



THE EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT YOUTH: A GENERATIONAL ANALYSIS

↳ Migrant and Refugee Youth Settlement and Social Inclusion Series



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research is part of a larger international project, the International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth, undertaken in 13 countries with almost 8,000 adolescents and young adults. The project relies on survey methodology to examine a range of intracultural and intercultural variables, such as ethnic and English language proficiency and use, peer contacts, identity, acculturation attitudes, family values, perceived discrimination, and both psychological (life satisfaction and psychological symptoms) and social (school adjustment and behavioural problems) domains of adaptation. The larger project also concerns itself with the relationship between intercultural factors and adaptation outcomes.

This report is based on a subset of the New Zealand data and provides:

1. a generational analysis of the experiences of migrant youth
2. where appropriate, comparisons between migrant and national youth.

The comparisons are based on the responses of 1,226 New Zealand adolescents and young adults; that is, 744 migrant and 482 national (New Zealand European and Māori) youth. The migrant sample includes 201 first generation (immigrant youth who were born overseas and arrived in New Zealand after the age of 12), 402 1.5 generation (immigrant youth who were born overseas and arrived in New Zealand by the age of 12) and 141 second generation (New Zealand-born youth with both parents born overseas) adolescents and young adults.

Overall, the results of this research are in accordance with international findings on generational changes in migrant communities. The key findings show:

1. Migrant youth have a strong orientation towards their heritage culture, and this largely remains stable across generations as evidenced by strong ethnic identity and frequent contact with ethnic peers; however, ethnic language use and proficiency decrease over successive generations.
2. Migrant youth increasingly orient themselves towards the larger New Zealand society. This is evidenced by an increase in national identity, an increase in national peer contacts and more frequent use of and greater proficiency in English over successive generations.
3. There are variations in acculturation attitudes over generations. Integration (the preference to maintain cultural heritage and participate in the wider society) is strongly endorsed and remains stable over generations. In contrast, while assimilation (participation gained at the expense of cultural maintenance) is not widely endorsed, it is better accepted amongst second generation youth.
4. There are few changes in family values over generations, although first generation migrants see parental obligations as more important than their

second generation peers. All migrant groups are less likely to endorse children's rights and more likely to endorse parental obligations than national youth.

5. Migrant youth report more discrimination than their national peers, but this does not vary significantly over generations.
6. Migrant youth fare as well or better than their national counterparts in terms of psychological adaptation. There are no significant differences in life satisfaction between groups; however, migrant youth report fewer symptoms of psychological distress. Psychological symptomatology does not vary across generations.
7. Migrant youth report better social adaptation than their national peers; however, there is some evidence that this advantage diminishes over successive generations. For example, second generation migrants report more behavioural problems and poorer school adjustment than their first and 1.5 generation counterparts.

The findings converge to suggest that a view to the future should consider ways in which participation can be encouraged without threat to cultural maintenance in migrant communities. This is in line with the government's objective of promoting social cohesion in culturally diverse Aotearoa/New Zealand (New Zealand Settlement Strategy, 2007).

INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale

Migration is a worldwide phenomenon. Currently, there are over 200 million people who live outside their countries of origin (United Nations Population Division, 2006). This number has been steadily climbing and is expected to rise further over the next decade.

These trends are mirrored in New Zealand, where both the extent of cultural diversity and the proportion of overseas-born people are rapidly increasing. Although European (67.6%) and Māori (14.6%) remained the two largest ethnic groups in the 2006 census, the proportions of Asian (9.2%) and Pacific (6.9%) peoples grew faster than all other groups. Chinese (41.6%), Indians (29.5%) and Koreans (8.7%) represented the largest Asian ethnic groups, while Samoans were the largest Pacific ethnic group and accounted for almost half (49.3%) of Pacific peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).

In addition, the proportion of overseas-born residents increased from 19.5% in 2001 to 22.9% in the 2006. The most common overseas birthplaces (in descending order) are now: England, People's Republic of China, Australia, Samoa, India, South Africa, Fiji, Scotland and the Republic of Korea (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). With changing demographics, New Zealand, like other contemporary societies, is facing questions about how to manage immigration flows and increasing cultural diversity within its borders.

This report addresses these questions from a social and psychological perspective. It arises from New Zealand's participation in the International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (ICSEY), a project involving 20 researchers in 13 countries of settlement, over 5,000 immigrant youth from 32 ethno-cultural groups and more than 2,500 national youth (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006)¹ The project aims to address three questions about the cultural and adaptive experiences of immigrant youth:

1. How do immigrant youth live within and between two cultures?
2. How well do immigrant youth deal with their intercultural situation?

¹ The empirical basis of this paper comes from the New Zealand portion of the ICSEY project. All collaborators of the project are gratefully acknowledged. Other members of the group are: Australia (W. Karnilowicz, C. Leung, R. Pe-Pua, R. Rooney & D. Sang); Canada (J. Berry & K. Kwak); Finland (K. Liebkind); France (C. Sabatier); Germany (P. Schmitz); Israel (G. Horenczyk); the Netherlands (F. van de Vijver & P. Vedder); Norway (D. Sam); Portugal (F. Neto); Sweden (E. Virta & C. Westin); United Kingdom (L. Robinson) and United States (J. Phinney).

3. What is the relationship between how youth engage in intercultural relations and how well they adapt?

The international findings, including the responses of Chinese and Pacific youth in New Zealand, are reported in *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national contexts* (Berry *et al.*, 2006).

Subsequently, ICSEY research in New Zealand has been extended to a base of over 1,500 youth, including samples of national (New Zealand European and Māori) and immigrant (Chinese, Samoan, Indian, Korean, British, South African and other) youth. The findings from the expanded New Zealand sample largely converge with the international trends as presented in Berry *et al.* (2006) and can be summarised, in relation to the three questions posed above, as follows (Ward, 2007).

1. Four profiles were identified for migrant youth: integrated, national, ethnic and diffuse.
 - a. The integrated profile is characterised by strong connections to both the national and ethnic communities. This includes strong ethnic and national identity, good English language proficiency and frequent use of English, strong ethnic peer contacts and strong endorsement of integration.
 - b. The national profile reflects a strong orientation towards the wider society, often at the expense of ethnic connections. More specifically, national youth maintain a moderately strong national identity but weak ethnic identity, strong national peer contacts but weak ethnic relations, high proficiency in and frequent use of English, and a strong rejection of ethnic separatism.
 - c. In contrast, youth exhibiting an ethnic profile lean towards their traditional communities and away from the larger society. They maintain a moderately strong ethnic identity but a weak national identity, have strong ethnic contacts but few national peer contacts, good proficiency in their ethnic language but poor English proficiency, and a strong endorsement of separatism.
 - d. Finally, the diffuse group is characterised by weak ethnic identity, poor English proficiency and endorsement of assimilation, separation and marginalisation, suggesting a lack of skills to fit within ethnic and/or national communities.
2. Immigrant youth adapt well compared to national youth, and there is no significant evidence of migrant disadvantage. With respect to psychological symptoms, life satisfaction, school adjustment and behavioural problems, Chinese, Korean, Indian, Samoan, British, and South African youth fare as well or better than their Māori and New Zealand European peers.

3. In the main, the diffuse profile is associated with the poorest, and the integrated profile is associated with the best adaptive outcomes. National and ethnic profiles tend to be associated with intermediate levels of adaptation. Adolescents in the diffuse group report more psychological symptoms, more behavioural problems and poorer school adjustment than all other groups. While integrated and national youth experience greater life satisfaction than the ethnic and diffuse, integrated and ethnic youth display fewer behavioural problems than the national and diffuse groups.

