.22☐
Desire for Contact		.11	-.02		.09	-.13
Interaction CM & DC		.07	.22*		.06	.01
Step 4	.32			.11		
Age		.04	-.31***		.03	-.11
Culture Maintenance		.12	.18		.11	.16
Desire for Contact		.11	-.07		.09	-.17
Interaction CM & DC		.07	.18☐		.06	-.02
Perceived Discrimination		.08	-.01		.07	-.03
Peer Acceptance		.10	-.03		.09	.02
Family Relations		.10	.27**		.09	.22*
School climate		.09	.11		.08	.04

☐=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CM=culture maintenance identity; DC=desire for contact.

When analysing the interaction (i.e., CMxDC, step 3) we can see that low levels of CM moderated negatively the relationship between DC and LS: lower DC related to lower LS (see Table 3.26 & Figure 3.17).

Table 3.26: Values of CM moderating relationship between DC and LS

Values of CM	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.75	-.19	.10	.06	-.39, .01
.75	.03	.15	.84	-.26, .32

R^2=0.06, CM=culture maintenance, DC=desire for contact, LS=life satisfaction

So, when Chilean children had a tendency to prefer a "melting pot" attitude for immigrants their LS was lower, while if they preferred a "marginalization" attitude for immigrants then their LS was higher. When Chilean children had higher CM this did

not affect the relationship between their DC and LS. Although the shape of this interaction was a little different from the CM and CA interaction show in Figure 3.16, it is worth noting that those with high CM and high DC ("multiculturalism") still had the highest life satisfaction.

Figure 3.17: CM moderation of relationship between DC and LS (T1) Chilean children

___ High T1 Culture Maintenance child
---- Low T1 Culture Maintenance child
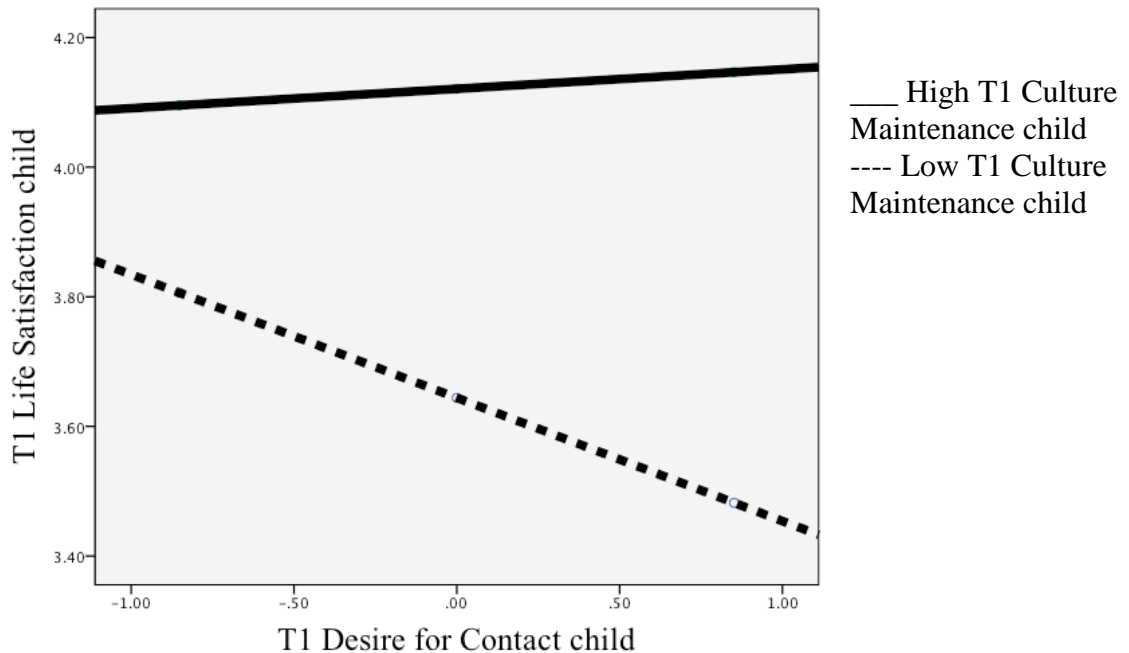
The analysis of the possible mediation showed that there was no mediated moderation (b=.05, 95% BCa [-.06, .11]), of FR mediating the relationship between the interaction (CMxDC) to LS.

Main findings Chilean (*majority*) children

Family relations appeared as an important predictor of *majority* children's well-being. In regard to acculturation, the preference for a "multiculturalism" approach for immigrant children related to higher LS for *majority* children, in the case of combining CM with CA. When combining CM with DC the results differed. Although still a "multiculturalism" related to high LS, when they had low CM then children opted for a "melting pot" attitude related negatively to their LS, while a "marginalization" one improved it. This could be interpreted that when *majority* children did not want immigrant children to keep their culture, they prefer for them to keep to themselves rather than interact with Chilean children.

Children with mixed origin background

As with *majority* children, only the cross-sectional analysis at T1 will be
presented for the same reason related to statistical power. The acculturation attitude that
mixed background children preferred was "integration", just as was the preference for
immigrant and *majority* children (see Table 3.27).

Table 3.27: Acculturation attitudes of mixed origin children, time 1, Study 2.

	Integration	Separation	Assimilation	Marginalization
CM / CA	62	8	1	4
CM / DC	62	8	2	3

CM=culture maintenance, CA=culture adoption, DC=desire for contact

The majority of the correlations were low to moderate. As with immigrant
children, for children with mixed origin background, gender did not correlate with other
variables, it was age that related negatively to several variables. The acculturation
dimensions correlated moderately with each other, therefore they were not totally
independent. The identity variables did not correlate with well-being. Only life
satisfaction correlated with CA, while SE did not correlate with the acculturation
variables. Family relations and school climate appeared as important for children's
well-being and correlated with two of the acculturation variables, CM and CA (see
Table 3.28).

Table 3.28: Correlations, means and SD, (T) 1 Children with mixed origin background

	LS	SE	HeId	ChId	CM	CA	DC	PD	PA	FR	SC
Age	-.38**	-.19✠	-.07	-.20✠	-.33**	-.26*	-.19	.09	.22✠	-.38**	-.36**
GEN	-.02	-.03	.01	-.04	-.19	-.05	-.12	.14	.12	-.01	.12
LS		.48***	.17	.15	.21✠	.26*	.14	-.07	.19	.45***	.45***
SE			.08	.12	.02	.10	.10	-.12	.21	.22✠	.23✠
HeId				-.29*	.04	.09	-.01	.01	-.08	-.03	.01
SkId				.43*	.31	.62**	.33	-.1	-.08	.37✠	.32
ChId					.29*	.32**	.17	-.31**	.31**	.24*	.21✠
CM						.50***	.58***	-.05	.08	.28*	.23
CA							.61***	.04	-.07	.27*	.16
DC								-.19✠	.07	.19	.19
PD									-.15	-.14	-.12
PA										.21✠	.08
FR											.34**
M	4.01	3.48	3.87	4.23	4.27	3.74	4.15	2.08	4.26	4.16	3.85
SD	.84	.60	1.08	.71	.71	.84	.93	.85	.79	.73	.83
n	76	76	24	75	84	75	75	75	75	75	72

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. Gen=gender child; LS= Life Satisfaction; SE= Self-esteem; HeId= Heritage identity;
ChId= Chilean identity; CM= culture maintenance; CA= culture adoption; DC= desire for contact; PD= perceived
discrimination; PA= peer acceptance; FR= family relations; SC= school climate; M= mean; SD= standard deviation; n= number
of cases.

I ran the same hierarchical regressions as for the other two groups of children. Child gender did not relate to life satisfaction (β=-.040, p=.72), while older children had less life satisfaction (β=-.380, p=.001). The cross-sectional regressions with self-esteem as a dependant variable were not significant. This could be because of lack of power due to the small sample and, as we saw in the correlation table, SE did not correlate with the rest of the variables in this sub-sample of children. Therefore I am only presenting the results in regard to LS.

Culture maintenance, culture adoption and well-being.

In Table 3.29, I present the results for the hierarchical regressions of CM and CA run on LS. There was no main effect of CA or CM on LS, there was a marginal effect of the interaction of CM and CA on LS and finally a significant effect of SC.

Table 3.29: Hierarchical regressions with CM and CA as predictors on children with mixed origin background's LS at T1

	Life Satisfaction		
	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	.14		
Age		.05	-.38**
Step 2	.17		
Age		.06	-.31**
Culture Maintenance		.16	-.03
Culture Adoption		.14	.21
Step 3	.22		
Age		.06	-.25☐
Culture Maintenance		.17	.05
Culture Adoption		.14	.26☐
Interaction CM & CA		.16	.24☐
Step 4	.42		
Age		.06	-.17
Culture Maintenance		.15	.09
Culture Adoption		.13	.27*
Interaction CM & CA		.15	.19☐
Perceived Discrimination		.09	.05
Peer Acceptance		.11	.20☐
Family Relations		.13	.22☐
School climate		.11	.28*

☐=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CM=culture maintenance identity; CA=culture adoption.

Even though the interaction had a marginal relationship to LS it is interesting to observe the plot (Table 3.30, Figure 3.18). It is the high value of CM that had a positive effect on the relationship between CA and LS, the low value of CM did not affect the

relationship albeit non-significantly. And we can see that as with immigrant children, the combination of high CM with high CA related to high LS.

Table 3.30: Values of CM moderating relationship between CA and LS

Values of CM	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.72	.01	.21	.98	-.42, .43
.72	.38	.29	.19	-.19, .96

$R^2=0.11$, CM=culture maintenance, CA=culture adoption, LS=life satisfaction

Figure 3.18: CM moderation of relationship between CA and LS, mixed origin children, T1
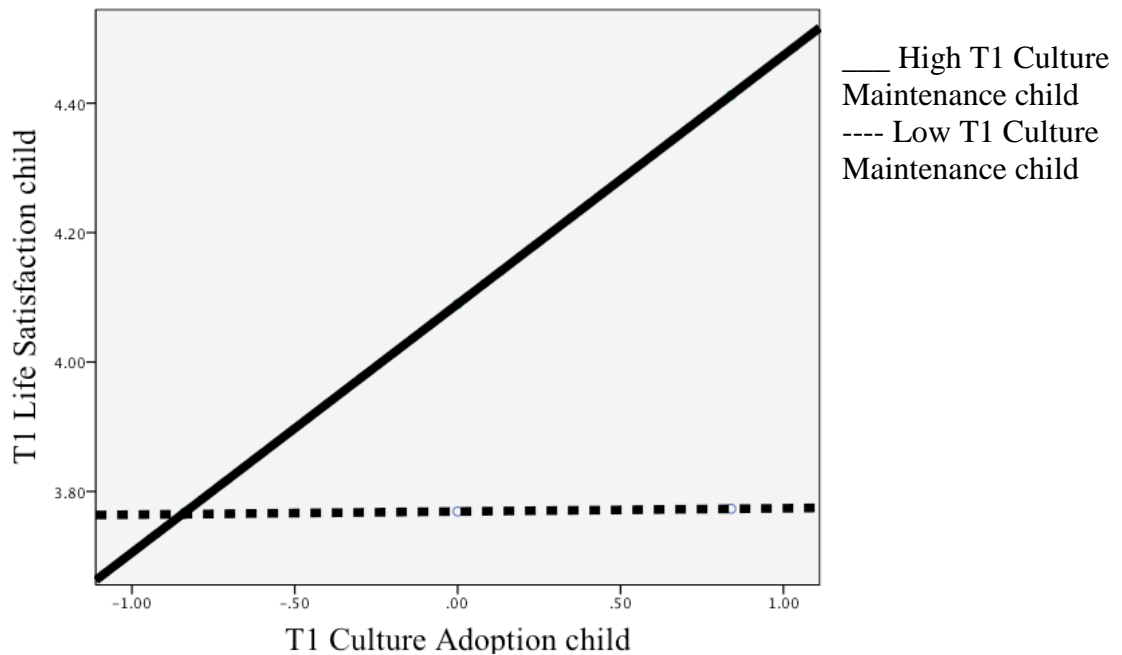
Culture maintenance, desire for contact and well-being.

The results in Table 3.31 show the relationship between CM and DC on life satisfaction. The interaction of CM and DC had an effect on LS in Step 3 that was no longer significant in Step 4 when family relations and school climate were added to the model. I analysed first the interaction's relationship to LS and then, the two possible mediated moderations.

Table 3.31: Hierarchical regression with CM and DC as predictors on children with mixed origin background's life satisfaction at T1

	Life Satisfaction		
	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	.14		
Age		.05	-.38**
Step 2	.15		
Age		.06	-.36**
Culture Maintenance		.17	.05
Desire for Contact		.13	.03
Step 3	.21		
Age		.06	-.31**
Culture Maintenance		.17	.02
Desire for Contact		.16	.30
Interaction CM & DC		.14	**.35***
Step 4	.38		
Age		.06	-.21
Culture Maintenance		.16	-.07
Desire for Contact		.16	.20
Interaction CM & DC		.14	.24
Perceived Discrimination		.10	.07
Peer Acceptance		.13	.12
Family Relations		.14	**.27***
School climate		.12	**.26***

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CM=culture maintenance identity; DC=desire for contact.

As we can see in Figure 3.19, high CM marginally affected the relationship between DC and LS (high DC then high in LS). Children with mixed origin background improved their life satisfaction when they had an "integration" approach to acculturation; while a low CM did not affect the relationship between DC and LS (Table 3.32).

In regard to the possible mediators in the relationship between the interaction and LS, there was no mediation through FR (b=0, 95%BCa [-0.15, 0.98]) from the interaction to LS. There was, on the other hand, a mediated moderation through SC, the indirect effect was significant (b=0.11, 95%BCa [0, 0.36]). It seems that for children of mixed origin background their perception of a positive school climate influenced the effect their orientation towards CM had on their DC and therefore on their LS. A better school climate improved their life satisfaction and probably it was a school climate that accepted their "integration" preference to acculturation.

Table 3.32: Values of CM moderating relationship between DC and LS

Values of CM	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-0.71	0.05	0.13	0.70	-0.20, 0.29
0.71	0.55	0.29	0.06	-0.02, 1.12

R^2=0.12, CM=culture maintenance, DC=desire for contact, LS=life satisfaction

Figure 3.19: CM (T1) moderation of relationship between DC (T1) and LS (T1) for mixed origin children

___ High T1 Culture Maintenance child
---- Low T1 Culture Maintenance child
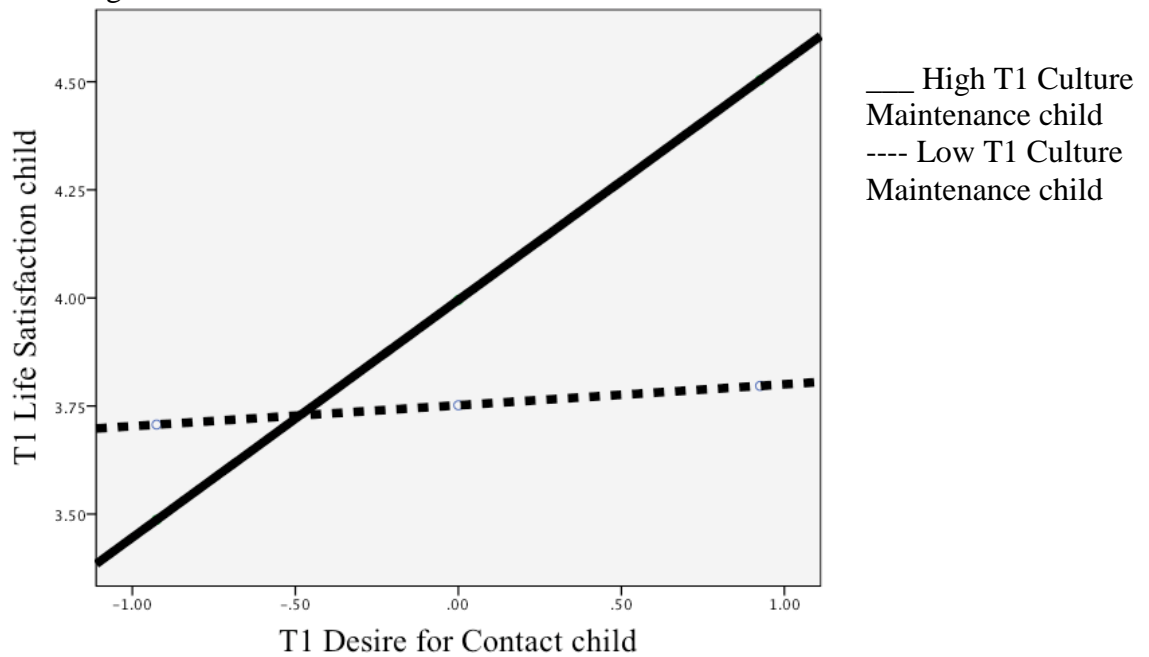
Main findings for mixed origin children

For children with mixed origin background in Chile, the best acculturation attitude for their well-being appeared to be "integration", combining their culture maintenance orientation both with desire for contact and culture adoption. It is interesting to note that school climate appeared as an important variable for their well-being, mediating their relationship between their "integration" approach and life satisfaction. Noteworthy, their self-esteem did not appear related to their acculturation orientation.

Discussion

In both the UK sample and the Chilean sample of immigrants the combination of a high orientation towards CM and high desire for DC ("integration" in Berry's terms) or high CM and CA ("bicultural" in Benet-Martinez' terms) related positively to their well-being. This occurred both concurrently as well as longitudinally. Interestingly, the relationship between the acculturation dimensions to well-being appeared mediated by school climate and peer acceptance concurrently, for immigrant children in the Chilean sample. This points to the importance that the social environment had on the relationship between children's preferences of acculturation and their life satisfaction or self-esteem. Finally, orientation towards culture maintenance served as a buffer for self-esteem in both samples when confronted with high perceived discrimination, by ameliorating the negative effect of the latter. While low orientation towards culture maintenance was highly detrimental towards self-esteem in the same situation.

The longitudinal analysis informed us that immigrant children's self-esteem (T2) influenced how much they had an orientation towards adopting the receiving culture (T3) and have contact with them (T3) (Kosic, 2006). While their orientation towards maintaining their culture (T2) is what influenced their self-esteem (T3) in the future and also moderated the relationship between the other two acculturation dimensions and well-being (T1 to T2). It appears important to allow and motivate immigrant children to maintain their heritage culture due to this being a source of positive self-esteem for them in the future. At the same time if their self-esteem is high then they will feel more psychologically secure to engage with the majority children and their culture. A difference between combining culture maintenance with culture adoption or desire for contact is that the interaction with the former shows that it is "assimilation" that is associated with the lowest well-being, while in the case of the latter, it appears to be "separation" which lowers life satisfaction. So, immigrant children do not want to lose their heritage culture in favour of the receiving culture and also want to have contact with majority children, while keeping their culture.

In the case of the cross-sectional results of majority children (Chilean) we found evidence that their preference for a "multiculturalism" approach for immigrant children affects their own life satisfaction positively. Even more, there was an indication that when they prefer a "melting pot" attitude from immigrants then their life satisfaction is

lower. It is interesting to note that their self-esteem is not related to the acculturation dimensions. At the same time it is when these children have positive family relations that they are able to link an orientation for immigrant children to maintain their culture with their own LS. These findings allow us to consider that it seems fundamental to promote respect of diversity and value of the immigrant's culture for majority children so they can also benefit from the "integration" approach. Also we can presume that the attitude the majority child had towards immigrants has to do with how the topic is treated in his or her own family and the quality of the relationships inside.

For the children of mixed origin background in Chile an "integration" approach is also beneficial, albeit marginally significant. In this group their SC acquires importance, we can presume that if they are inserted in a school community that embraces both their heritage and receiving cultures and allows them to decide what to take from both, they have better chances of improving their well-being.

The amount of variance in well-being explained by the acculturation variables varies in both studies (study 1: 27% to 31% and study 2: 9% to 15%); while the social mediators improve the explanation (study 1: 36% to 44% and study 2: 22% to 31%). The effect sizes, Cohen's f^2, of the hierarchical multiple regressions run were, in general, "small" in study 1 and study 2, with some "medium" sized (Seyla, Rose, Dierker, Hedeker & Mermelstein, 2012). Although there is an important amount the variance in well-being that is not explained by the acculturation orientations and that the effect sizes of the relationships are small to medium, they do follow what is generally the norm in this literature.

So all these groups of children benefit from an "integration" approach to acculturation: both in a context where their heritage culture is notably different from the receiving culture (i.e. immigrant sample in UK) as when the differences are more subtle for an external observer (i.e. immigrant sample in Chile, and non-immigrant children), and finally when they are majority children. Therefore if they are inserted in contexts, both school and family, that encourage the possibility for immigrants to maintain their heritage culture, adapt to the receiving culture and have contact with majority members, their well-being has greater chances of being positive.

To evaluate the family context I will present in the next chapter the results of the analysis of the discrepancies in acculturation between children and parents.

Limitations

Study 1 is comprised of a small sample obtained from one school, so it cannot be considered in any sense representative. At the same time, the variety of cultural and national origins of the children that participated gives us an indication of how immigrant children perceive the variables under study, but if we take into account that the literature has found that acculturation varies between cultural groups, the findings must be taken with caution. The low alphas of the CM and CA scales were not expected, and were improved by dividing the scales, but still they were lower than the ideal. Despite this, the findings are generally in line with the acculturation literature.

Study 2 could have been improved by having a sample from other SES groups in the city (not middle/low SES), but the schools of the higher SES group did not respond positively to participation in this kind of study. The Chilean and mixed origin sub samples did not have sufficient participants to allow a longitudinal analysis, which constrains the causal conclusions we can draw with these two groups. Despite these limitations the sample is overall large (400 children) at T1 and a sizeable number of immigrant children remained throughout the three time points this allowed us to study the relationships over time. It also was important to consider the differences that might appear between immigrant children and mixed origin children, and consider how acculturation is affecting the well-being of majority children.

Conclusion

The main question in this chapter was the relationship of children's acculturation attitudes to their well-being, and the possible mediators and moderators in this relationship. The evidence from these two studies supports the literature findings that children's high orientation towards their heritage culture and the receiving culture (or desire to maintain contact with the majority group) is the preferred acculturation attitude for children with immigrant background, both in UK and Chile (Berry et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2015). At the same time, this "integration" or "bicultural" approach has a direct relationship concurrently and a direct effect over time, to positive well-being of these children. Interestingly, the relationship over time is from acculturation to well-being only in the case of culture maintenance, the direction of the relationship in the case of culture adoption and desire for contact is from well-being to acculturation.

In regard to moderators, in both studies and with all samples, the orientation towards culture maintenance moderated the relationship between the other two acculturation preferences and well-being.

In regard to mediators, only in the cross-sectional Time 1 study with the immigrant sub-sample in Chile, peer acceptance and school climate mediated the relationship between acculturation and well-being.

In the final chapter I will return to discuss the wider significance of these findings.

In the next chapter I will analyse how parent and child acculturation attitudes relate to children's well-being.

CHAPTER 4

ACCULTURATION PREFERENCES OF PARENTS, ACCULTURATION PREFERENCES OF CHILDREN AND WELLBEING

Introduction

We have seen in chapter 3 how the child acculturation preferences related to their well-being in two culturally different contexts, UK and Chile, and with majority and minority groups of children. The findings show that children with immigrant background in both countries and majority children in Chile prefer an "integration" ("multiculturalism") approach to acculturation that relates positively to their well-being.

In this chapter I will present how perceived parents' and actual parents' preferences in acculturation related to children's own acculturation preferences, and to their psychological well-being in two cross-sectional studies (in UK and Chile) and a longitudinal study (in Chile). The analysis will centre on the role parental attitudes (i.e. perceived and actual), both in their own right (i.e. as main effects), and in relation to the children's attitudes (i.e. discrepancies) had on children's well-being. In regard to the main effects of parental attitudes, I expected that what children perceived their parents to prefer and the actual parents' preferences might influence their own preferences and children's well-being concurrently and over time.

In chapter 2, I discussed how the acculturation discrepancies between immigrant children and their parents might relate to different outcomes in children. I will present the analysis of parent-child discrepancies from the same studies presented in the previous chapter. I want to see if the existence of discrepancies is actually negative for children's well-being, as is posited by the main trend of "acculturation gap" studies, and if this relationship is mediated by family relations. Also I want to see if the discrepancies are generally related to children being more adapted to the receiving culture and parents more interested in retaining the heritage culture, or if other combinations of discrepancies appear.

I will first present the cross-sectional results from Study 1 (UK sample) and then the cross-sectional and longitudinal results from Study 2 (Chile sample). The longitudinal analysis was done only with the immigrant sub-sample in Study 2. This

was because the limited sample of Chilean and mixed origin children did not allow to conduct the analysis with sufficient statistical power.

Calculation of discrepancy score

The two methods described in chapter 2 to measure the discrepancies are used in the analysis of study 1 and study 2: "signed difference method" and "interaction method".

As I described there, the "signed difference method" consists of subtracting the perceived parent score in each acculturation dimension from the child's corresponding score. The majority of the literature that uses this method takes an "absolute difference" of the scores which does not take into account the direction of the discrepancy. I am in line with the literature that considers that it is relevant if the parent or the child is the one that is higher in the acculturation dimension measured (Tezler, 2010). That is why I will take into consideration the sign of the difference in the interpretation of the relationship of the discrepancy with well-being. If the sign is negative it means that parents are higher in the acculturation dimension than children, if the sign is equal to 0 then both parents and children have the same preference and, if the sign is positive, it means that children are higher in their preference of the acculturation dimension than parents.

The "interaction method" involves including the child and perceived parent acculturation scores in consecutive steps of hierarchical linear regression as main effects (in step 2 & 3 respectively), and then the interaction of both acculturation dimensions in step 4.

I described in chapter 2 the benefits and shortcomings of each method, and now seek to observe if the results differ using either one.

Study 1: Cross sectional study, London, UK

Method

Participants.

The same participants described in chapter 3.

Measures.

In order to evaluate the effects of the children and parents' discrepancies, the children's perception of their parents' acculturation preferences was included in the questionnaire via three scales.

Perceived Acculturation Preference of Parents (Culture Maintenance scale (CMpp), Culture Adoption scale (CApp) and Desire for contact scale (DCpp)): Children were asked to answer what they thought their parents would answer about the same set of acculturation items detailed in the previous chapter (five point Likert scale). Culture maintenance and culture adoption scales were divided into practices and identity as with the children scales so as to be able to compare the answers. CMpp practices (α=0.66), and CMpp identity (α=0.61); CApp practices (α=0.61) and CApp Identity (α=0.72); DC (α=0.84). [pp= perceived parent]

Procedure

The new scales were included in the same questionnaire used before, described in Study 1 chapter 3.

Results

The differences between children and parents in the five acculturation variables (two culture maintenance, two culture adoption and one desire for contact) were included by acculturation dimension into six regressions, three for each dependent variable: life satisfaction and self-esteem.

Acculturation attitudes and correlations.

In table 4.1, I present the correlations, means and SD of the perceived parent acculturation scales and the difference scores in acculturation between children and parent in relation to all the scales used in study 1. The correlations that are missing are in chapter 3 (Table 3.1).

As we can see, the behaviour of the well-being variables was different in regard to the perceived parent acculturation variables than the children's ones. Life satisfaction correlated with perceived parent culture adoption identity, while it did not correlate with any of the children acculturation variables. This gives us the impression that, for immigrant children in this sample, if they perceived their parents to have a positive orientation towards adopting the receiving culture identity then their life satisfaction was higher. In the case of self-esteem, it was culture maintenance practices that had an important correlation. Children appeared to have higher self-esteem when they perceived their parents to have a high orientation towards CM practices. The respective child and perceived parent acculturation variables are small to moderately correlated (e.g. except for DC that is highly correlated), which is expected because it is the same child answering both scales. Age correlated with three of the difference scores, while gender was only correlated with one.

I carried out a T-test to compare the means of children acculturation preferences with the ones they perceived of their parents (see table 4.2). There was a significant difference in how they perceived their own preference for CM practices and CA identity compared to the report of their parents' respective preferences: in both cases children perceived themselves as desiring more than parents to maintain their cultural practices and to adopt the receiving culture identity.

Table 4.1: Correlations of all perceived parent scales Study 1 and difference scores.

	ppCMp	ppCMi	ppCAp	ppCAi	ppDC	Diff CMp	Diff CMi	Diff CAp	Diff CAi	Diff DC
Age	.37**	.18	-.25⊞	.04	-.43**	-.35*	-.31*	.28*	-.05	.07
Gender	-.35*	-.33*	.06	-.26⊞	-.14	.26⊞	.31*	-.18	-.01	.14
Life Satisfaction	.13	.12	.27⊞	**.32***	.26⊞	-.22	-.07	-.22	-.09	.05
Self-esteem	**.35***	.17	.19	.18	-.02	**-.30***	-.12	-.04	.12	.08
Heritage Identity	.22	.12	-.25	.27	.08	.02	.20	.16	-.05	-.08
British Identity	-.11	.10	.15	-.08	.12	.07	-.05	.10	.19	-.32
Hyphenated Identity	-.04	-.20	.45⊞	.31	.58*	-.08	-.08	-.17	.14	.12
Culture Maintenance practices -CMp	.40**	.04	-.07	-.17	.16	.16	-.11	.21	.23⊞	-.19
Culture Maintenance identity -CMi	.22	.44**	-.10	.29*	.24⊞	-.29*	.33*	.16	-.30*	-.28*
Culture Adoption practices -CAp	.21	.24⊞	.63***	.18	.25⊞	-.16	-.22	.40**	.06	-.02
Culture Adoption identity -CAi	.12	.18	.34*	.43**	.29*	-.09	-.19	-.05	.37**	-.17
Desire for Contact - DC	.14	-.04	.37**	.09	.79***	-.13	.09	-.17	.05	.32*
Perceived Discrimination	-.01	-.12	.11	.07	-.07	.04	-.16	.02	-.10	-.11
Peer Acceptance	.43**	.30*	-.02	.10	.03	-.29*	-.36**	.03	.09	.06
Family Relations	.12	.20	.07	.23⊞	.06	-.22	-.04	-.06	-.10	-.11
Perc. Parent CM practices - ppCMp		.47***	-.01	.14	.10	-.84***	-.32*	.26⊞	-.05	.06
Perc. Parent CM identity -ppCMi			-.03	.29	.05	-.49***	-.70***	.30*	-.15	-.14
Perc. Parent CA practices -ppCAp				.13	.33*	-.03	-.05	-.46**	.15	.06
Perceived Parent CAidentity -ppCAi					.23	-.25⊞	-.08	.06	-.69***	-.21
Perceived Parent DC -ppDC						-.02	.14	-.11	-.01	-.34*
Difference CM practices - DCMp							.28*	-.16	.19	-.18
Difference CM identity - DCMi								-.19	-.08	-.07
Difference CA practices -DCAp									-.10	-.10
Difference CA identity -DCAi										0.8
Mean	4.23	4.67	2.78	3.99	.38	.38	.04	.19	.32	.13
SD	.98	.65	1.12	.99	.91	.91	.63	.95	.96	.83
Number cases	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53

ppCMp=perceived parent Culture maintenance practices; ppCMi=perceived parent Culture maintenance identity; ppCAp= perceived parent Culture adoption practices; ppCAi=perceived parent Culture Adoption identity; ppDC=perceived parent Desire for Contact; Diff CMp=difference child and perceived parent Culture maintenance practices; Diff CMi=difference child and perceived parent Culture maintenance identity; Diff CAp= difference child and perceived parent Culture adoption practices; Diff CAi= difference child and perceived parent Culture adoption identity; DiffDC=difference child and perceived parent desire for contact. ⊞=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Table 4.2: Mean comparison of child and perceived parent acculturation preferences

	N	Mch	Mpp	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM practices - child and perc. par.	53	4.60	4.23	0.40**	0.38**	0.91	0.13	0.63
CM identity - child and perc. par.	53	4.72	4.68	0.44**	0.04	0.63	-0.14	0.21
CA practices - child and perc. par.	53	2.97	2.78	0.63***	0.19	0.95	-0.07	0.45
CA identity - child and perc. Par.	53	4.31	3.99	0.43**	0.32*	0.96	0.06	0.59
DC - child and perc. Par.	53	3.99	3.86	0.79***	0.13	0.83	-0.10	0.36

CM= Culture maintenance; CA= Culture adoption; DC= Desire for Contact; perc. Par.= perceived parent; child.
*=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

It is also of interest to see what were the acculturation attitudes that children perceived their parents had by combining the children's perception of their parent's orientation towards CM, CA and DC (see table 4.3). I used the same procedure as in chapter 3.

Table 4.3: Perceived parent acculturation attitudes

Perceived parent preferences	CM and CA practices	CM and CA identity	CM practices and DC	CM identity and DC
Integration	13	**37**	**29**	**35**
Separation	**27**	13	11	15
Assimilation	4	1	8	2
Marginalization	9	2	5	1

CM= Culture maintenance; CA= Culture adoption; DC= Desire for Contact; 4 children did not answer questions on perceived parent acculturation.

The majority of the participants perceived their parents preferred an "integration" attitude, except in the case of the CM and CA practice subscales where they perceived a preference for "separation". So in regard to music, food, and traditions they perceived their parents preferred the maintenance of their heritage culture practices and not adopt those of the receiving culture. This finding relates to the mean differences reported above and it mirrors the child's own acculturation preferences reported in the previous chapter. We can presume that the participants were growing up in family environments that they perceived were in favour of maintaining heritage cultural practices over the practice of the receiving culture ones, and that this might have be influenced their own preferences. The similar orientations could be expected because the same children answered both scales, but also it allows us to presume that there will not be important discrepancies with parents in this sample.

Signed difference method.

Six hierarchical regressions were run to test if the difference in each acculturation dimension between children's preferences and their perception of their parents' preferences, related to children's well-being (life satisfaction and self-esteem). In the first step age and gender were added as control; in step 2, the signed difference scores in CM, or CA or DC; in step 3, I added possible mediators (PD, PR, FR). The differences in the acculturation dimensions did not relate to children's well-being (see table 4.2 a,b,c in Appendix). Only the difference in CM practices had a marginal negative relationship with self-esteem and life satisfaction, which indicated a tendency for children's well-being to decline when they perceived to have more orientation towards CM practices than their parents. There was no mediation through family relations.

Interaction method.

To test the discrepancy hypothesis using the interaction method, again six hierarchical regressions were run. Each regression included one dimension and one of the dependent variables. In the first step age and gender were included as controls; in step 2 the child acculturation dimension (one in each regression); in step 3, the respective perceived parent acculturation dimension; and in step 4 the interaction between child and perceived parent dimension. It is the results of the perceived parent acculturation variables in step 3 and the interactions in step 4 that we are going to focus on.

In the case of the acculturation dimensions CM and DC, no significant main effects or interactions were found related to LS or SE (see appendix table 4.3a and 4.3b).

On the other hand, the interaction of child and perceived parent CA practices was significant on SE (see table 4.4).

The analysis of the interaction showed that the perceived parent's CA practices moderated the relationship between child CA practices and self-esteem. When perceived parent's CA was high the relationship was marginally positive (high child CA, then high self-esteem). While at a lower value of perceived parent CA practices, the relationship of child CA practices and self-esteem was non-significantly negative:

more child CA practices then lower the self-esteem. This appears to say that when there was a discrepancy between child and perceived parent CA practices, it affected children's self-esteem negatively (see Table 4.5 & Figure 4.1).

Table 4.4: Hierarchical regression with interaction of child and perceived parents CA Study 1.

	Life Satisfaction			Self-Esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.17			0.13		
Age		0.15	-0.23✠		0.13	-0.04
Gender		0.27	-0.34*		0.23	-0.36*
Step 2	0.21			0.20		
Age		0.15	-0.23✠		0.12	-0.04
Gender		0.29	-0.26✠		0.24	-0.26✠
CAp		0.13	-0.01		0.11	0.05
CAi		0.20	0.21		0.16	0.26✠
Step 3	0.30			0.21		
Age		0.15	-0.16		0.13	0.00
Gender		0.29	-0.30*		0.25	-0.28✠
CAp		0.16	-0.21		0.14	-0.03
CAi		0.21	0.06		0.18	0.23
ppCAp		0.17	0.33✠		0.15	0.14
ppCAi		0.15	0.22		0.13	-0.01
Step 4	0.32			0.28		
Age		0.16	-0.17		0.13	-0.03
Gender		0.31	-0.28✠		0.26	-0.23
CAp		0.17	-0.17		0.14	0.04
CAi		0.24	0.06		0.20	0.24
ppCAp		0.17	0.30		0.15	0.09
ppCAi		0.16	0.18		0.13	-0.08
Int CAp		0.13	0.16		0.11	**0.30***
Int CAi		0.19	-0.02		0.16	-0.03

CAp= Culture adoption practices; CAi= Culture adoption identity; ppCAp=perceived parent culture adoption practices; ppCAi=perceived parent Culture adoption identity; Int CAp=interaction of child and perceived parent Culture adoption practices; Int CAi=interaction of child and perceived parent Culture adoption identity; ✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Table 4.5: Values of CApp moderating relationship between CA child and SE (practices subscale).

