

**THE ROLE OF BHUTANESE ADOLESCENT REFUGEES'  
ACCULTURATION AND FAMILIAL SOCIAL CAPITAL ON THEIR  
GENERAL WELL-BEING AND SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT**

by

Neda Moinolmolki

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Human Development and Family Studies

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Neda Moinolmolki

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Bahira Trask, Ph.D.  
Chair of the Department of Human Development and Family Studies

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Carol Vukelich, Ph.D.  
Interim Dean of the College of Education and Human Development

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Ann L. Ardis, Ph.D.  
Senior Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

---

Bahira Trask, Ph.D.  
Professor in charge of dissertation

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

---

Barbara H. Settles, Ph.D.  
Member of dissertation committee

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

---

Mellissa Gordon, Ph.D.  
Member of dissertation committee

I certify that I have read this dissertation and that in my opinion it meets the academic and professional standard required by the University as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signed:

---

Robert L. Hampel, Ph.D.  
Member of dissertation committee

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## **ABSTRACT**

A drastic increase in the number of adolescent refugees displaced globally correlates with the rise of conflict, persecution, and generalized violence worldwide. Particularly noteworthy is the recent increase of Bhutanese refugee populations in the United States. Despite the increased number of Bhutanese refugees, specifically among adolescents resettled in the United States, surprisingly few studies address how these refugees adapt upon resettlement. This study aims to rectify, to some degree, the critical absence of scholarship that explores potential associations for familial social capital and acculturation variables on Bhutanese refugee adolescents' school-level adjustment and general well-being. Indeed, this study examines the unique additive relationship of familial social capital on Bhutanese adolescent refugees' school adjustment and general well-being over and above the effects of acculturation identity. Using a sample of Bhutanese adolescent refugees ( $N = 119$ ) in a medium-sized city within the Mid-Atlantic region, a combination of descriptive statistics, correlations, and hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to assess the associations between variables. Results indicated significant positive associations between Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital quality, along with their ethnic identity, on their general well-being and school adjustment. Further, results supported a significant additive positive relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment beyond the effects of acculturation identity.

## Chapter 1

### THE STATE OF REFUGEES: THE NEED, PURPOSE, AND GOALS OF STUDYING BHUTANESE ADOLESCENT REFUGEES

Data from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) indicates that approximately 51.2 million refugees were forcibly displaced worldwide due to conflict, persecution, generalized violence, and/or human rights violations (2014). This figure accounts for the highest recorded post-World War II (WWII) level. According to the UNHCR, a *refugee* is defined as someone “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (UNHCR, 1951: Article 1A[2]). Since the enactment of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951, this definition remains essentially unaltered. Children, including adolescents, constitute approximately half of the total worldwide refugee population, and this number continued to rise over the last 10 years (UNHCR, 2014). In 2013, children under the age of 18 constituted 50 percent of the total refugee population, compared with 46 percent in 2012 (UNHCR, 2014). By the end of 2013, developing countries hosted approximately 10.1 million refugees, which is the highest rate over the past 22 years (UNHCR, 2014).

Bhutanese refugees is a population recently on the rise within the United States. Despite the increased number of resettled Bhutanese refugees, limited extant literature assesses their unique adjustment and adaptation within the United States (Ao

et al., 2012; Ao et al., 2015; Hagaman, 2016). The few studies that do exist focused exclusively on Bhutanese adult populations and suicide ideation rates. In a review of literature to date, no study investigated the adjustment of adolescents and emerging-adult Bhutanese refugee populations resettled within the United States. Consequently, the purpose of this study aims to utilize a strength-based approach to investigate the impact factors of familial social capital and acculturation on Bhutanese adolescents' school level adjustment and general well-being.

Due to the limited literature that assesses this understudied population, it is imperative to provide an overview of the history of migration and refugee resettlement both globally and domestically. Notably, the limited literature assessing refugee populations is distinct from assessments of immigrants; thus, the differential experiences of refugees and immigrants will be emphasized to provide a foundation for the specific purpose of this study.

### **1.1 History of Migration**

Migration and immigrant resettlement are not new phenomena. *Migration* is defined as a movement from one location to another (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). Migration has existed at least since the time of Homo Erectus, the ancient ancestors of modern humans who left Africa over a million years ago (Jones & Mielants, 2010). Since ancient times, migration continues to be recognized as a fundamental human reaction to various economic, cultural, political, and environmental changes (Jones & Mielants, 2010). Although migration remained prevalent throughout millions of years of human history, its process and form changed drastically in the last century.

Increased globalization and the end of World War I (WWI) chiefly compelled such changes.

The concepts of *refugee* and *refugee protection* were not formally recognized until the end of WWI. Prior to the 20th century, due to the lack of entry restrictions, many migrants were able to easily move to new lands and territories. In the aftermath of WWI, however, the international community was confronted with millions of refugees who fled their homelands in search of safety. At that time, many governments responded by developing a set of international agreements to ensure adequate treatment, protection, and documentation of individuals who became recognized as the first refugees of the 20th century (Jaeger, 2001).

During the early 1950s, the international community gradually composed a set of guidelines, laws, and conventions to protect refugees' human rights. This process began with the establishment of the International Refugee Organization in 1946, which was developed to handle the massive post-WWII refugee crisis. At that time, the organization facilitated a diplomatic conference in Geneva, Switzerland, where the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was successfully adopted. This convention focused exclusively on European refugees in the aftermath of WWII (Jaeger, 2001). For the first time in history, a universal definition of what constitutes a *refugee* was established along with the recognition of refugees' basic legal protections and social rights. Although, initially, the convention was developed exclusively for European refugees, it was later amended in 1967 to include refugees worldwide (Jaeger, 2001).