As can be seen from the above summary, the research has not explicitly dealt with differences in intercultural and intracultural characteristics or adaptation outcomes over generations. This issue is currently of interest to the Department of Labour who wishes to examine differences across first, 1.5 and second generation immigrant youth. This is the subject of this report.

The Cultural and Adaptive Experiences of Immigrant Youth: Generational Similarities and Differences

International and cross-cultural research has examined changes in intercultural and intracultural factors, such as identity, values and language, over generations as well as broader adaptation and well-being, including mental health and academic performance (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). The evidence on generational changes in ethnic identity is mixed although there is a general agreement that the second generation is more integrated, maintaining strong ethnic and national identities, compared to the first generation (Cortés, Rogler & Malgady, 1994; Yamada, Marsella & Yamada, 1998). With respect to value changes, findings suggest that there are modest differences between first and second generation migrants, but that the second generation can still be distinguished from national youth (Feldman, Mont-Reynaud & Rosenthal, 1992). Despite these general trends, research indicates that the pattern of identity, language and values retention is influenced by the social and political context, including perceived discrimination and fear of assimilation (Clément & Bourhis, 1996; Hurtado, Gurin & Peng, 1994; Nauck, 2001).

International research on migrant adaptation has revealed that children from immigrant backgrounds generally show satisfactory levels of psychological and social adjustment, and, when compared with national peers, exhibit better health, less involvement in negative behaviours and do as well as or better than non-immigrant peers with respect to academic achievement and psychological well-being (Fulgini, 1998). This has been discussed under the rubric of the "immigrant paradox", which emphasises the positive outcomes for migrant youth despite socio-economic disadvantages and greater discrimination. However, research has also shown that the migrant advantage decreases over generations.

Both cultural characteristics and adaptive outcomes are examined in this report, including comparisons between migrant and national youth.

Definition of Terms and a Note on the Analyses

Consistent with the ICSEY project, this report uses the terms “national” and “migrant” youth. National youth refers to native-born New Zealand European and Māori adolescents and young adults.² Migrant youth includes the first generation (immigrant youth who were born overseas and arrived in New Zealand after the age of 12), the 1.5 generation (immigrant youth who were born overseas and arrived in New Zealand by the age of 12) and the second generation (New Zealand-born youth with both parents born overseas). Data are not available on parents’ migration category (for example, skilled migrant and refugee).

The research reported here is based on the comparative analysis of a subset of the New Zealand ICSEY data; more specifically, it examines the similarities and differences across first, 1.5 and second generations. In addition, immigrant youth are compared, when appropriate, to a sample of national youth. Because the ICSEY research in New Zealand was not specifically designed to address the issue of generational differences, the limitations of this report must be acknowledged from the outset. Of particular concern is the different ethnic composition of the three generational groups, which, in view of established ethnic differences across migrant communities, may affect the outcomes of the generational analysis (Ward, 2007). In addition, New Zealand European and Māori youth are combined in this report to represent the national group. Again, there are well-established intracultural and intercultural differences between Māori and Pakeha that are obscured in this analysis (Ward, 2006). Furthermore, the data used in this research were collected not only through schools, but also through networks and associations in various migrant communities; therefore, the sample is not random and may be biased rather than representative of migrant and national youth. Finally, data are not available on parents’ migration category (for example, skilled migrant, refugee), which may affect the overall pattern of results. Consequently, the findings should be viewed as exploratory and with appropriate caution.

² The terms “national” and “migrant” youth are somewhat arbitrary in that it is highly debatable at which point migrants come to be viewed as members of established ethno-cultural communities that are part of the national group. However, in this research, a pragmatic approach was taken. Māori and New Zealand Europeans were identified as charter groups of the receiving society in light of the country’s bicultural heritage, and consistent with the ICSEY project were labelled “nationals.” While third and later generations of ethnic minorities could, in principle, be incorporated into the national group, this presents certain problems. First, the national and migrant versions of the survey were not identical. Second, there were only 36 research participants that could be identified as later generation migrant youth, and the composition of their ethnic backgrounds was not in proportion to population distributions. Obviously, the arbitrariness of the migrant and national designations should be borne in mind when interpreting the results.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Sample

The research sample included 1,226 New Zealand adolescents and young adults, 744 migrant and 482 national youth. As can be seen in Table 1, the largest Asian and Pacific ethnic groups are well represented in the sample, as are migrants from the most common European (Great Britain) and African (South Africa) source countries.

Table 1: The research sample

Group	Age (Mean)	Gender (% female)	Ethnic Proportions (%)
First generation (n = 201)	16.28	56.7	23.4 Korean 18.4 Chinese 16.0 British 14.4 Indian 10.0 South African 7.0 Samoan 10.8 Others
1.5 generation (n = 402)	15.35	54.0	27.4 Korean 17.2 Chinese 16.6 South African 13.4 British 10.0 Indian 8.7 Samoan 6.7 Others
Second generation (n = 141)	15.31	50.0	43.3 Samoan 15.6 Indian 14.9 Chinese 14.2 Other Pacific 12.0 Others
National group (n = 482)	14.92	50.0	82.2 NZ European 17.8 Māori

The first generation sample was composed of 201 migrant youth (56.7% female) ranging in age from 13–19 years ($M = 16.28$). More than half of the sample was Asian youth, with Koreans (23.4%), Chinese (18.4%) and Indians (14.4%) amongst the largest groups; however, just over a quarter were from Britain (16%)

or South Africa (10%). Samoans composed 7% of the sample. There were small numbers of others from European, African, Asian, Pacific and dual heritages.

The 1.5 generation were 402 migrant youth (54% female) ranging in age from 13–19 years ($M = 15.35$). The largest ethnic groups amongst this generation were Korean (27.4%), Chinese (17.2%), South African (16.6%), British (13.4%), Indian (10%) and Samoan (8.7%). The remainder were other Asian, African, European and Pacific peoples as well as dual ethnics.

The second generation sample included 141 youth (50% female), aged 12–18 years ($M = 15.31$). Of these, the largest ethnic groups were Samoan (43.3%), Indian (15.6%), Chinese (14.9%) and other Pacific groups (14.2%). The balance included Korean, British, South African (white) and dual heritage youth.

As can be seen from these descriptions, the first and 1.5 generation samples have similar distributions of ethnic groups; however, the second generation has significantly more Pacific peoples and fewer Asian youth than the first and 1.5 generations.

Most migrant youth resided in neighbourhoods where they were an ethnic minority. The sample's demographics are presented in Table 2, where it can be seen that only 8.6% lived in areas where almost everyone was from the same ethnic group. The neighbourhood composition patterns did not differ across generations ($F(2, 715) = 0.74$). This is not surprising given the relatively small proportions of Asian, Pacific and African peoples in New Zealand.

Table 2: Neighbourhood composition

Composition	%
Almost all people from a different ethnic group	28.4
A majority from a different ethnic group	26.6
Equal mix	25.1
A majority from the same ethnic group	11.3
Almost all people from the same ethnic group	8.6

The national sample of 482 New Zealanders (396 New Zealand Europeans and 86 Māori) was extracted from the larger ICSEY database in proportion to the ethnic ratio reported in the 2001 New Zealand census (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The sample was 50% female, and ages ranged from 12–18 years ($M = 14.92$). The characteristics of the samples are summarised in Table 1.

Research Instrument

The research instrument was designed by the ICSEY team and included background demographic information, cultural factors and adaptation outcomes. The instrument is found in Appendix 1.

Background information

The survey included descriptive data on factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, year at school, country of birth (own and parents'), age of arrival in New Zealand and neighbourhood composition.

Intercultural and intracultural factors

The intercultural and intracultural factors included measures of language proficiency and use, peer contacts, identity, acculturation attitudes, family values, and perceived discrimination.