Values of CApp practices	β	SE	p	95% BCa
-1.10	-.21	.18	.24	-.58, .15
1.1	.37	.22	.09	-.06, .80

R^2: 0.16, CA child= Culture adoption child; CApp= perceived parent Culture adoption; SE=self-esteem

Figure 4.1: Interaction child and perceived parents CAp on SE

___ High Perceived Parent Culture Adoption Practices
---- Low Perceived Parent Culture Adoption Practices
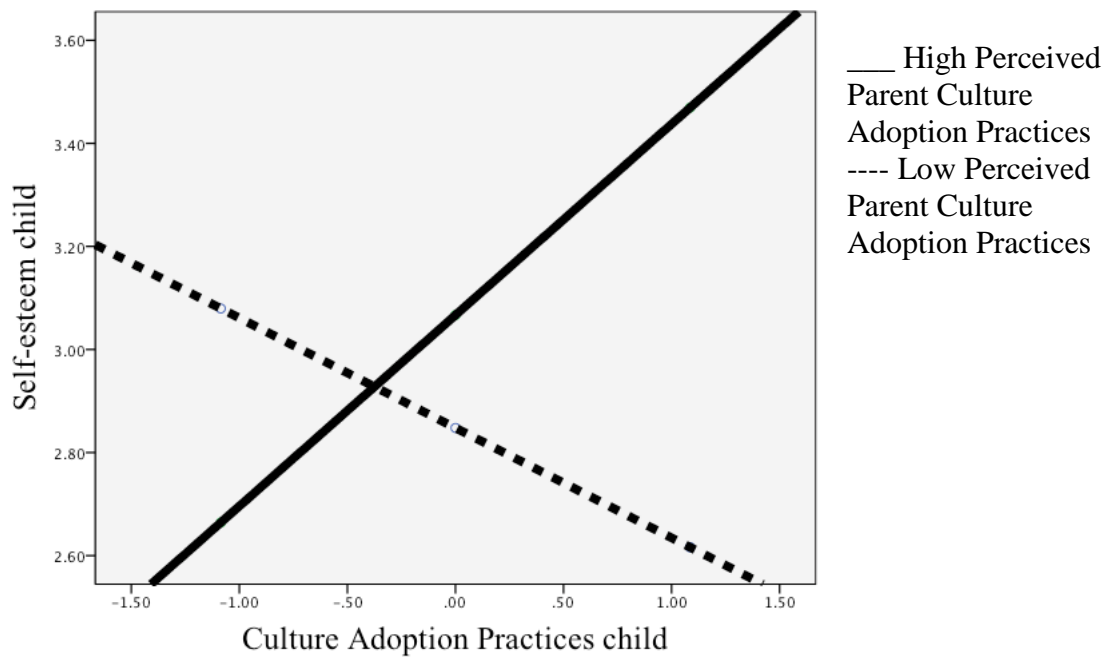
Main findings Study 1

In the sample of immigrant children that participated in study 1 we can observe that the discrepancies between children and perceived parents scores related to children's well-being only in the case of culture adoption practices to self-esteem when measured with the "interaction method". The presence of a discrepancy in orientation towards culture adoption practices brought negative effects on self-esteem, no matter the direction of the discrepancy (i.e. be it that parents were high in CA and children low, or that parents were low and children were high in orientation towards CA). It is important to mention that similar preferences in CA practices had a positive effect on self-esteem. There was a marginal result that indicated that immigrant children in study 1 appeared to have a higher orientation towards more CM practices than their parents (see table 4.2) and this related marginally to negative consequences for their well-being. However, overall, there was little evidence here that parent-child discrepancies (both with the difference method and the interaction method) were related to child well-being – most of the relevant β coefficients did not differ from zero.

Study 2: Longitudinal study, Santiago, Chile

Method

Participants.

The same children described in chapter 3, study 2.

To answer the questions in regard to discrepancies with actual parent scores, I also asked parents to participate by answering a questionnaire of their own. The majority of the parents from the immigrant children and mixed origin children groups were from Peru (74% & 81.7% respectively). The majority of parents that participated were mothers (78%). The mean age of parents was 38 in the three groups. The SES of the families was working class and the majority of the parents had finished secondary school.

Table 4.6: Actual parents that participated in longitudinal study

	Group	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	T1, T2 & T3
Parents	**Immigrant**	101	115	75	49
	Mixed origin	43	39	22	9
	Chilean	57	56	30	19
	Total	**200**	**209**	**127**	77

Measures.

CHILD QUESTIONNAIRE.

The same scales described in chapter 3, study 2. Another three scales were added that measured the child's perception of the parents' acculturation preference.

Perceived Acculturation Preference of Parents (Culture Maintenance scale (CMpp), Culture adoption scale (CApp) and Desire for contact scale (DCpp)): the same set of items as in the children acculturation scales were presented, but asking children to state what they thought their mother or father might answer. They had to tick a box indicating if they were thinking of their mother or father or both. The same items as in the child acculturation scales were eliminated: Culture Maintenance T1: $\alpha=0.79$, T2:

α=0.82 , T3: α=0.84, Culture Adoption T1:α=0.82, T2: α=0.82 , T3: α=0.86 , Desire for Contact T1: α=0.78, T2: α=0.84, T3: α=0.83.

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE.

The attitude questionnaire sent to parents consisted of seven scales, but I present here the three acculturation scales only. The analysis carried out with the identity, perceived discrimination and family relations scales did not have significant results on parents' life satisfaction.

The scales were shortened after the first wave in order to obtain a final version for the second wave that made the process of answering quicker for the parents and that left the same items as for the children's scales. The reliabilities presented are of the shortened and final scales at each time point. All the scales used a five point Likert scale from "not at all" to "very much".

Acculturation Preference of Parent (Culture Maintenance scale (CMp), Culture adoption scale (CAp) and Desire for contact scale (DCp)): The same items used in the children questionnaire were presented to parents (Culture Maintenance, T1: α=0.73, T2: α=0.76, T3: α=0.73, Cultural adoption, T1: α=0.74, T2: α=0.79, T3: α=0.73, Desire for Contact, T1:α=0.75, T2: α=0.82, T3: α=0.71).The reliability of these scales shows no difference between age group (see appendix Table 4.1).

The demographic information requested was age, nationality, year of arrival if immigrant, why migrated to Chile, gender, if the child lived with the person that answered the questionnaire, relation to the child, country of birth, country of birth of partner, last level of education, last level of education of partner, work occupation, work occupation of partner, number of people living in the house and number of rooms in the house.

Procedure.

The procedure for the children questionnaire is described in chapter 3, the scales that were answered by children and used for this analysis were included in that questionnaire.

The parent questionnaire was translated using back translation with the same process carried out with the children questionnaire. When ready, it was handed to the administrative contact in the school to deliver to parents of the children that participated in the research. Each questionnaire was given in a sealed envelope with a consent form and information sheet. Parents were requested to hand back to the school their consent form and answered questionnaire in the same envelope. In the questionnaires at Time 1 parents were asked to write which was the nationality they identified with and to write what relationship they had with the child (i.e. mother, father, aunt, etc). Then at Time 2 and Time 3 the questionnaires were personalized, the nationality chosen by the parent was now added to the questionnaire and we stated in the first page that ideally the questionnaire should be answered by the same person that answered before, and we wrote what was the relationship of that person with the child to remind the family. If this was not possible, then we asked for the person answering the questionnaire to tell us who he/she was.

Results

I will present the results by group of children: immigrant, Chilean and mixed origin. In the three groups I will present the cross-sectional results of Time 1. I will show the results using the "signed difference" and then the "interaction" methods to study discrepancies, first with the perceived parent scores and then the actual parent scores.

In the cross-sectional analysis using the "signed difference method" I ran hierarchical linear regressions with the difference scores between the pair of reciprocal acculturation variables (child and parent (perceived or actual)). In step 1, I entered age as control; in step 2, the difference scores; and, in step 3, the possible social mediators.

For the "interaction method", I included in the hierarchical regression the child and parent acculturation variables as main effects and in a next step their interactions. In step 1, I entered age as control; in step 2, the child acculturation variable; in step 3, the

parent (perceived or actual) acculturation variable; in step 4 the interaction between the acculturation variables; and in step 5 the possible social mediators.

In the cross-sectional analysis, using both the "signed difference" and "interaction" methods, there was no indication of any of the four possible social variables (PD, SC, PR and FR) mediating the relationship between the parent-child discrepancies and well-being, therefore they are not presented in the regression tables. I also tested the hypothesis that these social variables might moderate the relationship between the interactions in acculturation and well-being. The significant findings in regard to the moderations are presented further on.

For the immigrant sub-sample, I carried out the longitudinal analysis of the three time points, using path analysis and the statistical software Mplus V7. I decided not to present the results of the other two sub-samples because due to having fewer participants there is insufficient statistical power. When using the "signed difference method", I included the three difference scores in one path analysis, family relations as possible mediator and also had both SE and LS in the same model (see Figure 4.2a).

Figure 4.2a: Path model parent-child discrepancy using "signed difference method"
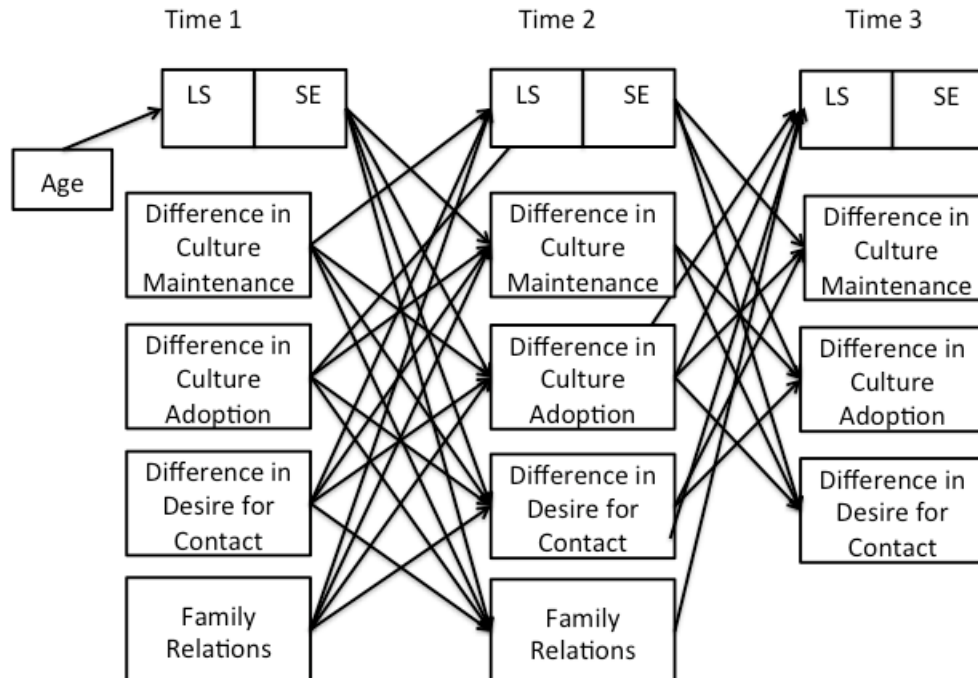
Note: SE: self-esteem; LS: life satisfaction. Paths from T1 to T3 were also included (except from family relations). At each time point, both well-being measures covaried; the acculturation dimensions, interaction and family covaried at T1 and T3, and not all T2; and stability paths were included.

In the case of the "interaction method", 6 path models were run. Self-esteem and life satisfaction were included together in each model as dependent variables in order to control for each other. The 6 models included different predictors: three models tested the relationship of children and <u>perceived</u> parents' acculturation preferences (one model for each acculturation dimension), and the other three tested the relationship between children and <u>actual</u> parent acculturation preferences on well-being. The scale of family relations (T2) was included as possible mediator of the relationship between the discrepancies at T1 and well-being at T3. The same model specifications and paths were used here, as the ones used in the analysis with children's acculturation dimensions presented in the previous chapter. The results will be presented first for <u>perceived</u> parent scores, and then for <u>actual</u> parent scores. For each, I will analyse the path model for CM, then DC and then CA. (see Figure 4.2b).

Figure 4.2b: Path model parent-child discrepancy using "interaction method"
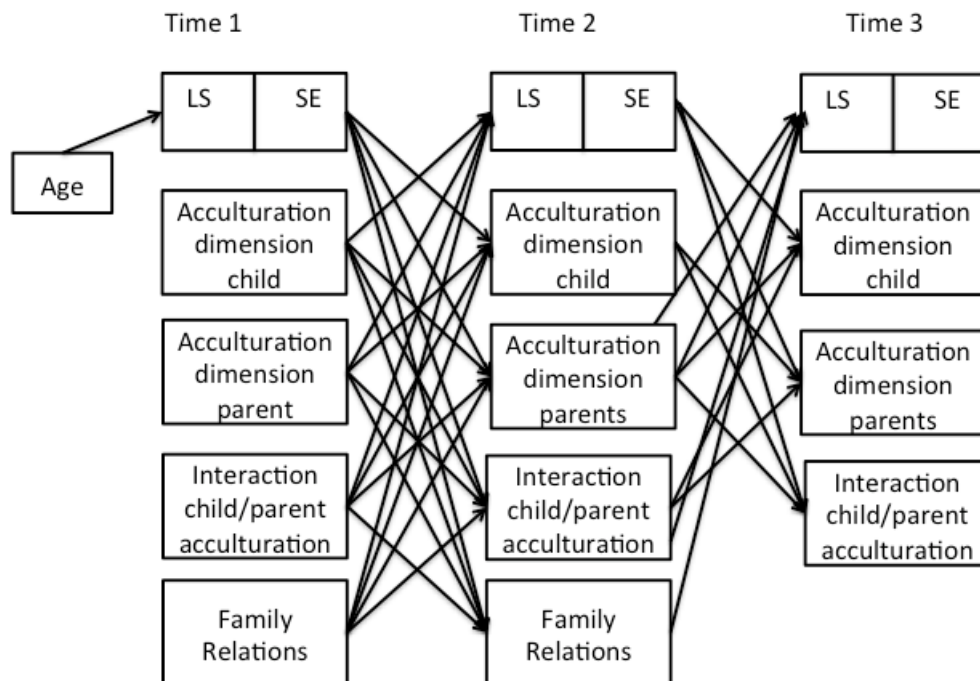
Note: SE: self-esteem; LS: life satisfaction; Acculturation dimensions child/parent: culture maintenance, culture adoption, desire for contact. Paths from T1 to T3 were also included (except from family relations). At each time point, both well-being measures covaried; the acculturation dimensions, interaction and family covaried at T1 and T3, and not all T2; and stability paths were included.

I also tested if dividing the acculturation scales into their domains (i.e. practices, language use and identity) had different effects on well-being over time (Birman, 2006). To accomplish this analysis, I separated the CM and CA scales in three sub-scales each. For the practice sub-scale I included the items about food, traditions and music; the

language sub-scale included one item on knowledge of words of the culture; the identity sub-scale included one item on how proud of being from the respective culture. This was done with the children, the perceived parent and actual parent scales, in the sub-sample of immigrant children. Because there were very few significant relationships, and I had only one item in the language and identity sub-scales, I decided to not present these results (more about this topic in the final Discussion of the thesis).

Therefore, I will only analyse the results of the parent-child discrepancies in the acculturation dimensions using the total scale (i.e. CM, CA and DC) to well-being (i.e. SE and LS) concurrently and over time, with perceived parent scores and actual parent scores.

Immigrant children

Acculturation attitudes

The acculturation attitudes that children perceived their parents' preferred (see Table 4.7) and the ones that actual parents informed (see Table 4.8) were calculated using the same method as in chapter 3, combining the acculturation scales CM and CA and then CM and DC.

Table 4.7: Perceived parent acculturation attitudes

Perc. par.		Integration	Separation	Assimilation	Marginalization
Time 1	CM / CA	145	44	7	11
	CM / DC	163	25	7	10
Time 2	CM / CA	135	28	4	25
	CM / DC	132	31	5	24
Time 3	CM / CA	106	40	5	19
	CM / DC	111	35	5	19

CM= culture maintenance; CA= culture adoption; DC= desire for Contact; Perc. par.= perceived parent

Table 4.8: Actual parent acculturation attitudes

Actual par.		Integration	Separation	Assimilation	Marginalization
Time 1	CM /CA	74	13	2	11
	CM /DC	75	14	6	6
Time 2	CM /CA	91	16	4	4
	CM /DC	91	16	1	7
Time 3	CM /CA	54	19	1	4
	CM /DC	58	15	2	3

CM= culture maintenance; CA= culture adoption; DC= desire for contact; Actual par.= actual parent

The order of the preferred attitudes of parents followed the same pattern both in the perception children have of their preferences and the actual preferences. The majority preferred "integration", then "separation", then "marginalization" and finally "assimilation". This pattern was similar to the one we saw in Table 3.12 for children's preferences.

Cross sectional results time 1

Age only correlated with the perceived parent acculturation scales, but not with the actual parent ones. Gender did not correlate with the parent scales (perceived or actual) (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9: Correlations of parent scales with all the scales (T1)

	Perceived parent			Actual parent		
	CMpp	CApp	DCpp	CMap	CAap	DCap
Age	-.20**	-.18*	-.16*	-0.18□	-.06	-.08
Gender	.01	-.01	.01	.01	-.07	-.01
Self-esteem	.11	.07	.18**	-.04	.03	-.07
Life Satisfaction	.06	.12	.16*	-.06	-.03	-.02
Heritage Identity	.23**	.04	.04	.16	.12	.11
Chilean Identity	.00	.30***	.19**	-.12	.15	-.01
CM child	.64***	.34***	.46***	**.22***	.00	.07
CA child	.37***	.73***	.53***	.03	**.26***	.2
DC child	.37***	.50***	.55***	.10	.15	.13
PD	.04	.08	.06	.13	-.10	.06
PA	.11	.08	.18**	-.01	.08	.00
FR	.15*	.17*	.20**	.10	.03	-.03
SC	.16*	.22**	.22**	-.07	-.10	-.14
CM pp		.38***	.52***	**.20***	.03	.06
CA pp			.61***	.07	**.26***	.11
DC pp				.03	.15	.10
CM ap					.49***	.50***
CA ap						.59***
M	4.24	3.65	4.01	3.98	3.59	3.91
SD	0.75	0.92	0.86	0.72	0.69	0.79
n	207	207	207	101	101	101

CM=culture maintenance; CA=culture adoption; DC=desire for contact; PD=perceived discrimination; PA=peer acceptance; FR=family relations; SC=school climate; CMpp=perceived parent culture maintenance; CApp=perceived parent culture adoption; DCpp=perceived parent desire for contact;CMap=actual parent culture maintenance; CAap=actual parent culture adoption; DCap=actual parent desire for contact ✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Children's self-esteem and life satisfaction only correlated with their perception of their parents' desire for contact. As expected, the children acculturation preferences correlated with their perception of their parents' preferences. Interestingly, the children's CM and CA preferences and what they preferred from their parents, correlated with the actual parent corresponding acculturation preferences. This can suggest a possible lack of discrepancy between children and their actual parents' preferences, and also hint how parents' actual preference in acculturation might

influence the children's preferences on acculturation. Again it is noteworthy that the children's perception of their parents' CM and CA correlated with the actual parents' respective acculturation preference. Of the possible social mediators, perceived discrimination did not correlate with any of the parent acculturation preferences (perceived or actual scales); peer acceptance correlated only with perceived parent DC; while school climate and family relations correlated only with the three perceived parent acculturation dimensions (see Table 4.9).

I compared the means of the child and parent scales to see if there were differences. It is important to note that all the means are above the midpoint of the scale. There was a significant difference in the mean scores at T1 for DC of child and their perception of what their parents' desired: children perceived parents to want less contact with majority people than themselves. The differences in CM and CA were marginally significant, always with parents desiring less of the acculturation dimensions than children. With the actual parent scales, the differences were significant in CM and DC, and marginally so in CA. Interestingly enough, children still showed a higher preference for the three acculturation dimensions than parents. When comparing the means of the perceived parent and actual parent preferences, the means are similar for CA and DC, but differ for CM. Children perceive their parents to have more orientation towards culture maintenance than parents actually inform (see Table 4.10). Again, note that all correlations are low to moderate, suggesting that there is not complete overlap between children and parents' attitudes.

Table 4.10: Mean comparison between child and parent scores at T1

Child and parent	N	Mch	Mpp	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM - child and perc. par.	207	4.32	4.24	0.64***	0.08□	0.60	0.00	0.16
CA - child and perc. par.	207	3.73	3.65	0.73***	0.08□	0.64	0.00	0.17
DC - child and perc. par.	207	4.17	4.01	0.55***	0.16**	0.77	0.06	0.27
CM - child and actual par.	101	4.29	3.98	0.22*	0.31***	0.85	0.14	0.47
CA - child and actual par.	101	3.76	3.60	0.26**	0.17□	0.88	-0.01	0.34
DC - child and actual par.	101	4.24	3.91	0.13	0.34**	1.00	0.14	0.53
Both parent scores	N	Mpp	Map	Corr.	M diff	SD	95%BCa	
CM - perc. and actual par.	101	4.23	3.98	0.20*	0.25**	0.93	0.07	0.43
CA - perc. and actual par.	101	3.69	3.59	0.26**	0.10	1.01	-0.10	0.30
DC - perc. and actual par.	101	4.05	3.91	0.10	0.15	1.16	-0.08	0.37

CM=culture maintenance; CA=culture adoption; DC=desire for contact; perc. Par.=perceived parent scores; actual Par.=actual parent scores; ⊞=p<.1;*=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Child and perceived parent model.

There is no effect of gender in the regressions I have run.

Older children have less life satisfaction (β=-.284, p<.001) and less self-esteem (β=-.234, p=.001), this might relate to the sample including adolescents (up to 16 years old).

SIGNED DIFFERENCE METHOD.

The signed difference with <u>perceived parents</u> in CM related to children's life satisfaction (Table 4.11, see column 1). As children's CM increased compared to their perception of their parents' CM then their life satisfaction increased. This shows that the presence of a discrepancy did not affect them negatively, but actually desiring to maintain their culture more than their parents was positive in T1 for their life satisfaction.

Their self-esteem (Table 4.11, see column) on the other hand, was not affected by the differences with parents in acculturation dimensions.

Table 4.11: Immigrant children parent-child discrepancies using "signed difference method" with perceived and actual parent scales

	Perceived parent model						Actual parent model					
	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem			Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.08			0.06			0.07			0.04		
Age		0.03	-0.28***		0.02	-0.23**		0.05	-0.27**		0.03	-0.20□
Step 2	0.12			0.06			0.17			0.12		
Age		0.03	-0.26***		0.03	-0.23**		0.04	-0.24*		0.03	-0.18□
Diff CM		0.10	**0.19****		0.08	0.08		0.12	0.20□		0.09	0.11
Diff DC		0.10	-0.05		0.07	0.01		0.12	-0.13		0.09	-0.13
Diff CA		0.08	0.05		0.06	-0.04		0.10	0.22□		0.08	**0.27***

Diff CM=difference between child and perceived or actual parent culture maintenance; Diff DC=difference between child and perceived or actual parent desire for contact; Diff CA=difference between child and perceived or actual parent culture adoption; □=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

INTERACTION METHOD.

In Table 4.12, I present the results of the two hierarchical regressions run for LS and SE, with CM and DC as predictors (first and second columns) and CM and CA as predictors (third and fourth columns) with <u>perceived parent</u> scores.

Table 4.12: Hierarchical regressions on well-being, with child and perceived parent acculturation variables.

	CM & DC						CM & CA					
	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem			Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.08			0.06			0.08			0.06		
Age		0.03	-0.28***		0.02	-0.23**		0.03	-0.28***		0.02	-0.23**
Step 2	0.15			0.09			0.13			0.08		
Age		0.03	-0.20**		0.03	-0.17*		0.03	-0.22**		0.03	-0.18*
CM ch		0.10	0.16*		0.08	0.13⊞		0.10	0.22**		0.08	0.17*
DC ch		0.09	0.17**		0.07	0.11							
CAch								0.09	0.01		0.07	0.02
Step 3	0.18			0.10			0.15			0.09		
Age		0.03	-0.20**		0.03	-0.17*		0.03	-0.21**		0.03	-0.18*
CM ch		0.12	0.28**		0.10	0.16⊞		0.12	0.34***		0.09	0.21*
DC ch		0.10	0.19*		0.08	0.09							
CA ch								0.12	0.03		0.10	0.05
CM pp		0.10	-0.23*		0.08	-0.10		0.10	-0.20*		0.08	-0.05
DC pp		0.09	0.02		0.07	0.10							
CA pp								0.09	0.03		0.07	-0.04
Step 4	0.19			0.12			0.16			0.11		
Age		0.03	-0.20**		0.03	-0.17*		0.03	-0.20**		0.03	-0.16*
CM ch		0.13	0.31**		0.10	0.20*		0.13	0.36***		0.10	0.21*
DC ch		0.10	0.21*		0.08	0.09							
CA ch								0.12	0.02		0.10	0.05
CM pp		0.10	-0.21*		0.08	-0.08		0.10	-0.18*		0.08	-0.03
DC pp		0.09	0.02		0.07	0.10							
CA pp								0.10	0.05		0.08	0.02
int cm		0.10	0.05		0.08	0.01		0.11	0.11		0.08	0.10
int dc		0.11	0.10		0.09	0.14⊞							
Int ca								0.08	0.03		0.06	0.11

CM ch=culture maintenance child; CA ch=culture adoption child; DC ch=desire for contact child; CMpp=perceived parent culture maintenance; CApp=perceived parent culture adoption; DCpp=perceived parent desire for contact; int CM=interaction between child and perceived parent culture maintenance; int DC=interaction between child and perceived parent desire for contact; int CA= interaction between child and perceived parent culture adoption;⊞=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

I analysed first the relationship of acculturation discrepancies on life satisfaction in both regressions. In both regressions, immigrant children's CM and their perception of their parents' CM related to their well-being, but there was no effect of the interaction between these two variables (see steps 2, 3 & 4 respectively). The higher CM of the child related to higher LS or higher SE. While more orientation towards CM

from parents related to less LS or SE for children. This result related to the finding with the "signed difference" method on CM, when children had higher CM compared to their parents then their LS was higher (see Table 4.11).

The acculturation preferences did not have an important relationship with children's self-esteem. As we saw in the previous chapter there was a main effect only of child CM (step 2).

Conclusion of discrepancies with perceived parent model.

For immigrant children in Chile, only the discrepancy in CM using the "signed difference method", and when children were higher in CM than parents, had a positive relationship with their life satisfaction. With the "interaction method" no relationship was found to well-being, but the main effects of the CM variables followed the same relationship: high child CM was positive for life satisfaction, while high perceived parent CM was negative. Finally, let us recall that family relations (or any of the other three social scales) did not mediate the relationship between the discrepancies and well-being.

Child and actual parent model.

SIGNED DIFFERENCE METHOD.

Differences in acculturation preferences with the actual parents did not relate to life satisfaction of immigrant children (see column 3, table 4.11). There was a marginal effect of the differences in CM and CA, which were both positive, indicating again a tendency for the existence of discrepancies of not having a detrimental effect on children's life satisfaction.

It is on self-esteem (table 4.11, column 4, step 4) that the differences in CA had a positive effect, so when children endorsed a positive orientation towards CA that was higher to the one expressed by their parents, this related to a higher self-esteem.

INTERACTION METHOD

The <u>actual parent</u> acculturation preferences did not appear to have a direct relationship with children's well-being at T1. Only the interaction between children and actual parent CM (β=.24, p=.05, 95%BCa [-0.01, 0.50]) marginally related to their self-esteem.

Conclusion of discrepancies with actual parent model.

With the actual parent scales, it is the discrepancy in CA not CM that is significant, measured with the "signed difference method". When children have higher CA than what their parents have it relates positively to their self-esteem. The discrepancies measured with the "interaction method" did not yield results. And family relations did not the mediate relationship.

Social moderators of acculturation discrepancies (interaction method).

I ran 4 regressions (i.e. using Model 3 with Hayes' macro "Process") for each acculturation interaction between child and perceived parent preferences to self-esteem and then to life satisfaction: in each regression one of the possible social moderators was added (i.e. perceived discrimination, peer acceptance, family relations and school climate).

The interactions in DC (i.e. child and perceived parent DC) to both SE and to LS were moderated by school climate. In both cases the moderation indicated that when SC was positive then acculturation discrepancy between parent and child did not have influence on children's SE or LS. However, when the SC was more negatively evaluated, then the discrepancy had an effect on well-being, the children benefiting in both instances with perceived parents' high desire for contact (see Table 4.13 and Figure 4.3 for interaction on self-esteem; and Table 4.14 and Figure 4.4 for interaction on life satisfaction). We can say then, that a positive school climate "buffers" the children against any possible negative effects of discrepancies in DC with their parents.

Table 4.13: Three way interaction with SC moderating DC interaction to self-esteem

DV: self-esteem	b	se	p	95%BCa	
T1 DCpp	.10	.06	.13	-.03	.22
T1 DCch	.11	.08	.19	-.05	.27
DCppxDCch	.03	.11	.75	-.17	.24
T1 SC	.22	.07	.00	.08	.35
DCchxSC	-.09	.10	.35	-.29	.10
DCppxSC	-.06	.07	.42	-.20	.08
DCppxDCchxSC	-.19	.09	.04	-.38	-.01

R^2: 0.14, DCppxDCch: interaction perceived parent DC with child DC; DCchxSC: interaction child DC with school climate; DCppxSC: interaction perceived parent DC with school climate; DCppxDCchxSC: three way interaction perceived parent DC, child DC and school climate.

Figure: 4.3 Moderation of school climate on interaction of DC child and perceived parent to Self-esteem
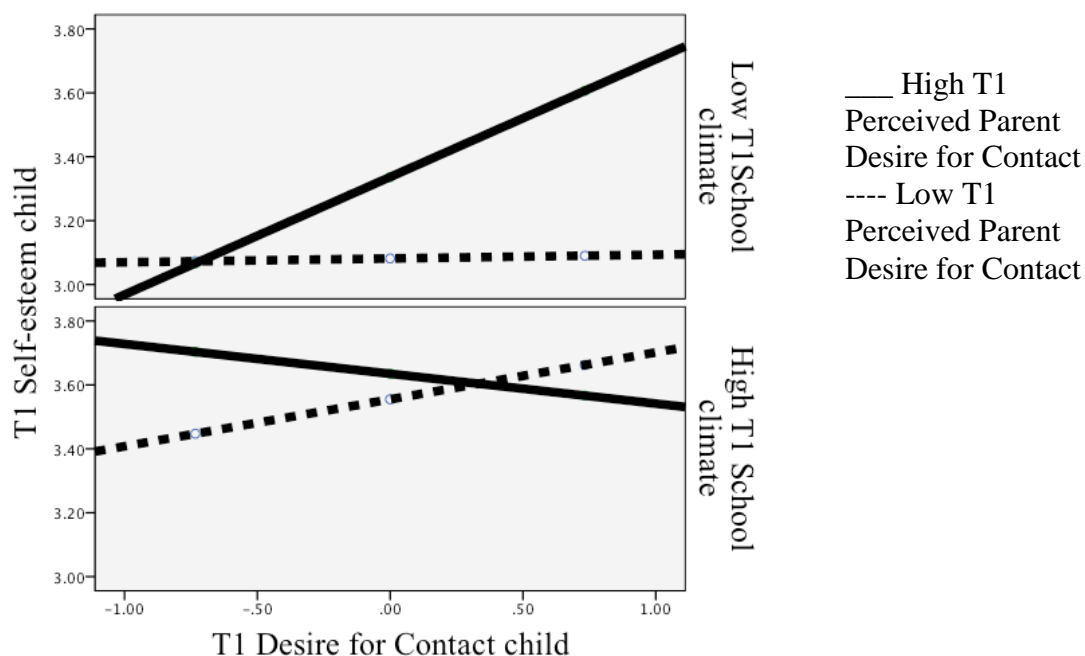
Table 4.14: Three way interaction with SC moderating DC interaction to life satisfaction

DV: life satisfaction	b	se	p	95%BCa	
T1 DCpp	.02	.09	.82	-.16	.20
T1 DCch	.23	.11	.04	.01	.46
DCppxDCch	.04	.14	.77	-.23	.31
T1 SC	.44	.08	.00	.29	.59
DCchxSC	-.17	.12	.18	-.41	.08
DCppxSC	.04	.10	.64	-.14	.23
DCppxDCchxSC	-.25	.13	.05	-.50	.00

R^2: 0.24, DCppxDCch: interaction perceived parent DC with child DC; DCchxSC: interaction child DC with school climate; DCppxSC: interaction perceived parent DC with school climate; DCppxDCchxSC: three way interaction perceived parent DC, child DC and school climate.

Figure 4.4: Moderation of school climate on interaction of DC child and perceived parent to life satisfaction
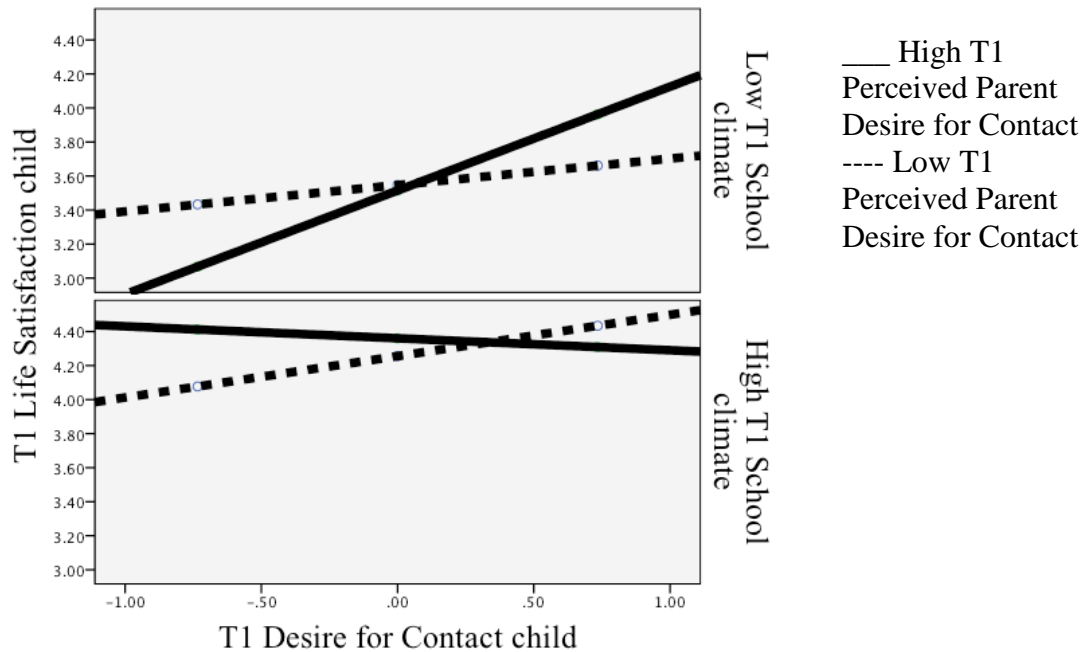
The following social moderators had a similar shaped interaction as the one found with SC, although not significant statistically: family relations on the interaction in CM to self-esteem, on the interaction of CA to life satisfaction and on the interaction in DC to self-esteem; school climate on the interaction of CA to self-esteem and life satisfaction; and peer acceptance on the interaction in DC to self-esteem and life satisfaction. In all these cases, only at low values of the social moderator, there was an impact of the moderator of the acculturation interaction on the relationship between child acculturation and well-being.

For other interactions the social moderator indicated a tendency for high levels of the moderator to affect the interaction in acculturation, albeit it was not statistically significant. This was the case of perceived discrimination, it is at high levels of PD that the perceived parents' CM or that the perceived parents' DC related positively to children's CM and their self-esteem; a similar pattern is found with peer acceptance on the interaction in CA to life satisfaction; and family relations on the interaction of DC to life satisfaction.

Conclusions cross-sectional (T1) study with immigrant children in Chile.

The methods used to calculate the discrepancy yielded different results. Using the "interaction method", both with perceived and actual parent differences, there was no relationship to well-being of the children. With the "signed difference method" there was a positive relationship between the discrepancy and children's well-being. A discrepancy in CM with perceived parent CM, were children were higher than parents in CM, was positive for their life satisfaction. While when children were higher in orientation towards CA than their actual parents' this related positively to their self-esteem. Family relations did not mediate these relationships, so the "acculturation-gap model" was not confirmed cross-sectionally. And a positive school climate diminished the negative effect that a discrepancy in desire for contact could have had on children's well-being.

Due to the cross-sectional nature of these findings we cannot assume the direction of the relationships. It could be that well-being influenced the acculturation preferences of the children and parents, therefore having an effect on the existence and direction of the discrepancies. In the next section I will present the results of the complete longitudinal study, adding time 2 and time 3 of this same sample to the analysis.

Longitudinal study

As always, age correlated negatively with all the acculturation variables in all time points, while gender did not correlate with them. Self-esteem correlated with perceived parent DC, and with T3 perceived parent CA (not consistently). Life Satisfaction correlated with only two perceived parent acculturation preferences, not with CM (see appendix Table 4.4a (T2) and 4.4b (T3)). The child and perceived parent acculturation preferences correlated highly (see also Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Mean comparison between child and parent scores, T2 and T3.

TIME 2	N	Mch	M par.	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM - child and perc. par.	192	4.14	4.12	0.79***	0.02	0.52	-0.05	0.09
CA - child and perc. par.	192	3.51	3.60	0.78***	-0.10*	0.55	-0.18	-0.02
DC - child and perc. par.	192	3.76	3.81	0.76***	-0.05	0.66	-0.14	0.04
CM - child and actual par.	110	4.19	4.13	0.19*	0.06	0.89	-0.11	0.23
CA - child and actual par.	110	3.51	3.65	0.15	-0.14	0.96	-0.33	0.04
DC - child and actual par.	110	3.78	3.91	0.11	-0.13	1.25	-0.37	0.11
	N	Mpp	Map	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM - Per. and actual par.	110	4.14	4.13	0.17✠	0.01	0.97	-0.17	0.19
CA - Per. and actual par.	110	3.61	3.65	0.17✠	-0.03	1.02	-0.23	0.16
DC - Per. and actual par.	110	3.81	3.91	0.06	-0.10	1.32	-0.35	0.15
TIME 3	N	Mch	Mpp	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM - child and perc. par.	170	4.08	4.14	0.88***	-0.04	0.40	-0.10	0.02
CA - child and perc. par.	170	3.51	3.56	0.82***	-0.05	0.54	-0.14	0.03
DC - child and perc. par.	170	3.82	3.73	0.83***	0.09*	0.57	0.00	0.17
CM - child and actual par.	70	4.13	3.91	0.38**	0.22*	0.83	0.02	0.42
CA - child and actual par.	70	3.59	3.54	0.32**	0.05	0.85	-0.15	0.25
DC - child and actual par.	70	3.79	3.84	0.21✠	-0.05	1.03	-0.29	0.19
	N	Mpp	Map	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM - per. and actual par.	70	4.14	3.92	0.32**	0.23	0.88	0.02	0.44
CA - per. and actual par.	70	3.63	3.54	0.31*	0.09	0.93	-0.13	0.31
DC - per. and actual par.	70	3.73	3.84	0.19	-0.11	1.13	-0.38	0.16

✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. CM= Culture maintenance; CA= Culture adoption; DC= Desire for Contact; perc. par.= perceived parent; actual par.=actual parent.

I compared the mean of child and parent scores at T2, and T3. The results were not consistent. The mean difference in CA with perceived parents at T2 was significant (parents were perceived as having more orientation towards CA); while in T3, it was the mean difference in DC that was significant, with children wanting more DC. In regard to actual parent scores, there was a significant mean difference in T3 in CM (children with higher orientation towards CM than parents). Compared to Time 1, the correlations

of the mean scores of children and parents are moderate to high, indicating more overlap between the measures in the case of perceived parent scores (Tables 4.15).

Child and perceived parent model.

Signed difference method.

The three "signed difference" scores with <u>perceived parent</u> acculturation preferences (CM, CA and DC) were included together in the model in order to simplify presentation and control for each other, and family relations was included as possible mediator between acculturation and well-being. The path model did not have an acceptable fit because CFI value was lower than is suggested ($\chi^2 = 105.51$; df= 46; p-value=0; CFI=0.86; RMSEA= 0.08; SRMR=0.06.) (See Figure 4.5). Despite this, I interpreted the results as a tendency in the relationships between the discrepancies and well-being.

The relationship went from acculturation to well-being over time in the case of discrepancies in DC and CA (T2 to T3 & T1 to T3 respectively), but was reciprocal for well-being and CM discrepancies (T1 to T2 & T1 to T3). The difference in DC (T2) related non-recursively and negatively to LS (T3) over time. This means that when children perceived parents to have higher DC compared to them then their life satisfaction was lower. On the other hand, the difference in CA (T1) related positively and non recursively to SE (T2) over time, which tells us that when the children perceived their parents to be more oriented to CA than them, then their SE was higher. Interestingly, the difference in CA (T1) affected negatively FR (T2) over time, so the presence of a discrepancy in CA is detrimental for family relations. But FR did not relate to well-being over time.

Figure 4.5: Path model differences in CM, CA and DC with perceived parents scores predicting WB.
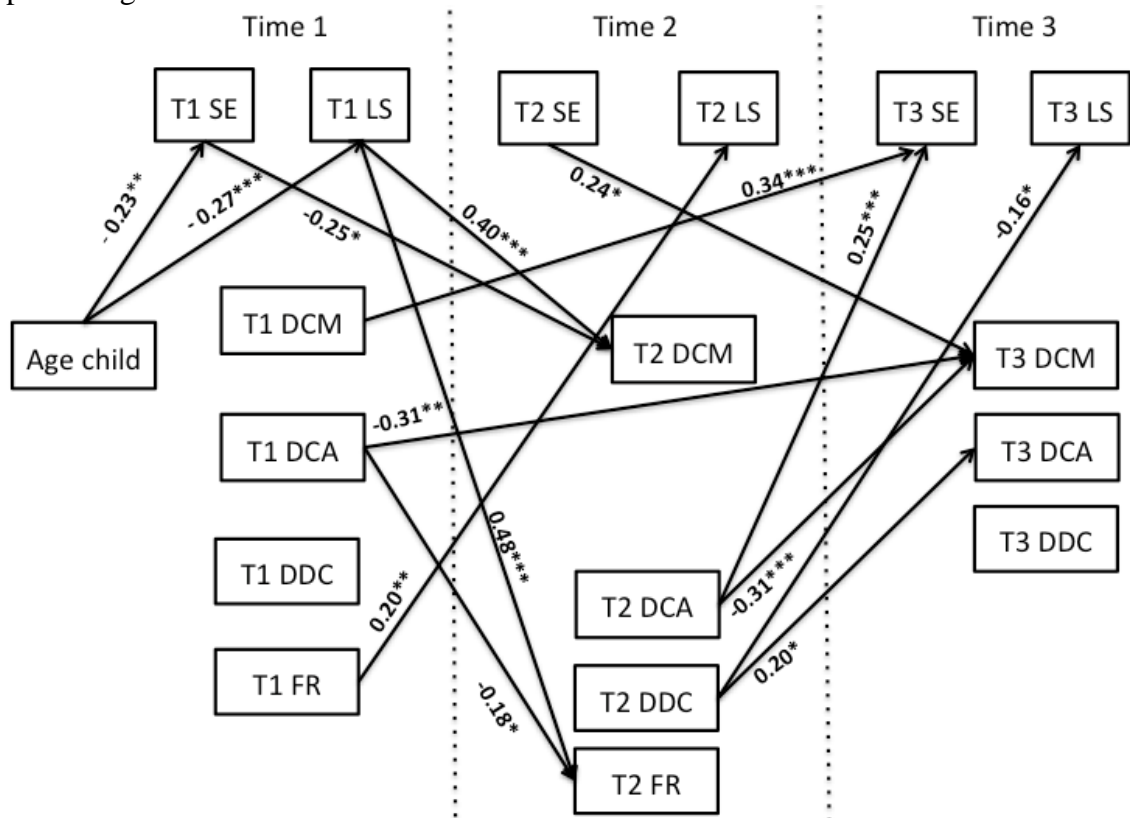
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; DCM=Difference Culture Maintenance child/perceived parent; DCA=Difference in Culture Adoption child/perceived parent; DDC=Difference in Desire for Contact child/perceived parent; FR= family relations. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.11, cSE 0.25, aLS 0.07, bLS 0.10, cLS 0.22. χ^2 = 105.51; df= 46; p-value=0; CFI=0.86; RMSEA= 0.08; SRMR=0.06. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

Interaction method.

As explained before, I will present the results first for culture maintenance (CM), then desire for contact (DC) and lastly culture adoption (CA), following the models presented in Figure 4.2b.

CULTURE MAINTENANCE.

The path model had a good fit (χ^2 = 69.54; df= 43; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06) (see Figure 4.6).

Self-esteem at T1 related to the child high orientation for culture maintenance at T3, so how the child felt with themselves impacted on their future preference for CM. The CM they perceived their parents to prefer related negatively to their SE over time, so what they thought their parents wanted affected their SE in the future. The children's

preference for CM and their perception of their parents' preference related to each other over time, which makes sense due to the fact that both are children's responses (T1 to T2 and T1 to T3). The relationship between children's well-being and family relations is positive and recursive (WB (T1) to FR (T2); FR (T1) to WB (T2); FR (T2) to WB (T3)). Family relations did not mediate the relationship between the acculturation discrepancies and well-being.

It is interesting to analyse the discrepancy results first to SE and then to LS. The interaction between child and perceived parent's CM at T1 related <u>positively</u> to SE at T2 and <u>negatively</u> to SE at T3, while it related positively from T1 to LS at T2. I ran separate analysis for each interaction effect.

Figure 4.6: Path model with child and perceived parent CM as predictors over time of immigrant children well-being

(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; CMch=child Culture Maintenance child; CMpp= perceived parent culture Maintenance; CMchXpp=Interaction Culture Maintenance child/perceived parent; FR=family relations.. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.14, cSE 0.26, aLS 0.07, bLS 0.33, cLS 0.40. χ^2 = 69.54; df= 43; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

In the case of the first effect from the interaction at T1 to SE at T2: when children perceived their parents to have high orientation towards maintaining their culture this had a positive effect on the relationship between their own CM and their SE over time (high child CM then high SE; low child CM then low SE). This tells us that in

the immediate future, a discrepancy with perceived parents CM being high and children CM being low, brought negative SE to children (see Table 4.16, Figure 4.7).

Table 4.16: Values of CMpp (T1) moderating relationship between CMchild (T1) and SE(T2)

Values of CMpp	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.77	.13	.13	.29	-.11, .38
.77	.44	.14	.00	.17, .72

R^2: 0.05, CMpp=culture maintenance perceived parent, SE=self-esteem

Figure 4.7: CMpp moderation of relationship between CMch (T1) and SE (T2)

___ High T1 Perceived Parent Culture Maintenance
---- Low T1 Perceived Parent Culture Maintenance
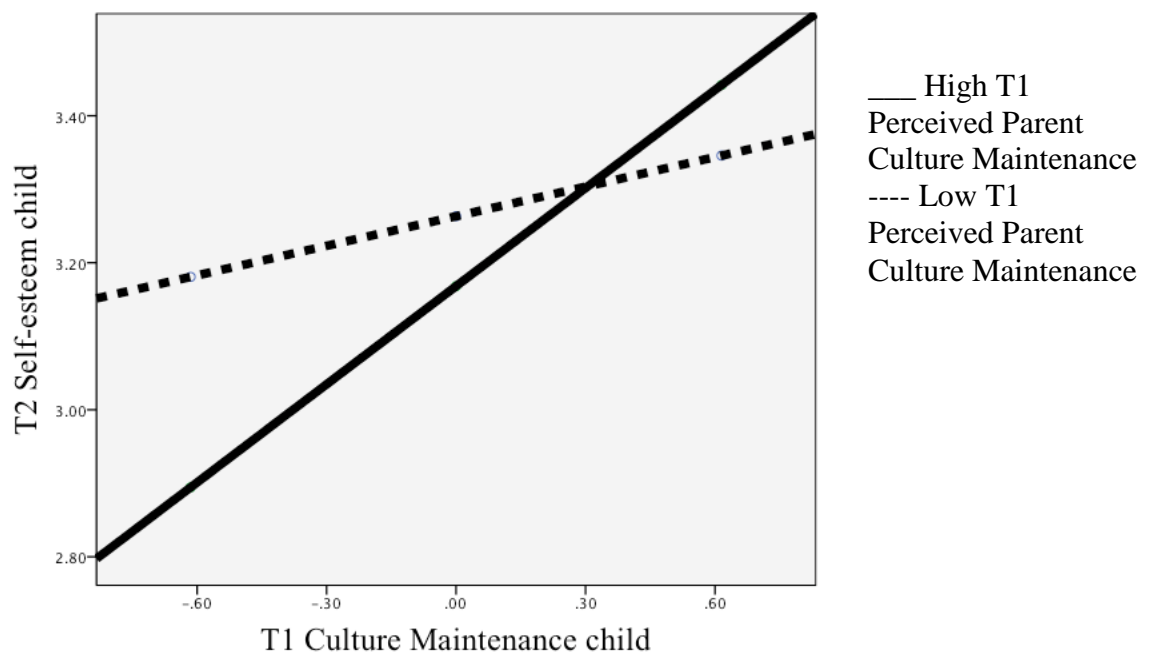
When analysing the moderation of perceived parent CM at T1 on the relationship between child CM at T1 to SE at T3, it is now the low preference for CM perceived from parents that had a positive effect on the relationship between child CM and SE. In this case, the presence of a discrepancy, low perceived parent CM and high child CM, presented the highest possible SE over time; while a low perception of parents' orientation towards CM related negatively to SE, when children also had a low desire for CM (see Table 4.17, Figure 4.8).

Table 4.17:Values of CMpp (T1) moderating relationship between CM (T1) child and SE (T3)

Values of CMpp	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.77	.23	.10	.02	.04, .43
.77	.13	.15	.39	-.17, .43

R^2: 0.04, CMpp=culture maintenance perceived parent, SE=self-esteem

Figure 4.8: Interaction CMch and CMpp T1 child on SE T3

___ High T1 Perceived Parent Culture Maintenance

---- Low T1 Perceived Parent Culture Maintenance
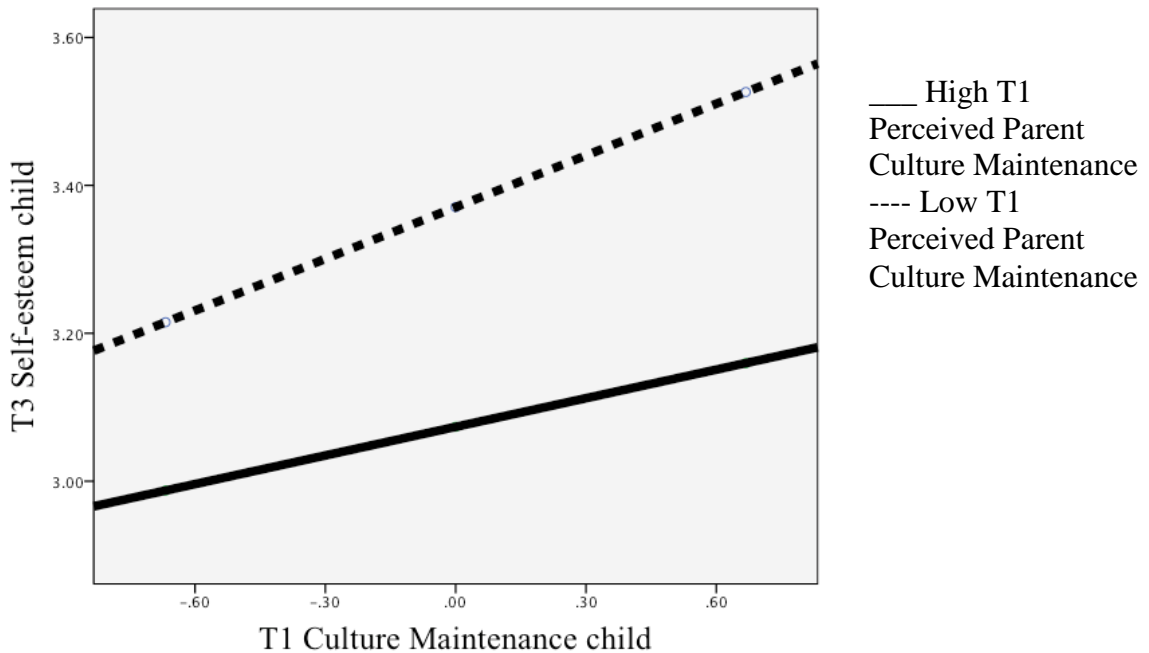
Now I will analyse the effect of the interaction in CM to LS. The moderation of perceived parent CM (T1) on the relationship between child CM (T1) and LS (T2) showed that it was when parents were perceived to have high orientation towards CM that the relationship between child CM and LS (T2) was positively affected (high child CM then high LS; low child CM then low LS). As with the effect of this same interaction on SE, the presence of a discrepancy (perception of parents' high orientation towards CM and child low orientation) was negative for LS. (Table 4.18, Figure 4.9).

Table 4.18:Values of CMpp (T1) moderating relationship between CM child (T1) and LS (T2)

Values of CMpp	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.77	.10	.14	.48	-.18, .37
.77	.46	.19	.02	.08, .83

R^2: 0.06, CMpp=culture maintenance perceived parent, SE=self-esteem

Figure 4.9: CMpp (T1) moderation of relationship between CMch (T1) and LS T2
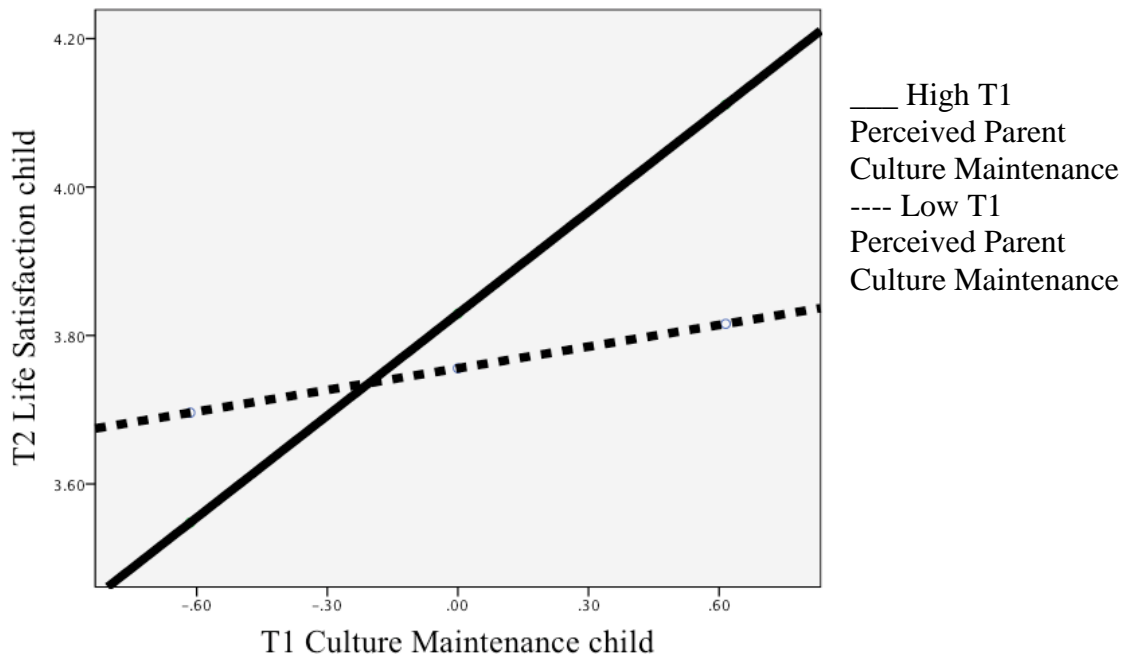
So, we can conclude, that for immigrant children in Chile, when they perceived their parents to be higher in culture maintenance than themselves, this was negative for their self-esteem and life satisfaction over time; while, when they perceived their parents to be lower in culture maintenance than themselves, this was positive for their self-esteem over time. Family relations, on the other hand, did not mediate the relationship between the discrepancies in acculturation and children's well-being over time.

DESIRE FOR CONTACT.

The path model had a good fit (χ^2 = 63.18; df= 40; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06) (see Figure 4.10).

Child desire for contact (DC) and life satisfaction (LS) had a recursive relationship, and so did child DC with perceived parent DC. Self-esteem (SE) (T1) related negatively to perceived parent DC (T2) over time, so when their SE was higher they perceived their parents to desire less contact. This result might relate to the finding that perceived parent DC (T2) had a negative relationship over time with LS (T3), when they perceived their parents to desire less contact at T2 their LS is higher at T3. On the other hand, when looking at the effect of the interaction of child and perceived parent DC (T1) this related positively to LS (T2) (see Table 4.19, Figure 4.11), while the

interaction (T2) related negatively to SE (T3) (see Table 4.20, Figure 4.12). There was no mediation of family relations between the relationship of the discrepancy in DC and well-being of children. There was a relationship between FR and well-being (T1 to T2; T2 to T3), and in the case of LS it was recursive (LS (T1) to FR (T2)).

Figure 4.10: Path model with child and perceived parent Desire for Contact as predictors over time of immigrant children well-being
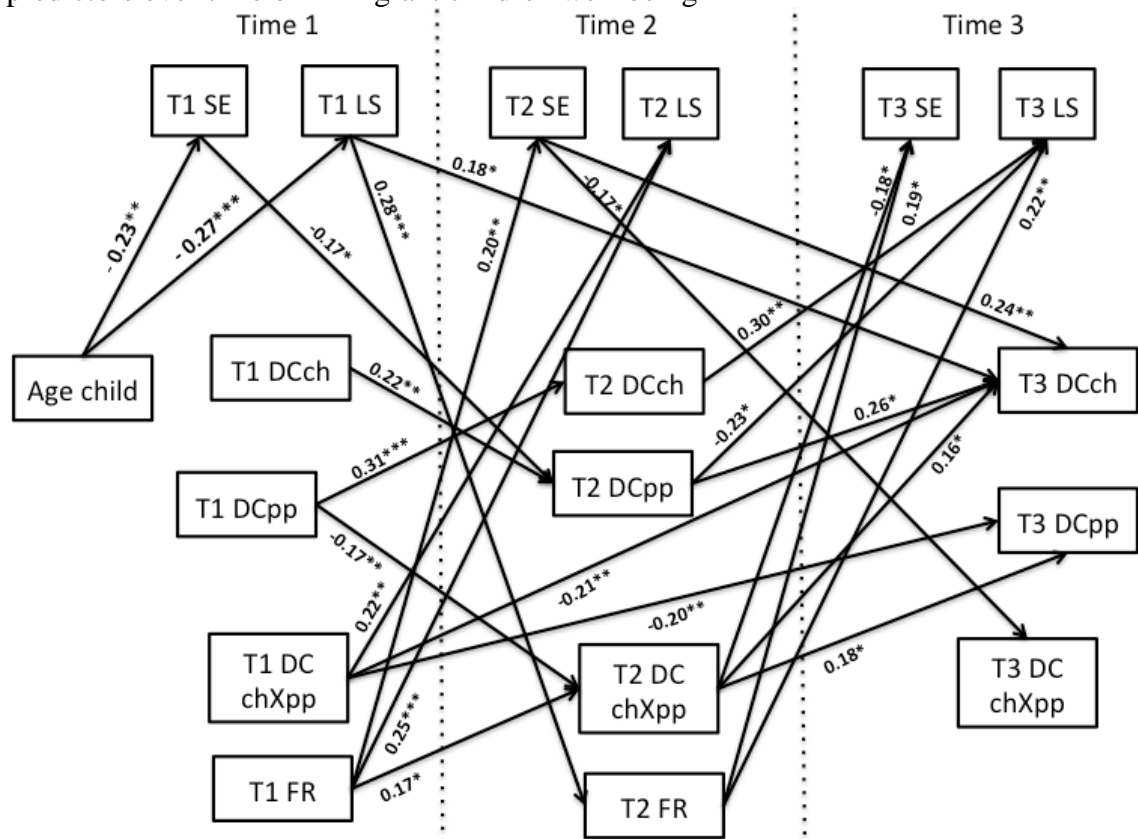
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; DCch=child Desire for Contact child; DCpp= perceived parent Desire for Contact; DCchXpp=Interaction Desire for Contact child/perceived parent; FR=family relations. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.12, cSE 0.26, aLS 0.07, bLS 0.30, cLS 0.43. χ^2 = 63.18; df= 40; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

The analysis of the interaction's effect on LS shows that high levels of perceived parent preference for DC affect positively the relationship between child preference for DC and LS over time (child high in DC, then high LS; child low in DC, then low LS) (see Table 4.19, Figure 4.11). Therefore, the presence of a discrepancy in DC in which the parent is perceived to have more orientation towards DC than the child is negative for children's LS.

Table 4.19: Values of DCpp (T1) moderating relationship between DC (T1) child and LS (T2)

Values of CMpp	β	SE	p	95% BCa
-.85	-.03	.11	.76	-.24, .18
.85	.57	.14	.00	.28, .85

R^2: 0.14, DCpp=desire for contact perceived parent, LS=life satisfaction

Figure 4.11: DCpp (T1) moderation of relationship between DC (T1) child and LS (T2)

___ High T1 Perceived Parent Desire for Contact

---- Low T1 Perceived Parent Desire for Contact
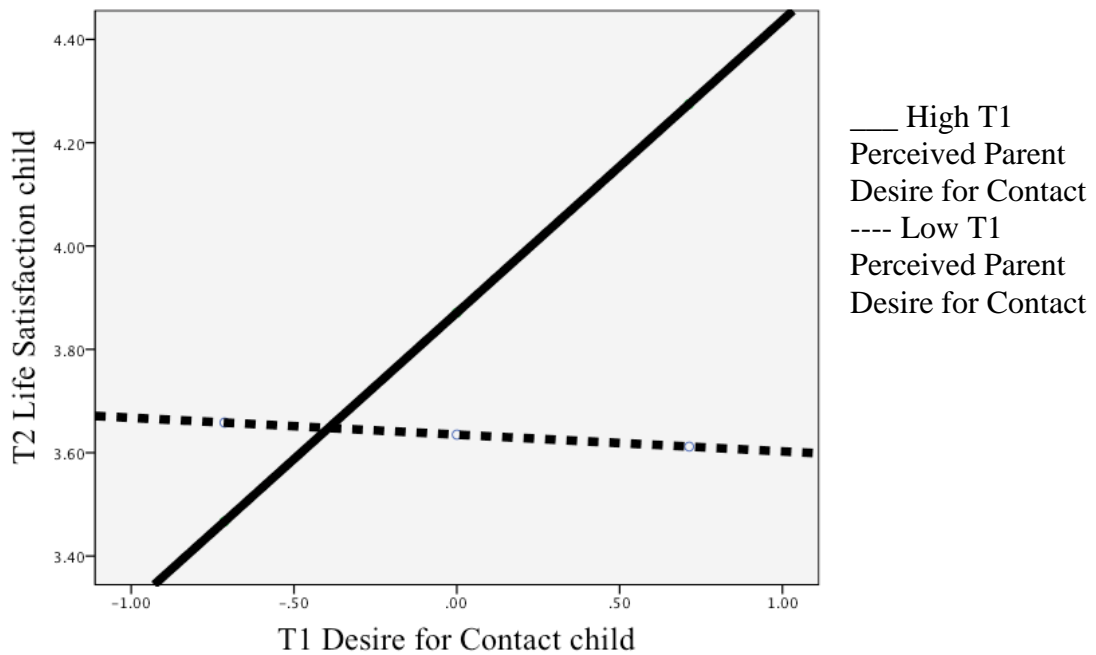
While, the effect of the interaction on SE over time, shows that it is perception of parents' low DC that weakly affects the relationship between child DC and SE (child high DC, then high SE; child low DC then low SE) (see Table 4.20, Figure 4.12). In regard to SE, the presence of a discrepancy between child and parent at T2, were child is higher in DC than parent, is positive for children's SE over time (T3).

Table 4.20: Values of DCpp (T2) moderating relationship between DC (T2) child and SE (T3)

Values of CMpp	β	SE	p	95% BCa
-.99	.18	.12	.13	-.05, .41
.99	.11	.13	.38	-.14, .36

R^2: 0.03, DCpp=desire for contact perceived parent, LS=life satisfaction

Figure 4.12: DCpp (T2) moderation of relationship between DC (T2) child and SE (T3)
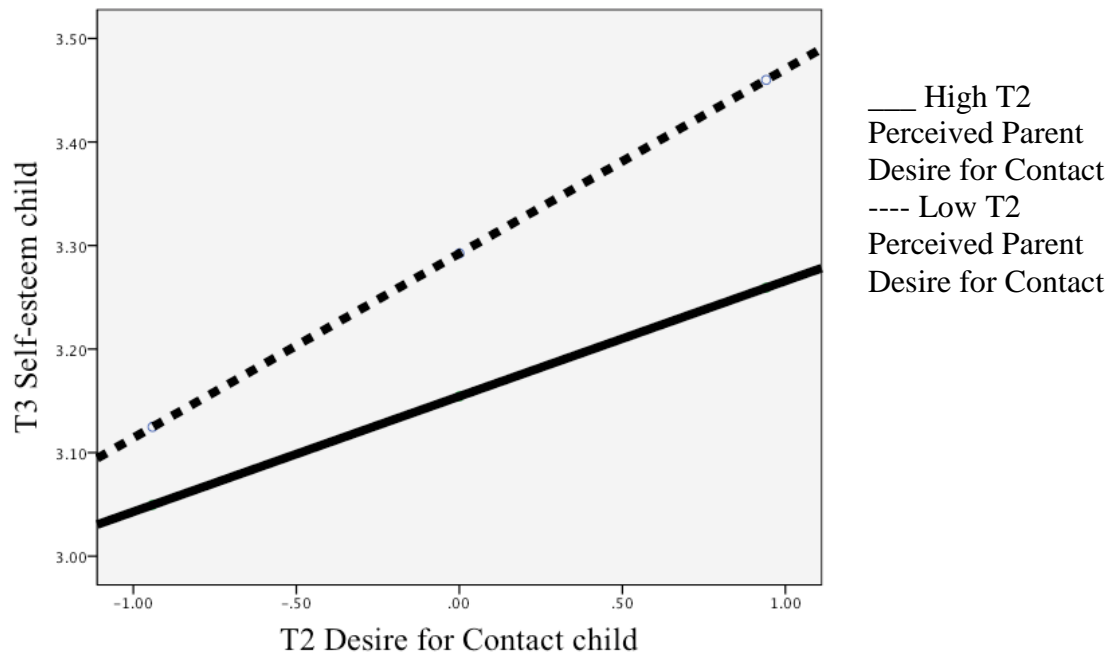
So, immigrant children's perception of their parents' DC in Chile has different impact on their LS and SE depending on the direction of the discrepancy. We could say that, in general, children have a more positive well-being when they perceive to have equal or higher DC than their parents (in this case a discrepancy is positive for their SE). But when analysing what can cause negative effects then it is having less DC than parents for LS. It is important to notice that there are various recursive relationships between desire for contact and well-being. Finally, family relations does not mediate the relationship between the acculturation discrepancies and well-being.

CULTURE ADOPTION.

The path model with child and perceived parent CA had a good fit ($\chi^2 = 65.64$; df= 43; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.05) (see Figure 4.13).

The results showed that there was a bidirectional relationship between culture adoption and life satisfaction for immigrant children. This bidirectional relationship is reflected in the paths from LS (T1 & T2) to perceived parent CA (T2 & T3) and then, the path from the interaction (T1) to LS (T2). In the case of SE, the relationship was from SE (T2) to child and perceived parent CA (T3), which tells us that how children felt about themselves affected their orientation towards culture adoption and how they perceived their parents were oriented to it. Child orientation towards CA (T1) affected

their perception of their parents' orientation (T2), which then affected their own orientation over time (T3). Family relations had a recursive relationship with LS over time (T1 to T2), and did not mediate the relationship between the acculturation discrepancies and well-being.

Figure 4.13: Path model with child and perceived parent CA as predictors of SE and LS.
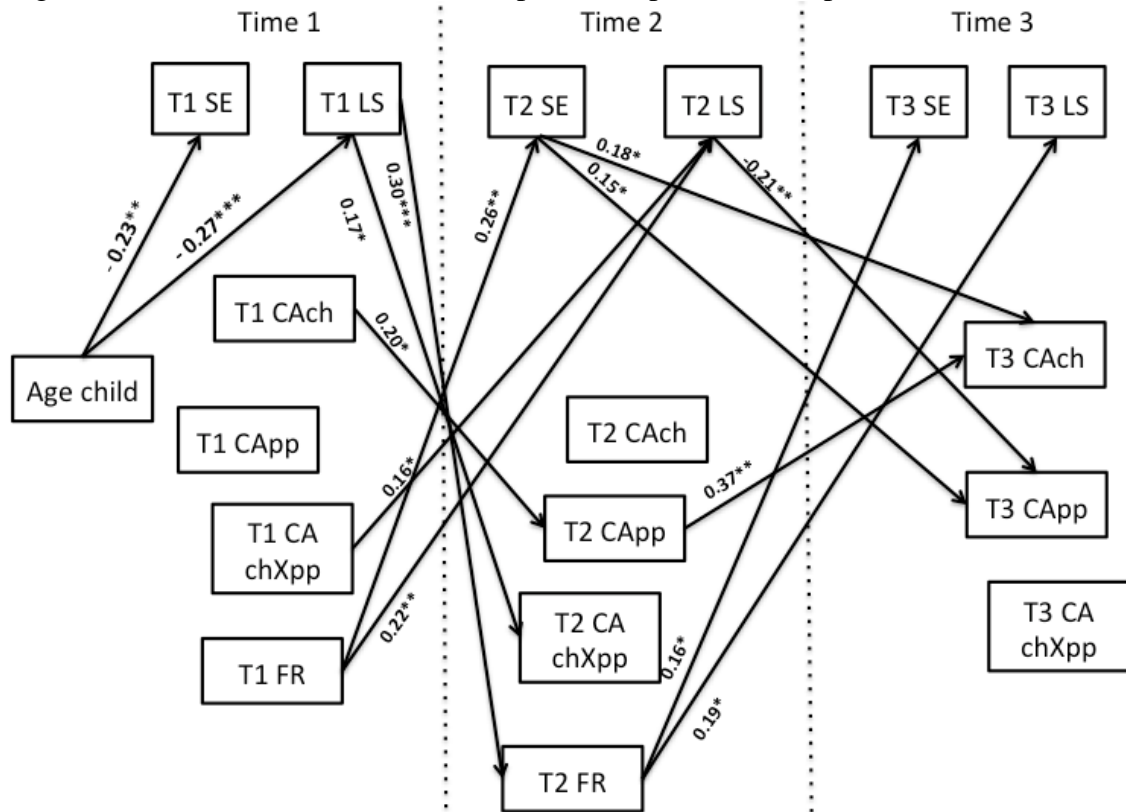
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; CAch=child Culture Adoption child; CApp= perceived parent Culture Adoption; CAchXpp=Interaction Culture Adoption child/perceived parent; FR=family relations. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.17, cSE 0.22, aLS 0.08, bLS 0.31, cLS 0.42. χ^2 = 65.64; df= 43; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.05. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

Although there is a recursive element about the relationship, I will analyse the interaction in CA (T1) that related positively to LS (T2) over time (see Table 4.21, Figure 4.14). The analysis of the interaction shows that there is a weak (marginal) effect of perceived parent CA, at high and low values, on the relationship between child CA and LS but it is the opposite direction of the marginal effects that makes the interaction significant. At high levels of perceived parent CA there is a positive effect on the relationship between CA child and LS (high CA child, then high LS; low CA child then low LS). When perceived parent CA is low the relationship between child CA and LS is negative (child CA high, then low LS; child CA low then higher LS). So, in the presence of a discrepancy, when perceived parent CA is low and child CA is high the

discrepancy has a notable negative effect on LS, while when the discrepancy has to do with high perceived parent CA and low child CA, then the negative effect is less pronounced but still exists.