Language use and proficiency: Language use was measured with an adapted version of Kwak's (1991) scale and assessed the frequency of English and ethnic language usage when talking to parents and siblings. Frequency ratings range from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*all the time*). Proficiency was assessed by self-reported reading, writing, understanding and speaking English and ethnic languages on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very well*) scale.

Peer contacts: Ethnic and national peer contacts were assessed on 5-point scales by three items measuring the frequency of contact (endpoints: *almost never/almost always*) across domains (free time in and out of school, and sports) and one item assessing the number of New Zealand European, Māori and ethnic group friends (endpoints: *none/many*). The national contact score was based on a weighted average of the New Zealand European and Māori contact scores.

Identity: Ethnic identity was assessed by an 8-item scale derived from Phinney's (1992) multigroup ethnic identity measure. The measure emphasises ethnic affirmation (for example, I am proud of being a member of my ethnic group). The national identity measure, based on work by Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997), was composed of three statements (for example, I am happy to be a New Zealander). Responses were made on 5-point *agree-disagree* scales, with higher scores indicating stronger identity in the respective domains.

Acculturation preferences: The 20-item scale was developed by the ICSEY researchers to tap integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation attitudes in five life domains: cultural traditions, language, marriage, social

activities and friends. Integration reflects a preference for cultural maintenance and participation in the wider society; assimilation is concerned only with participation; separation is concerned only with cultural maintenance; marginalisation reflects a tendency to see neither cultural maintenance nor participation as important. The measure uses 5-point *agree-disagree* scales, with higher scores reflecting stronger acculturation attitudes in each of the four domains.

Family values: The measure of family relationship values included the assessment of parental obligations (10 items) and children's rights (four items). The measure was developed by the ICSEY team based on assessments by Nguyen and Williams (1989), Georgas (1989) and Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou and Mylonas (1996). Five-point *agree/disagree* scales were used in response to statements such as "Parents should teach their children to behave properly" and "When a boy/girl reaches the age of 16, it is alright for him/her to decide whom to date and when to date".

Perceived discrimination: The perceived discrimination measure, constructed by the ICSEY team, consisted of seven items: four pertaining to the perceived frequency of being treated unfairly because of ethnic background by peers, teachers or adults, and three statements about the experience of acceptance, threat or insult on the basis of ethnicity. All responses were made on 5-point scales, with frequency responses using *never/often* endpoints and statements about unfair treatment using *strongly agree/strongly disagree* options.

Adaptation outcomes

Adaptive outcomes were measured in psychological (symptoms and life satisfaction) and social (school adjustment and behavioral problems) domains.

Life satisfaction: The assessment of life satisfaction relied upon 5-point *agree/disagree* scales in response to five items taken from research by Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985). Examples include "I am satisfied with my life" and "If I could live my life over, I would not change anything".

Psychological symptoms: Psychological symptoms were measured by a 15-item scale constructed by the ICSEY team from items extracted from work by Beiser and Fleming (1986), Kinzie, Manson, Vinh, Tolan, Anh and Pho (1982) and Robinson, Shaver and Wrightsman (1991). Five-point scales (endpoints: *not at all/very often*) are used as response options to items such as "I worry a lot of the time" and "I feel unhappy and sad".

School adjustment: The assessment of school adjustment was based on a 7-item instrument derived from work by Andersen (1982) and Moos (1989). The measure relies upon a 5-point *agree/disagree* format and incorporates statements such as "At present I like school" and "I have problems concentrating when doing homework". The measure also includes one item on absenteeism.

Behavioural problems: Finally, behavioural problems were assessed by a modified version of Olweus's (1989) measure of antisocial behaviour. A 5-point frequency scale is used (endpoints: *never/many times*) in response to items about bullying, stealing, quarrelling and other antisocial activities.

Procedures for Data Collection

The surveys were distributed in a variety of ways to ensure the participation of targeted migrant groups. First, surveys were distributed to classes in schools in Christchurch, Hawkes Bay and the Wellington region. Second, surveys were distributed through schools to students from targeted groups in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. Third, surveys were distributed by members of the migrant communities through personal networks and snow-balling in Auckland, Wellington and Hamilton. In all cases, participation in the research was anonymous and voluntary.

RESULTS

A Note on the Statistical Analyses

The primary comparative analyses were conducted by analysis of covariance, controlling for age and gender across the samples. Relevant *F* statistics are reported in parentheses. Analyses of covariance were followed by *post hoc* tests, that is, pair-wise comparisons for significant differences between groups. The text elaborates significant differences as determined by the *post hoc* tests although, for the sake of simplicity, the least significant difference and/or Bonferroni statistics are not included. Figures presented in the accompanying graphs reflect the estimated means after controlling for age and gender. Frequency data are also provided as examples, where appropriate, to elaborate the findings.

In some instances, additional mixed design analyses of covariance are conducted to examine repeated measures, such as the comparisons between the strength of national and ethnic identity or national and ethnic peer contacts across generations. Where appropriate, *post hoc* *t*-tests have been undertaken to elucidate within-group differences. Again, for the sake of simplicity, the *t* statistics are not reported, but significant within-group differences are stated in the text.

In the case of adaptation outcomes, that is, life satisfaction, psychological symptoms, behavioural problems and school adjustment, analyses were undertaken across four groups: first generation migrants, 1.5 generation migrants, second generation migrants and the national group. The same analyses were undertaken for selected cultural factors – identity, values and discrimination – where appropriate. However, the measurements of peer contacts, language use and proficiency, and acculturation preferences are not functionally equivalent across national and migrant youth; therefore, in those cases, comparative analysis is limited to the three generations of migrant youth.

Key Findings

Language

The findings show that both ethnic language use ($F(2, 536) = 38.37, p < 0.001$) and proficiency ($F(2, 601) = 46.44, p < 0.001$) decreases significantly across each generation. For example, 79% of the first generation, 60% of the 1.5 generation and 30% of the second generation described their proficiency as “fairly” or “very” good.

A similar but reversed trend can be observed for English language use ($F(2, 538) = 42.57, p < 0.001$) and proficiency ($F(2, 601) = 46.44, p < 0.001$). Proficiency increases over each generation. For example, 64% of the first generation, 83% of the 1.5 generation and 94% of the second generation youth described their English language proficiency as “fairly” or “very” good. Usage is not significantly different between the first and 1.5 generations; however, second generation migrants use English with their parents and siblings more frequently than earlier generations.

Although first generation migrants report that they are more proficient in their ethnic language than English, this relationship reverses in the 1.5 and second generations. As for relative language usage, the second generation migrants use English significantly more often with their parents and siblings than their ethnic language; the reverse is true for first and 1.5 generation migrants (see Figures 1 and 2).