Table 4.21:Values of CApp (T1) moderating relationship between CA child (T1) and LS (T2)

Values of CApp	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.95	-.19	.16	.24	-.52, .13
.95	.26	.14	.06	-.01, .53

R^2: 0.09

Figure 4.14: CApp (T1) moderation of relationship between CAchild (T1) and LS (T2)

___ High T1 Perceived Parent Culture Adoption
---- Low T1 Perceived Parent Culture Adoption
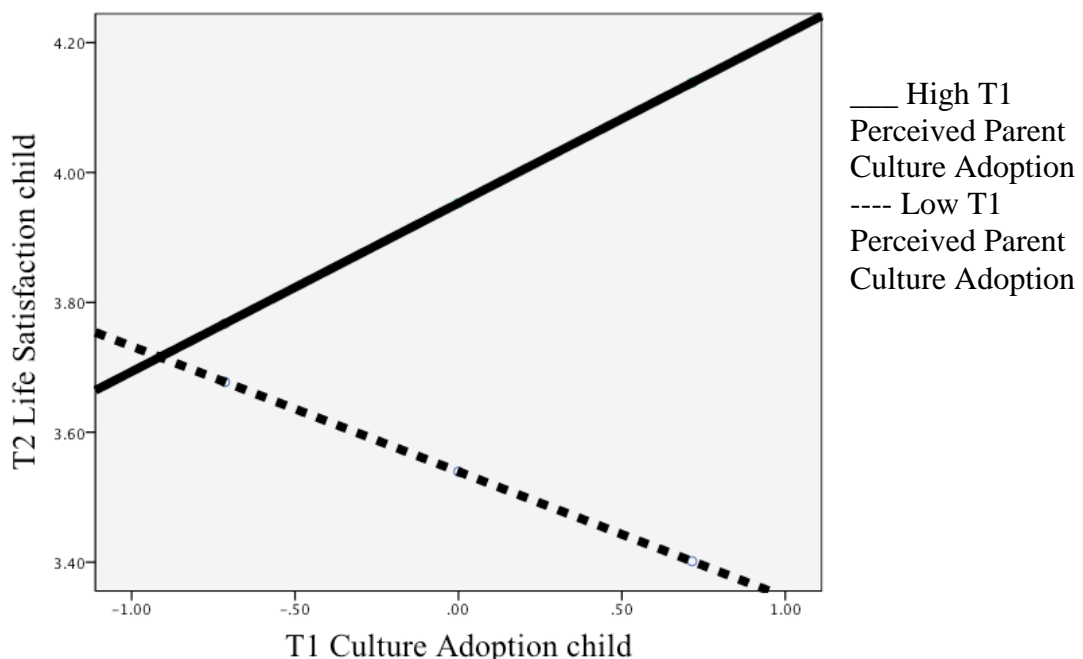
So, for immigrant children in Chile, their orientation towards adopting the receiving culture and their perception of their parents' orientation towards CA was affected by their self-esteem, higher SE then higher CA over time. In the case of LS, it was their acculturation preference that affected their life satisfaction. It appears that a discrepancy with parents in any direction has negative effects for LS, although they seem more pronounced when the parent is low in orientation towards CA while the child is high in orientation to CA. Finally, family relations did not mediate this relationship.

Child and actual parent model

Signed difference method.

I ran a path model with the actual parent- child differences in acculturation preferences. The model had a good fit (χ^2 = 60.37; df= 42; p-value=0.03; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.08) (see Figure 4.15).

The difference in CA (T1) had a negative relationship to LS (T3) over time, so when children had higher CA than their <u>actual</u> parents then their LS was negatively affected. This relationship also was from LS (T1) to the difference in CA (T3) over time, but in this case positive. Interestingly enough, in the <u>perceived</u> parent model, the discrepancy in CA using the difference method, related to SE not LS.

The difference in CM (T2) related to SE (T3) over time and it was not recursive. When children had higher CM compared to their <u>actual</u> parents this related positively to their self-esteem.

Figure 4.15: Path model difference in CM, CA and DC with actual parents' scores predicting WB.
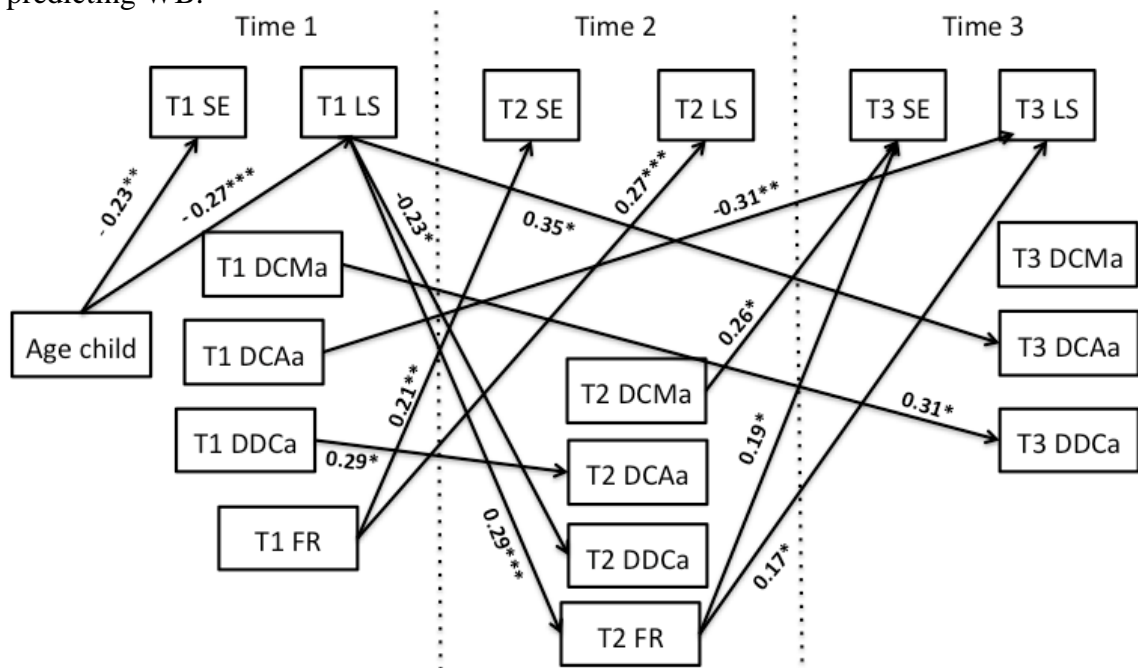
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; DCMa=Difference Culture Maintenance child/actual parent; DCAa=Difference in Culture Adoption child/actual parent; DDCa=Difference in Desire for Contact child/actual parent; FR=family relations. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.13, cSE 0.31, aLS 0.07, bLS 0.27, cLS 0.46. χ^2 = 60.37; df= 42; p-value=0.03; CFI=0.98; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.08. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

There were relationships over time between the difference scores: from the difference in DC (T1) to the difference in CA (T2); and from the difference in CM (T1) to the difference in DC (T3). Although family relations does not mediate the relationship between the acculturation discrepancies and well-being, it has a recursive relationship with well-being over time (T1 to T2; T2 to T3).

So, for immigrant children in Chile, when they had higher CA than their parents this related to lower LS over time; while, when they had higher CM than parents it related to higher self-esteem over time.

Interaction method.

As before, I will present the results on culture maintenance (CM), then desire for contact (DC) and finally culture adoption (CA).

CULTURE MAINTENANCE.

The path model had a good fit (χ^2 =72.56; df= 45; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.96; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06) (see Figure 4.16).

Children's self-esteem had a recursive relation with actual parent CM. The model shows that when children had high SE at T1, this appeared to influence positively actual parents' orientation towards CM at T3. But when parents had high CM at T2, it then lowered children's SE at T3. This might relate to the finding with the difference method (Figure 4.15): when children had higher CM compared to parents then their SE was positively affected. It appeared then that immigrant children preferred to have higher orientation towards CM than their parents in order for their SE to be positively affected.

At the same time, LS had a negative relation to actual parents' CM, so when children were initially high in life satisfaction (T1), parents were low in CM at T3.

The actual parent CM (T1) related over time to the child's CM (T3), this finding is interesting because it indicates that apparently parents' preference in culture maintenance influenced children's preferences in the future: as parents preferred more CM, children also preferred more CM.

Figure 4.16: Path model with child and actual parent CM as predictors of SE and LS.
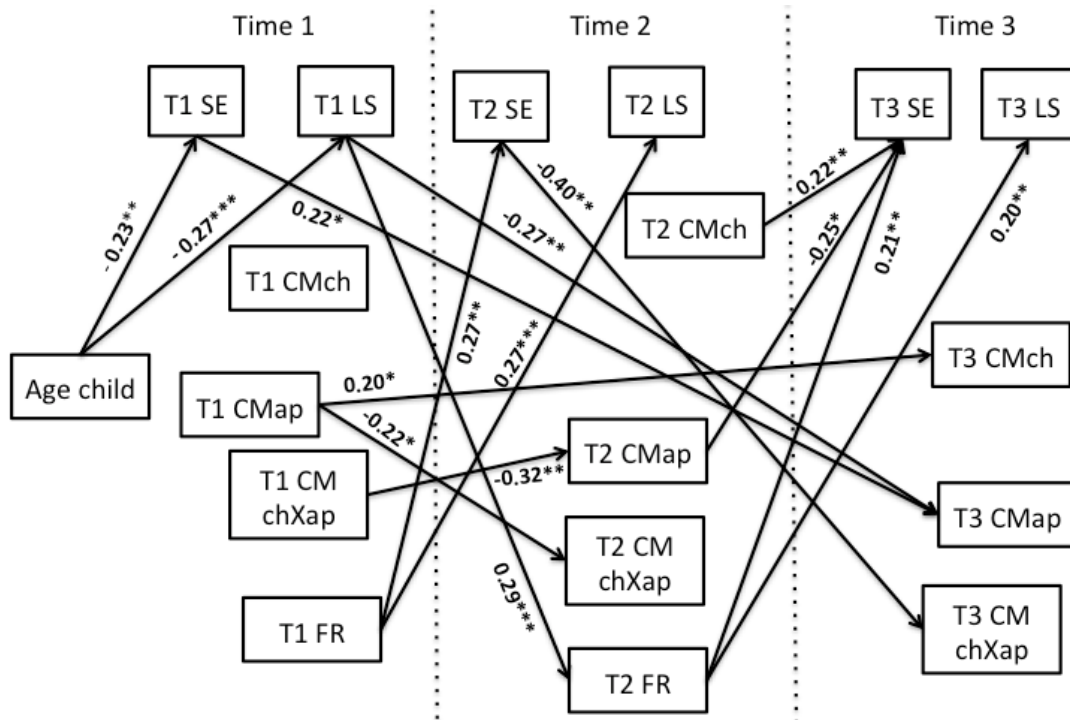
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; CMch=child Culture Maintenance child; CMap= actual parent culture Maintenance; CMchXap=Interaction Culture Maintenance child/actual parent. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.08, cSE 0.27, aLS 0.08, bLS 0.24, cLS 0.44. χ^2 = 54.46; df= 28; p-value=0.002; CFI=0.96; RMSEA= 0.07; SRMR=0.06. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

The discrepancies (interaction terms) did not relate to well-being over time (except that SE (T2) had an effect on the discrepancy (T3)). And family relations was not related to the acculturation variables nor mediated their relationship to well-being. It did as before, have a recursive relationship with well-being, life satisfaction (T1) affected FR (T2), while FR (T1) affected children's WB (T2 and T3).

So, for immigrant children in Chile, the discrepancies with parents in CM did not affect their self-esteem or life satisfaction over time. It appears that children' SE is positively affected when they have higher CM than their parents', and when they have high life satisfaction this relates to parents being lower in CM. There is evidence that parents' CM affects children's CM over time. Finally, family relations has a recursive relationship with well-being and does not mediate the relationship between the discrepancies and well-being over time.

DESIRE FOR CONTACT.

The path model had a good fit ($\chi^2 = 70.32$; df= 44; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.96; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06) (see Figure 4.17).

Figure 4.17: Path model with child and actual parent DC as predictors of SE and LS.
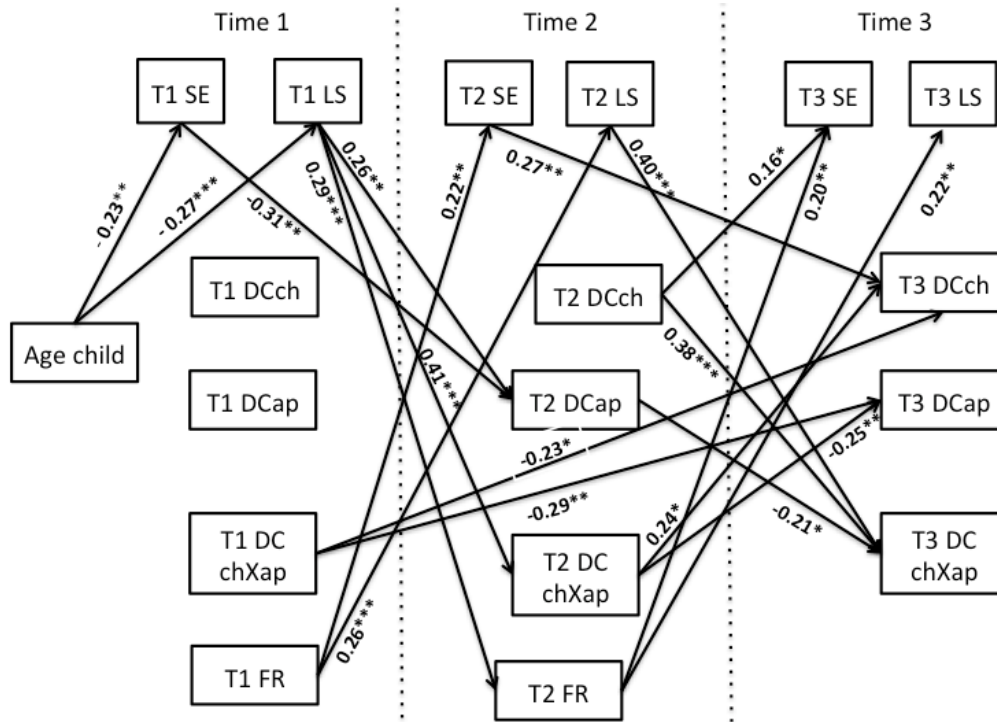
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; DCch=child Desire for Contact child; DCap= actual parent Desire for Contact; DCchXap=Interaction Desire for Contact child/actual parent; FR=family relations. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.13, cSE 0.24, aLS 0.07, bLS 0.29, cLS 0.41. $\chi^2 = 70.32$; df= 44; p-value=0.01; CFI=0.96; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06 Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

As we can see, the majority of the paths went from children well-being to the acculturation dimensions over time. When children were feeling well with themselves this appeared to influence their parents to desire less contact for them (SE at T1 to DC actual parent at T2), and for children to desire more contact for themselves (SE at T2 to DC child at T3). So in the case of children, positive SE relates to more DC; in the case of parents, positive SE relates to less DC. On the contrary, when children felt satisfied with their life in general (LS at T1), then parents desired more contact for them (T2). In chapter 1, we presented literature that explained that SE and LS point to different aspects of well-being that might explain the different relation with DC: self-esteem relates to personal emotional evaluation, while life satisfaction relates to evaluation of the person's general social life. With this apparently contradictory results we can speculate that for parents of immigrant children, it might be that, if they perceived their

children to feel content with themselves, then they did not find it important for them to interact with majority children; while if they considered that children were satisfied with their life maybe they can improve by socializing with the majority group.

The discrepancies in DC (interaction terms) did not relate to children's well-being over time. Family relations did not relate to the acculturation variables, it had a recursive relationship with well-being and did not mediate the relationship between the discrepancies and well-being.

So, for immigrant children in Chile, the discrepancies with parents did not relate to their well-being but the individual acculturation preferences were influenced by children's well-being. These effects were different for SE and LS. A high SE of children related to high DC in children and low DC in parents; while high LS of children related to high DC in parents.

CULTURE ADOPTION.

The path model had a good fit ($\chi^2 = 65.92$; df= 45; p-value=0.02; CFI=0.97; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06) (see Figure 4.18).

As with CM, the actual parent CA (T1) related over time to the child CA (T3). This is showing that actual parents' orientation towards culture adoption influences positively children's own orientation towards it. The self-esteem (T2) of children related to their own orientation towards CA (T3) as we found out in Chapter 3, higher SE then higher CA. As before, the relationship between FR and WB was recursive and positive and did not mediate the relationship of the discrepancies with well-being.

The relationship between the interaction in CA (T1) and well-being (T3) was bidirectional and positive, except for the path from SE (T2) to the interaction (T3) which was negative, and from the interaction (T1) to SE (T2) which was also negative. I will analyse the four paths from the interaction to well-being.

Figure 4.18: Path model with child and actual parent CA as predictors of SE and LS.
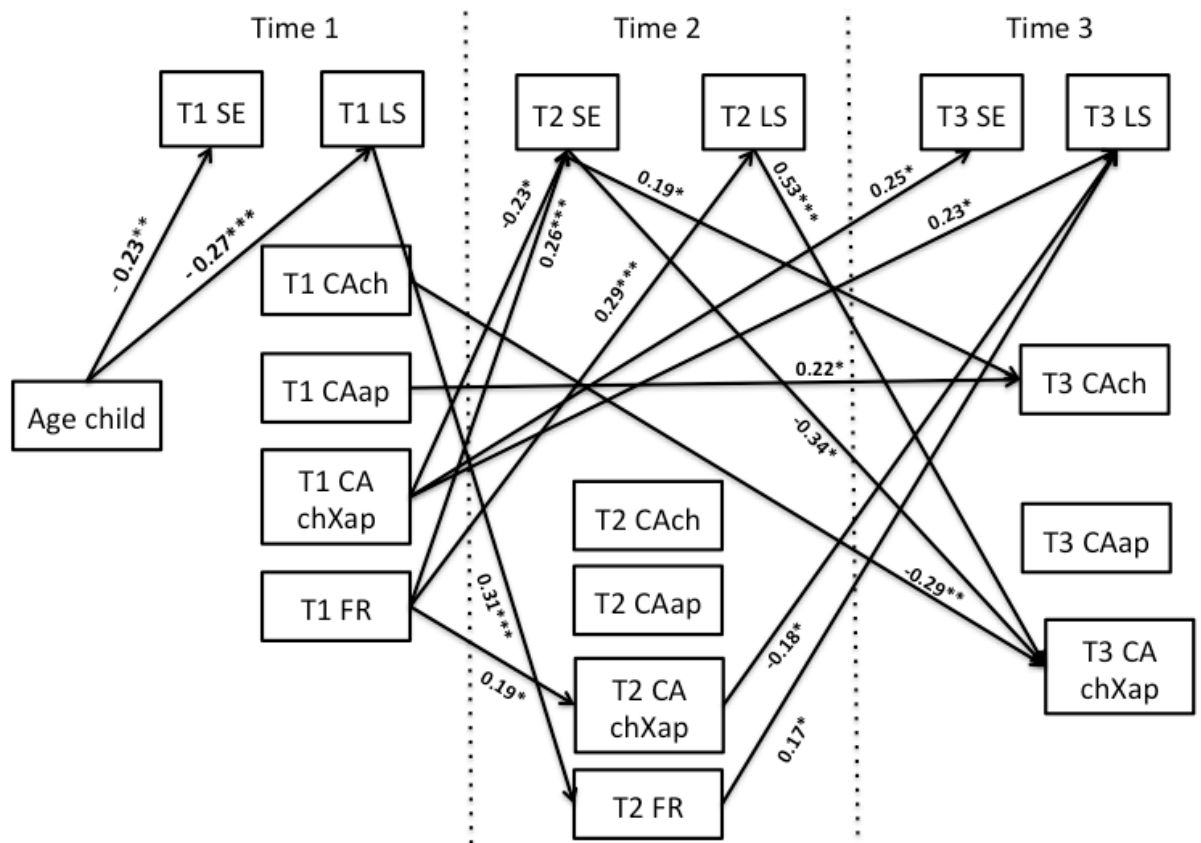
(T1= Time 1; T2= Time 2; T3= Time 3; SE= Self- Esteem; LS= Life Satisfaction; CAch=child culture adoption child; CAap= actual parent Culture Adoption; CAchXap=Interaction Culture adoption child/actual parent; FR=family relations. R^2 aSE 0.05, bSE 0.20, cSE 0.28, aLS 0.07, bLS 0.31, cLS 0.46. χ^2 = 65.92; df= 45; p-value=0.02; CFI=0.97; RMSEA= 0.05; SRMR=0.06. Path coefficients: β with *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.)

The interaction (T1) to SE (T2) showed that at high levels of actual parent CA the relationship between child CA and SE was negative (high child CA, lower SE; low child CA, higher SE), while at low levels of actual parent CA the relationship was positive (high child CA, higher SE; low child CA, lower SE). The discrepancy in CA, high actual parent CA and low child CA tended to relate to positive SE; while when they were both low it tended to relate to lower SE (see Table 4.22 and Figure 4.19). Both relationships were non-significant however; it was their opposite valence which gave rise to the significant interaction. This interaction informs us that a discrepancy in CA hasd positive effects on children's SE, in any direction.

Table 4.22:Values of CAap (T1) moderating relationship between CA(T1) child and SE (T2)

Values of CAap	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.68	.11	.15	.45	-.19, .41
.68	-.05	.14	.70	-.34, .23

R^2: 0.04

Figure 4.19: Actual parent CA(T1) moderation of relationship between CAch (T1) on SE (T2

___ High T1 Actual Parent Culture Adoption
---- Low T1 Actual Parent Culture Adoption
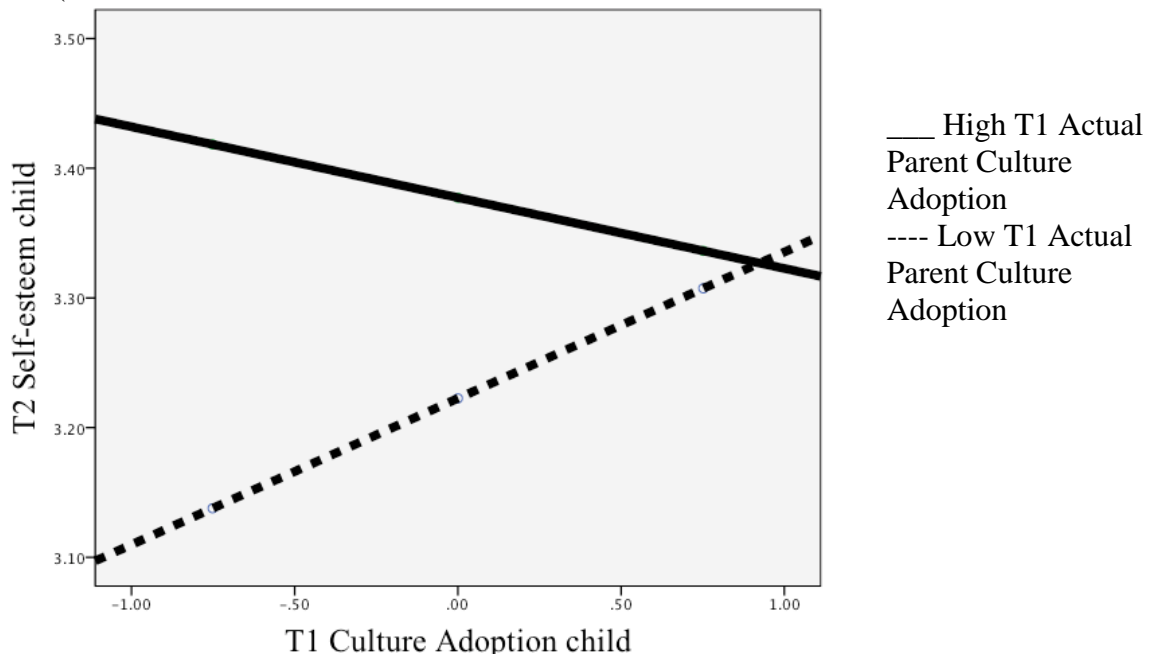
The analysis of the relation of the interaction (T1) to SE (T3) showed that when actual parents had lower orientation towards adopting the receiving culture, this affected negatively the relationship between child CA and their SE (i.e. high child CA, then low SE) (see Table 4.23, Figure 4.20). As might be recalled, the interaction with perceived parent CA showed the same direction in the relationship between perceived parent CA and CA child but towards LS.

Table 4.23:Values of CAap(T1) moderating relationship between CAchild(T1) and SE (T3)

Values of CAap	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.68	-.32	.14	.03	-.61, -.04
.68	.08	.15	.61	-.22, .38

R^2: 0.09

Figure 4.20: Actual parent CA(T1) moderation of relationship between CAch (T1) on SE (T3)

___ High T1 Actual Parent Culture Adoption
---- Low T1 Actual Parent Culture Adoption
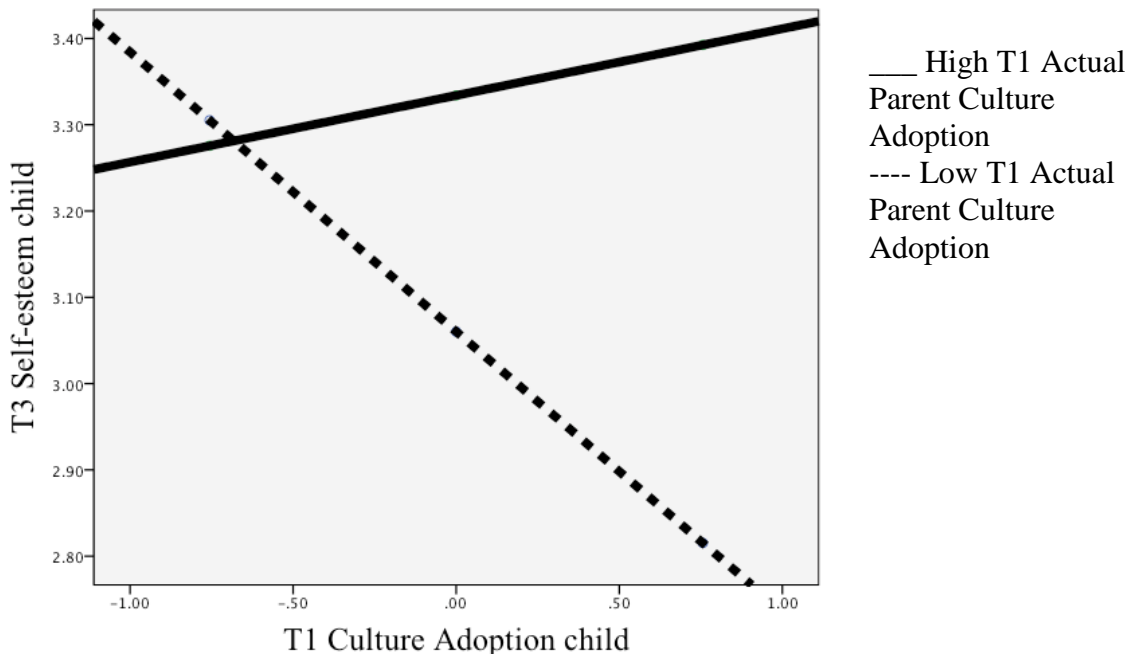
A possible explanation for the different effect of the interaction on SE could be the pass of time that affected how much low orientation to CA of parents related to children's SE. At the beginning of the year, a discrepancy with parents that involved parents being less oriented to CA, while children were highly oriented to it, was not really negative. But towards the end of the year, a low orientation of parents towards the receiving culture, felt detrimental for their self-esteem.

The interaction in CA's (T1) related to LS (T3) showed an opposite pattern (see Table 4.24, Figure 4.21). When the actual parent orientation to CA was low, then the relationship between child CA and LS was not affected. When the actual parent CA was high, then the relationship between child CA and LS seemed to be positive. The existence of a discrepancy, high parent CA with low child CA, was negative for their LS. When they coincided in their CA preferences, then their LS tended to be higher.

Finally, the interaction in CA's (T2) had a negative over time relationship with LS (T3), but the simple slopes were not significant.

These findings in regard to the relationship between the discrepancies in CA (using the "interaction method") and well-being appear contradictory. It is important to remember that the relationship between these two variables is recursive, so children's well-being is affecting the interactions, as well as the other way around.

Table 4.24:Values of CAap (T1) moderating relationship between CA (T1) child and LS (T3)

Values of CAap	b	SE	p	95% BCa
-.67	-.01	.23	.97	-.47, .46
.67	.13	.22	.55	-.30, .56

R^2: 0.01

Figure 4.21: Actual parent CA (T1) moderation of relationship between CAch (T1) and LS (T3)

___ High T1 Actual Parent Culture Adoption
---- Low T1 Actual Parent Culture Adoption
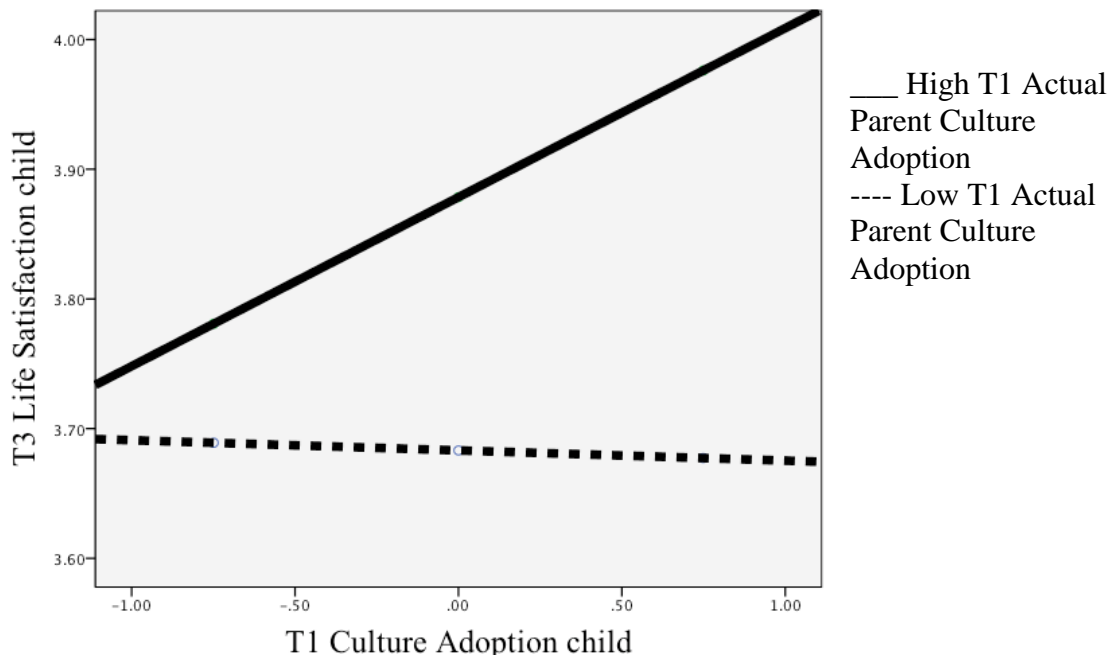
So, for immigrant children in Chile, the discrepancies in CA and their well-being were intertwined over time and there is no definitive positive or negative relationship. It appeared that a discrepancy at one point (parents high in CA, while children's low) had a tendency to be positive for their self-esteem; while 10 months later the discrepancy when parents were low in CA while the children were high in CA, had a tendency to affect negatively their SE; while when parents were high in CA and children low in CA the tendency was to affect their LS negatively. Family relations did not mediate these relationships.

Main findings immigrant children in Chile

Parent's acculturation attitudes (perceived and actual) coincide with the children's one in selecting high orientation towards culture maintenance and desire for contact (or culture adoption) as their preference in dealing with the acculturation process. It is interesting that, despite the misgivings of some literature, children appeared to perceive accurately (not in magnitude but in the same direction) the actual parent acculturation preferences at T1: they considered that parents had less orientation for the three acculturation dimensions. This did not prevail at T2 and T3.

There were different results for discrepancies between children and perceived parent and actual parent scores. At the same time there were similarities and differences in the findings with the "signed difference method" and the "interaction method".

With perceived parent scores, the "signed difference method" cross-sectionally showed that children's higher orientation towards CM than what they perceived of parents was positive for their life satisfaction; while the longitudinal model did not have a good fit. With the "interaction method", there was no relationship in the cross sectional analysis but there was in the longitudinal analysis. Longitudinally there appeared to be a trend for a negative effect over time for children's well-being in the discrepancies with the three acculturation dimensions, when they perceived their parent's to be higher than themselves in any of them. On the contrary, when the discrepancies were in the opposite direction (i.e., parents lower in CM or DC) then the self-esteem was positively affected over time. These results have to be read cautiously due to the recursive nature of several of the relationships between DC and CA and well-being; except in the relationship that went from self-esteem to culture adoption.

In regard to actual parents' scores, cross-sectional analysis using the "signed difference method" showed that when children were higher in CA than their parents then their self-esteem was positively affected. Longitudinally this effect was in the case of CM, when children scored higher in CM than their parents, then their self-esteem was higher (in the case of CA it was recursive). Using the "interaction method" there is no relationship of the discrepancies with well-being in the cross-sectional analysis; while over time, several of the relationship between acculturation and well-being in the models with CM and CA were recursive, and the relationship went from well-being to DC over time. Interestingly, actual parent CM and CA related to children's respective

acculturation preferences over time, which gives an indication that parents' preferences affect their children's preferences.

The "acculturation gap-distress model" stated that acculturation discrepancies with parents affected family relationships that influenced negatively children's adaptation. In these studies we have found evidence, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, that:

a) the acculturation discrepancies did not always relate to negative adaptation outcomes. A discrepancy, depending on its direction, could have a positive effect on children's well-being;

b) family relations was an important predictor of children's well-being (and was also influenced by it) but did not relate to the acculturation discrepancies (and in nearly all the cases it did not relate to acculturation). Contrary to the "acculturation gap distress model" it did not mediate the relationship between acculturation discrepancies and child adjustment in any of the models that were run in this study;

c) the findings with both discrepancy measurement methods appear in many cases complementary but not always following the same pattern.

I will present now the results of the relationship between parent-child discrepancies on the well-being of majority children and mixed origin children in Chile.

Chilean (majority) children

The analysis within this sub sample of children was done only on Time 1 and with the perceived parent scores because I did not have enough statistical power due to the size of the sample to use the actual parent scores or analyse the data longitudinally.

As we can see in Table 4.25, age only correlated with perceived parent CM; and gender did not correlate with any of the parent acculturation variables. Both SE and LS related only to perceived parent CM and DC. As expected, the child acculturation preferences correlated with the perceived parent ones, but moderately. The perceived parent acculturation preferences related to FR and school climate.

Table 4.25: Correlations, means and SD of perceived parent and Chilean children scales

	T1 SE	T1 LS	T1 CMpp	T1 CApp	T1 DCpp
Age	-.17✠	-.35***	-.25**	-.15✠	-.15
Gen	.18*	-.04	-.08	-.05	.03
T1 SE	--	.53**	.26**	.04	.19*
T1 LS		--	.24**	.17✠	.23*
T1 CMch			.53***	.40***	.55***
T1 CAch			.44***	.64***	.49***
T1 DCch			.38***	.36***	.56***
PD			-.07	-.14	-.04
Pa			.16✠	.17✠	.16✠
FR			.26**	.25**	.15
SC			.21*	.34***	.25**
T1 CMpp				.50***	.60***
T1 CApp					.50***
M	3.33	3.95	4.14	3.89	4.07
SD	0.67	0.86	0.71	0.80	0.85
N	127	124	125	125	125

T1SE=self-esteem; T1LS=life satisfaction; T1CMch=culture maintenance child; T1CAch=culture adoption child; T1DCch=desire for contact child; PD=perceived discrimination; PA=peer acceptance; FR=family relations; SC=school climate; T1CMpp=perceived parent Culture maintenance; T1CApp= perceived parent Culture adoption; T1DCpp=perceived parent Desire for Contact; ✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

When comparing the means of Chilean children's acculturation preferences with their perception of their parents' preferences, we can see that they perceived parents with higher orientation towards CA than themselves (Table 4.26).

Table 4.26: Mean differences child and perceived parent scales (T1)

	N	Mch	Mpp	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM - child and perc. Par.	125	4.18	4.14	0.53***	0.04	0.70	-0.08	0.16
CA - child and perc. Par.	125	3.81	3.89	0.64***	-0.08	0.66	-0.19	0.04
DC - child and perc. Par.	125	4.16	4.07	0.56***	0.09	0.80	-0.06	0.23

CM= Culture maintenance; CA= Culture adoption; DC= Desire for Contact; perc. Par.= perceived parent.
***=p<.001.

Signed difference method.

The results for the regressions run with perceived parent scores are presented in Table 4.27. Older children had less life satisfaction (β=-.424, p<.001) and less Self-Esteem (β=-.221, p=.013).

The difference between children and perceived parents' desire for contact were negatively related to life satisfaction and self-esteem (see Table 4.27). This tells us that when children had high desire for contact compared to what they perceived of their parents, their well-being was lower.

Table 4.27: Hierarchical regressions with differences with perceived parent acculturation dimensions on well-being - Chilean sub-sample.

| | Perceived parent model | | | | | |
| | Life Satisfaction | | | Self-esteem | | |
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.17			0.03		
Age		0.04	-0.42***		0.03	-0.18*
Step 2	0.22			0.08		
Age		0.04	-0.38***		0.03	-0.14
Diff CM		0.11	-0.02		0.09	-0.07
Diff CA		0.11	0.04		0.10	0.11
Diff DC		0.10	**-0.23***		0.08	**-0.22***

Diff CM=difference between child and perceived parent culture maintenance; Diff DC=difference between child and perceived parent desire for contact; Diff CA=difference between child and perceived parent culture adoption;*=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Interaction method.

As is shown in Table 4.28, perceived parent DC (regression with CM & DC, step 3) and the interaction of child and perceived parent DC (step 4) related to life satisfaction.

In the first case, a perception of parents having high DC related to higher LS in Chilean children. In the second case, the analysis of the interaction showed that, although the slopes were not significant, there was an opposite tendency of the effect of perceived parent DC on the relationship between children DC and LS: the presence of a discrepancy in DC, perceived parent low in DC and child high in DC related to a low level of LS (see Table 4.29 & Figure 4.22).

On self-esteem, only perceived parent CM was significant, in the regression with the CA dimension. When they perceived parents to want CM then their self-esteem was higher.

Table 4.28: Hierarchical regression with interactions between children and perceived parent CM and DC; or CM and CA, Chilean subsample

| | CM & DC | | | | | | CM & CA | | | | | |
| | Life Satisfaction | | | Self-esteem | | | Life Satisfaction | | | Self-esteem | | |
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.17			0.03			0.17			0.03		
Age_child		0.04	-0.42***		0.03	-0.18*		0.04	-0.42***		0.03	-0.18*
Step 2	0.19			0.06			0.19			0.05		
Age_child		0.04	-0.40***		0.03	-0.16✠		0.04	-0.41***		0.03	-0.17✠
CM ch		0.12	0.18		0.10	0.21✠		0.12	0.07		0.10	0.16
DC ch		0.11	-0.09		0.09	-0.13							
CAch								0.11	0.07		0.10	-0.05
Step 3	0.25			0.12			0.22			0.10		
Age_child		0.04	-0.34		0.03	-0.10		0.04	-0.36***		0.03	-0.13
CM ch		0.13	0.05		0.11	0.08		0.13	-0.01		0.11	0.05
DC ch		0.11	-0.21✠		0.09	-0.21✠							
CAch								0.13	-0.01		0.12	-0.05
CM pp		0.13	0.12		0.11	0.20✠		0.13	0.17		0.11	0.28*
DC pp		0.11	0.25*		0.10	0.15							
CApp								0.12	0.10		0.10	-0.08
Step 4	0.35			0.13			0.24			0.1		
Age_child		0.04	-0.33***		0.03	-0.10		0.04	-0.36		0.03	-0.13
CM ch		0.13	0.14		0.11	0.10		0.13	0.02		0.11	0.03
DC ch		0.11	-0.06		0.10	-0.16							
CAch								0.13	-0.01		0.12	-0.05
CM pp		0.13	0.02		0.12	0.13		0.13	0.18		0.11	0.27*
DC pp		0.11	0.35**		0.10	0.19							
CApp								0.12	0.12		0.10	-0.09
int dc		0.08	**0.42***		0.08	0.17							
Int ca								0.14	0.02		0.12	-0.03
int cm		0.11	-0.06		0.11	-0.12		0.11	0.14		0.10	-0.03

CM ch=culture maintenance child; CA ch=culture adoption child; DC ch=desire for contact child; CMpp=perceived parent culture maintenance; CApp=perceived parent culture adoption; DCpp=perceived parent desire for contact; int CM=interaction between child and perceived parent culture maintenance; int DC=interaction between child and perceived parent desire for contact; int CA= interaction between child and perceived parent culture adoption;✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Table 4.29:Values of DCpp moderating relationship between DC child and LS

Values of DC pp	β	SE	p	95% BCa
-.84	-.30	.11	.01	-.52, -.08
.84	.15	.18	.40	-.21, .51

R^2: 0.16

Figure 4.22: DCpp (T1) moderating relationship between DCchild (T1) on LS T1.

___ High T1 Perceived Parent Desire for Contact
---- Low T1 Perceived Parent Desire for Contact
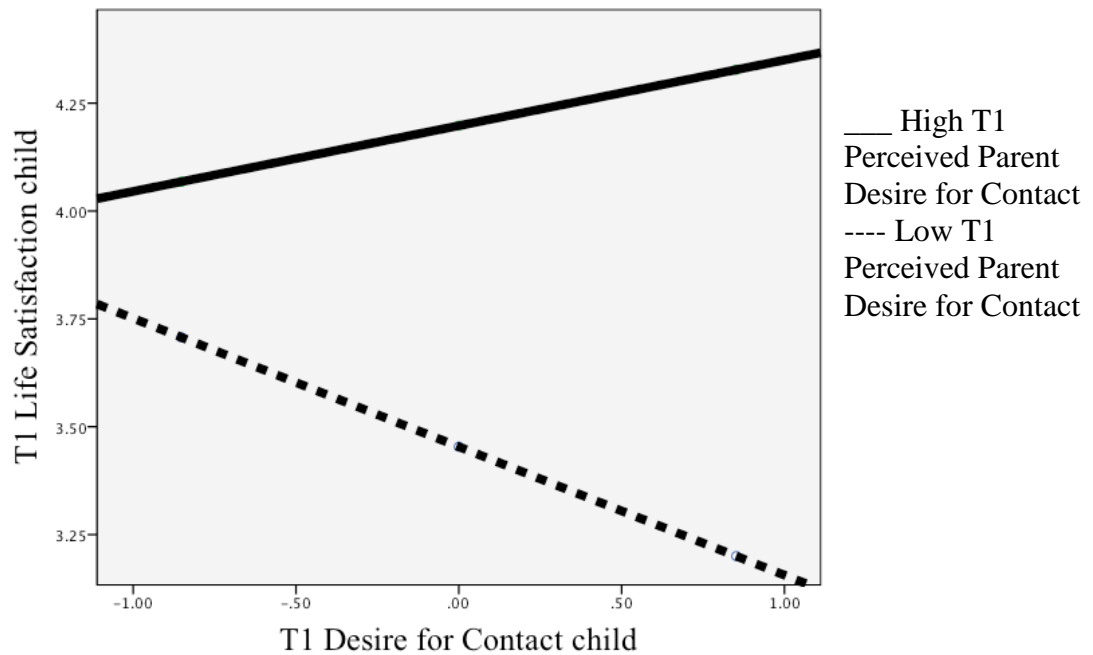
Main findings Chilean (majority) children

The cross-sectional analysis suggests that for Chilean children only the presence of a discrepancy in DC with parents (i.e. children having more DC), both with the "signed difference" and "interaction" methods, related to negative consequences for their well-being.

Mixed origin children

As with the Chilean sub-sample, the small sample did not give enough statistical power to analysis the longitudinal or actual parent results. Therefore the analysis will be centred on the Time 1 cross-sectional findings.

As expected, the child acculturation preferences correlated with the perception they had of their parent's preferences, higher than in the case of immigrant children. Age correlated with the perceived parent score. Gender did not correlate with any variables (see Table 4.30).

Table 4.30: Correlations, means and SD of perceived parent and Mixed origin children scales

| | | | Perceived parent | | |
	T1 SE	T1 LS	T1CMpp	T1CApp	T1 DCpp
Age	-.20	-.38**	-.28*	-.26*	-.25*
Gen	-.04	-.02	-.05	.10	.08
T1SE		.48***	.12	.03	.13
T1 LS			.13	.08	.13
T1CMch			.65***	.49***	.62***
T1CAch			.37***	.79***	.61***
T1DCch			.54***	.56***	.71***
PD			-.13	-.03	-.09
PR			.07	-.05	.00
FR			.28*	.17	.24*
SC			.26*	.25*	.19
T1CMpp				.47***	.71***
T1CApp					.67***
M	3.48	4.01	4.15	3.84	4.04
SD	.60	.84	0.75	0.89	0.91
N	76	76	75	75	75

CMch=culture maintenance child; CAch=culture adoption child; DCch=desire for contact child; PD=perceived discrimination; PA=peer acceptance; FR=family relations; SC=school climate; CMpp=perceived parent culture maintenance; CApp=perceived parent culture adoption; DCpp=perceived parent desire for contact; *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

I compared the means of the children with the perceived parent scores (Table 4.31). No mean differences were significant. The differences in CM and DC were positive, children were more oriented towards those acculturation dimensions; while the difference in CA was negative, children perceived parents were more oriented towards CA than them.

Table 4.31: Mean differences children and perceived parents acculturation preferences

	N	Mch	Mpp	Corr.	M diff	SD	95% BCa	
CM - child and perc. Par.	75	4.27	4.15	0.65***	0.11	0.62	-0.03	0.26
CA - child and perc. Par.	75	3.75	3.83	0.79***	-0.09	0.57	-0.22	0.04
DC - child and perc. Par.	75	4.15	4.04	0.71***	0.11	0.70	-0.06	0.27

CM= Culture maintenance; CA= Culture adoption; DC= Desire for Contact; perc. Par.= perceived parent. *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

There is no effect of gender in the regressions I have run. Older children had less life satisfaction (β=-.380, p=.001). The models with self-esteem as a dependent variable were not significant, so I am reporting only the relationship of acculturation to life satisfaction.

Signed difference method.

The "signed difference" in culture adoption between parents and children had a main effect on life satisfaction (see Table 4.32, first column). This tells us that as children's orientation towards culture adoption was lower in comparison of what they perceived of their parents', their life satisfaction increased. So the presence of a discrepancy related positively to their LS. There is no relationship between the differences in acculturation preferences on children's' self-esteem.

Table 4.32: Hierarchical regression difference between child and perceived parent acculturation T1, mixed origin children sub-sample.

	Perceived parent model					
	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.14			0.03		
Age		0.05	-0.38**		0.04	-0.18
Step 2	0.21			0.09		
Age		0.05	-0.39**		0.04	-0.20✠
Diff CM		0.17	-0.03		0.13	-0.21✠
Diff CA		0.17	0.26*		0.13	0.16
Diff DC		0.14	-0.03		0.11	-0.06

Diff CM=difference between child and perceived parent culture maintenance; Diff DC=difference between child and perceived parent desire for contact; Diff CA=difference between child and perceived parent culture adoption;✠=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Interaction method.

The interaction in CM (in the regression that includes CA) had an effect on LS (β =0.34*, p=0.01, 95%BCa [0.12, 0.90]), this effect is no longer significant (β =0.19, p=.19, 95%BCa [-0.14, 0.70]) when SC appears in the model (β =0.30, p=0.01, 95%BCa [0.07, 0.54]). I will analyse the interaction effect on LS, and then the possible mediation of SC on the interaction.

Perceived parent CM moderated the relationship between child CM and LS (see Table 4.33 & Figure 4.23). When children perceived their parents to have high CM then the relationship between child CM and LS was positive: high child CM related to high LS. The presence of a discrepancy, when high perceived parent CM related with low child CM, brought lower LS.

Table 4.33: Values of CMpp moderating relationship between CM child and LS, mixed origin sub-sample

Values of CMpp	β	SE	p	95% BCa
-.75	-.02	.31	.94	-.65, .60
.75	.59	.16	.00	.27, .91

R^2: 0.12

Figure 4.23: CMpp moderating relationship between CM child and LS, mixed origin subsample
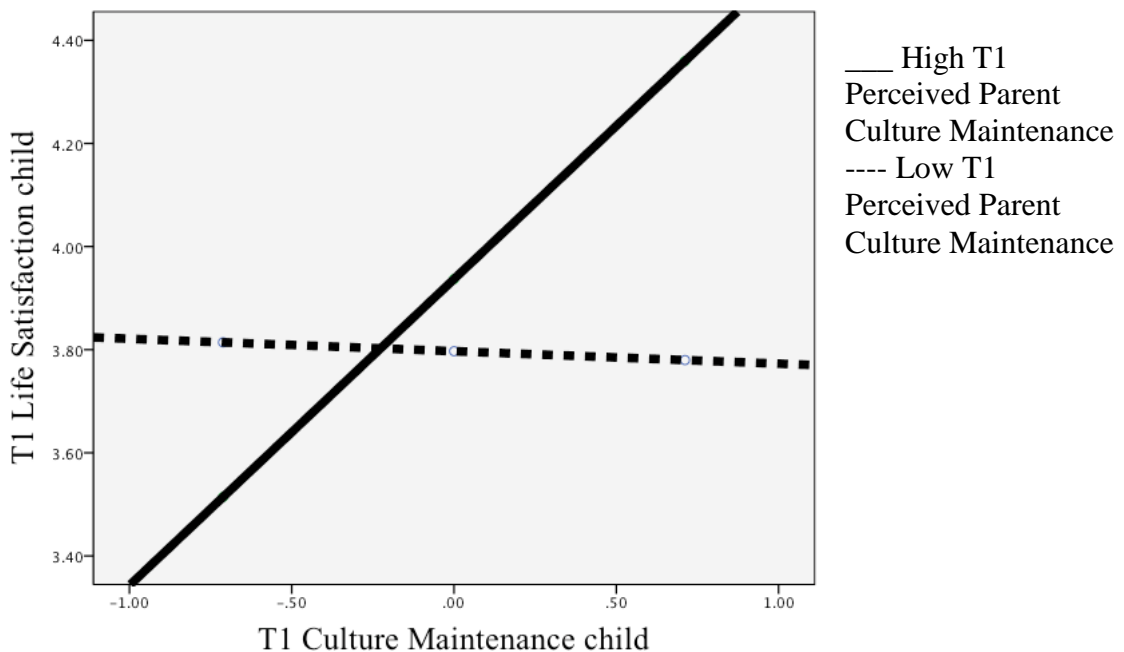
When analysing the possible mediation of SC on the relationship from the interaction in CM to LS at T1 for mixed origin children, I found an indirect effect from the interaction in CM to LS through SC (β=.18, 95%BCa=[.03, .53]). So, for children with mixed origin, their perceived parents' CM related to their LS but in the presence of a positive school climate the parents' CM had less effect. Being surrounded by a school climate that respected their orientation towards CM heightened their LS.

Main findings mixed origin children in Chile

With the "signed difference" method, the presence of a discrepancy in CA (i.e. children less oriented towards CA than what they perceived of parents) had a positive effect on children's life satisfaction. With the "interaction" method, the presence of a discrepancy in CM (i.e. perceived parent CM higher than children CM) related to lower LS.

Discussion

The findings in this chapter inform us that the results were not the same if we used the "signed difference" or "interaction" methods to analyse the effects of perceived or actual parent acculturation preferences on children's well-being. At the same time, the cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis also showed different patterns of relationships.

For immigrant children, the cross-sectional results were different in UK than in Chile. In UK, only the "interaction method" yielded effects of acculturation discrepancies on well-being: if there was a discrepancy in culture adoption practices (in any direction) then self-esteem decreased. For the immigrant children in Chile, using the "signed difference" method in the perceived parents' model, a discrepancy in CM, with children being higher in CM than parents, was positive for children's life satisfaction, while the "interaction" method did not show an effect of discrepancies. In the analysis with the actual parent model, only the difference in CA (child higher CA than parents) had a positive relationship to SE.

Finally, school climate appeared as an important moderator in the relationship between acculturation discrepancy in DC and children well-being. When the school climate was evaluated as good, this took power from the effect of the discrepancy on the children's well-being; but when the school climate was evaluated as not that protective, then the discrepancy emerged an important influence positive or negative on the children's well-being.

So we can see that in the cross sectional analysis with immigrant children, the sources, directions and effects of discrepancies were different in each group of immigrant children: negative relationship of discrepancy in any direction of CA for children resident in UK; a positive relationship of discrepancy with children higher CM; a positive relationship of CA with child having higher CA than actual parents, for children resident in Chile.

It is important to also observe that in the cross-sectional analysis with the three sub-samples in Chile, the majority children's well-being related negatively to the presence of a discrepancy with parents in DC (with children wanting more DC than parents) both with the "signed difference" and "interaction" method. Majority children wanted for immigrant children to have contact with them, and if they perceived their parents not to want this, then their well-being was negatively affected. While the mixed

origin children were positively affected by the difference in CA (children higher CA than parents) using the "signed difference method", and negatively with the discrepancy in CM (parents higher CM than children) using the "interaction method", on their life satisfaction. It seems that for mixed origin children, when they perceived their parents to have more orientation towards CM this improved their LS, but when they have low CM it lowers their LS. This relationship was mediated by the school climate they encountered. It is both their parents' preference to maintain the heritage culture, as being in an environment that accepts them and embraces them, that related to having a high life satisfaction. So, children's well-being, especially life satisfaction, was related to a different acculturation dimension in each group of children: immigrant children positively to a discrepancy in CM; majority children negatively to a discrepancy in DC; and mixed origin children, positively to a discrepancy in CA and negatively to a discrepancy in CM.

In the longitudinal analysis in Study 2 with the immigrant sample using the "signed difference method": although the perceived parent model did not have a good fit, the relationships appeared to go from the acculturation dimensions to future well-being over time, except in the case of CM where it was recursive. In the actual parent model the discrepancies with actual parent scores were significant on two dimensions: discrepancy in CM (child higher CM) related positively to SE; while having higher orientation to CA related to lower life satisfaction over time.

The interaction method showed an even more complex and interesting picture. Several of the relationships over time were recursive or even from well-being to acculturation. In the perceived parent models, DC and CA were generally recursive in their relationship to well-being, while orientation to CM affected well-being over time. In the actual parent models, CM and CA had a recursive relationship with self-esteem, DC was affected by well-being over time.

The effect of the discrepancy in CM in the perceived parent model tells us that children felt better with themselves (and their life in general) over time when they perceived themselves to have more orientation to CM than their parents. Although recursive, it also appears that children benefit from perceiving themselves to have more DC than parents; and are negatively affected no matter what discrepancy they have with culture adoption. Interestingly, the actual parent model with the discrepancy in CA did not show the same pattern. While the discrepancy with their perception of their parents' CA orientation was detrimental for their life satisfaction in any direction; in the case of

discrepancies with their actual parents it appeared to be affected by the pass of time. A discrepancy in CA in any direction was at first related to positive self-esteem, but after 10 months the discrepancy had a negative effect on the children's well-being. If children were higher in CA than parents then it affected negatively their self-esteem, and if children were lower in CA than parents then it affected negatively their life satisfaction. It seems with these results that any discrepancy in CA affects over time a different aspect of children's well-being.

The finding of different effects on well-being of the discrepancies in DC and CA dimensions gives rise to the idea that they were actually relating to different aspects of the relationship with the receiving society. Immigrant children might not have minded to have different preferences with their parents in regard to how much they made contact with majority children, because they actually would do it anyway in school where they were spending most of the time each day. But in regard to culture practices and identity, desiring to want to adopt the culture of the majority group might have been a source of conflict with parents. Children may have considered that in order to interact more appropriately with the majority group, and even be accepted, they required incorporating the receiving culture, but parents might feel that this puts in danger their own cultural ways. This possible scenario is what might have lowered children's self-esteem. The way children handled their preference for CM might buffer their well-being and help in this possible conflict, in the actual parent models the results showed that when children had higher CM that what their parents reported this related to higher self-esteem.

Limitations

In the process of collecting data with children and with parents one of the more complex issues is being able to find a sufficiently large sample of paired parents and children. The main access to parents is through schools, which makes the recruiting of participants in one way easier, because they are all in the same place, and cumbersome, because not only do you have to explain the importance of the study to the parents and children, but also the direction team of the school (sometimes the school board) and the teachers. In both studies, this long process played against the possibility of obtaining a greater sample of children and parents that might have increased the statistical power of

the findings. Nevertheless, I was able to develop two studies in different cultural settings, and end up with a longitudinal study with 81% retention of participants.

In study 1 the perceived parent scales do not have ideal alphas (lower than .70) therefore the findings must be taken with this in consideration. Because the items were worded so as for children to inform what they perceive immigrant children should do, it might be that this did not allow for them to be as consistent with their answers. In considering the findings from this study, the sample size and the issue of them being all from the same school, have to give caution on the generalizability of the results. It was an important sample though, that served as comparison to the larger one in another cultural context and as a way to try out the questionnaires.

In study 2 the longitudinal sample on the mixed origin children and the majority children was not with sufficient power to be presented, which did not allow to see the possible relationships over time for these groups and make comparisons with the immigrant sub-sample. Despite this, the cross-sectional analysis gave some interesting insights that might motivate future research by showing that acculturation discrepancies do relate to the well-being of children with other family origin (majority and mixed) and are worth studying.

The dependent variables included two measures of positive well-being - self-esteem and life satisfaction- , which were based on self-assessed scales answered by the children. Parents and teachers were also asked to fill out the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, Meltzer & Bailey, 1998) in order to have an "external" measure of children's emotional and social well-being, but due to the low participation of teachers and parents this measure was not used in the final analysis. It would be interesting to use other measures, for example linked to children's academic results and both protective and risky behaviours. In order to use a wider variety of dependent variables we would need a larger sample to be able to include them together in the same model and see how they are each influencing and related to. Despite this, I consider that the inclusion of self-esteem and life satisfaction, allowed me to note how they are related differently in many moments to acculturation and that, although correlated, they have different sources of influence.

Conclusion

The main question in this chapter was the relationship of parent-child acculturation discrepancies with children's well-being and if this relationship was mediated by family relations as is stated by the "acculturation gap-distress model".

The results of this chapter leave us with seven main findings.

First, the effect of discrepancies on immigrant children's well-being appeared context and culturally driven (different results in UK and Chilean sample);

Second, in the same cultural context, different family origin (immigrant, non-immigrant, mixed origin) related to a particular acculturative dimension affecting their well-being;

Third, the results obtained with the "signed difference" and "interaction" methods repeated themselves with the majority children but not with the other sub-samples;

Fourth, the results with perceived parent and actual parent models had some differences but also similarities;

Fifth, the relationships longitudinally appeared to be in various models recursive, and not always from acculturation to well-being as in found generally in the literature;

Sixth, the relationship between acculturation discrepancies between children and parents did not always relate to negative effects on children's well-being;

Seventh, contrary to the "acculturation gap-distress model" family relationships did not mediate the effects of acculturation discrepancies to children's positive well-being outcomes.

CHAPTER 5

WHERE ARE MY ROOTS? THE EXPERIENCE OF CHILDREN AND PARENTS WITH IMMIGRANT BACKGROUND IN REGARD TO ACCULTURATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY.

Introduction

As presented in Chapter 2, the mixed method approach refers to a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of collecting and analysing data that seeks to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied (Bryman, 2006). In this thesis, using a questionnaire and analysing that data with a quantitative approach allowed me to find certain patterns in the relationship of the variables under study. However, the topics were circumscribed to the ones I defined as a researcher. In contrast, the use of a semi-structured interview and analysing the data with a qualitative approach gave an opportunity for new topics to emerge and for the participants to indicate the importance of these topics for themselves.

I decided to use semi-structured interviews as a way to have a dialogue with children and parents with immigrant background. This method allows the opportunity of asking about how and why the different processes occur, and also to identify the doubts and contradictions that people encounter in their lived experiences, which does not occur when having to answer a predesigned questionnaire. In the interviews, children with immigrant background provided us with the opportunity to deepen our understanding of the topics already approached in the previous chapters about the acculturation experience of children and the relationship with their parents' experience.

This chapter aims to complement the answers that the quantitative method approach has given to the thesis questions in regard to the relationship between children's acculturation attitudes and their well-being, and parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children's well-being. With these questions in mind, the study was conducted with the objective of understanding the context and reason for children's (and parents) preferences and attentive to possible new concerns or topics in this area.

Method

Participants

Participants were eleven children and adolescents (two males) from Santiago, Chile (9 to 17-years-old) from immigrant and mixed backgrounds. The seven immigrant children were from middle and low socioeconomic (SES) backgrounds, the school they attended and area they lived in determined their SES. All but two attended schools with majority of immigrant pupils. Of the four mixed origin children, three were from high SES and one was from low SES background. Only this last one attended a school with majority of immigrant pupils.

Nine parents of seven of the children participants were also interviewed: a mother and father of two mixed origin children; and the rest (two fathers and five mothers) of immigrant children.

Measures

The interviews looked to understand how children with immigrant background and their parents experienced their lives in Chile, and what were their acculturation and identity preferences. The interview schedule for both children and parents had the following core and follow up (in brackets) questions:

- How did your family come to live in Chile?
    - o (Did you come all together? Why did they come to Chile? How was life in your heritage country?)
- Could you tell me about how has the process of immigration been in Chile?
    - o (How was the process of adaptation? What was more difficult? What was easy? How do you feel about that? Why?)
- Do you consider Chilean and (heritage) cultures similar or different?
    - o (In what are they similar, in what are they different (food, music, traditions, language)? Which do you prefer and why? What culture do you practice at home, at school, in other places? How do you feel about that? Why?)
- Where do you consider yourself to be from?
    - o (Are you open with your national origin or do you feel the need to hide it? Why? Do you consider yourself Chilean? Do you think you will

consider yourself Chilean in the future? How do you feel about that? Do you consider yourself from your parents' heritage nationality? Why?)

- How do you think that immigrants are treated in Chile?
    - o (Are there differences in treatment for different national origins? Why do you think they treat some immigrants negatively? Have you experienced discriminatory situations? How is the situation in school between Chileans and other groups? How do you feel about that?)
- What do you think a new immigrant child in Chile should do about their culture and identity? And, What do you think a child born from immigrant parents in Chile should do about their culture and identity?
    - o (Should they keep their culture? Should they adopt the Chilean culture? Why?)

Only for the children:

- What do you think is your parents' opinion about the topics we discussed?
    - o (How do you think they evaluate the immigration process? Do they prefer the heritage or receiving culture? Where do you think they feel they are from? How do they think immigrants are treated in Chile? Why do you think they have that opinion?).

Procedure

Children and adolescents were approached through the schools that participated in the quantitative longitudinal study. Sets of information letters and consent forms directed to parents were given to the schools so they would distribute them to students that were interested in participating. When a consent form was returned signed by parents, the school notified me and I would interview the child, if they were willing. The final participants were: three children of one of these schools that belonged to class groups that had not taken part in the previous study, and the rest were contacted through my personal networks. I sent information sheets and consent forms to friends and people I knew that worked with immigrant families. When someone was interested they gave me their mobile phone and I would contact them to talk about the research and organize a meeting. Parents received information letters and consent forms; children under 16 were asked for assent; and adolescents 16 and over were asked for consent. Parents and children were invited to participate in the research, but not all parents

finally accepted to be interviewed. Two couples were interviewed together (so seven interviews of parents in total). The interviews were done both in the school and in the homes of the participants. They were audio-recorded with permission of the participants. The average interview time with the children was 21 minutes (between 14 and 34). The average interview time with parents was 42 minutes (between 16 and 75 minutes).

The first part of the conversation with the child was with the objective of establishing rapport: in order to do this we talked about school, activities they had done lately and if they understood why we were having this conversation. In first instance I presented children with open questions, when they answered that they did not know, or just yes or no, I proceeded to use follow-up questions. I was extremely observant of the child's non-verbal communication during the interview. If I noted that they were uncomfortable or concentrating on external noises (if we were at school), I acknowledged this, asked them about it and ended the interview if that is what they wanted. Only in one case (P7) was the interview stopped due to the child being emotional after remembering an aggression he suffered. The mother encouraged him to continue but I preferred to end the interview, sensing the child was not comfortable.

In the quotes presented in this chapter you can see that there is more intervention from my part than is normally the case in qualitative research. This was because the children tended to answer with short sentences and only continued to talk about the topic when I prompted them with questions.

Analysis

Each interview was transcribed verbatim and then read and re-read to familiarize with its content. The software NVivo was used to manage coding of the transcripts. A thematic analysis was carried out, identifying first themes for each child and parent interview separately (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A theme was considered a grouping of ideas that related to a concept that I identified in the interviews. Also, for each interview I wrote a summary of what the participant had expressed. The final themes were the ones that related to the questions answered in this thesis. I took into account the content of what was being said, and left themes that I considered were important even though one participant might have only presented them, as well as themes that appeared in all the interviews. The analysis was done separately by group of participants: immigrant

children, mixed origin children, and parents. It is important to say that the interviews and the analysis were carried out in Spanish. I only translated to English the quotes that were going to be used for this chapter. The translation has the difficulty of trying to convey the meaning of what was said as faithfully as possible, but in order for it to make sense in English, sometimes I rewrote the sentences. Despite my efforts, there might be some content that is lost in translation.

Results

First I will present the immigrant children's experience, then the mixed origin children's accounts, and finally the parents responses. In the quotes: the "R" stands for researcher, and the participants are presented as "P" and a number. The words that are between square brackets [ ] are interjections I made during the participant's speech; the words in ( ) are explanations of what is being said for the reader to understand. I chose the quotes that I considered exemplified the themes I identified in the text. For each quote I include the participant's number, age, gender and country of birth of the child (e.g., P8, 13, Female, Peru).

The themes that emerged from the interviews with children (both immigrant and mixed) were: Immigration process and identity, Relationship with heritage country, and Perceived discrimination (see Table 1). Although the same themes were identified for immigrant and mixed origin children, I chose to present the results by group in order to make the reading easier due to the differences in their experience with each theme.

Table 1: Themes for immigrant and mixed origin children

Theme	Sub-themes
Immigration process and identity	- Process of migration
	- Cultural preferences and Identity
Relationship with heritage country	- Contact
	- Cultural transmission
Perception of discrimination in Chile	- Perceived discrimination.
	- Personal experiences
	- Responses to PD

Immigrant children

Theme 1: Immigration process and identity.

The motives for family migration were generally related to work. In the majority of the immigrant children's families, one of the parents migrated to Chile for better job opportunities and seeking an improvement in the family's financial security. In the majority of the families, children travelled between 6 months and 2 years later to meet with the migrant parent which was generally the mother. In four families, the father was absent from their lives, or had migrated to yet another country. In one case, the family had split, leaving in the heritage country the father with older siblings. For immigrant children, being with the family was the most important outcome of the migration experience; they missed their migrated parent when separated and being together was worth anything that happened.

The dominant impression was that migration was an adult thought process that had to do with improving the welfare and future of the family. They chose Chile because they had heard it had a positive economic situation and because they had friends or family that had already migrated to the country. All the children knew about Chile before migrating. Children indicated the Chilean education system as one of the important benefits of the migration and their parents having better job conditions.

"Over there in Peru my mother worked in a factory, and she got up at 6 in the morning and arrived back like the next day. And my mom worked in asparagus doing that of wrapping and all that, and all day standing up and because of all the years she worked there she is like suffered, like poorly, like now something appeared and also she is tired of working all the days standing of not seating down and earning little. And here like, she earns fine here compared to what she earned over there and she got used to here. She is better off than over there, she has more comfort". (P8, 13, Female, Peru)

The adaptation was described as difficult, in part due to cultural and environmental (i.e. weather and possibility of earthquakes) differences between Chile and their countries of origin. In regard to the process of acculturation, they did not express a profound knowledge of their heritage culture or even the receiving culture, but they did perform cultural practices from both, and in many cases preferred their heritage culture practices. An important number of children were adamant of the importance of sustaining bicultural practices. They were generally emphatic of differentiating their

cultural practices from their identity, stating that independent of the cultural practices they had, their identity was related to their heritage country. In the following paragraphs I will detail the ideas relating to each subtheme.

The process of migration.

The migration process was perceived as positive because of two factors: it had brought the family together again and there appeared to be more possibilities of realising their personal and family dreams in Chile.

As discussed earlier, all the families went through periods of separation during the process of migration, especially of the mother from the children. All the children interviewed, in spite of missing their extended family, expressed their happiness with the reunion with parents, stating that where there mother went they would go, and just being plain happy because they were with her.

"I felt good because I felt excited when I saw my mom again, because my mom went each two years but she wasn't with me (the rest of the time)*, and I was all right but also not all right because I was with my mom on the holiday months but later the rest of the year I was without my mom."* (P6, 12, Female, Argentina)

Even though some children talked about negative issues with adaptation (e.g. living conditions worsened with migration; and experiences of discrimination) they tried to centre the conversation on the benefits they obtained from the migration: better education, and better economic future for their family and themselves.

P9: In education, very well but in regard to life, keeping the home and all that, difficult, because over there we did not have problems with the house, we did not have problems with anything, because we owned our house, but here it is difficult because you have to pay rent, you have to pay electricity, water, everything and suddenly there is no way to do it, with what to pay anything, understand. Then you only have to sacrifice yourself and work a lot so as to get what you need
R:ok, and you feel then that it is worth being here or being there?
P9: it is still worth it because if you analyse the things, you make sacrifices that at the end you notice the fruit that you make but I know that I am studying and all and I know that later after I leave here I will have free education. That is because I will have a scholarship because of my good grades, because of my sacrifices at school and all, I could not get that in my country, because of the issue that the universities you have to pay yes or yes. They are very expensive. (17, Female, Dominican Republic)

Immigrant children described various difficulties they encountered during the process of adaptation, such as, the different ways of doing things in Chile than in their heritage countries; different environmental circumstances from their heritage countries (i.e. weather and earthquakes); and mainly because of language differences. Although the participants interviewed came from Spanish speaking countries, there were various differences in language use (i.e. accent and idioms) that made the process of adaptation cumbersome.

"The adaptation was like very abrupt because no, for example, the food at the beginning was very, no it was not what I wanted, eh, how they spoke, eh, it is complicated. They said a word that I did not understand for example, it happened to me in class they told me a word, I don't know, the teacher would be in front and say a word that I did not understand suddenly and I would write it down in the notebook and arrived home and asked to the people that were there "hey, you know what this means", then they would tell me "yes, it means this". Like I would start by saying the phrase wrong because sometimes I did not understand nothing that they said, [nothing] *because sometimes they came out with words that left me* (puts a face of feeling perplexed)*... I did not know what they said."* (P9, 17, Female, Dominican Republic)

The social network at home was mainly composed of people from the heritage country. The situation at school was varied between participants: those that had experienced discrimination and were in schools with majority immigrants tended not to socialize with Chilean children. It appeared that the intergroup relations were tense and both groups tended to function separately. While the immigrant children that attended schools with majority Chileans, only socialized with them at school.

Not all children talked about their parents' experience of migration when asked about it. Two participants were explicit in stating that parents were happy in Chile and although they preferred their heritage culture they were adapting well. Four participants clearly stated that their mothers wanted to return to the heritage country. Some verbalized it as a desire when they were living a bad experience in Chile or when they were missing the family; while others expressed it as a definitive situation that would occur at some point during the following years. Some of the children considered that their mothers should not go back because their situation was better off in Chile.

P9:my mom lately has preferred to go back. Because of issues that she did not tolerate the separation from the family and all that. She told me that she would like for me to stay here because here I have better things. And that no, I do not know it is like difficult for here to stay here, in part it is good. She has a job, she know she is going to succeed and all that. But it has been difficult for her and she is indecisive. She is between a yes and a no [ok] about staying here.
R: and what would you prefer your mom do? That she stayed or left?
P9: that she stays because I know that if she goes back she is going to have difficulties because of the economic issue. [ok] *She does not have a house there. So, it is complicated.* (17, Female, Dominican Republic)

Cultural preferences and identity.

When talking about differences between Chilean and their heritage cultures, some children immediately spoke of cultural differences while others acknowledged differences only when they were asked specifically about certain cultural practices (i.e. music, food, traditions, and language). When detailing practices such as food, traditions and music, the majority indicated a preference for their heritage practices.

R: for example, you told me that the food is different?
P10: yes
R: and which one do you like more?
P10: ah, obviously the one from my country ((laughs))
R: and for example music?
P10: yes, because over there it's like more Caribbean music, it is more "hyper" (movida) (…) and here it isn't, and also those, here they celebrate a lot of more things, like patriotic festivities, here they feel them more, over there they don't [no?], even if they are more "hyper" (movidos), here they feel things more, (the national festivities) *are more emphasised* (16, Female, Dominican Republic)

The language difference was presented as important because it became a barrier to integration and a source of discrimination and therefore, also a source of identity. Differences in regard to physical appearance were related to being classified as immigrant and particularly as Peruvian by Chileans. Chileans were described to be more tall and white; while the people from the countries they came from were considered shorter and dark skinned. The perceived differences in personality, such as Chileans being more assertive or less friendly, had influenced changes on their own behaviour in their search to adapt to the receiving society.

In the light of the observed cultural differences, we talked about the maintenance of the heritage practices and the incorporation of the receiving culture ones into their repertoire. The heritage culture practices were generally present when surrounded by

family or other people from their heritage country: this could happen both in school (e.g. when the majority of the school population was composed by immigrants) and in their neighbourhood. They also celebrated civic dates of their heritage country and ate mainly food from there at home (e.g., *"I like the Dominican but I have also adapted to the Chilean and all of it has caught my attention, I have practiced the typical dances, the food now I adapt to everything but I have, always, I like my culture."* (P9, 17, Female, Dominican Republic)

The incorporation of Chilean culture practices was a gradual process, generally related to school attendance and social media usage. Chilean food was accepted but not preferred, and other practices such as traditions were liked but not practised.

The adoption of the receiving countries language related to the amount of time they had been in Chile. Children that had lived more time in the country considered themselves to speak more Chilean, although they did not really perceive their own accent, it is what others told them. They still used words from their heritage country while surrounded by co-nationals or family but made a conscious effort to use the corresponding Chilean ones when in other situations. Incorporating Chilean idioms and accent had helped adaptation and had come gradually, while one participant said that she purposely looked for the change to avoid discrimination (e.g., *"that I changed, I had to adapt, so I wasn't different, that is, there wasn't differences between me and the rest"* (P9, 17, Female, Dominican Republic).

When they used Chilean idioms or accent in family contexts they were either jokingly corrected or in some cases parents expressed their disagreement with this new way of talking (e.g., *""sí po"* (expression to say yes)*, when "sí po" comes out,* (she says) *"ay, you are so Chilean, you are Chilean, now you are Chilean" ((laughter)) "si pe" (Peruvian variation) I tell her (...)"* (P8, 13, Female, Peru).