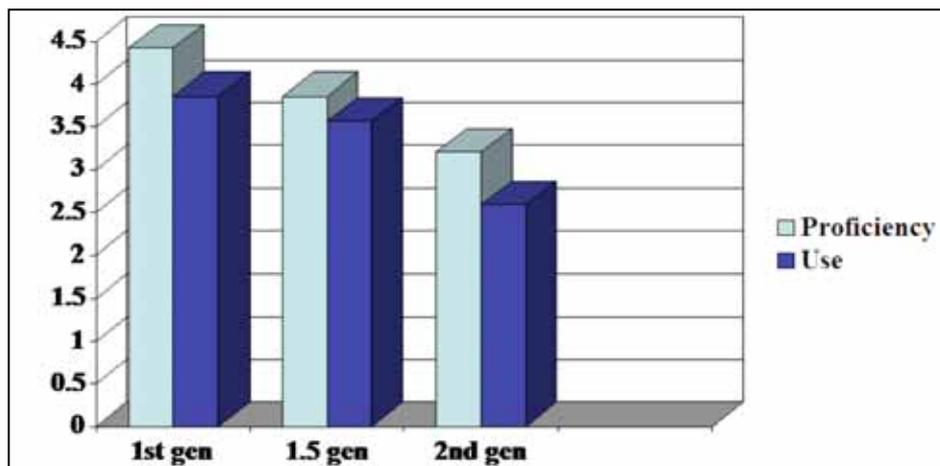


Figure 1: Ethnic language proficiency and use over generations

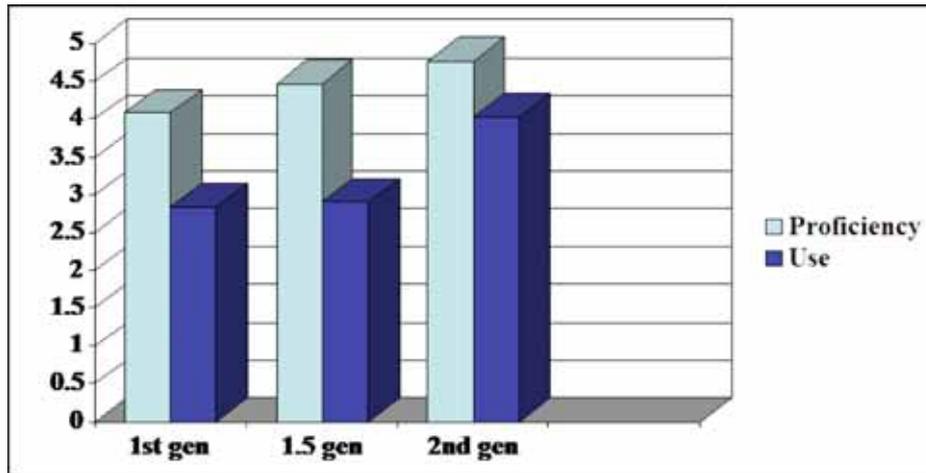


Figure 2: English language proficiency and use over generations

Peer contacts

In all cases, intra-ethnic contact is greater than contact with national peers; however, there are changes in both ethnic and national peer contact over generations (Figure 3).

First generation migrants have less contact with national peers than do subsequent generations ($F(2, 706) = 4.09, p < 0.02$). For example, only 22% of the first generation youth described their contact with national peers as “often” or “almost always” compared to between 28% and 34% of later generations.

The second generation, however, has more contact with their ethnic peers than the two overseas-born migrant groups ($F(2, 665) = 12.64, p < 0.001$). Sixty per cent described the frequency of ethnic peer contact as “often” or “almost always”, compared to 40% of the 1.5 and 46% of the first generation youth.

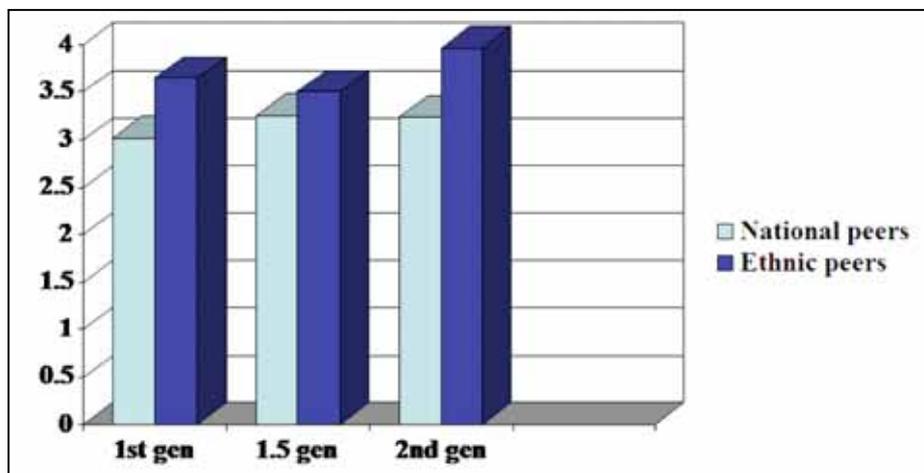


Figure 3: Ethnic and national peer contacts over generations

Acculturation preferences

Attitudes towards integration ($F(2, 711) = 0.43$, ns) and separation ($F(2, 715) = 0.08$, ns) are stable and do not vary across generations. However, second generation migrants are more likely to endorse assimilation ($F(2, 715) = 5.12$, $p < 0.006$) and marginalisation ($F(2, 712) = 3.88$, $p < 0.02$) than the earlier generations. These generational shifts need to be seen in the broader context, where there is a clear preference for integration over all generations. Furthermore, separation is preferred to assimilation in the overseas-born migrants. It is not until the second generation that this preference disappears.

Some aspects of these trends can be illustrated by examining acculturation preferences in response to attitudes towards cultural traditions. Sixty-four per cent of the first generation, 68% of the 1.5 and 57% of the second generation endorse integration, agreeing that “members of my ethnic group should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adapt to those of New Zealanders”. Attitudes towards marginalisation vary slightly; 15%, 13% and 18% of the successive generations agree that “it is not important for members of my ethnic group either to maintain their own cultural traditions or to adapt to those in New Zealand”. As for separation, 17% of the first generation, 11% of the 1.5 and 13% of the second generation agree that “members of my ethnic group should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those in New Zealand”; however, agreement with assimilation, that is, “members of my ethnic group should adapt to New Zealand cultural traditions and not maintain those of their own” appears to be strongest in the second generation (20%), compared to 16% and 13% in the first and 1.5 generations, respectively.

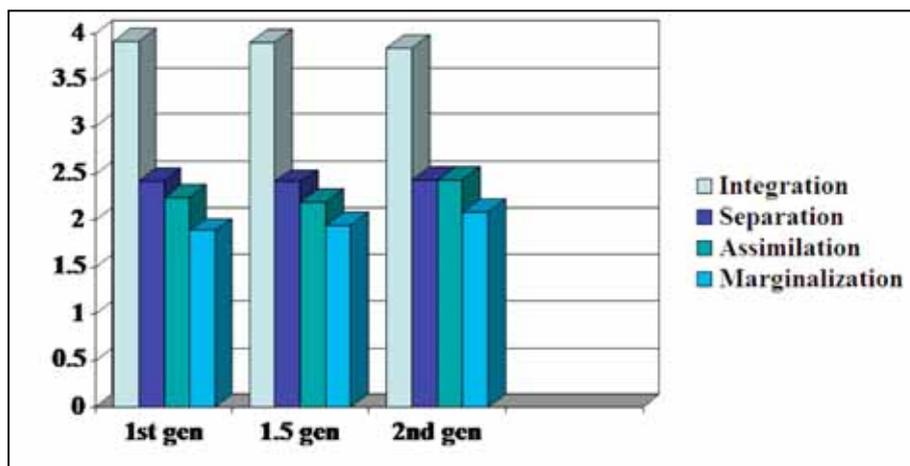


Figure 4: Acculturation attitudes over generations

Ethnic and national identity

The analysis of ethnic and national identity includes comparisons across the national and migrant groups. The significant differences in ethnic identity ($F(3, 1202) = 31.59, p < 0.001$) are due to the weaker sense of ethnic identity in the national group; ethnic identity is strong and remains stable in migrant youth over generations. In contrast, national identity strengthens over generations and is not significantly different between second generation migrants and the national group ($F(3, 1208) = 82.60, p < 0.001$). What is also apparent in the graph is that ethnic identity is stronger than national identity in the first and 1.5 generations while the reverse is true for the national group. In second generation migrants, however, national and ethnic identity are equally strong (Figure 5).