Participants considered that a new immigrant child in Chile should keep his/her own culture and feel identified with the heritage country but incorporate the Chilean practices in order to adapt. Some even mentioned that the child could eventually feel identified with both cultures.

> *P6: They should keep their culture because that way it would be, like that they would not reject where they were born or when they were accepted. They should accept their culture.* (12, Female, Argentina)

P10: I believe that one should adapt to the country one is living in but without forgetting the country one comes from, that one is living in another country doesn't change what one is, [mm] *because even so that I live in Chile does not say that I stopped being Dominican ((laughter)) my Identity Document says it.* (16, Female, Dominican Republic)

Some participants considered that a Chilean child of immigrant parents, on the other hand, was Chilean and therefore should act as Chilean but still know some cultural practices of the heritage culture in order to communicate with parents and family.

R: (…) what do you think a child that is born in Chile and their parents are foreign, should do about what we talked, should they have a Chilean or Peruvian accent?
P5: Chilean
R: Why?
P5: Because their nationality is Chilean
R: Ok, and should they for example learn typical Peruvian words, being their parents Peruvian or it is not necessary?
P5: Yes, because if one goes to Peru and also if someone starts speaking in Peruvian
R: and festivities, should he/she celebrate the Chilean or Peruvian patriotic festivities?
P5: the ones from Chile
R: And the ones from Peru?
P5: Also, because of the parents too (14, Female, Peru)

The majority of the immigrant participants verbalized that they defined themselves as being from their country of birth. It appeared that for them, their ethnic and national identities were merged. But this was not the case for all interviewees, in one case she identified with two foreign countries, the one of her birth and the country of nationality of mother (where she lived part of her life).

R: where do you feel from?
P6: of Peruvian heart
R: Peruvian heart. So when someone asks you where you are from
P6: I say am from Argentina but that I am of Peruvian heart
R: Perfect. And what does Peruvian heart mean?
P6: because of my mom, my dad and all the things, I am, I am Peruvian because I feel very happy of being Peruvian (12, Female, Argentina)

Another participant was emphatic in saying that although she felt herself to be from her home country, she did not feel patriotic. She was angry at the treatment her mother had received at her job and, she felt that the heritage country let them down by not giving them the opportunity to stay there.

R: and what does it mean to not be that patriotic?
P8: I mean that you give yourself for Peru despite everything and I am not so much that way
R: you feel fondness for Peru or not that much?
P8: yes, sometimes ((laughter))
R: ... and in what do you not feel fondness for Peru?
P8: because I don't know, sometimes the economy is very bad and because they are very corrupt over there, sometimes they make so many people work so many hours until late hours at night and they don't pay well.
R: and that makes you feel a bit
P8: angry, yes, see my mom how she worked and they paid her so little, it makes you angry sometimes ((laughter)) (13, Female, Peru)

Three participants expressed their intention to apply for the Chilean nationality if need be but were very clear in saying that this would not make them lose their heritage roots because they were engrained in them. They would always consider themselves from their heritage country even if they could not have a dual nationality.

P9: because I want to enter the armed forces and I want to be part of the Marines [ok] *so I would have to definitely lose my nationality in order to enter*
R: ok, and what is going on emotionally with you in regard to that?
P9: I know it is going to be tough and all, but I know that I will still have my roots and that I will not lose them despite of that, the thing is to take it with you and not what the papers say (17, Female, Dominican Republic)

Some of the participants said they felt somewhat Chilean because they were used to the country and because they had friends there. Only the ones that had been less than two years in the country said that they did not feel Chilean, one of the reasons being that they did not feel welcomed "*Because they don't give me the opportunity of, that is, the Chileans do not give the opportunity to us* (P5, 14, Female, Peru)". While others said that they might feel Chilean at some point but they were not sure. Two children stated they would probably never feel Chilean, because they would always feel from their country, but that did not mean they could not feel positive affect towards the receiving country and have the nationality. Finally, a participant that had experienced discrimination during her adaptation to Chile seemed conflicted in regard to her national identity.

> *P11: I say that I am from Peru and that I have been 4 years here*
> *R: ok, but you did tell me that really you felt more Chilean than Peruvian*
> *P11: yes* [yes?] *yes, because here I know more things than from over there, I studied there but I really did not know anything [ok] of history, nothing (…)*
> *R:and what is more important for you, being Peruvian or Chilean?*
> *P11:eh… no, I don't know* (17, Female, Peru)

The idea transmitted by participants is that national and cultural identities had to do with the place one is born in. There was an emotional link associated with the identity that took, in the majority of the cases, the form of the affective link to a parent with which they had a close relationship, and the affective link to extended family and friends. This link was fed by a constant contact with people from the heritage culture: through visits to the country, social media contact or being surrounded by people from that culture (this source of identity will be further discussed in theme N°3). In the case of the heritage culture they believed that the identity was related to roots, to blood heritage, and was something that was not rational, it did not have to do with decisions but with something you had with you forever.

The acquisition of the receiving culture identity was a long process that related to habituation, to living somewhere and learning more about that place and making it your own by forming emotional bonds. But although they might have incorporated Chilean practices they did not feel less part of their heritage country or culture, it just had to do with adapting to the place one was living in, in order to fit in (e.g., *"I believe that it is inside me that I am Peruvian. And only my way of talking is Chilean."* (P5, 14, Female, Peru)

Only three of the participants spoke of their heritage country with longing and desire to be there, and absolute preference for the culture. The rest that were mainly originally from Peru, talked with positive affect about certain aspects of the culture, showed preference for it but then said that they were used to Chilean practices. Interestingly, in regard to various cultural practices, i.e. music, entertainment in general, clothing, and general behaviours, the children spoke about feeling connected to the more global westernized culture than to the Chilean or heritage cultures.

Theme 2: Relationship with heritage country

Children's relationship with their heritage country was generated by parents' actions that allowed to maintain contact with the family in the heritage country and to

have contact with people from the heritage country through the social network that the family has in the receiving country. Parents also had an important role in transmitting their heritage culture through maintaining traditions at home. Immigrant children interviewed gave evidence that both the contact and the transmission of cultural was limited at home, and this influenced the knowledge they had and their identification with their heritage culture.

Contact with heritage country and family.

Children's identity and their desire to go back home were related to how frequent was their contact with the heritage country and specifically with the family living back in that country. So, more contact with family back home (and even travelling) then more identity with heritage culture and desire to go back.

All of the participants kept contact with their extended family through telephone or social online media. This allowed them to know what was going on with the family back home but also maintained the emotional connection with them. Interestingly, this contact appeared to be motivated mainly by parents.

The visits to the heritage country were rare, mainly because of economic reasons. Migration had allowed them to maintain the basic needs covered for the family in Chile while supporting also the family back home, but it was not enough to afford tickets home. The majority of the participants had not visited the heritage country since their arrival; some have visited once and the least annually. All the children talked about looking forward to visiting their country "*I really want to, I am looking forward of going and hugging everybody and, but it is very difficult*" (economically) (P9, 17, Female, Dominican Republic).

Ten of the participants were categorical in stating that they would not return to live to their heritage country in the present conditions, and "*because I am used to being here*" (P5, 14, Female, Peru). A couple would return if they had the guarantee that their living conditions and opportunities would be the same as in Chile. Two of the participants preferred Chile; they said they were used to it, but were clear in verbalizing that where their mother went they would go. Only one of the participants had doubts in regard to staying in Chile or returning. He was the youngest participant; his heritage identity was very strong and was in the process of making sense of what identity he would construct when he had spent nearly half his life in both places. He said that when

he felt all right in Chile he just wanted to visit his home country, but when he felt bad in Chile then he wanted to stay and live there.

Cultural transmission.

Children's accounts suggested that in the majority of the families there did not seem to be a constant cultural transmission performed by the parents or by a community of people from the heritage culture (e.g., *"sometimes she prepares Peruvian food and sometimes Chilean (…) there are some souvenirs that she brought from Peru nothing more. Not that much"* (P8, 13, Female, Peru)).

Few of the participants acknowledged that parents might not be thrilled that they had lost their accent or the ways of their heritage culture. The majority of the children considered that their parents were content with this. Children were told by parents when they acted in a way that would not be allowed back in the heritage country, but as we will see in the parents' section, they seemed to allow the "unacceptable" behaviour if it helped their children's adaptation.

> *P9: just recently we were talking about that* [ah, yes?] *yes and she said "I never expected that it would be like this", because she notices that I have lost a lot of the things that I lived in Dominican, I am not that Dominican as before, yes, because of the way I speak and the idioms I use that are very Chilean and she said "I hoped that you would be, that you would continue to be that same one, with your same culture and all" and I told here that they are things that happen. So it was complicated.* (17, Female, Dominican Republic)

Interestingly, one of the children with highest identity conflict (i.e., P7) was one where the parents described more cultural transmission in their interview.

Children recognized that parents desired to maintain and transmit their culture but were able to identify the difficulties of achieving this objective.

> *P9: We only have our family and like, you are surrounded by Chileans, so like our culture is lost bit by bit, because my mom is with her boyfriend that is Chilean and like he tries a lot to put in the Chilean culture in the house and all that. Eh, then, it starts getting lost, that I had, but still you gain the fondness of people that you thought you would not have, to have new Friends and all that, then it is like winning and losing in itself, then growing up here is like… it is like a game* [ok] *it is like a game because you give and sometimes they give back to you, it is like giving and taking back* (17, Female, Dominican Republic)

Theme 3: Perception of discrimination in Chile

All participants described perceiving discrimination towards certain immigrant groups in Chile. Although only a few had personal experiences, the mere perception of it had influenced either their own behaviours (e.g. adapting to the receiving culture practices so as to not be identified as immigrant), or identification (e.g. not feeling Chilean because of this discrimination).

Selective discrimination in Chile.

The majority of the participants described the Chilean society as one that discriminated against people because of skin colour (i.e. darker skin colour people), country of origin (i.e. border countries such as Peru, Bolivia and Argentina in comparison to others, or Latin American in comparison to others); and accent (i.e. having an accent that identified the person as belonging to one of the mentioned countries or to a certain part of the country, like the Sierra).

> *P5: Sometimes I go on the bus, no?, with my brother and a lot of Chileans would get on and like I tried to hide because I was afraid that they would do something to me*
> *R: Like they could do something to you, what thing?*
> *P5: Yes, for example, they could insult me, hit me* (14, Female, Peru)

> *"to some only, I see sometimes that they call black to the ones that are dark skinned and sometimes they are only a bit more brown (…) because of the accent, yes, let's see, there is another that, that is, the ones that come from the Sierra talk a bit more "cholito" like that, and they make fun of them sometimes, because in Peru there is another language that is the Quechua. Sometimes I have seen that they laugh"* (P8, 13, Female, Peru)

Interestingly one participant indicated that other Peruvians in Chile sometimes discriminated fellow Peruvians that spoke with a particular accent from the Sierra, *"as they also believe they are Chileans now (and entitled to discriminate)"* (P8, 13, Female, Peru).

Participants also presented the on-going bilateral conflicts between Chile and Peru in regard to sea sovereignty as a source of daily conflicts between classmates.

Personal experience of discrimination.

Not all the participants described having experienced direct discrimination, but all of them knew someone that had. The discrimination was related generally in regard to their use of their heritage accent and idioms. For some children it took the form of insults and physical aggression.

"at the beginning yes because I did not understand some words and like normally the kids from year 4 and 5 like discriminated me and called me Peruvian and all that. (…) and they bothered me saying ugly things, sometimes they pushed me, they tore my school work, but I did not care, I told them off" (P6, 12, Female, Argentina)

R: ok, and that is why your accent, why you do not have a Dominican accent?
P9: no, I lost it because they said many ugly things to me "why do you talk that way if you are now in Chile", " you do not have to talk with that, eh, accent", eh, "I do not like your accent", "you are ugly", they said a lot of things, so like I… (17, Female, Dominican Republic)

For one of the participants, the risk of being discriminated prompted her mother to sign her in to a school that had a majority of immigrant population. Although this reason for selecting a school was not stated by other participants, it could very well be influencing the school selection in other families.

" my uncle lives here with his children and they told (mother) *that, because my cousin has a darker skin colour, that as soon as he arrived they bullied him and my uncle told my mom, he said not to go to that same school and my mom was scared, and then she looked for another school, and she found this school and here the majority are Peruvian and she said "I better put you there because I am afraid they might bully you"* (P8, 13, Female, Peru).

It is noteworthy that they described daily experiences that could point to discrimination, but that they did not perceive them as such: for example, Chilean and immigrant children not interacting in school, having separate groups by nationality in the neighbourhood and the use of jokes in daily interactions related to conflicts between the countries. There were also other sources of conflict, such as, whose gastronomy or football team was better.

Three of the participants that described aggressive discriminatory behaviours against them when they arrived to the country, still feared to be object of similar conducts. Both girls had masked their accent and preferred to use Chilean words in

order to blend in. They hid their origin especially when they identified that the people they were interacting with were against immigrants being in the country (e.g., *"there are people that sometimes say "the foreigners are this, and that, the foreigners here" and I say "I better be quiet ((laughter)) yes because I do not want to express what I feel to that person so I do not have a conflict* [ok] *so then I avoid them"* (17, Female, Dominican Republic)). The boy was still emotionally overwhelmed with the aggressive experience that happened 5 years ago, when he was 4 (e.g., *"they did not tell me anything they kicked me on the back* (he starts crying)*"* (P7, 9, Male, Nicaragua)

Response to perceived discrimination from participants and family.

Only one of the participants, that described experiencing direct discrimination, verbalized that she had felt empowered by her identity *"I always say I am Peruvian. And the one that likes me, likes me, and if not, it's okay"* (P6, 12, Female, Argentina). She also talked about engaging in proactive behaviours like helping other immigrant children so they did not live what she experienced. Finally she considered that one of the key measures to stop discrimination was promoting parenting that fomented respectful and non-discriminatory behaviours. Contrary to the other three children that experienced aggressive discrimination, in this case the bullying that took place was centred in two fellow classmates, and her parent and the school readily confronted it. At the moment of the interview she was attending a new school where she did not perceive discrimination.

The other three cases appeared to have different contexts. In one of them, despite the parent and girl asking for help, the school did not support them. She ended up leaving the school and deciding that to have a more positive experience she had to make the changes herself. For a second participant, the experiences she had at school were resolved in the school and that is why she was still there. But two very violent experiences in the street and in the bus that she experienced with her mother (that were related in detail by her mother) were not resolved and were probably the ones that had influenced her on-going fear of discrimination and her desire to appear Chilean. For the third participant, although the boy that was aggressive had left the school, I could appreciate from the mothers' interview that the integration process and acceptance of diversity in the school was an unresolved process even five years after his incorporation. Children in the school had issues in accepting people with darker skin

colour, with another accent, that used words they did not know and that maybe sometimes eat food they are not familiar with.

Mixed origin children

The themes identified for mixed children were the same as for immigrant children: Immigration process and identity, relationship with heritage country and perceived discrimination in Chile (see Table 1).

Theme 1: Immigration process and identity

Mixed origin children were generally not clear about the immigration process of their family. At the same time, there appeared to be a lack of heritage cultural transmission. Both this factors influenced their lack or minimal identification with the heritage culture of their parents. Knowing the history of the family's national/cultural origin seemed important because it related to having an emotional connection to the heritage country. This emotional connection then related to feeling identified with the heritage country.

The process of migration.

The mixed origin children were not certain about the migration history of the family. Some of them were clear of what was the family's heritage country, while others were unsure, and all of them did not have clear reasons why the migration occurred. It did not appear to be a topic of conversation within the family.

> *"I have heard it because, I don't know, very casually, not because "no, your family is Bolivian because you have Bolivian roots or you have to support Bolivia in something", no, but more casual things like for example that I say, or when I discuss with my mom of politics "no, they do not have to give sea to Bolivia", and my mom says yes "yes, yes they have to give them* (section of) *sea" like "you can't talk bad of Bolivians because they are also your family". But I have no idea of what family she is talking about. She tells me in passing…"* (P1, 15, Female)

The social network of three of the participants was Chilean and they attended schools that had majority Chilean students; while the fourth participant had a Peruvian network and went to a school that had a majority of immigrant population. These circumstances influenced how much contact they had with the heritage culture and how their identity was formed.

Cultural preferences and identity.

Only one of the participants described important differences between Chilean culture and her parents' heritage culture. The other three identified some differences in practices but were not sure about them. The four children did not practice patrimonial customs from their parents' country.

"No, I think that the traditions are different in a patrimonial sense, so to speak, for example in the types of dances and all, in that they are different but like you still listen to the same music, you watch the same things on TV" (P2, 12, Female).

All of them felt connected mainly to a global westernized culture (e.g. mainly from USA), in regard to music, food, clothing and festivities.

"I might be Chilean but I do not either feel identified with the strictly speaking Chilean culture. For example, it is how I feel that, we are studying the history from the Spanish side and the Pre-Columbus side, I think always that in reality who am I to say "the Spanish took or land, took our culture", I say, " it was never my culture, because even though I am Chilean, I was never an indigenous person, I cannot say "I am Mapuche they took my culture", so I might be Chilean but I am not connected to the Chilean culture in itself , I am like, like one finally joins capitalism, all that, and I for example, I do not listen to "Cueca", I listen to music of the globalization, like pop, etc. And I do not eat either "empanadas", I eat pizza, chips, hamburger, like despite being Chilean it is like one, like we are in an era of globalization, like finally we do the same that they do in USA but in a lower level" (P1, 15, Female).

The four participants identified mainly as Chilean, they were born in Chile, they were raised in Chile and it was the country they were more familiar with. *"I feel more Chilean because I have lived all my life here and so I feel more Chilean ((laughter))"* (P3, 15, Male).

The interviewee that had been told by her immigrant parent since she was small that she was also Argentinian, had an emotional connection with this nationality and felt she had a double national identification. This experience also related to having a

positive bond with the family from that origin, and she considered the culture of that country as something positive.

"from when I was small my dad in general and all my family have instilled certain affection for Argentina, because I go to Argentina, I visit my relatives, I go and like they come here, we watch the Argentinian matches, like Argentina has always been present. (…)And I know that my dad always when I was little said, "you are also from Argentina". When I was little and went to school I would say "no, I am Argentinian", for me being Argentinian even though I was not born in the place, for me it was, it has certain importance, I do not know why. Maybe because all my family from my father's side comes from there and my dad always has told me that they are Argentinian and they are immigrants, it is something weird like my father has always told me you are Argentinian." (P1, 15, Female)

The sister of P1 on the other hand, did not tell the same story of having been socialized as being Argentinian. She said that it was her second country due to the fact that her father was born there and she had family there, but she did not feel an emotional connection or the need to speak out when hearing bad things said about people from there.

"That it is like my second country, that is, if they tell me support Chile and what other country will you support in the World cup (football), something like that, Argentina" (P2, 12, Female)

The third participant had an affective link to the family in the heritage country but thought that it was the negativity associated with the Peruvian identity, which might have influenced his lack of identification with it or of actively defending the identity when friends joked about it (e.g., *"if you grow up listening, "Peruvian is bad, Peruvian is bad" then finally you say, "ah, I am Peruvian, maybe I want to stay away from it because I do not want to feel bad, I think"… but it is unconscious because consciously I have never wanted to move away from the Peruvian culture."* (P3, 15, Male)

Interestingly, the participant with Peruvian parents and Peruvian social network identified as bicultural. She also explained that she shifted from one identity and culturally specific behaviour to the other depending on the context and people that surrounded her: (e.g., *"Here there are Peruvian friends and I get together with them, so, their way of speaking, that, it passes on to me, so in those moments I feel like more Peruvian than, but later when I stop speaking that language I become like more Chilean."* (P4, 12, Female).

The identity of parents seemed to be an important source of self-identification for children and also an issue they had questions about. Where was the parent from? If the parent was born in another country but was now interested in the receiving countries' culture: can she be considered from both cultures? And, if the parent decided that he wanted to belong only to the heritage culture even though he had lived all his life surrounded by the receiving country culture: is that something that might bother the child some way? For two of the participants, it seemed that the parents clinging to the heritage identity, when the child did not also identify with that identity, was felt as an emotional tension in the relationship.

> *P2: It is not that it bothers me but, if he decided to live in Chile, mhh…*
> *R: You would like…*
> *P2: For him to, in a way believe he was Chilean, I do not know how to say it, that he felt that Chile is also his country not only Argentina (…)*
> *R: What do you think , let me see, what do you believe he feels for Chile?*
> *P2:…mhhh… I do not know. A country… I do not know.. like.. that is… like my second country is Argentina, that Chile is his second country. That it is like where he lives but that he will always keep the affection for Argentina.* (12, Female)

Theme 2: Relationship with heritage culture

The amount of contact with the heritage culture and the existence (or not) of cultural transmission related directly to how connected and identified the child felt with the heritage identity.

Contact with the heritage culture.

The amount of contact with the heritage country and family of the four mixed origin children was varied and it was closely related to their identification with their heritage culture. The participants that had more experiences of contact with the heritage country or culture felt more identified with it. This contact had been by visiting the heritage country, maintaining contact with family using social media or by being surrounded by a community of people from that country. While the interviewee that felt less identified with the heritage culture was the one that had less of any of these types of contact.

It may therefore be the case that in order to have greater identification with the national/cultural heritage group it is important to have positive and frequent contact with people from that group.

Cultural transmission.

Three interviewees considered that they were not very familiar with the heritage culture, and the main reason being that at home they did not talk about it or practise any traditions. Two of them considered it might be important to know more in order to communicate better with other family members or maybe in the future they might feel the need to know more about their origins: (e.g., *"Because I believe that when I grow up I will understand better, the truth that if all my family comes from over there, I belong also to over there. And then, I believe that one has to know where one comes from. But right now like no, I do not know." (P3, 15, Male).*

One of the interviewees that defined herself as having a bi-identity, considered herself as part of a third global culture.

P1: Yes, it is that finally despite being Chilean or Agentinian or whatever, finally I do not do the typical traditions of those countries, neither do my parents, they do not go and dance "Cueca" or my mother never dances "Cueca". Like despite that, I live connected to another reality
R: To another culture?
P1: Another culture finally, like it is not a Chilean culture or an Argentinian culture, it is my culture that is like the culture of today, that is now in the majority of the world, that has to do with all that is modern, the, I do not know, that is like, it might be that on the 18th of September we turn towards the Chilean culture but equally the rest of the days, it is like we live surrounded by other things, that is it. (15, Female)

Theme 3: Perceived discrimination in Chile

All of the participants considered that there was discrimination in Chile towards people from other countries, especially border and Latin-American countries, one of the main reasons being skin colour and one of the most badly treated immigrants were Peruvians. Only one of the participants considered that in general immigrants were well treated in Chile and if there were jokes about any nationality it was justified because they probably made jokes about Chileans too *"It does not bother me* (jokes about

Argentinians) *because they must tell jokes about us and the same ones we tell… they are jokes, they do not bother me"* (P2, Female).

Interestingly, the only participant that described any personal situation that might resemble discrimination said that it was both from Chileans and Peruvians in Chile. She was discriminated by Chileans, that did not believe she was born in Chile, and were aggressive with her because they thought she was Peruvian; and, Peruvians that knowing she was born in Chile, treated her badly if she used Peruvian idioms: *"that I stop speaking Peruvian, "you are Chilean, do not believe you are Peruvian here, you are nothing of us" something like that."* (P4, 12, Female)

The other two had not experienced personal discrimination but their friends had said negative things about their heritage country, even knowing their relationship to it: one of them said that she defended her heritage and actively disagreed with them, while the other preferred to keep quiet.

"But they actually criticise it a lot, sometimes they say, no, "All Argentinians are, they think they are superior, and they are egocentric" and I told my friend, "ey, my family is Argentinian and they are not egocentric". And she looked at me like "oops" and we discuss a lot with my classmates but it does not influence me, they do not treat me differently because I am Argentinian." (P1, 15, Female)

R: (…) why do you believe you have not said anything?
P3: Because of shame, because when one is surrounded by people that think that being Peruvian is a derogatory thing, I think that you, when you are smaller, you do not go against everybody and say "hey, I am Peruvian so do not say that". That is, because, that is, everybody will tell you what they are saying to the other people.
R: a little fear also?
P3: exactly (15, Male)

Parents

The themes identified in the parent interviews were: Process of adaptation; Cultural differences and identity; Perceived discrimination; and Future. Each is described and illustrated below.

Theme 1: Process of adaptation

Immigrant parents talked about the migration process as difficult but bearable from the moment they had their children with them. The adaptation process was slow for parents and their children, because of cultural differences and issues with identity.

> *"of course as immigrants it is difficult because, as I say, no matter how bad your country is doing, it is your country, your land, your roots and in the only place that you are not an immigrant is in your country and you always miss everything. That you always, for a better future for the family, you always do sacrifices. Even when you have to bled tears and have to leave a lot of things on the side that you do no like from the other country but you still respect them because they are their customs. And you still move forward. As I tell my daughter and brother, we came here to Chile to work for a better future."* (P9, mother, Dominican Republic)

It is interesting how the topics related by parents and their children tended to coincide, not only in regard to their appreciation of Chilean society and the process of adaptation but also in regard to the mutual perception of how the other party was living the process. Children tended to perceive that their parents were not totally happy in Chile but tolerated it (see children section), while parents observed children happy and flourishing (despite the existence of discrimination) with better opportunities in education and for the future.

> *"the truth is that, I speak about here, Chile, that she feels more, more secure here, more happy, more cheerful, more everything, why, because she is with us both, and she knows, and she knows what both of us, what we have accomplished, and she sees those things, then she, for her there is nothing more that to move forward."* (P6, mother, Peru)

Only one of the couples that had been longer in Chile considered that their expectations had been fulfilled, they had jobs and had a good life for their family. Another couple considered that the fulfilment of expectations had been different for each member of the family: the father had completely fulfilled his work expectations;

the mother with some disappointment at the beginning had found a niche where she could fulfil her professional goals; the older son had found in the access to internet a way to communicate his ideas and dreams; while it seemed the youngest (whom I interviewed) was the only one that was not completely convinced that staying in Chile was the best for him.

> *"this transition for (older son) is very important, (older son) he likes more to live here than to go back to Nicaragua, while for (E7) it is more important to go back to Nicaragua. But of course, when we were in, when we went to Nicaragua just a while ago, something that worried him was that if he left and decided to stay there, he would lose his friends* (from Chile).*"* (P7, mother, Nicaragua)

The rest of the parents were not completely satisfied because they had not been able to save all the money they planned to save due to the high cost of living in Chile and therefore had not been able to fulfil their goals.

> *"here I thought about saving everything but I am not accomplishing what I thought out to do (…) I have not been able to save (…) things here are more expensive than in Peru"* (P5, mother, Peru)

One of the main goals that had been fulfilled apparently, at least for the Dominican and Peruvian parents, was the access to a better education for their children and the possibility for them of applying to further education at a university level through scholarships.

Theme 2: Cultural differences and identity

Parents observed the same cultural differences between Chile and their heritage culture, as did their children, in regard to food, accent, use of idioms and music. They also added topics like the different interpretations that existed between the countries of common historical events; the bigger liberty in behaviours allowed to adolescents in Chile; and, the intense way that Chileans celebrated their patriotic festivities in comparison to what was done in their heritage countries. They accepted some Chilean cultural practices in their homes, such as food, music and the celebration of Chilean traditions, but they tried to keep a balance with their own practices (e.g., *"we like more the Peruvian food* [ok] *yes but the Chilean food, we have cooked, we have prepared as I*

tell you, once in a while, but [not many] *generally we always make Peruvian food."*
(P11, mother, Peru)

All the parents identified with their heritage country, they identified as Peruvian, Dominican, or Nicaraguan (e.g., *"I have it in my blood, I have it with me and here even if it has been five years that I am here, they are only five years."* (P9, mother, Dominican Republic).

The majority did not describe making constant or evident efforts to transmit their heritage culture or identity to their children. The ones that hinted at this behaviour related anecdotes that had to do with pointing out to children when they used words that were not appropriate in their heritage country, or if they started using Chilean idioms that parents considered were a bad use of the Spanish language.

> *P7 (mother): I would prefer that they blended a little and that they spoke in a way that, like, was less localized (...) that they resolved things calling them by their name and not for them to say "ay the h. (Chilean slang word that replaces all the rest) is an h. because of the h. that the h. or the h." so ((laughter)) what is that!(...)*
> *P7(father): the use of the "vos"* (you) *also* (in Chile they use "tu") (Nicaragua)

They transmitted a sense of loss of the heritage culture from the part of their children: a loss of their "roots", and parents felt with their hands tied about it. A "lost battle", said one of the parents, in the desire to have their children maintaining that which made them part of their heritage culture. This loss in some cases, like the Dominican or Nicaraguan parents, related to not having a community of co-nationals that they could turn to for the transmission of customs; together with practical limitations, like for example, not having the ingredients to prepare their typical dishes. The Peruvian parents, on the other hand, considered that the children gained by adapting to the receiving society the possibility of not being discriminated because of their origins, but by doing this they inevitably lost their heritage culture.

> *"I think because the majority of the day and their relationships are in a Chilean environment evidently they will learn to speak in that other language ((laughter)) Chilean and therefore well it is inevitable (...) it was never in their plan to separate from their roots ((laughter)) but then, I think that, soon they will abandon what is left of their "Nicaraguanidad"* (their essence of being Nicaraguan) *(...) you cannot find the ingredients* (for food) *anywhere so how can you do, that continuity of the "Nicaraguanidad" if you do not have how (...) I had not thought about that and even so that I had a battle ((laughter)), I feel it lost already* [ah, yes] *like we are already here, and these poor children, these poor children are "Chilenizando"* (in the process of transforming into Chileans) *themselves, when they go back there they will not be Nicaraguans anymore."* (P7, mother, Nicaragua)

But what the majority of parents did not want to relinquish was the national identity of their children. The children might not have spoken with the heritage accent or used their idioms, they might not have behaved as would be expected from a young person in the home country, they might even obtain in the future the Chilean nationality, but they must feel identified with their heritage country. Even if their children stayed to live in Chile, parents considered that they would still be Peruvian, Nicaraguan or Dominican, and the parents would be there to remind them that. And they would be from those countries because they were born there, because their roots are there, their family and their history.

> *" it is fine that he is here in Chile living but he is Peruvian, you understand. If he had been born here, OK he would be Chilean but he is Peruvian (...) of course they have to feel Peruvian (...) I have to tell him that he is Peruvian."* (P5, mother, Peru)

> *" that you adapt to live in the country and the way of being of how they live, take on their culture, you take it, you live it, but your roots, nobody can change that because that is why they are called, your roots."* (P9, mother, Dominican Republic)

> (When children do not want to eat again their typical dish) *"I tell them, "you are losing your "Nicaraguanidad" ((laughter)) that is all, you are losing your roots,* (if that is so) *then do not eat it".* (P7, mother, Nicaragua)

> *" well it is what I always tell my daughter, I always tell her, wherever she is, her heart must always be from where one is born* [mm] *well she has that idea* (to have the Chilean nationality) [mm] *but what she does tell me is that if she changes her ways because of school* [ok] *nothing more to do, but one has to be from, that is, where one comes from."* (P11, mother, Peru)

The social network of the parents varied in each family: the Peruvian families, because of the greater migration from that country, were generally surrounded by Peruvians, and many times had some extended family in Chile. The Dominicans and Nicaraguans did not have a large community of co-nationals so they relied on some extended family, other immigrants or Chileans that were sympathetic to their situation of immigration as sources of social support.

Theme 3: Perceived discrimination

Discrimination was described as a daily issue for immigrants especially from border countries and darker skinned people. The discrimination towards Peruvians was mentioned as constant, and disturbing. An Ecuadorian father and a Dominican mother

said that they both had been confused for Peruvians and have been badly treated because of that. When their correct nationality was known, the discrimination ended.

One of the Peruvian mothers described two very aggressive discriminatory experiences directly related to her nationality that she had with her daughter in public spaces. These experiences were years ago but they were recounted with high emotional distress. In one of them she was able to answer in some way to the man that insulted and run after them aggressively. In the other, she did not respond to a person speaking badly of Peruvians in front of her for fear of receiving a direct aggression. It is important to note also that in neither of these experiences any other person that was observing them helped them. They were also "identified" as Peruvian by their physical appearance, so there appeared to be no way to hide.

> *" so my daughter and I were walking through and one of the vendors eh, comes out and says "go, go, go that way you Peruvians" he told us and then he said "ok, get away from here, leave, leave" and then I looked at him and said "why is this your place?". And he said, "yes it is my place, it is my country", he said, " it is my country you (swear word) Peruvian", I am sorry, he called me that. And I came out and said, "you know what eat your, your, your, your place" and I left with my daughter. We were eating ice cream and he was, running behind us [ok] he was following us shouting, so then I come out and, I did it with a lot of anger because he was insulting us, saying things, so then I came out and threw the ice-cream in his face (…) "(swear word) Peruvian (swear word) go to your country, leave".*
> (… talking about the other experience in a bus) *"she looked at me and said 'do you see all these (swear word) that are here? They come to steal the jobs from Chileans, they come to steal our jobs' she says* (and the aggressive dialogue continued until she left the bus because she could not take it anymore)" (P11, mother, Peru)

Parents stated that there was high level of racism in Chile (e.g.,*" because the Chilean is racist, they believe that they have more than the Peruvian, they treat one like that, I do not know, humiliate you"* (P5, mother, Peru). Some parents said it had to do with historic disputes with the countries, but that did not explain the discrimination against darker skinned people from far away countries that others talked about. It also had to do with unfamiliarity and discrimination towards what was new and different. That is why one of the parents approached this at school by talking with the classmates of her son about their country, traditions, skin colour and other subjects they were curious about. Some parents said that the discrimination had to do with Chileans believing that immigrants come and steal their jobs.

The majority of the parents interviewed expressed that they spoke out against discrimination towards themselves or when they participated in conversations were people spoke badly about immigrants they would argument against this behaviour.

> (others tell her)*"you arrived without shoes and now you walk around with leather shoes",* (she answers)*"indeed, so you see how smart I am, I already use shoes, and you go around with plastic ones and I use leather. What a difference right?"* (P6, mother, Peru)

It seemed though that a combination of what was their nationality and how assertive they were (or not) related to this practice: parents that appeared shyer and that came from Peru, tended to be less assertive and tried not to be noticed to avoid discriminatory behaviours from others. The parents' attitude and behaviour towards discrimination matched what their children described about themselves. Except in the case of the smallest child interviewed, were he seemed rather overwhelmed by the discrimination he suffered nearly five years ago, but this might have to do with his age, he is just nine years old, while the rest of the participants are adolescents.

The relationship between the perception of discrimination and identification with the heritage country was present in some of the interviews. One of the fathers' identity had been constructed, he believed, by the way he clung to his identity in the face of discrimination: *"there was a time in which they hated us, they hated Argentinians in Chile, it was envy and hatred, now there is more acceptance, but I had moments in my childhood where being Argentinian was, I was insulted, it was cause of troubles. So I feel the Chileans pushed me towards feeling Argentinian. It put me in a defensive stance: I am Argentinian, so?"* (P1 & P2, Argentina).

Theme 4: Future

In regard to the future, only two couples were very clear that they are settled down in Chile and would stay indefinitely in the country. The rest did not have clarity about their future. Three of the families were both in the process of saving enough money for future projects whilst concentrated in giving their children the best education. All of these parents talked about eventually going back home to Peru or Dominican, that were considered "home" and the place to live their last years of life. One family was in a particular situation of indecision between staying to give stability to the children because they have been in another country before and going back to their heritage

country. It was interesting when we reflected together that maybe it was this undecided situation that might be causing some issues with the youngest identity conflict and unease about being in Chile.

In this last family it was interesting to talk with the parents about how the different experiences that both their sons appeared to be having from their perception had to do both with their ages and personality but also with different life experiences that they had had. The oldest one lived in Nicaragua mainly with the parents in charge of his rearing until they left for USA for four years; while the youngest one grew up in Nicaragua mainly with his parents and extended family before they left for Chile. So we concluded that the youngest had arguably a more profound connection with his extended family and cultural roots and therefore was suffering more with the identity issues.

Discussion

In these interviews we saw that the identification of children with their heritage country or culture seemed to relate to: the direct experiences they had with the heritage culture; the ways their parents have transmitted (or not) the heritage culture; the existence of an emotional bond to it; and, the cultural origin of the network of people that have surrounded their development.

Even in the context of acculturation that the interviewees were surrounded by (i.e., two cultures/nationalities that had common origins, and important similarities such as basic language or belonging to the same colonialized region) differences were perceived between the receiving and heritage cultures. This was also found in the results of study 2, presented in chapters' 3 and 4, that immigrant and mixed origin children in Chile from Latin American countries, were able to define cultural preferences distinguishing the heritage from the receiving culture. These differences appeared to affect children's adaptation and national identification.

Not all the cultural practices appeared relevant to children's identification, maybe because in regard to music and clothing, several of the children described a globalized/diverse taste, or more specifically an English language/USA centred culture they adhered to.