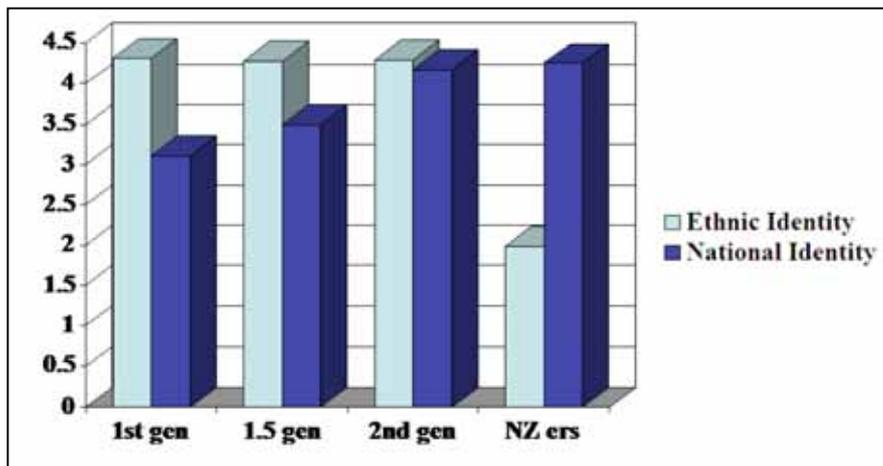


Figure 5: Ethnic and national identity in migrant and national youth

To illustrate these trends, the results from the analysis of a single item from the ethnic and national identity measures, "I am proud of being a member of my ethnic group/a New Zealander", is reported. Ethnic pride remains high, as evidenced by agreement with the statement, and is endorsed by 85% in the first generation, 84% in the 1.5 generation and 82% in the second generation. National pride, however, increases steadily from 42% to 58% to 84% over successive generations.

Family values

Family values entail perceptions of both children's rights and parental obligations. Findings show that national youth favour children's rights to a greater extent than all migrant groups ($F(3, 1183) = 28.98, p < 0.001$); however, there are no significant differences across generations. Views on parental obligations follow a similar pattern in that all migrant groups endorse parental obligations to a greater extent than national youth ($F(3, 1179) = 78.07, p < 0.001$). In this instance, however, there are also differences between first and second generation migrants, with the former having higher expectations for parental obligations (Figure 6).

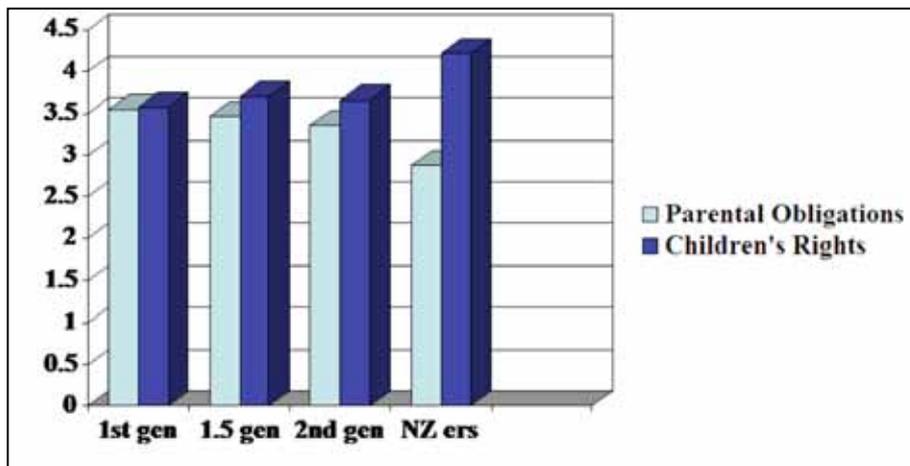


Figure 6: Family values in migrant and national youth

First generation migrants hold balanced attitudes towards children's rights and parental responsibilities; however, by the 1.5 generation, children's rights are valued more than parental obligations. This is also true for second generation and national youth.

Perceived discrimination

Figure 7 presents the findings on perceived discrimination. As can be seen in the figure, the overall level (on a 1–5 scale) is not high; nonetheless, all migrant groups report more discrimination on the basis of ethnic or cultural background than do the national group ($F(3, 1151) = 16.52, p < 0.001$). For example, 42% of migrant youth, compared to 16% of their national peers, reported that they had been teased or insulted because of their ethnic background. There are no significant differences across migrant groups.

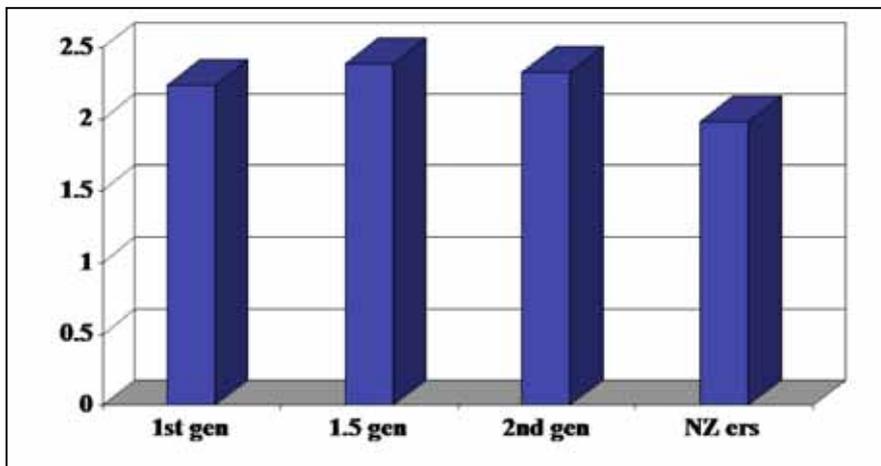


Figure 7: Perceived discrimination in migrant and national youth

Psychological adaptation

Figure 8 presents the findings on life satisfaction. Analysis indicates that there are no significant differences across groups ($F(3, 1163) = 2.09, ns$). The pattern is somewhat different for psychological symptoms (Figure 9). Although the overall incidence is relatively low, the national group displays more symptoms of psychological distress than their migrant peers ($F(3, 1170) = 7.89, p < 0.02$). There are no significant differences amongst migrant youth.

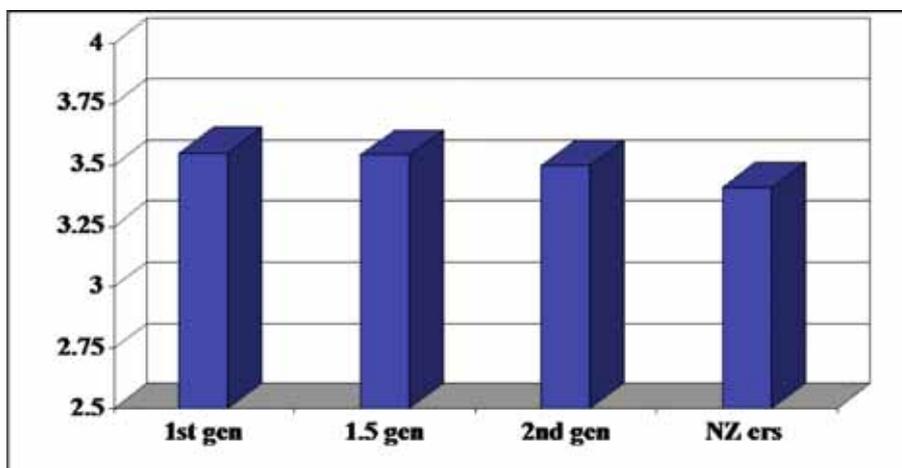


Figure 8: Life satisfaction in migrant and national youth

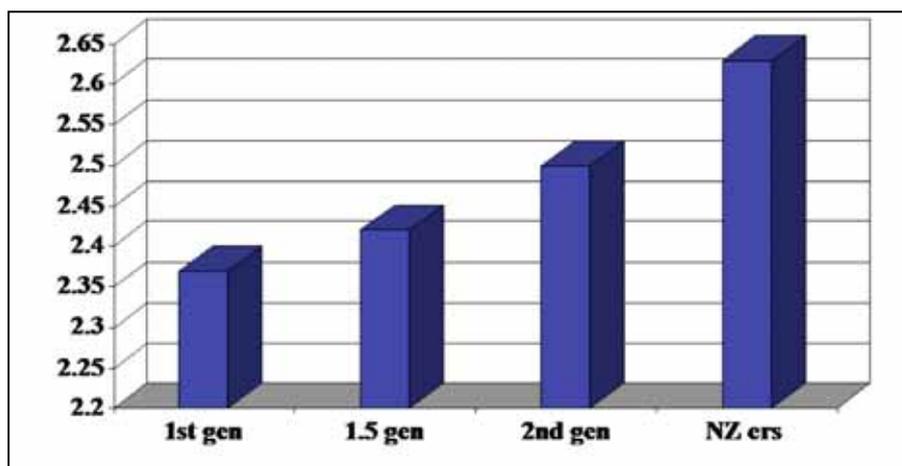


Figure 9: Psychological symptoms in migrant and national youth

In both psychological domains, it should be noted that mean scores are on the adaptive side of the scalar midpoint (3 on a 5-point scale), indicating that all groups are at least moderately satisfied with life and have relatively few symptoms

of psychological distress. In short, both immigrants and native-borns are generally well adjusted.

Social adaptation

Migrant youth report fewer behavioural problems than their national peers ($F(3, 1169) = 35.01, p < 0.001$). Second generation youth have more problems than earlier generations but fewer behavioural problems than national youth (Figure 10). As an example, 84% of first generation youth, 69% of the 1.5 generation and 56% of the second generation report that they have never bullied another child, compared to 45% of their national peers.

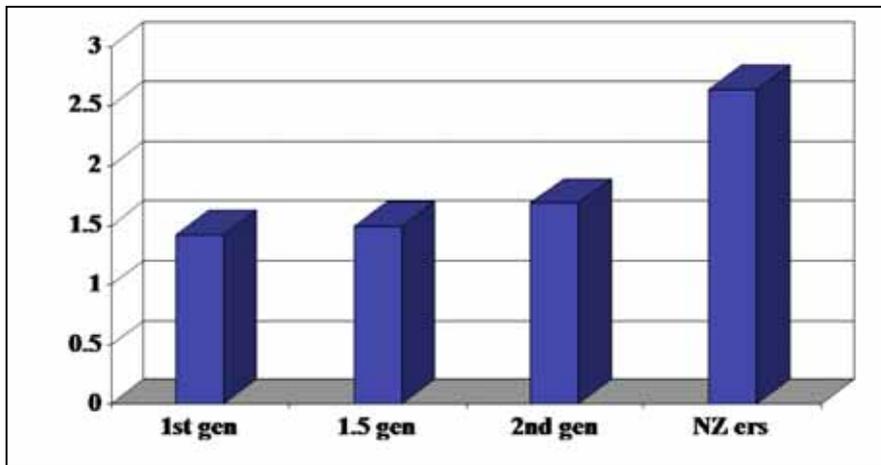


Figure 10: Behavioural problems in migrant and national youth

The same pattern is observed with respect to school adjustment ($F(3, 1211) = 31.72, p < 0.001$). First and 1.5 generation migrants report better school adjustment than their second generation peers who, in turn, are better adjusted than national youth (Figure 11).

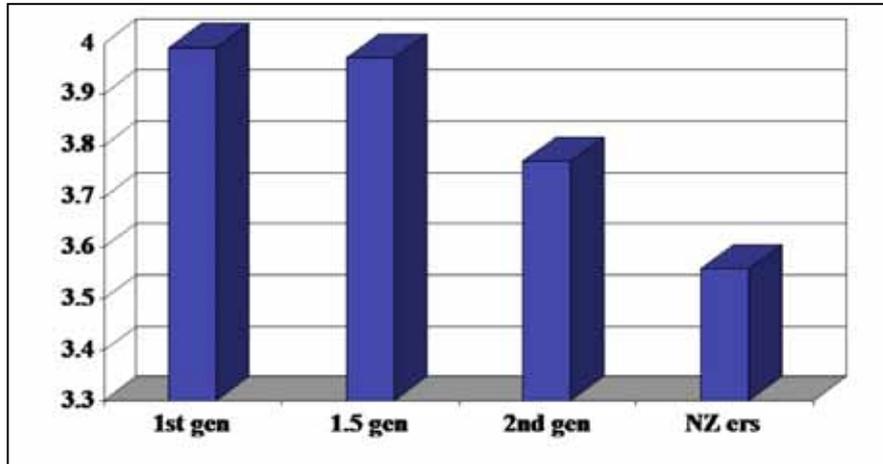


Figure 11: School adjustment in migrant and national youth

In both social domains, it should be noted that mean scores are on the adaptive side of the scalar midpoint (3 on a 5-point scale), indicating that all groups are at least moderately well adjusted at school and have relatively few behavioural problems. In short, both immigrants and native-borns are generally well adjusted.

DISCUSSION

The report has examined changes in the cultural characteristics and adaptation of migrant youth across the first, 1.5 and second generations. Where appropriate, it has also undertaken comparisons with national youth.

The findings indicate that ethnic identity remains strong and invariant across three generations of migrant youth and that, in all cases, it is stronger in migrants than their national counterparts. Similarly, contacts with ethnic peers are frequent, stable and provide the primary social environment for young migrants. Ethnic language use and proficiency, however, systematically decrease over generations, the 1.5 generation having poorer ethnic language skills and less frequent usage than the first generation, and the second generation, in turn, having poorer skills and less frequent usage than the 1.5 generation. Overall, then, it can be seen that psychological identification with one's ethnic community does not fluctuate markedly over generations, nor does reliance on one's ethnic group for social contact; however, language skills diminish over generations.

While migrants' ethnic identity and intra-group interactions remain stable, there are marked changes in their orientation towards the national society. National identity systematically increases, and by the second generation, migrants are not significantly different from their national counterparts. Contact with national peers also increases with both the 1.5 and second generation migrant youth having more frequent intergroup interactions than members of the first generation. Along the same lines, English use increases and proficiency improves over generations.

In terms of intercultural and intracultural factors, the general pattern can be described as follows. Migrant youth retain identity and intracultural bonds over generations, although there is some slippage in terms of ethnic language use and proficiency. At the same time, they come to orient themselves increasingly to their national peers as evidenced by strengthening national identity, more frequent contact with national peers and increased use of and proficiency in English. These findings are in line with international research that suggests first generation migrants have a strong orientation towards their heritage culture but that the second generation are adept at balancing their traditional and new cultural identities (Mavreas, Bebbington & Der, 1989).

This trend is mirrored in migrants' acculturation preferences. Attitudes towards integration and separation, both of which involve elements of cultural maintenance, are stable across generations. Alternatively, assimilation attitudes do shift, with second generation migrants being more likely to endorse assimilation than their first and 1.5 generation counterparts.

Family values have also been examined in this report. The findings show that migrant groups more strongly endorse parental obligations while national youth more strongly support children's rights. Furthermore, only limited evidence of

generational change is apparent. The sole difference observed across generations is the stronger expectations for parental responsibilities in the first compared to the second generation of migrant youth. These results are not surprising in that research has consistently shown that values change more slowly than behaviours in acculturating persons (for example, Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989).