There are other everyday activities such as food preparation that had a more direct influence on adaptation and national identification. Some immigrant parents interviewed did not have access to all the ingredients they needed to prepare the food from their culture, and this had a major effect on the transmission of their culture to their children and also to the sense of yearning that immigrants might feel for their country. Ten years ago this was an issue for Peruvians in Chile, now it is not so important because several of the ingredients (not all) can be found in Chilean markets. While the immigrants from Nicaragua or Dominican Republic did not find the ingredients and it could become an issue within the family, it created a daily tension related to well-being but also national identification. Another everyday activity was language use, the accent and use of idioms that were not maintained by children in their daily interaction mainly with majority children, majority teachers and sometimes other immigrant children but not necessarily from their own country. So the heritage way of speaking Spanish gradually disappeared, because of its disuse but also sometimes purposely when children preferred to not give away their origin in order to avoid

discrimination and adapt easier. Parents said in the interviews that they did not expect their children to keep the heritage accent but, that they did mind that their children started speaking Spanish the "Chilean way" (i.e., missing out the "s" at the end of the words, and using a word that is used in Chile to replace all nouns, adjectives, and verbs). It is important to note that in the quantitative study (results in chapter 4) the discrepancies with parents in acculturation related to children's well-being, sometimes positively and sometimes negatively. In the interviews, both children and parents told a history that appeared unburdened of parent-child acculturation discrepancies. They were able to detect that there were differences in regard to cultural practices between adults and children, generally related to parents being more concerned in maintaining the heritage culture. But both parents and children appeared interested in children's adoption of the receiving culture, as a way to integrate to the receiving society and also avoid discrimination.

The relationship between cultural/national identification and perceived discrimination was not straightforward. For a child with a strong identity, the presence of discrimination might strengthen the identity but this does not imply that the child will be outspoken about it. The child might not feel strong enough to admit it in front of others because that would imply having to defend herself, there is fear of being attacked; while another child might feel secure enough as to defend herself publicly. In these interviews, when the immigrant child did not have a strong identity it seemed that the presence of discrimination, especially in the case of very derogatory associations towards the heritage identity, debilitated the identity or at least the child felt the need to keep it well hidden, and preferred to embrace the receiving culture or a "global" one. It seems that this occurred both for an immigrant as for mixed origin children. The important difference being that it seemed to me that for the mixed origin children, the exercise of leaving the heritage identity hidden or forgotten had less of an emotional burden or cost than for the immigrant children.

If we look at the family units, we observe that when parents lived their national/cultural identity more emotionally, and use words relating to it as "heart", or "in the blood", then their children also had that same intense bond to their heritage culture. These were mainly the families from Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. But of course this is not a straightforward one way relationship. Other influences appeared to influence the heritage identification: the contact they had with the heritage country, the contact with the extended family both in the heritage and the receiving country, the

actual practice (or not) of heritage traditions at home, and the presence or not of discrimination towards their identity at school or in the society. From these interviews we can hypothesize that the socialization of parents in regard to the heritage culture was an essential base for the formation of the national/cultural identity of the children. The presence of extended family or a heritage community, be it in the receiving country or with a constant contact through social media with the family in the heritage country, served to strengthen that identity, which then in the presence of discrimination could solidify or weaken.

The impression left from the parents' interviews is that it was not the contact and knowledge of the culture on its own that related to children feeling identified with their heritage culture, but the transmission that the parent delivered, together with the way that identity was treated in the receiving society and the network the child was immersed in.

Limitations

I consider there is space for improvement in the methodology I applied to collect this data. First of all, it is interesting to reflect on how I presented myself to the participants. I just said where I studied and worked, but I did not say anything about my origins. I made this decision because I thought this was a more "objective" way to approach the interview, with the participants not knowing about my personal history. The combination of my physical appearance (skin colour and height), and my way of speaking (Chilean accent) could give the impression that I was Chilean: would the answers have been different if they had known my history as an immigrant child? On one side, maybe they could have felt understood and maybe more comfortable to say things that troubled them, but also they could have felt that I had lived through the same so they really did not have to explain anything to me. Most of the participants, when I debriefed them at the end and told them that I had been an immigrant child, appeared to have been prompted to speak more about their own experience.

Some of the participants were interviewed in a room at the school that although private, was just beside a road with traffic which made it difficult to hear the participant at some times or made us speak loudly, creating some tension in the dialogue. It was the only room available but it seems that a more appropriate space could have made the process of rapport easier.

It would have been ideal to interview all the parents, so as to observe how the experience of parents had influenced on the experience of each child. Then I could have analysed each family as a unit. As this was not possible with all the children, I endeavoured to do this in the analysis with the children and parents of the same family that did participate in the study.

In regard to the method used in the children's interviews, I consider that it would be important also to include other forms of data collection that use art techniques (i.e., taking pictures, drawing, writing a story), that might make the experience more accessible for children, easier to create the rapport, less uncomfortable and - why not? - more entertaining (Greene & Hogan, 2005).

Finally, the information collected with the interviews cannot be generalized to all immigrant children, not even to immigrant children and families in Chile, because it is obviously not a representative sample of the immigrants in that country. Despite this, there seemed to be a common pattern in several of the interviews that points to shared experiences in the acculturation process in Chile. It is also important to remember, that the objective of a qualitative study is not to unveil the "reality" of a "unique" experience of acculturation but to get to know how the participants make sense of this experience and, with this, come closer to understanding it.

Despite these limitations I consider that I was able to interview a diverse group of immigrant and mixed origin children, from various segments of Chilean society, from several nationalities, from a wide range of ages, and the majority of the parents, that allowed me to have a rich set of data that can give further insights in to how children with immigrant background and their parents' shape their identity and live the process of migration.

CHAPTER 6

OVERALL DISCUSSION

This thesis sought to answer two main questions. The first was in regard to the relationship between children's acculturation preferences and their well-being in two different receiving contexts, UK and Chile. Findings in this area have reached a certain point of consensus: "integration" and "bicultural" orientations seem the preferred acculturation attitude chosen by immigrants and, in many societies, by the majority (Berry et al., 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012). These preferences also relate to positive psychological and sociocultural adaptation, as well as positive intergroup relations. Despite these findings, there are critical readings that have been made of the methods used and the conclusions arrived at with them (Rudmin, 2003). The objective in this thesis was to assess if the similar tendencies were found in these two samples, taking into consideration the main criticisms that have been made.

The second question of the thesis was if and how parent-child acculturation discrepancies related to children's well-being in these two contexts, concurrently and over time. The research in the area presents mixed findings that greatly depend on the methods used to measure acculturation and the discrepancies (Lui, 2015; Tezler, 2010). The majority of the studies use the "absolute difference method" to calculate the discrepancies, and generally tend to find that the discrepancies are negative for adolescents' adaptation. While another group of studies that use other methods such as "match-mismatch method", "signed difference method" and "interaction method", find that there is not a consistent pattern in the relationship between acculturation discrepancies and adolescent adaptation. The objective, then, was to evaluate how parent-child acculturation discrepancies related to children's well-being in two different cultural receiving contexts and using two methods of measuring discrepancies: "signed difference" and "interaction" methods.

In the following sections I will present the main findings that answer the questions of the thesis, and a consideration of the methodology used. Then I will present the main limitations of the studies undertaken to answer these questions. Finally, I will present how these findings have policy and practical implications and suggestions for future research in this area.

Acculturation preferences of children and their well-being

The research on acculturation processes is generally conducted between groups that have a large cultural distance between them. So, studies in USA, for example, are about Latin American or Asian immigrants, and not about European or even Canadian immigrants. An important addition to the literature with this thesis is giving evidence that acculturation processes also occur between groups that do not have great culture distance (i.e., Latin Americans in Chile), and that they still have an effect on children's well-being. Children were able to identify cultural differences and adaptations they had to go through in regard to practices (i.e., food, traditions), language use (i.e., idioms and accent) and confirmation of their identity. These adaptations and choices had effects on their life satisfaction and self-esteem.

As was expected based on previous research in the area, the preferred acculturation attitude for children, both in the UK and Chilean sample, was "integration" (i.e., high in culture maintenance and high in desire for contact) or "bicultural" (i.e., high in culture maintenance and culture adoption) (Berry et al., 2006; Brown & Zagefka, 2011). This preference was related to more positive well-being, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally (Schwartz et al., 2015).

There were interesting differences worth mentioning. In the UK sample, the "integration" attitude was formed of CM practices and desire for contact; while the "bicultural" attitude was formed of CM and CA identity. While in the Chilean sample, for the non-immigrant children, both Chilean origin and mixed origin sub-samples, the "integration" ("multiculturalism" for majority) attitude was positively related to life satisfaction but not self-esteem.

The positive value of an "integration" and "bicultural" approach to adapting to life in Chile was corroborated in the interviews with immigrant children. This acculturative approach took into consideration their sense of belonging to their heritage nationality and culture while allowing them to incorporate the practices and language that allowed them to be accepted in the receiving society. Interestingly, their culture identity did not appear clearly as a domain that could be "bicultural", or at least, in equal measures heritage and receiving culture identity. The majority of the immigrant children interviewed had a clear preference for their heritage identity. So, they mentioned the possibility of adopting practices and language but not the receiving culture identity. This finding probably has to do with the fact that the majority of the

children had recently migrated, maximum of five years prior to the interview, and they all perceived discrimination directed towards immigrants in Chile.

Although the findings indicate a positive effect of "integration" or "bicultural" preferences on children's well-being, it is difficult to ensure that the attitudes they are enunciating will end up as real behaviours. The interviews with immigrant and mixed origin children allowed a more complex picture to emerge of other elements that take place in the acculturation process. The majority of the children were able to identify the usefulness of having high orientation towards both cultures, but were constrained in practice by their accessibility to either culture. For example, they valued the importance of knowing practices and language of their heritage culture but also recognized that they did not have fluent access to that culture in the receiving country. At the same time, they considered it important to learn customs from the receiving culture, but co-nationals from their heritage country mainly constitute their social network. And, their possibility of feeling completely integrated into the receiving society is diminished when they are identified as foreigners by their physical features or skin colour. Therefore, it appears that, even though I cannot assure that they are able to put into practice their "integration" attitude, it seems that the mere intention of preferring this acculturation orientation has positive effects on their well-being. It would be interesting to study if these intentions that exist in youth have different effects on their well-being depending on their possibility of putting them into practice.

There were two relationships over time that went from well-being to acculturation. Immigrant children's self-esteem in Chile had a positive effect over time on their desire for contact and culture adoption. This interesting finding tells us that it is important to consider promoting positive self-esteem in immigrant children. When they felt better with themselves they were more inclined to want to adopt the receiving culture and have contact with the majority. This finding is important for acculturation theory to consider because traditionally acculturation research assumes that acculturation attitudes cause well-being. Yet, these longitudinal results show that the reverse is also sometimes true.

Partial evidence was found for the rejection-identification model in both cross-sectional studies (Branscombe et al., 1999). Perceived discrimination interacted with culture maintenance in a way that CM "buffered" the effect of perceived discrimination on self-esteem: with high CM the PD-SE relationship was significantly weaker than with low CM. So, although high culture maintenance did not reverse the effect of

perceived discrimination, it did serve as a buffer to ameliorate its negative effect, and its absence was clearly detrimental for children's self-esteem. So, not only is it beneficial for immigrant children to be "bicultural", but it also is important for them to have high culture maintenance on its own. Importantly, none of the other social variables measured, i.e., peer acceptance, family relations and school climate, moderated the relationship between children's acculturation preferences and well-being. Although they did relate positively to well-being on their own.

I did not find social variables mediating the relationship between acculturation and well-being in the UK sample. While, in the Chilean sample, immigrant children's culture maintenance related to their self-esteem through peer acceptance; to their life satisfaction through peer acceptance and school climate; and their desire for contact related to their life satisfaction through peer acceptance and school climate. So, for immigrant children in Chile, the positive reception and acceptance perceived in the school environment serves as a "filter" of the impact their acculturation preferences has on their well-being. An environment that makes them feel accepted and protected allows them to express their cultural preferences, mainly related to an "integration" attitude, and therefore to feel better with themselves and their lives in general.

The wider social environment also has a fundamental role in immigrant's positive adaptation. The literature in acculturation clearly states that in order for the "integration" acculturation approach to have a positive effect for immigrants it needs to be in a society that has certain characteristics: "the widespread acceptance of the value to a society of cultural diversity (i.e., the presence of a positive "multicultural ideology"); relatively low levels of prejudice (i.e., minimal ethnocentrism, racism and discrimination); positive mutual attitudes among cultural groups (i.e., no specific intergroup hatreds); and a sense of attachment to, or identification with, the larger society by all groups" (Berry, 1997, p. 11). These characteristics appear to be present in the British society, but they are not present in the Chilean society (Chiarello, 2013; Correa, 2011; Pavez, 2012; Soto, 2010; Thayer, Eduardo, Gabriela & Avalos, 2013; Tijoux-Merino, 2013). Despite this, in this study we can see that Chilean majority children do have a preference for a "multiculturalism" acculturation attitude for immigrants, while immigrants have an "integration" attitude. These findings should be positive for intergroup relations in Chile, if we are to follow Bourhis et al. (2009) and Piontkowski et al. (2000) who both underline the value of having concordant acculturation attitudes between majority and minority groups in society. Therefore,

although there is a high level of discrimination, low value of cultural diversity, and a great need to differentiate between ethnic groups, there is some positive contextual framework for the "multiculturalism" ideology and policy to flourish (Sirlopu & van Oudenhoven, 2013).

We can conclude that the relationship between the acculturation preferences and children's well-being is similar in both receiving countries. Children's preference for an "integration"/"bicultural" acculturation approach is positive for their well-being concurrently and over time. The relationships are generally from the acculturation preference to well-being. It is children's high self-esteem that appears to be an important predictor of their desire for contact with the majority and their desire to adopt the receiving culture. Finally, a low desire for culture maintenance is negative for children's self-esteem when in the presence of high perception of discrimination.

Parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children well-being

The findings in this thesis show no definitive pattern in the relationship between parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children's well-being. The only clear pattern is that the absence of discrepancy, especially in the case of both parent and child being highly oriented to the acculturation dimension (i.e., CM, CA or DC), was related to positive well-being (Ho & Birman, 2010). As with the longitudinal relationship between child acculturation attitudes and well-being, several of the relationships between parent-child acculturation discrepancies and well-being were recursive (there were only exceptions in certain relationships with parent-child discrepancies in orientation towards CM).

Children with immigrant background that were born in the receiving country (i.e., UK sample and mixed origin sub-sample in Chile) appear to be affected by the discrepancy with their parents in culture adoption. But the way it affects them differs. In the case of the UK sample, any direction of the discrepancy relates negatively to their self-esteem; while for the mixed origin children in Chile, when they perceive their parents to be higher in their orientation towards culture adoption than themselves, it relates positively to their life satisfaction. In UK, the children of immigrants, even when they have British nationality, are considered second generation immigrants and the sample that participated belonged to heritage cultures with great cultural distance to the British culture. Therefore the conflict with their parents in regard to how much they

must or not adopt the British culture appears to be important. While in the mixed origin children in Chile, they are considered legally Chilean and because the culture distance is smaller, they can adopt the new culture with less conflict. At the same time, in the interviews conducted in Chile with children and parents of this mixed group, no conflict appeared in regard to discrepancies in any dimension. Children were considered mainly Chilean by their parents and by themselves, therefore it is expected that high culture adoption from parents would have a positive effect on well-being.

Interestingly, in the other two sub-samples in the Chilean study, immigrant children's higher orientation towards culture maintenance than what they perceived of their parents was positively related to their life satisfaction; while majority children's higher desire for contact than their perception of their parents, was negative for their life satisfaction. So, the cross-sectional analysis using the "signed difference method" showed that parent-child discrepancies in each acculturation dimension related to a different group of children, which might indicate the importance that that dimension of acculturation has for each particular group.

It appeared that, as found in the literature (Tezler, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2015) parent-child discrepancies in culture maintenance affected immigrant children's well-being more than the discrepancies in other acculturation dimensions. This occurs mainly with perceived parent models cross-sectionally and longitudinally. In the case of actual parent models it appeared using the "signed difference method" only. The consistent finding is that when children are higher in their orientation to CM than parents then their well-being is higher, while when they are lower it is negatively affected. Interestingly, the interviews with immigrant children and their parents did not dwell upon parent-child discrepancies in general as being a source of conflict in the family or as having negative implications for children's well-being. It seemed that the only possible source of conflict, in the future, would be in regard to the possibility of children leaving their heritage identity behind in favour of the majority one.

A complex finding that is important to highlight is the discrepancy in culture adoption with actual parent data. Although the relationship was recursive, and the slopes of the interactions were not significant, the effects of the interactions on well-being had two interesting issues to discuss. First, any direction of parent-child discrepancies in CA from T1 to T2 had positive effects on SE; while from T1 to T3 the effects were negative. This might indicate that a discrepancy in how much parents or children are oriented towards adopting the receiving culture becomes detrimental to

well-being with the passage of time (and maybe the increase in conflicts with parents in regard to this acculturative dimension). The second issue is that the effect from T1 to T3 was different for SE and LS. When parents were less oriented towards culture adoption (T1) and children were highly oriented to it (T1) then this affected their self-esteem negatively (T3); but when parents were highly oriented to CA(T1), and children were less oriented to it (T1), then children's life satisfaction was lower (T3). This last finding, in regard to CA and LS, also appeared in the perceived parent model. If these results are valid, then this might put parents in a conundrum: do they strengthen SE or LS? The best combination for culture adoption for both self-esteem and life satisfaction, is again if both parent and child are highly oriented towards culture adoption. If this is not the case, then it would be my suggestion, that the combination of parents being high and children being low in culture adoption is to be preferred. Although it relates to lower life satisfaction, it also relates to higher self-esteem, which we have found before appears to have a positive effect in increasing the orientation towards culture adoption over time. It could be valuable to talk about this topic with immigrant parents: their expectations of their children's adaptation process and the necessity for them to consider their children's personal orientations in regard to their own process of acculturation. In the interviews, children appeared generally open to adopt the receiving culture, and parents understanding of the necessity for this to happen, but maybe over time, some parents might pressure their children to adopt more receiving culture than they are ready to (relating to less LS) or question the adoption of some of the practices that children might be keen in adopting (relating to less self-esteem).

I did not find that family relations mediated the relationship between acculturation discrepancies and child psychological adaptation as is posited by the "acculturation-gap distress model" and confirmed by recent studies (Schwartz et al., 2015). I did find however that family relations was an important predictor of child well-being cross-sectionally (Srivastava, 2012) and that they had a recursive relationship longitudinally.

Interestingly, school climate served as a buffer for children's self-esteem in the presence of discrepancy in desire for contact with parents (i.e., cross-sectional perceived parent model). When the school climate was positive, then the existence of a parent-child discrepancy did not affect children, while when the school climate was valued negatively, then the presence of a parent-child discrepancy was detrimental for their self-esteem.

I can conclude that there was no clear pattern in the relationship between parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children well-being, except that a high orientation to any acculturation dimension from both related to positive well-being for children. I found a direct relationship between the parent-child acculturation discrepancies and well-being that was not mediated by family relations, although family relations was in itself related to well-being. Finally, the importance of a positive school climate was suggested, albeit concurrently, as a source of children's self-esteem enhancement independent of the presence of a discrepancy in acculturation with parents.

Methodological issues

The acculturation dimensions do not always appear orthogonal in this study. In the UK sample, the acculturation dimensions are not correlated and therefore can be treated as orthogonal. In the Chilean sample, they had low and positive correlations for immigrant children; for Chilean children their correlations were moderate; while for mixed origin children they were moderate to high. This means that in certain contexts and with certain groups the decision in regard to one acculturation preference relates to the other preference. So, in the case of mixed origin children in Chile, if they prefer to adopt the receiving culture it will relate to also a preference for maintaining their heritage culture. A possible explanation for this is that in the context of acculturation between two groups that have less culture distance, the acculturation dimensions are more intertwined with each other. Theoretically this finding is not in accordance with Berry's acculturation model that assumes the acculturation dimensions to be orthogonal. Berry's model was born from the need to conceptualise acculturation in a way that opposed the uni-dimensional one that was prevalent at the time, and that assumed that the orientation to one culture presupposed the withdrawal from the other. In this situation, a bi-dimensional model that assumed the acculturation dimensions to be independent allowed for immigrants to "combine" their orientation towards each culture as they wished. Methodologically the moderate to high inter-correlations between the dimensions in this study should not jeopardise the analysis since multicollinearity was not an issue.

It appears relevant to measure different life domains of the acculturation dimensions. For that reason I included in the culture maintenance and culture adoption scales, items in relation to practices, language and identity. In the UK sample, this

differentiation in domains related to different outcomes. The acculturation approach of "integration" was formed by culture maintenance practices when combined with desire for contact; and identity when combined with culture adoption (i.e., "bicultural"). While, in preliminary analysis not reported in this thesis in the Chilean sample, it was possible to observe that it was not always the three domains that had a significant effect on well-being. These results were not presented because it was considered also important to use measures that were more adequately constructed to achieve this analysis. Mainly in regard to using more than one item for each domain, because in the scales used in this thesis, language and identity had only one item for each domain.

Ethnic or national identity were measured as a domain of acculturation and also as a self-identification that participants later evaluated its significance for them. This second measure did not relate to their well-being. Interestingly, Phinney et al. (2001) with a more comprehensive measure of ethnic identity found that it predicted self-esteem but explained little of its variance. While in this thesis, their identity as a life domain in the acculturation process did relate to their well-being (i.e., as part of the whole culture maintenance and culture adoption scales but also in the preliminary analyses not reported and mentioned before). The importance of analysing in detail the identity aspect of acculturation relates to findings in the literature that distinguish between adoption of practices versus maintenance of identity: "Immigrants may easily adopt the language, the dress code, and the working habits of the new country and even love the new food – all the external trappings of 'culture' – but they may still identify strongly with their nation of origin" (van Oudenhoven, Ward & Masgoret, 2006, p. 647). This difference appears in this thesis in the interviews conducted where most participants, although they express their acculturative preference for "integration", identify with their heritage nationality: they accept and adopt the receiving culture but not the identity.

In this thesis I used two psychological constructs to represent well-being, life satisfaction and self-esteem. These are generally used as individual proxies of well-being and as referring to the same underlying constructs. Findings in this thesis show that this is not necessarily so. Although in study 1 both scales are highly correlated, in study 2 they are moderately correlated, and no issues with multicollinearity were found. Sometimes the relationship with acculturation dimensions was with life satisfaction and sometimes with self-esteem. This has to do with how they relate to different aspects of children's well-being: self-esteem, in regard to how the child evaluates him or herself as

a person, and life satisfaction, to how they cognitively evaluate their life in general. Although there was no clear pattern of which acculturation dimension (or in which direction) related to SE or LS, there appeared nonetheless a tendency that CA related more to SE and DC to LS. As has been noted before in this thesis, a possible explanation might be that CA appears to relate to aspects nearer to identity and self-image issues; while DC relates to intergroup relationship and "social" aspects of a person's life.

An important discussion in this thesis is in regard to the measurement of acculturation discrepancies. Following the main literature in the field, I used a "signed difference method" and an "interaction method". Results were obtained using both methods but not always with the same effects on well-being: in the UK sample no effects were found using the "signed difference method" while effects were found using the "interaction method". The opposite occurred for the immigrant sub-sample in the cross-sectional study conducted in Chile. Also, despite the majority of the literature that uses the "difference method" stating that it can only be used with absolute values because, if not, it is not possible to interpret, I was able to use this method considering the sign as some few studies have done. The important aspect is to consider the direction of the mean differences between parents and children when interpreting the effect of the difference score. Despite the possibility of using both these methods, and also that the acculturation dimensions do not always behave independently, it is important to consider multilevel modelling of the discrepancy used by recent studies (Kim et al., 2013; Schwartz et al., 2015). This new methodology considers that both the child and parent scores can be dependent on each other because they group both of them in a family, and then when conducting the analysis they take into consideration the individual effect of each score and the group level effect of their combination. This might also solve the issue in the perceived parent models, were parent scores are moderately correlated with the child scores, because they can be modelled as two observations within a child.

The use of perceived and actual parent acculturation preferences related to children's well-being. I consider that both of these sources of preferences were informative. Children, in both samples, perceived their parents to desire "integration" as an acculturation approach and parents in the Chilean sample also actually preferred "integration". This gives some evidence that children do not necessarily perceive parents acculturation preferences incorrectly. Even though it can be said that the

perceived parent acculturation preferences are confounded with the personal preferences of the child, it can also be stated that these are the perceptions that the child has internalized of the parents' preferences and they will influence their intentions of behaviours. The different relationships that were found with perceived and actual parent models with well-being are an important justification for suggesting the use of both sources in a study of parent-child acculturation discrepancies.

A methodological issue in the qualitative study was that when I presented myself to the children and parents that I interviewed I chose not to tell them about having been a child immigrant myself. This was in order to not influence the conversation and for them to not assume that I already knew what they were experiencing. But it might have been interesting as a way to create rapport in the interviews for them to know my origins. As I explained in chapter 5, they still might have assumed things about me, if they believed that I was Chilean that might have influenced the conversation.

Finally, in this thesis two dependent variables were considered and various predictors to test various acculturation hypothesis that required multiple tests. As various tests were conducted in the same sample there is a risk of inflated Type 1 error (Huck, 2012). This risk is diminished in this thesis due to two considerations: a) there is a consistent pattern of results obtained both in the regressions and path analysis, with previous research and within the study, and b) I was testing relationships between the variables that I had identified before analysing the data.

Limitations of the research

In each chapter I have mentioned limitations in regard to the methods using to answer the questions in this thesis. In this section I will highlight the most crucial ones and add some that are for the general process that was undertaken.

The size of the samples in the UK study and the sub-samples of majority and mixed origin children in the Chilean sample were not ideal. This did not allow me to perform all the analyses that were planned. Despite this, the number of participants in these samples allowed me to carry out cross-sectional analysis adequately, and the immigrant sample in the Chilean study was sufficient to conduct the longitudinal analysis. In future research it might be worth including all participants with immigrant background in the same analysis and control for generation status (i.e., immigrant and

mixed origin children in study 2). It is also important to note that the samples are not representative of all the immigrants that live in UK and Chile, so the findings are not generalizable to all immigrant population in those countries.

The wording of the acculturation items was purposely done, stating what the participants thought "immigrant children" should do in regard to their acculturation preferences. It did not ask participant children what they themselves should do, or what they actually did. As explained before, this allowed me to use the same questionnaire for immigrant and non-immigrant children, and also for parents. It was expected that children would project their attitudes into their answers. This is not the norm in acculturation research, where generally participants are asked about their own acculturation preferences. It might be possible that wording the items differently might have different results, but because several of the findings in this thesis follow the findings in other studies I can assume that it would not be so. At the same time, I did not access what parents wanted for themselves in relation to acculturation preferences, as I asked them also what they thought "immigrant children" should do. This was on purpose because I wanted to compare the acculturation measures in regard to the children. It might be the case that a parent has a different acculturation preference for him or herself than for his or her children. It would be interesting again to see if there is a difference between what parents want for themselves and their children.

When asking participants to evaluate how much immigrant children wanted to adopt the receiving culture, I assumed a distinctive "majority culture" both in UK and Chile that participants could relate to. This is not necessarily the case. Both receiving countries are conformed by various ethnic groups with distinct cultures, and I am assuming that when I ask for the "English" culture or the "Chilean" culture they are thinking about the same aspects as I am, but that is not necessarily so. I do believe, though, that there is a mainstream discourse and media coverage in both countries that relates to these two "national" cultural constructions that can be identifiable as stereotypes of majority "English" and "Chilean" practices, language and identity.

I did not ask about specific immigrant groups, so I assumed that children with immigrant background would probably think about their own group, and non-immigrant children would think about their classmates that were immigrants. But due to the important discrimination and prejudice present in Chile in regard to immigrants from certain countries, it might be important to measure specific groups from certain countries or regions (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Policy and practical implications

When discussing policy implications it is important to consider that this study did not include an exhaustive analysis of the policies on immigration that exist in both receiving countries. Despite this I will endeavour to suggest policy and practical implications that might be related to the findings in this thesis.

Children with immigrant background in the samples studied preferred "integration" for immigrants to acculturate, while majority in the Chilean sample preferred "multiculturalism". These preferences will only fructify in the context of a country that has a multicultural policy towards immigration and diversity in general (Berry, 2013). Therefore it would be considered fundamental for both countries to endeavour to accomplish this approach. In UK there appears to be an approach similar to multiculturalism that is at present in tension and questioned. In Chile, there are isolated practices in "interculturalidad" but not a clear political, social policy to support it in all areas (Solano-Campos, 2013).

There are various actors and contexts that take part in the acculturation process of immigrant children (and their majority peers). Two fundamental social contexts will be mentioned here: school and family.

In the schools, taking into account that immigrant children (and their majority peers) benefit in their personal well-being from an "integration" approach to acculturation, it might be important for schools to include respect for cultural diversity into their programs and courses. This relates in Chile directly to the need of changes in the educational curriculum, especially in regard to the "fundamental transversal objectives" ("objetivos fundamentals transversales"; Alvites & Jimenez, 2011) that should consider the intercultural diversity of the country especially in its teaching of history and social values. One of the schools that participated in the study has a clear policy of diversity and multiculturalism (i.e., celebrating other countries' traditional festivities), but it would be important to evaluate systematically what they are doing to see if it is effective. They might also benefit from the finding that a positive school climate can ameliorate the negative effects that acculturation discrepancies with parents can produce on children's well-being. Taking into account the important number of participants that reported perceived discrimination, this is a topic that needs direct attention (Garcia, Salgado, Sirlopú & Varela, 2012). Schools could work directly on developing coping skills, mentoring programs to confront bullying for cultural reasons

but also promoting the maintenance of the heritage culture that we have seen can reduce the negative effects of perceived discrimination. At the same time, it is important for schools to know that parent-child acculturation discrepancies is not only an issue for children with immigrant background but also for majority children. This might motivate schools to talk about acculturation, if they do not perceive it any more as a "minority" issue, but as an issue that affects all the school community. Finally, participation of teachers in this study was very limited, even in schools were the topic of diversity and immigrant adaptation is part of the curriculum. This prompts me to consider that there is essential work to be done with teachers in regard to the important role they have in facilitating the positive adaptation of immigrant children and the intergroup relations with the majority children. Their attitude towards the acculturation process and diversity in general influences the school climate, while their way of dealing with discriminatory situations and their attitudes and behaviours towards cultural diversity are modelling the behaviour of students and parents.

For families, the migration and acculturation process is full of sources of fulfilment and opportunities as well as stress. One of the possible stressors can be the acculturation discrepancy within members of the family. As we have seen, acculturation discrepancies are not always accompanied by negative outcomes for children's well-being; it depends on the direction of the discrepancy and the acculturation dimension studied. Therefore, it would be important to have opportunities for the process of acculturation to be discussed by parents and children (i.e., as individuals and as a family) in order to ameliorate the negative outcomes, and promote acculturative concordance that seems to relate to the best outcomes in life satisfaction and self-esteem. Families would benefit in their relationship and adaptation if social services (and schools) that supported them, included the issues of acculturation into their interventions.

Finally, as mentioned before in this discussion, it is important to promote in children both in school and in the family, the positive development of their well-being, especially self-esteem, that we have seen has a direct effect over time on their acculturation choices and family relationships.

Future Research

It seems fundamental for a more comprehensive understanding of the acculturation process to use a systemic ecologically situated framework for its study (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Kennedy & MacNeela, 2014; Navas et al., 2005;). Taking into account a more comprehensive framework and the findings and limitations of this thesis I suggest the following considerations for future research.

This ecological framework considers the study of the context of reception: the policy of reception of immigrants (Bourhis et al., 1997), the existence of discrimination, prejudice and racism towards immigrant groups, and the understanding of the support and opportunities that exist for immigrant groups in the receiving country (Schwartz et al., 2012). Because the acculturation process is an intergroup process (Brown & Zagefka, 2011), it is important to study if there are discrepancies between the majority and immigrant group in regard to acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997). Intergroup conflict appears when either group perceive the out-group to desire attitudes they do not agree with (Zick, Wagner, van Dick & Petzel, 2001; van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998; Navas et al., 2007; Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Tip, 2012). In this thesis I included a sample of majority children but I did not study the fit between the majority and immigrant group in regard to acculturation. At the same time, it would be interesting to see how the variables studied relate in school contexts that are composed with different proportions of majority and immigrant students. Important actors in the process of adaptation of immigrant children are the adults in schools (i.e., teachers, administrative personnel, support personnel). We need to understand more about how they interact with a culturally diverse student population and parents and if they have the tools to do it efficiently.

There are various other issues to study within family migration. One is the importance given in several studies of including the father and mother in the research (Costigan & Dokis, 2006b; Schofield et al., 2008; Wang et al., 2012). They have found different effects by gender of parent on adolescent outcomes. Also, it appears relevant to incorporate other actors into the study of family acculturation. In order to separate the cultural from the acculturation effects on immigrant adaptation it would be interesting to add a sample of heritage country co-nationals (Beirens & Fontaine, 2010). "Family" in many cultures is not composed solely of parents and children, it also includes the extended family that also influences their decisions. It would be interesting to include

members of the family such as an aunt/uncle or a grandparent, living in the heritage country or also migrated (Tingvold, Middelthon, Allen & Hauff, 2012). With the wide access to social media, immigrants are more easily connected to their extended family, and acculturation processes are influenced by these contacts that become transnational experiences (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012).

Considering the immigrant group in a country as members of a same group is simplifying the acculturation process. It would be important to centre future studies in immigrants from particular countries and not a varied range of origins that might confound the results.

In regard to the acculturation measure, it seems fundamental to include various domains in the measure of acculturation (i.e., practices, language and identity) in order to distinguish in what cultural aspect is the acculturation more or less in conflict for the immigrants' adaptation. As well as including a sufficient number of items per domain related to public and private life contexts (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2007). Some cultural practices change quickly, others are maintained and adopted simultaneously, while others have a more fundamental essence in the person's identity and will be the source of personal and social conflict (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou & Mylonas, 1996). At the same time it appears important to consider not only the heritage and receiving culture but the possibility of influence and engagement to other cultures, especially a more diverse, and globalized one that finally in many cases might be the one that children are feeling belonging to (van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013)

In regard to the outcome of adaptation studied in this thesis, due to the moderate to high correlation that self-esteem and life satisfaction had in the studies conducted, it seems relevant to conduct analysis of how they predict each other over time (Ye, Yu & Li, 2012).

Finally, there are various design characteristics that could be considered limitations of this thesis but can also be presented as possible future research. I considered them when designing the studies I conducted but, due to a diversity of practical and circumstantial reasons, they were not successful. In the case of outcomes, it seems relevant to have reports from other sources, such as parents and teachers, in regard to children's well-being and other adjustment external outcomes, such as academic grades. I asked parents and teachers to report this information but I did not collect a sufficient number of them to be able to use them as outcomes in the present thesis. It would be also important to see if these same findings follow the same patterns

in other socioeconomic groups within the same countries, although, at least in Chile it is very difficult to gain access to private schools to carry on studies. It would be important also to have a larger sample in order to carry out analyses between the different groups of immigrant with different origin. And finally, the longitudinal analysis would benefit from a wider span of time between time points.

Reflections in regard to the motivations for this research

In the preface of this thesis I presented three main areas of motivation for the realization of this study. At the academic level I was able to find answers for the questions that I had in regard to the relationship between acculturation and well-being. I found evidence that supported findings in the literature (i.e., such as the preference for an "integration" attitude and the positive relationship it had with well-being), but also enrich the knowledge in the area with new findings (i.e., parent-child acculturation discrepancies do not have clear patterns of effects on children's well-being and the relationships between acculturation and well-being are in various opportunities recursive over time).

At a social level I consider I was able to identify certain policy and practical implications that I can present to schools, families and institutions that work with immigrant families, and in multicultural contexts both in UK and Chile.

At a personal level, I consider I was able to deal with my own experience and expectations interfering with my research and interpretation of findings by having it present in each stage and reflecting about it during the course of the research, analysis and write up of the thesis. I believe I have approximated myself to understanding experiences I went through during my acculturation process and reflect on issues I will have in consideration when dealing with my own children's process of acculturation. It was interesting to find that the immigrant children that participated in the study did not all have the same experiences I had, nor did they deal with their acculturation process in similar ways. I did find, though, that perceived discrimination continues to be a fundamental source of stress and influence over children's well-being.

Finally, I am left with the impression, that I was able to contribute to the literature in acculturation attitude and parent-child acculturation discrepancies but, that there is still much more to understand in order to have a more comprehensive picture of how to support children and their parents successfully through this process.

Conclusion

Immigrant and non-immigrant children benefited from an approach to the acculturation process that included a high desire for culture maintenance and high desire for contact or adoption (i.e., "integration or biculturalism"). When both children and parents were high in both acculturation dimensions then there were positive consequences for children's well-being. When parent-child discrepancies occurred in the acculturation preferences, there were neutral, negative or positive consequences to children's well-being depending on the acculturation dimension studied, the method used to measure the discrepancy and the cultural origin of the group under study. The relationship between parent-child acculturation discrepancies and children's well-being was not mediated by family relations, although the latter had a direct effect on positive well-being.