The findings on migrant adaptation are mixed. Although there were no significant differences in life satisfaction, migrant youth reported fewer psychological symptoms and behavioural problems and better school adjustment than their national peers. This occurred despite being disadvantaged by greater discrimination. However, with respect to social adaptation, the migrant advantage decreased over generations. Second generation youth reported more behavioural problems and poorer school adjustment than earlier generations.

These patterns of migrant adjustment are largely in line with American research, which demonstrates that migrants compare favourably with national youth in terms of adaptive behaviours and health outcomes and do as well or better on measures of academic performance and psychological well-being (Fulgini, 1998). As migrants experience relative socio-economic deprivation and are frequently the victims of prejudice and discrimination, their comparative adaptive advantage has come to be known as the immigrant paradox. However, there is also evidence, including findings from large epidemiological studies on the immigrant paradox, that the gap between migrants and American-borns decreases over generations (Harris, 1999; Nguyen, 2006).

Until recently, the immigrant paradox has only been examined within the United States; however, the ICSEY project investigated the phenomenon in a subset of 10 countries, comparing life satisfaction, psychological symptoms, behavioural problems and school adjustment across first and second generation migrants in relation to national youth. Only limited support for the immigrant paradox was found. More specifically, in Australia, Finland, Sweden and the United States, first generation migrants had better socio-cultural adaptation than their national peers while second generation youth were largely indistinguishable from their national counterparts (Sam, Vedder, Ward & Horenczyk, 2006). In these New Zealand findings, the gap between migrant and national youth narrows over generations, but second generation youth still report better school adjustment and fewer behavioural problems than their national peers.

In conclusion, despite the limitations of the sampling and analyses noted here, particularly variations in the ethnic composition of the first, 1.5 and second generation migrant youth, the findings on identity, values, acculturation and adaptation are largely consistent with international trends.

A VIEW TO THE FUTURE

Immigration will continue to pose important social and political questions for New Zealand as we move further into the 21st century. Indeed, census data have shown that the one in five ratio of overseas-born residents in the 2001 census is now approaching one in four.

This research has shown that integration – that is, cultural maintenance and participation – is the preferred means of dealing with life in a new culture. This is preferred not only by migrant youth, but also recommended by their national peers (Ward, 2007). Indeed, a national survey of more than 2,000 New Zealand households also found that integration is viewed most favourably as a means of migrants “fitting in” and adapting to life in New Zealand (Ward & Masgoret, in press).

The findings indicate that the cultural maintenance component of integration is strong and stable over generations. There is some evidence, however, that the participation dimension increases. For example, English use becomes more frequent and proficiency improves, contact with national peers increases, and a sense of national identity becomes stronger over generations. However, there is also evidence that integration has not been fully achieved, even in second generation migrants. For example, the everyday interactions of migrant youth are still primarily with their ethnic peers, and perceived discrimination does not decrease over generations.

With respect to broader adaptation and well-being issues, migrants do as well or better than their national peers, and although socio-cultural adaptation declines over generations, migrant youth still compare favourably to native-borns. There is no evidence to date that second generation migrant youth pose problems or that they are a source of concern.

In accordance with international studies, New Zealand research findings further indicate that integration is associated with the most positive adaptive outcomes (Sam *et al.*, 2006). Consequently, the major challenge for the future is to identify ways in which participation can be increased without threat to cultural maintenance in migrant communities.

These issues are embedded in the current discourse in New Zealand, where belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy have been defined as the core elements of a socially cohesive society (New Zealand Settlement Strategy 2007). Indeed, Spoonley, Peace, Butcher and O’Neill (2005, p. 103) argue that, when “ethnically and culturally diverse communities and individuals experience a sense of belonging and their contribution is recognised, celebrated and valued” and “all people in New Zealand are able to participate in all aspects of New Zealand life”, a socially cohesive society may be achieved. It appears, then, that meeting

these objectives will yield benefits not only for acculturating individuals, but also for ethnic communities and for New Zealand as a whole.

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APPENDIX 1

IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENT QUESTIONNAIRE

You can answer almost all the questions by making a check in the bracket [X] beside the answer that applies best. In some cases you are asked to write your answer. Try to answer each question quickly without stopping to think too long. If you wish, you may also write your own comments in the questionnaire.

A. First, here are some questions about yourself and your background.
Fill in the blank or check the answer that applies best.

1. How old are you? _____ years

2. What is your gender?

Female/Girl

Male/Boy

3. In what grade are you in school? _____ grade

4. In what country were you born?

[Host country]

Another country What country? _____

5. If born in another country, how old were you when you came to [host country]? _____ years

6. Are you a [host country] citizen?

Yes

No

Don't know

7. Are you a citizen of another country?

Yes

No

Don't know

If yes, of what other country are you a citizen? _____

8. What is your religion?

No religion

Jewish

Protestant

Muslim

Roman Catholic

Buddhist

Greek Orthodox

Hindu

Other (write in) _____

9. What is your ethnic background? [This list was adapted for each group.]

- [] [Xxx]
- [] [Xxx]
- [] Other (write in) _____

10. What is your mother's ethnic background? [This list was adapted for each group.]

- [] [Xxx]
- [] [Xxx]
- [] Other (write in) _____
- [] Don't know

11. What is your father's ethnic background? [This list was adapted for each group.]

- [] [Xxx]
- [] [Xxx]
- [] Other (write in) _____
- [] Don't know

12. Where was your mother born?

- [] [Host country]
- [] Another country What country? _____
- [] Don't know

13. Where was your father born?

- [] [Host country]
- [] Another country What country? _____
- [] Don't know

14. What is the current occupation of your mother and father?

Mother

- [] Unskilled: farm labor, food service janitor, house cleaner, factory work
- [] Skilled work, such as technician, carpenter, hairdresser, seamstress
- [] White collar (office) work, such as clerk, salesperson, secretary, small business
- [] Professional: doctor, lawyer, teacher, business executive
- [] Not currently working: retired, unemployed, homemaker, student
- [] Other (specify:) _____
- [] Don't know

Father

- [] Unskilled: farm labor, food service janitor, house cleaner, factory work
- [] Skilled work, such as technician, carpenter, hairdresser, seamstress
- [] White collar (office) work, such as clerk, salesperson, secretary, small business
- [] Professional: doctor, lawyer, teacher, business executive
- [] Not currently working: retired, unemployed, homemaker, student
- [] Other (specify:) _____
- [] Don't know

15. Which statement is most true about the neighborhood where you live?

- [] Almost all people are from a different ethnic group than mine
- [] A majority of the people is from a different ethnic group than mine
- [] There is about an equal mix of people from my ethnic group and other groups
- [] A majority of the people is from my ethnic group
- [] Almost all people are from my ethnic group

B. Here are some questions about languages. Please answer by checking the answer that applies best.

1. What language do you speak at home?

With parents

		Not at all	A little	Half the time	A lot	All the time
a.	I speak [ethnic language] with my parents	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b.	I speak [national language] with my parents	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Answer the following if you have brothers or sisters.
If not, check here:

c. [] I have no brothers or sisters

With brothers and sisters

		Not at all	A little	Half the time	A lot	All the time
d.	I speak [ethnic language] with my brothers and sisters	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e.	I speak [national language] with my brothers and sisters	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

The following questions concern your knowledge of [ethnic language].

		Not at all	A little	Some-what	Fairly well	Very well
2.	How well do you					
	(a) <u>understand</u> [ethnic language]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
	(b) <u>speak</u> [ethnic language]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
	(c) <u>read</u> [ethnic language]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
	(d) <u>write</u> [ethnic language]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

The following questions concern your knowledge of [national language].

		Not at all	A little	Some- what	Fairly well	Very well
3.	How well do you					
	(a) <u>understand</u> [national language]? []	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
	(b) <u>speak</u> [national language]? []	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
	(c) <u>read</u> [national language]? []	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
	(d) <u>write</u> [national language]? []	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

4. Do you speak any other language at home than [national language] or [ethnic language]?

[] Yes What language? _____
 [] No

C. The following statements are about school. How well do you think they apply to you? Please check the answer that corresponds best to your own opinions and experiences.

		Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1.	At present I like school.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2.	I have problems concentrating during classes.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3.	I feel uneasy about going to school in the morning.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4.	I have problems concentrating when doing homework.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5.	I wish I could quit school for good.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6.	I feel lonely at school.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

7. I believe my teacher thinks my school performance is:
- Poor
 - Below average
 - Average
 - Above average
 - Good
8. My present average grade is: ____
9. I have been absent from school all day or part of the day without a valid reason.
- Never
 - Almost never
 - A few times a week
 - A few times a month
 - A few times a year

People can think of themselves in various ways. For example, they may feel that they are members of various ethnic groups, such as Vietnamese (etc.), and that they are part of the larger society, [host society]. These questions are about how you think of yourself in this respect.

1. How do you think of yourself?
- | | Not
At all | A little | Some-
what | Quite
a bit | Very
much |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1a. I think of myself as [ethnic]. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 1b. I think of myself as [national]. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 1c. I think of myself as part of another ethnic group. What group? _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I feel that I am part of [ethnic] culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I am proud of being [ethnic]. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I am happy to be [ethnic]. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I feel that I am part of [national] culture. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I am proud of being [national]. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

	Not At all	A little	Some- what	Quite a bit	Very much
7. I am happy to be [national].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. Being part of [ethnic] culture is embarrassing to me.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. Being [ethnic] is uncomfortable for me.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. Being part of [ethnic] culture makes me feel happy.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11. Being [ethnic] makes me feel good.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

People differ in how important they consider aspects of themselves to be. How important are the following aspects of yourself to you?

	Not at all important	A little important	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
12. That I am [national]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13. That I am [ethnic]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
14. That I am a person/human being	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
15. That I have a religion	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
16. That I am male or female (boy or girl)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Here are some statements about language, cultural traditions, friends etc. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement by checking the answer that applies best to you.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. I feel that [ethnic group] should adapt to [national] cultural traditions and not maintain those of their own.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. I would rather marry a [ethnic] than a [national].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. I feel that [ethnic group] should maintain their own cultural traditions but also adapt to those of [national].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. I would rather marry a [national] than a [ethnic].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. I would be just as willing to marry a [national] as a [ethnic].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. I feel that it is not important for [ethnic group] either to maintain their own cultural traditions or to adapt to those of [national].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. I feel that [ethnic group] should maintain their own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of [national].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. I would not like to marry either a [national] or a [ethnic].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. It is more important to me to be fluent in [ethnic] than in [national lang.].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. It is more important to me to be fluent in [national lang.] than in [ethnic lang.].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11. It is important to me to be fluent in both [national lang.] and in [ethnic lang.].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
12. It is not important to me to be fluent either in [ethnic lang.] or [national lang.].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13. I prefer social activities which involve both [national members] and [ethnic members].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
14. I prefer to have only [national] friends.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
15. I prefer to have only [ethnic] friends.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
16. I prefer social activities which involve [nationals] only.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
17. I prefer to have both [ethnic] and [national] friends.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
18. I don't want to attend either [national] or [ethnic] social activities.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
19. I prefer social activities which involve [ethnic group members] only.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
20. I don't want to have either [national] or [ethnic] friends.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

F. Here are some questions about your friends and people you know. Indicate the answer that applies best.

1.	How many close [ethnic], [national] and [other ethnic] friends do you have?				
	None	Only one	A few	Some	Many
(a)	Close [ethnic] friends				
	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(b)	Close [national] friends				
	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(c)	Close [other ethnic] friends				
	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

2. How often do you spend free time in school with...

	Almost Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Almost Always
(a) [Ethnic members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(b) [National members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(c) [Other ethnic members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

3. How often do you spend free time out of school with:

	Almost Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Almost Always
(a) [Ethnic members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(b) [National members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(c) [Other ethnic members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

4. How often do you play sports with:

	Almost Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Almost Always
(a) [Ethnic members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(b) [National members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(c) [Other ethnic members]?	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times weekly	Almost never	Never
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5. How often do you participate in traditional [ethnic] activities?

[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

6. How often do you participate in traditional [national] activities or customs?

[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

G. Here are some statements dealing with relationships within the family.

How well do the statements apply to your own opinions?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. There should be a clear line of authority within the family and no doubt about who decides.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. It is all right for boys over the age of 18 to decide when to marry and whom to marry.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. Children should obey their parents.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. Parents should teach their children to behave properly.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. When a boy reaches the age of 16, it is all right for him to decide whom to date and when to date.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. Children should not talk back to their parents.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. It is all right for girls over the age of 18 to decide when to marry and whom to marry.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. It is a child's responsibility to look after the parents when they need help.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. Girls should share in the work at home without payment.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. Parents always know what is best.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11. When a girl reaches the age of 16, it is all right for her to decide whom to date and when to date.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
12. Boys should share in the work at home without payment.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13. Girls should live at home until they marry.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
14. Boys should live at home until they marry.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

H. When people with different backgrounds are together, one may sometimes feel unfairly treated. The following questions are about these kinds of experiences.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. I think that others have behaved in an unfair or negative way towards my ethnic group.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. I don't feel accepted by [national group].	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. I feel [national group] something against me.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. I have been teased or insulted because of my ethnic background.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. I have been threatened or attacked because of my ethnic background.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

How often do the following people treat you unfairly or negatively because of your ethnic background?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very often
6. Teachers	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. Other adults outside school	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. Other students	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. Other kids/teens outside school	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

I. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about yourself?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. I am able to protect my personal interests.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. What happens to me in the future depends on me.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. I can do anything I really set my mind to do.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. When I get what I want, it is because of my own effort.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. I can determine what will happen in my life.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. When I make plans, I feel certain that I can make them work.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

J. How do the following statements apply to how you think about yourself and your life?

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. At times I think I am no good at all.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. I feel I have not much to be proud of.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

		Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
8.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10.	I take a positive attitude to myself.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11.	In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
12.	The conditions of my life are excellent.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13.	I am satisfied with my life.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
14.	So far I have got the important things I want in life.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
15.	If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

K. How often do you experience the following?

		Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1.	I feel tired.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2.	I feel sick in the stomach.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3.	I feel dizzy and faint.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4.	I feel short of breath even when not exerting myself.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5.	I feel weak all over.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6.	I feel tense or keyed up.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
7. I feel nervous and shaky inside.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. I feel restless.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. I feel annoyed or irritated.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. I am worried about something bad happening to me.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11. I feel unhappy and sad.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
12. My thoughts seem to be mixed up.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13. I worry a lot of the time.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
14. I feel lonely even with other people.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
15. I lose interest and pleasure in things which I usually enjoy.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

L. Many students have at some time engaged in negative activities. We are interested in how frequently these activities occur, not who does them. Remember that no one will know how you respond. Have you been involved in any of the following, and in that case how often?

	Never	Yes, but not during the past 12 months	Once during the past 12 months	A few times during the past 12 months	Many times during the past 12 months
1. Had a serious quarrel with a teacher.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. Been kicked out of classroom because of something you did.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. Stolen money or something else from members of your family.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

	Never	Yes, but not during the past 12 months	Once during the past 12 months	A few times during the past 12 months	Many times during the past 12 months
4. Taken things from a shop without paying.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. Purposely destroyed seats on a bus, at the cinema or other places.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. Purposely destroyed or broken windows, benches, telephone booths, or something similar.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. Cursed at a teacher.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. Been called to the principal for something wrong you had done.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. Avoided paying for such things as movies, bus or train rides.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. Bullied another kid.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

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