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APPENDIX

Table 3.1 Reliabilities of scales for children and adolescents

	Reliability					
	Children (8 -11)			Adolescents (12 -16)		
Scale	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3
Life Satisfaction	.80	.76	.85	.79	.83	.84
Self-esteem	.53	.61	.70	.72	.74	.67
Heritage identity	.86	.92	.95	.84	.92	.94
Chilean Identity	.96	.95	.96	.93	.95	.95
Culture Maintenance child	.77	.73	.76	.75	.81	.78
Culture Adoption child	.76	.72	.84	.63	.80	.76
Desire for contact child	.68	.79	.76	.73	.81	.79
Perceived discrimination	.81	.80	.88	.65	.77	.74
Peer Acceptance	.72	.75	.79	.81	.85	.80
Family relations	.83	.84	.89	.87	.91	.92
School climate	.78	.79	.82	.75	.81	.86

Table 3.2a: Mean, SD, Correlations of all scales Time 2, Study 2, immigrant children

	Gen	T2 SE	T2 LS	T2 HeId	T2 ChId	T2 CM	T2 CA	T2 DC	T2 PD	T2 PR	T2 FR	T2 SC
Age	.22**	-.17*	-.28**	-.16*	.11	-.20**	-.25**	-.14	-.02	-.02	-.29**	-.28**
Gen		-.07	0	-.11	.21**	-.08	-.06	-.03	.09	.09	-.10	.04
T2 SE			.52**	.05	.19**	.03	.08	.10	-.15*	.28**	.37**	.20**
T2 LS				.24**	.12	.17*	.16*	.23**	-.15*	.41**	.53**	.34**
T2 HeId					-.30**	.45**	.09	.18*	.05	.12	.17*	.08
T2 ChId						-.11	.33**	.07	-.02	.15*	.04	.14*
T2 CM							.40**	.55**	.04	.12	.13	.07
T2 CA								.63**	.01	.05	.04	.33**
T2 DC									-.01	.13	.10	.20**
T2 PD										-.20**	-.09	-.09
T2 PA											.37**	.40**
T2 FR												.36**
M	2.05	3.3	3.89	4.68	2.59	4.14	3.51	3.74	2	4.2	4.21	3.9
SD	0.79	0.68	0.8	0.59	1.16	0.79	0.79	0.9	0.89	0.72	0.74	0.87
n	191	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	191	192	191	192

*=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. Gen=gender child; LS= Life Satisfaction; SE= Self-esteem; HeId= Heritage identity; ChId= Chilean identity; CM= culture maintenance; CA= culture adoption; DC= desire for contact; PD= perceived discrimination; PA= Peer Acceptance; FR= family relations; SC= school climate; M= mean; SD= standard deviation; n= number of cases.

Table 3.2b: Mean, SD, Correlations of all scales Time 3, Study 2, immigrant children.

	GEN	T3 SE	T3 LS	T3 HeId	T3 ChId	T3 CM	T3 CA	T3 DC	T3 PD	T3 PA	T3 FR	T3 SC
AGE	.22**	-.10	-.23**	-.22**	.17*	-.26**	-.27**	-.30**	-.08	-.14	-.24**	-.28**
GEN		.03	-.03	-.24**	.26**	-.12	-.09	-.17*	-.12	0	-.05	.04
T3 SE			.33**	.14	.07	.16*	.11	.21**	-.12	.21**	.37**	.16*
T3 LS				.17*	.04	.26**	.23**	.19*	-.01	.35**	.56**	.36**
T3HeId					-.18*	.40**	.04	.23**	.01	.11	.16*	.10
T3 ChId						-.02	.22**	.05	.01	0	.06	.10
T3 CM							.44**	.63**	.12	.16*	.30**	.20**
T3 CA								.67**	-.01	.16*	.27**	.34**
T3 DC									.02	.21**	.25**	.18*
T3 PD										-.08	-.07	-.06
T3 PA											.42**	.39**
T3 FR												.45**
M	2.06	3.19	3.75	4.58	2.63	4.09	3.51	3.82	1.88	4.22	4.13	3.87
SD	0.79	0.69	0.89	0.69	1.21	0.78	0.85	0.91	0.89	0.68	0.82	0.92
n	191	167	170	170	166	170	170	170	170	170	169	170

*=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001. Gen=gender child; LS= Life Satisfaction; SE= Self-esteem; HeId= Heritage identity; ChId= Chilean identity; CM= culture maintenance; CA= culture adoption; DC= desire for contact; PD= perceived discrimination; PA= Peer Acceptance; FR= family relations; SC= school climate; M= mean; SD= standard deviation; n= number of cases.

Table 4.1 Reliabilities of scales for children and adolescents (perceived parent scales)

| | Reliability | | | | | |
| | Children (8 -11) | | | Adolescents (12 -16) | | |
Scale	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3
Culture Maintenance pp	.80	.80	.85	.76	.83	.83
Culture Adoption pp	.80	.79	.87	.83	.85	.83
Desire for contact pp	.75	.83	.84	.81	.84	.81

Table 4.2a: Hierarchical regression with signed difference in CM, study 1

	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.17			0.13		
Age		0.15	-0.23		0.13	-0.04
Gender		0.27	-0.34*		0.23	-0.36*
Step 2	0.23			0.19		
Age		0.17	-0.33*		0.14	-0.14
Gender		0.29	-0.26		0.25	-0.28
Diff. CM practices		0.17	-0.26		0.14	-0.27
Diff CM identity		0.24	-0.02		0.20	0.00
Step 3	0.37			0.27	1.40	
Age		0.16	-0.36*		0.14	-0.13
Gender		0.28	-0.16		0.25	-0.22
Diff. CM practices		0.16	-0.18		0.14	-0.21
Diff CM identity		0.24	0.04		0.21	0.02
Perceived discrimination		0.16	0.14		0.15	0.08
Peer acceptance		0.17	0.25		0.15	0.08
Family relations		0.17	0.32		0.15	0.29*

*=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.Diff. CM practices=signed difference in culture maintenance practices; Diff. CM identity= signed difference in culture maintenance identity

Table 4.2b: Hierarchical regression with signed difference in CA, study 1

	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	se	β
Step 1	0.17			0.13		
Age		0.15	-0.2		0.13	-0.04
Gender		0.27	-0.3*		0.23	-0.36*
Step 2	0.23			0.15		
Age		0.15	-0.2		0.13	-0.01
Gender		0.27	-0.4**		0.23	-0.37**
Diff. CA practices		0.15	-0.2		0.13	-0.08
Diff CA identity		0.14	-0.1		0.12	0.11
Step 3	0.38			0.26		
Age		0.16	-0.3		0.14	-0.04
Gender		0.28	-0.2		0.25	-0.27
Diff. CA practices		0.14	-0.2		0.13	-0.03
Diff CA identity		0.13	-0.1		0.12	0.15
Perceived discrimination		0.16	0.1		0.14	0.07
Peer acceptance		0.16	0.2		0.15	0.07
Family relations		0.17	0.3*		0.15	0.35*

*=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.Diff. CA practices=signed difference in culture adoption practices; Diff. CA identity=
signed difference in culture adoption identity

Table 4.2c: Hierarchical regression with signed difference in DC, study 1

LS	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.17			0.13	1.27	
Age		0.15	-0.23*		0.23	-0.36*
Gender		0.27	-0.34*			
Step 2	0.18			0.15	1.28	
Age		0.15	-0.24		0.23	-0.38*
Gender		0.28	-0.35*		0.14	0.13
Diff. DC practices		0.17	0.12			
Step 3	0.36			0.26		
Age		0.15	-0.32*		0.13	-0.07
Gender		0.27	-0.20		0.24	-0.28
Diff. DC practices		0.16	0.15		0.14	0.17
Perceived discrimination		0.16	0.15		0.14	0.09
Peer acceptance		0.16	0.25		0.14	0.08
Family relations		0.17	0.37*		0.15	0.35*

*=$p<.05$, **=$p<.01$, ***=$p<.001$.Diff. DC=signed difference in contact

Table 4.3a: Hierarchical regression with interaction child and perceived parent in CM, study 1

	Life Satisfaction			Self-esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.17			0.13		
Age		0.15	-0.23**		0.13	-0.04
Gender		0.27	-0.34*		0.23	-0.36*
Step 2	0.20			0.14		
Age		0.15	-0.22		0.13	-0.04
Gender		0.28	-0.37**		0.24	-0.34*
CM practices		0.26	-0.18		0.22	0.07
CM identity		0.28	0.00		0.24	0.07
Step 3	0.25			0.21		
Age		0.17	-0.32		0.14	-0.17
Gender		0.30	-0.30*		0.26	-0.25
CM practices		0.29	-0.28		0.24	-0.06
CM identity		0.33	-0.08		0.27	-0.03
Perc par CM practices		0.20	0.28		0.16	0.37
Perc par CM identity		0.27	-0.01		0.22	-0.04
Step 4	0.32			0.22		
Age		0.17	-0.38*		0.15	-0.18
Gender		0.30	-0.24		0.27	-0.24
CM practices		0.34	-0.22		0.30	0.01
CM identity		0.34	0.01		0.30	-0.02
Perc par CM practices		0.19	0.31		0.17	0.37
Perc par CM identity		0.29	0.12		0.25	-0.03
Interaction CM practices		0.26	0.17		0.22	0.12
Interaction CM identity		0.439	0.328		0.38	0.05

CM practices= Culture maintenance practices; CM identity= Culture maintenance identity; Perc par CM practices =perceived parent Culture maintenance practices; ppCMi=perceived parent Culture maintenance identity; Int CMp=interaction of child and perceived parent Culture maintenance practices; Int CMi=interaction of child and perceived parent Culture maintenance identity; ₧=p<.1, *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Table 4.3b: Hierarchical regression with interaction in DC, study 1

	Life Satisfaction			Self Esteem		
	R^2	SE	β	R^2	SE	β
Step 1	0.17			0.13		
Age		0.15	-0.23**		0.13	-0.04
Gender		0.27	-0.34*		0.23	-0.36*
Step 2	0.21			0.13		
Age		0.16	-0.14		0.14	-0.05
Gender		0.27	-0.33*		0.23	-0.36*
DC		0.12	0.22		0.10	-0.02
Step 3	0.21			0.15		
Age		0.17	-0.15		0.14	-0.08
Gender		0.28	-0.33*		0.23	-0.39**
DC child		0.18	0.27		0.15	0.16
Perc par DC		0.18	-0.06		0.15	-0.25
Step 4	0.24			0.16		
Age		0.17	-0.13		0.14	-0.07
Gender		0.27	-0.33*		0.24	-0.39**
DC child		0.19	0.37		0.16	0.23
Perc par DC		0.19	0.00		0.16	-0.21
interaction DC		0.09	0.22		0.08	0.15

DC child= Desire for contact child; Perc par DC =perceived parent desire for contact; Int DC=interaction of child and perceived parent desire for contact; *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001

Table 4.4a: Correlations of parent scales with all scales (T2)

	T2 CMpp	T2 Capp	T2 DCpp	T2 CAap	T2 CMap	T2 Dcap
AGE	-.22**	-.25**	-.19**	-.02	-.08	-.05
GEN	-.14	-.07	-.08	-.05	.04	-.04
T2 SE	0	.08	.09	.14	.09	.08
T2 LS	.13	.17*	.16*	.20*	.15	.09
T2 HeId	.34**	.14	.20**	.18	.36**	.29**
T2 ChId	-.03	.26**	.11	.14	.01	0
T2 Cmchild	.79**	.43**	.53**	.07	.19*	.11
T2 CAchild	.47**	.78**	.59**	.15	.05	.11
T2 Dcchild	.53**	.58**	.76**	.18	.10	.11
T2 PD	.09	0	-.02	-.03	.24*	.14
T2 PA	.09	.05	.17*	-.01	0	-.06
T2 FR	.10	.14	.08	-.02	0.16	.09
T2 SC	.12	.31**	.18*	.04	-.05	.08
T2 CMpp		.57**	.61**	.09	0.17	.10
T2 CApp			.65**	.17	.08	.09
T2 DCpp				.09	0.1	.06
T2 Caap					.35**	.70**
T2 Cmap						.58**
M	4.12	3.61	3.81	3.63	4.13	3.91
SD	0.82	0.87	0.98	0.66	0.64	0.83
n	192	192	192	115	115	115

CM=culture maintenance; CA=culture adoption; DC=desire for contact; PD=perceived discrimination; PA=peer acceptance; FR=family relations; SC=school climate; CMpp=perceived parent culture maintenance; CApp=perceived parent culture adoption; DCpp=perceived parent desire for contact;CMap=actual parent culture maintenance; CAap=actual parent culture adoption; DCap=actual parent desire for contact *=p<.05, **=p<.01, ***=p<.001.

Table 4.4b: Correlations of parent scales with all the scales (T3)

	T3 CM pp	T3 CA pp	T3 DC pp	T3 CA ap	T3 CM ap	T3 DC ap
AGE	-.28**	-.30**	-.32**	-.06	-.16	-.09
GEN	-.10	-.06	-.15	-.15	-.28*	-.20
T3 SE	.12	.14	.18*	.10	-.05	.06
T3 LS	.23**	.20**	.16*	-.05	.11	.04
T3 HeId	.33**	.02	.20**	.06	.32**	.32**
T3 ChId	-.05	.18*	-.01	.07	-.16	-.13
T3 CM child	.88**	.40**	.58**	.15	.38**	.20
T3 CA child	.46**	.82**	.65**	.32**	.13	.12
T3 DC child	.61**	.66**	.83**	.35**	.19	.21
T3 PD	.11	.08	.09	-.05	.22	.12
T3 PA	.12	.18*	.15	.14	.12	.08
T3 FR	.30**	.23**	.22**	.14	.2	.15
T3 SC	.19*	.36**	.18*	.07	.05	-.12
T3 CM pp		.50**	.61**	.15	.32**	.21
T3 CA pp			.74**	.31*	.09	.16
T3 DC pp				.29*	.26*	.19
T3 CA ap					.42**	.61**
T3 CM ap						.57**
M	4.13	3.56	3.73	3.95	3.52	3.86
SD	0.81	0.93	1	0.69	0.69	0.79
n	170	170	170	78	78	78

CM=culture maintenance; CA=culture adoption; DC=desire for contact; PD=perceived discrimination; PA=peer acceptance; FR=family relations; SC=school climate; CMpp=perceived parent culture maintenance; CApp=perceived parent culture adoption; DCpp=perceived parent desire for contact;CMap=actual parent culture maintenance; CAap=actual parent culture adoption; DCap=actual parent desire for contact *=p<.05, **=p<.01,

Questionnaire Study 1

Code:

Introduction

My name is Cecilia Cordeu. I come from the University of Sussex. We have been talking to children about what they think about themselves and other people.

If at any point you think you would not like to do it just say you want to stop and that is fine.

We will not tell anyone else what your answers are.

It is not like tests you have done before, there are no right or wrong answers and we just want to know what you think.

Do you think you would like to take part?

<u>How I feel</u>:

The following sentences are about how you feel about yourself and your life **right now at this moment**. Please tick the answer that shows how much you agree or disagree with each sentence. Let's try an example.

I FEEL AT THIS MOMENT THAT…	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
My school is great.					

Now, say what you think of the following sentences:

I FEEL AT THIS MOMENT THAT…	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
My life is going well.					
I would like to change things in my life.					
I would like a different kind of life					
I have a good life.					
My life is better and happier than it is for most children.					

What I am like

Here are some questions about what you are like. Some kids for example think that they easily forget what they learn. Other kids can remember things easily. With the questions I'll ask, I want you to tell me what you think you are most like. Then you can also decide whether you are a lot like that or just a little.

Let's try an example. Choose one of the options.

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me
☐	☐	Some kids would rather play outside in their spare time.	**BUT** Other kids would rather watch T.V.	☐	☐

Now here are some questions I would like you to answer

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me
☐	☐	Some kids are often unhappy with themselves.	**BUT** Other kids are pretty pleased with themselves.	☐	☐

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me
☐	☐	Some kids don't like the way they are leading their life.	**BUT** Other kids do like the way they are leading their life.	☐	☐

Very true for me　　Little bit true for me　　　　　　　Little bit true for me　　Very true for me

☐　☐　Some kids like the　**BUT**　Other kids often　☐　☐
kind of person　　　　wish they were
they are.　　　　　　someone else.

Very true for me　　Little bit true for me　　　　　　　Little bit true for me　　Very true for me

☐　☐　Some kids are not　**BUT**　Other kids think　☐　☐
happy with the way　　the way they
they do a lot of things.　　do things is fine.

Very true For me　　Little bit true for me　　　　　　　Little bit true for me　　Very true for me

☐　☐　Some kids are　**BUT**　Other kids wish　☐　☐
very happy being　　they were different.
the way they are.

Very true for me　　Little bit true for me　　　　　　　Little bit true for me　　Very true for me

☐　☐　Some kids are　**BUT**　Other kids are　☐　☐
happy with　　　　often not happy
themselves as a person.　　with themselves.

Describing myself

If you were writing a true story about yourself and wanted to tell people about who you are, how would you start describing yourself? Choose as many words as you want from the following list. Would you say you are…

	Polish		Turkish		British		Spanish
	White		Pakistani		Indian		Black
	PolishBritish		Chinese		Saudiarabian		SpanishBritish
			Asian		African		Nigerian
	African-Caribbean		West-Indian		Brown		

Now write the first word you chose in the space given below and answer the questions:

Word 1: _____

How proud are you of being …….?

How important is it to you that you are……..?

How do you feel about being……….?

If you chose another word then write it below and answer the questions for that one..

Word 2: _____

How proud are you of being.......?

How important is it to you that you are........?

How do you feel about being...........?

<u>What I prefer?</u>
In this country there are people from various cultures and backgrounds. We can see it in this classroom. Some of you were born here but your families come from other countries and have other traditions. Like, for example, some families celebrate Ramadam, others BaishakiMelaand others, Christmas. Now I want you to think of **children from families that come from other countries**, and live here in England. Say what you think about them doing various things.
As an example, you could be asked:

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is important for children to play sports.					

Now say what you think about each of the next sentences:

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is important for children living in England to speak the language spoken in the country their family came from originally.					
It is a good idea for children to eat mainly food from England.					
It is important for children to celebrate religious or typical festivals of the country their family came from originally.					
It is important for children to speak the language generally spoken in England (that is English).					
It is important for children to be friends with others whose families have lived always in England.					

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
Children should feel proud of the country their family came from originally.					
It is important for children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from England.					
It is a good idea for children to eat mainly food of the country their family came from originally.					
It is good for children to play with children from England.					
It is a good idea for children to feel part of the country their family came from originally.					
It is important for children to be friends with children from other cultures or countries.					
Children should feel proud of England, no matter what country their family is originally from.					
It is a good idea for children to feel part of England, no matter what country their family is originally from.					

What your parents think
Now you will answer what you reckon your mum and dad will think about these sentences.
Remember it is what YOUR PARENTS would think

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is important for children living in England to speak the language spoken in the country their family came from originally.					
It is a good idea for children to eat mainly food from England.					
It is important for children to celebrate religious or typical festivals of the country their family came from originally.					
It is important for children to speak the language generally spoken in England.					
It is important for children to be friends with others whose families have lived always in England.					
Children should feel proud of the country their family came from originally.					
It is a good idea for children to eat mainly food of the country their family came from originally.					
It is important for children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from England.					
It is a good idea for children to feel part of the country their family came from originally.					

Remember it is what YOUR PARENTS would think	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is important for children to be friends with children from other cultures or countries.					
Children should feel proud of England, no matter what country their family is from.					
It is good for children to play with children from England.					
It is a good idea for children to feel part of England.					

<u>What happens at school</u>?
I am now going to show you some stories. I'd like you to tell me if things like this
often happen at your school.

1. A child is playing in the school playground. Some other children come along
   and call out horrible names to the child because of the country her or his
   family comes from originally.

	Never	Once	Two or three times	Quite often	Very often
Has this ever happened at your school?					
Has this ever happened to you?					

I am now going to show you another story:
2. A group of children are playing in the playground. Another child would like
   to join in. The other children say that the child can't play with them because
   she/he has a different skin colour.

	Never	Once	Two or three times	Quite often	Very often
Has this ever happened at your school?					
Has this ever happened to you?					

Now tell me how much do you agree or not with the following questions.

At School	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
Do you have other kids to talk to at school?					
Is it hard for you to make friends at school?					
Do you have lots of friends at school?					
Do you feel alone at school?					
Is it hard to get kids in school to like you?					
Do you have kids to play with at school?					
Do you get along with other kids at school?					
Do you feel left out of things at school?					
Are you lonely at school?					
Do the kids at school like you?					

Now tell me how much do you agree or not with the following questions

At home…	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
If I have a problem my mum and dad help me.					
My mum and dad let me choose my friends					
In my family we all respect each other					
In my family I can say how I am feeling					

The following questions ask about some things that you or your family have or do. Give your best guess. Circle the number you think is correct:

At home…					
How many computers/laptops are there in your house?	0	1	2	3	4
Do you have your own computer/laptop?	yes		no		
How many bedrooms are there in your house?	0	1	2	3	4
Do you have your own bedroom?	yes		no		
How many cars does your family own?	0	1	2	3	4
How many holidays abroad did you go on last year?	0	1	2	3	4

<u>Please give me this information about yourself and your family :</u>
In what country was your Mother born? _____
In what country was your Father born? _____
Where your grandparents born in England? Yes / No
       If NO: in what country where your grandparents born _____
In what country where you born? _____
If you were not born in England, at what age did you arrive here? _____
How old are you? _____
What languages do you speak? _____
Are you a Girl _____   Boy _____
Class:
School:

Questionnaire Longitudinal study

CHILDREN QUESTIONNAIRE TIME 1

Code:
Date:

Introduction

My name is Cecilia Cordeu. I come from the University of Sussex (and studying in England funded by the Conicyt program - Becas Chile). We have been talking to children about what they think about themselves and other people. We have also asked their parents about the same things. And we have asked their teachers about how children are feeling and doing at school.

If at any point you think you would not like to answer it just say you want to stop and that is fine.

We will not tell anyone else what your answers are. At the end of the research the general results of the study will available for the schools and the participants.

It is not like tests you have done before, there are no right or wrong answers and we just want to know what you think.

Do you think you would like to take part?

Yes ___   No ___

If you do not want to take part please hand in the questionnaire to Cecilia, if you do, then continue with the next page.

THANK YOU!!

How I feel:
The following sentences are about how you feel about yourself and your life **right now at this moment**. Please tick the answer that shows how much you agree or disagree with each sentence. Let's try an example.

I FEEL AT THIS MOMENT THAT…	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
My school is great.					

Now, say what you think of the following sentences:

I FEEL AT THIS MOMENT THAT…	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
My life is going well.					
My life is just right.					
I would like to change things in my life.					
I would like a different kind of life					
I have a good life.					
I have what I want in life.					
My life is better and happier than it is for most children.					

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Here are some questions about what you are like. Some kids for example think that they easily forget what they learn. Other kids can remember things easily. With the questions I'll ask, I want you to tell me what you think you are most like. Then you can also decide whether you are a lot like that or just a little.

Let's try an example. Choose one of the options.

What I am like

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me
☐	☐	Some kids would Rather play outside In their spare time.	**BUT** Other kids would rather watch T.V.	☐	☐

Now here are some questions I would like you to answer

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me
☐	☐	Some kids are often unhappy with themselves.	**BUT** Other kids are pretty pleased with themselves.	☐	☐

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me
☐	☐	Some kids don't like the way they are leading their life.	**BUT** Other kids do like the way they are leading their life.	☐	☐

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me
☐	☐	Some kids are happy with themselves as a person.	**BUT** Other kids are often not happy with themselves.	☐	☐

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me

Some kids like the kind of person they are **BUT** Other kids often wish they were someone else.

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me

Some kids are not happy with the way they do a lot of things. **BUT** Other kids think the way they do things is fine.

Very true for me	Little bit true for me			Little bit true for me	Very true for me

Some kids are not Very happy being The way the are. **BUT** Other kids wish they were different.

Describing myself

If you were writing a true story about yourself and wanted to tell people about who you are, how would you start describing yourself? Choose as many words as you want from the following list. Would you say you are…
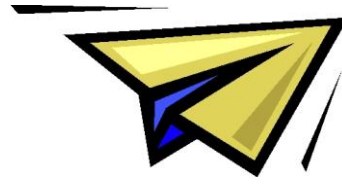
	Peruvian		Haitian		Argentinian		Spanish
	Chilean		Brown		Ecuadorian		Latin American
	White		Black		Bolivian		Colombian

Now write the first word you chose in the space given below and answer the questions:

Word 1: _____

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
How much are you…?					
How proud are you of being…?					
How important is it to you that you are……..?					

How do you feel about being……….?

If you chose another word then write it below and answer the questions for that one..
Word 2: _____

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
How much are you…?					
How proud are you of being…?					
How important is it to you that you are……..?					

How do you feel about being………..?

Think now about being Chilean. Which one of these best describes you?

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
How much are you Chilean?					
How proud are you of being Chilean?					
How important is it to you that you are Chilean?					

How do you feel about being Chilean?

What I prefer?

In this country there are people from various cultures and backgrounds. We can see it in this classroom. Some of you were born here but your families come from other countries and have other traditions. Like, for example, some parents were born in Peru, Argentina, Spain. Some children were born in those countries too. Now I want you to think of **children from families that come from other countries**, and live here in Chile. Say what you think about them doing various things.

As an example, you could be asked:

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is important for these children to play sports.					

Now say what you think about each of the next sentences:

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is a good idea for these children to eat mainly food from Chile.					
It is important for these children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from the country their family came from originally.					
It is a good idea for these children to eat mainly traditional food from their family's country.					
It is important for these children to be friends with others whose families have lived always in Chile.					
It is important for these children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from Chile.					
It is good for these children to play with others whose families have always lived in Chile.					
It is important for these children to be friends with children from other countries.					
It is a good idea for these children to listen to music from Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is a good idea for these children to listen to music from their family's country of origin.					
It is important for these children to learn typical words used in their families' country.					
It is important for these children to speak with the accent from their families' country.					
It is important for these children to learn typical words used in Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					
It is good for these children to go visit the house of friends' whose families have always lived in Chile.					
It is important for these children to speak with the accent from Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					

What your parents think
Now you will answer what you reckon your mum and dad will think about these sentences.
Remember it is what YOUR MOTHER OR FATHER would think.

Which one did you choose:

MOTHER __ FATHER _____	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is a good idea for these children to eat mainly food from Chile.					
It is important for these children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from the country their family came from originally.					
It is a good idea for these children to eat mainly traditional food from their family's country.					
It is important for these children to be friends with others whose families have lived always in Chile.					
It is important for these children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from Chile.					

REMEMBER IT IS WHAT YOUR MOTHER OR FATHER WOULD THINK	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is good for these children to play with others whose families have always lived in Chile.					
It is important for these children to be friends with children from other countries.					
It is a good idea for these children to listen to music from Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					
It is a good idea for these children to listen to music from their family's country of origin.					
It is important for these children to learn typical words of their families' country.					
It is important for these children to speak with the accent from their families' country.					
It is important for these children to learn typical words of Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					
It is good for these children to go visit the house of friends' whose families have always lived in Chile.					
It is important for these children to speak with the accent from Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					

What happens at school?

I am now going to show you some stories. I'd like you to tell me if things like this often happen at your school.

3. A child is playing in the school playground. Some other children come along and call out horrible names to the child because of the country her or his family comes from originally.

	Never	Once	Two or three times	Quite often	Very often
Has this ever happened at your school?					
Has this ever happened to you?					

I am now going to show you another story:

4. A group of children are playing in the playground. Another child would like to join in. The other children say that the child can't play with them because she/he has a different skin colour.

	Never	Once	Two or three times	Quite often	Very often
Has this ever happened at your school?					
Has this ever happened to you?					

I am now going to show you another story:

5. A group of children are outside a classroom talking. One of them talks and the rest start laughing saying that the child has a funny accent and uses strange words.

	Never	Once	Two or three times	Quite often	Very often
Has this ever happened at your school?					
Has this ever happened to you?					

I am now going to show you another story:

6. Two children are talking during recess, one of them tells the other that a teacher made nasty comments in class of the country her/his parents' comes from.

	Never	Once	Two or three times	Quite often	Very often
Has this ever happened at your school?					
Has this ever happened to you?					

Now tell me how much do you agree or not with the following questions.

At School	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
Do you have other kids to talk to at school?					
Is it hard for you to make friends at school?					
Do you have lots of friends at school?					
Do you feel alone at school?					
Is it hard to get kids in school to like you?					
Do you have kids to play with at school?					
Do you get along with other kids at school?					
Do you feel left out of things at school?					
Are you lonely at school?					
Do the kids at school like you?					

Now tell me how much do you agree or not with the following questions

At home…	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
My mum makes me feel better after talking about my worries.					
My dad makes me feel better after talking about my worries.					
My mum lets me choose my own friends					
My dad lets me choose my own friends.					
In my family we all respect each other					
In my family I can say how I am feeling					
My mum listens to my opinion and ideas.					
My dad listens to my opinion and ideas.					
My mum explains the reasons of the decisions she makes about me.					
My dad explains the reasons of the decisions she makes about me.					
My mum knows where and with whom I am all the time.					
My dad knows where I am all the time.					
My mum generally talks to me with a friendly and warm voice.					
My dad generally talks to me with a friendly and warm voice.					
My mum doesn't like the					

way I behave at home.					
My dad doesn't like the way I behave at home.					
My mum is always remembering to me the things that she doesn't allow me to do.					
My dad is always remembering to me the things that she doesn't allow me to do.					
My mum gets angry and nervous when I make noise in the house.					
My dad gets angry and nervous when I make noise in the house.					

At this moment I feel that	Not at all	A Little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
I like my school very much.					
My school is better tan other schools.					
My teachers treat me well					
My peers treat me well.					
I trust my teachers.					
My peers trust me.					
There are conflicts at school.					
The problems that present themselves are resolved adequately by teachers.					
There is a harmonic climate in the classroom.					
There is a harmonic climate in the school.					

Please give me this information about yourself and your family :

In what country was your Mother born? _____

In what country was your Father born? _____

Where your grandparents born in Chile? Yes/No

       If NO: in what country where your grandparents born_____

In what country where you born? _____

If you were not born in Chile, at what age did you arrive here? _____

How old are you? _____

Are you a Girl ____ Boy ____

How many people live at your house: _____

How many bedrooms are there at your house: _____

What is your average grade at school today _____

Class:

School:

    THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!!!

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE TIME 1

Introduction

My name is Cecilia Cordeu. I study in the University of Sussex (and studying in England funded by the Conycit program – Becas Chile). We have been talking to parents about what they think about themselves and their children. We have also been asking children about what they think about themselves and other people. And we have asked teachers about how they think that children are feeling and doing at school.

Participation in this research study is voluntary.

We will not tell anyone else what your answers are.

Thank you for your participation!

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Indicate how much you agree with each statement.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Neither agree or disagree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
In most ways my life is close to my ideal.							
The conditions of my life are excellent.							
I am satisfied with my life.							
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.							
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.							

Please say how much these sentences are true about your child

		Not true	Somewhat true	Certainly true
1.	Considerate of other people's feelings			
2.	Restless, overactive, cannot stay still for long.			
3.	Often complains of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness.			
4.	Shares readily with other children (treats, toys, pencils, etc.).			
5.	Often has temper tantrums or hot tempers.			
6.	Rather solitary, tends to play alone.			
7.	Generally obedient, usually does what adults request.			
8.	Many worries, often seems worried.			
9.	Helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill.			
10.	Constantly fidgeting or squirming.			
11.	Has at least one good friend.			
12.	Often fights with other children or bullies them.			
13.	Often unhappy, downhearted or tearful.			
14.	Generally liked by other children.			
15.	Easily distracted, concentration wanders.			
16.	Nervous or clingy in new situations, easily loses confidence.			
17.	Kind to younger children.			
18.	Often lies or cheats.			
19.	Picked on or bullied by other children.			
20.	Often volunteers to help others, parents, teachers or other children			
21.	Thinks things out before acting.			

22.	Gets on better with adults than other children.			
23.	Many fears, easily scared.			
24.	Sees tasks through to the end, good attention span.			

Describing myself

If you had to describe yourself, which of the following words would you choose? Choose as many words you want from the following list. Would you say you are…

	Peruvian			Haitian			Argentinian			Spanish	
	Chilean						Ecuadorian			Latin American	
	White			Brown			Black				

Now write the **first word you chose** in the space given below and answer the questions, tick one of the possible answers:

Word 1: _____	**Not at all**	**A little bit**	**A bit**	**Quite a bit**	**Very much**
How proud are you of being…					
How important is it to you that you are…					
	Very Unhappy	**Unhappy**	**Neutral**	**Happy**	**Very happy**
How do you feel about being…					

If you chose another word then write it below and answer the questions for that one..

Word 1: _____	**Not at all**	**A little bit**	**A bit**	**Quite a bit**	**Very much**
How proud are you of being…					
How important is it to you that you are …					
	Very Unhappy	**Unhappy**	**Neutral**	**Happy**	**Very happy**
How do you feel about being…					

What you prefer ?

In this country there are people from various countries, cultures and backgrounds. Now I want you to **think of children from families that come from other countries**, and say what you think about them doing various things.

As an example, you could be asked:

	Not at all	**A little bit**	**A bit**	**Quite a bit**	**Very much**
It is important for these children to play sports.					

Now say what you think about each of the next sentences.

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is a good idea for these children to eat mainly food from Chile.					
It is important for these children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from the country their family came from originally.					
It is a good idea for these children to eat mainly traditional food from their family's country.					
It is important for these children to be friends with others whose families have lived always in Chile.					
It is important for these children to celebrate religious or typical festivals from Chile.					
It is good for these children to play with others whose families have always lived in Chile.					
It is important for these children to be friends with children from other countries.					
It is a good idea for these children to listen to music from Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					

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It is a good idea for these children to listen to music from their family's country of origin.					
It is important for these children to learn typical words used in their families' country.					
It is important for these children to speak with the accent from their families' country.					
It is important for these children to learn typical words used in Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					
It is good for these children to go visit the house of friends' whose families have always lived in Chile.					
It is important for these children to speak with the accent from Chile, no matter what country their family is originally from.					

What you prefer for yourself?

Now I want you to think what you prefer for yourself.

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
It is a good idea for me to eat mainly food from Chile.					
It is important for me to celebrate religious or typical festivals from my country of origin.					
It is a good idea for me to eat mainly traditional food from my country of origin.					
It is important for me to be friends with Chilean people.					
It is important for me to celebrate religious or typical festivals from Chile.					
It is good for me to hang out in my spare time with Chilean people.					
It is important for me to be friends with people from other countries.					
It is a good idea for me to listen to music from Chile.					
It is a good idea for me to listen to music from my country of origin.					
It is important for me to maintain typical words of my country of origin.					
It is important for me to speak with the accent from my country of origin.					
It is important for me to learn typical words used in Chile.					
It is good for me to go visit the house of Chilean friends.					
It is important for me to speak with the Chilean accent.					

Please answer how much you agree or not with the following sentences about **how you are treated in Chile**.

	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
I think that Chilean people have behaved in an unfair or negative way towards people from my country.					
I don't feel that Chilean people accept the people from my country.					
I have been teased or insulted by Chilean people because of the country I come from.					
I have been threatened or attacked by Chilean people because of the country I come from.					
I have been teased or insulted by people from other countries (not Chilean) because of the country I come from.					
I have found it difficult to find a job because of my skin colour.					
I have found it difficult to find a job because of the country I come from.					

At home…	Not at all	A little bit	A bit	Quite a bit	Very much
I try to make my child feel better after he/she tells me about his/her worries.					
I allow my child to choose her/his own friends.					
In my family we all respect each other					
In my family I can say how I am feeling					
I listen to my child's opinions and ideas.					
I explain to my child the reasons for the decisions I make about him/her.					
I know where and with whom my child is all the time.					
I generally talk to my child in a friendly and warm voice.					
I do not like the way my child behaves at home.					
I am always remembering my child the things he/she isn't allowed to do.					
I get angry and nervous when my child makes noise in the house.					

<u>Please give me this information about yourself and your family :</u>

In order to put together your answers with the answers of your child we need you to write the name of your child and the grade he/she goes to. This information will be erased after putting together both answers.

Name child:

Grade:

In what country where you born? _____

In what country was your partner born? _____

How old are you? _____

In what year did you arrive to Chile?_____

What languages do you speak? _____

Are you a Female ____ Male _____

What was your last education level completed:

Primary ___ secondary ___ university ___

What is your partner's last completed education level:

Primary ___ secondary ___ university ___

What is your current occupation?

_____

What is your partner's current occupation?

_____

Reasons for migration:

_____

How many people live in your house:

How many bedrooms are there in your house:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!!