Later, the Office of UNHCR replaced the International Refugee Organization; however, many of the international agreements, documentations, and conventions remain in place. Moreover, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees has demonstrated remarkable resiliency over the past 60 years, despite the changing nature of worldwide conflicts and patterns of migration (Jaeger, 2001). The current international system of refugee protection helped to protect millions of refugees around the globe in a variety of refugee situations such as Vietnamese refugees fleeing the communist regime and postwar WWII Soviet Union Jews fleeing religious persecution. As long as people continue to be persecuted, there will be a need to implement the 1951 Geneva Convention protocol and the Office of UNHCR.

## **1.2 History of U.S. Refugee Resettlement**

The United States continues to admit refugees with special humanitarian interest concerns, since the wake of WWII, with the enactment of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which provided admission to over 400,000 displaced European refugees (Refugee Council USA, n.d.). The act authorized the admission of specific European displaced persons to the United States for a limited period. Under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, any displaced European person or refugee, as defined by the International Refugee Organization, was eligible for resettlement. Eligible individuals met the following conditions, on or after September 1939 or before 22 December 1945 as follows: 1) entering through Germany, Austria, or Italy; 2) residing in the American sector of Italy; 3) residing in the British sector or French sector of Berlin or Vienna; 4)

residing in the American zone, British zone, or French zone of Germany or Austria; 5) being a victim of persecution of the Nazi government; or 6) being a native of Czechoslovakia who had fled due to persecution or fear of persecution (Displaced Persons Act of 1948). Subsequent laws and acts, such as the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962, were established to permit the admission of various waves of displaced refugees fleeing from Communist countries, including Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Korea, China, and Cuba. Programs, such as the Department of State's Reception and Placement Program, addressed the unexpected and urgent needs of refugees and displaced persons through public and private organizations operating in the United States (Brown & Scribner, 2014). The Department of State's Reception and Placement Program established cooperative agreements with nine domestic resettlement agencies nationwide to help support refugee resettlement. The Reception and Placement Program supplied resettlement agencies with a one-time allowance to assist with expenses incurred during a refugee's first few months in the United States (Brown & Scribner, 2014). These resettlement agencies set the foundation for the current ecological support system of the United States resettlement program.

The Vietnam War led the U.S. Congress to pass and implement the Refugee Act of 1980. This act standardized resettlement services for all refugees admitted to the United States and spurred the establishment of The Office of Refugee Resettlement. The act developed a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission of refugees into the United States along with comprehensive and uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and adaptation of refugees. The act's primary

objectives are indicated as follows: 1) align the United States' definition of *refugees* to the United Nations' Convention and Protocol on the Status of Refugees; 2) increase the refugee admission cap every year from 17,400 to 50,000; 3) provide emergency procedures when the admission cap exceeds 50,000; and 4) establish the Office of United States Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, and the Office of Refugee Resettlement, to address the realities of modern-day refugee situations (Refugee Act of 1980).

The United States continues to act as a global leader, providing resettlement and asylum for refugees in need of protection. Today, in 2016, the United States is among the top host recipient nations accepting refugee and asylum seekers. In fact, the United States ranks second on the list of top asylum-seeker nations worldwide, after Germany (UNHCR, 2014). According to the United States Homeland Security Annual Flow Report on Refugees and Asylees, nearly 80,000 refugees enter the United States annually. A preponderance of this number hail from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Martin, 2011; UNHCR, 2014). This data indicates a stark contrast to earlier refugee waves of European descent in the 1940s and 1950s. Moreover, this shift has presented challenges for resettlement agencies and communities in welcoming refugees from changing and diversified groups, specifically with regard to host communities' efforts to provide culturally appropriate services.

Further, the population of Asian immigrants in the United States drastically rose in the last two decades. In 1990, nearly seven million Asian immigrants resettled in the United States compared with approximately 18.7 million by 2010 (Center for

Disease Control, 2013; Rong & Preissle, 2009). According to various scholars (Huang, 1989; Sue & Sue, 1990), three major waves of South East Asian resettlement in the United States occurred, each with a unique set of challenges. The first wave stemmed from Vietnam in 1975 after the fall of Saigon. The United States government resettled approximately 140,000 Vietnamese people considered to be allies of the United States (Huang, 1989). Many of these people were already accustomed to Western culture and language. The second wave of refugees consisted of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotians, and Hmong people, who migrated between 1979 and 1982. Refugees from this second wave primarily came from low-income rural areas and lacked English proficiency and occupation skills (Sue & Sue, 1990). Due to their pre-migration experiences and limited contact with Americans, a substantial number of this wave faced adjustment difficulties upon resettlement in the United States (Huang, 1989). The third wave of Asian refugees consisted primarily of elders and minors from Burma, Thailand, and, more recently, Bhutan (Huang, 1989; Sue & Sue, 1990; UNHCR, 2014). Most refugees in the third wave were born and/or raised in refugee camps and their skill sets were limited by their minimal exposure to formal education. Many refugees arrived illiterate in both their native and host languages, further impeding their ability to adapt to the United States (Martin & Midgley, 2006; Rong & Preissle, 2009). Upon resettlement, many people found themselves challenged by increased rates of mental health and psychosocial disorders, such as depression, suicide, and identity formation difficulty (Marshall, Schell, Elliott, Berthold & Chun, 2005; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Rumbaut, 1985).

### **1.3 Distinctions between Immigrant and Refugee Populations**

It is necessary to understand refugee populations' unique needs, experiences, and adjustment processes upon resettlement, which are distinct from those of other immigrants. Significant differences persist between immigrant and refugee populations upon resettlement and adaptation in the United States. When conducting research on refugee populations, to help conceptualize their distinct circumstances, acculturation processes, and challenges, it is instructive to consider differences between these populations especially because it is these differences that place refugee populations at greater risk for maladaptive adjustment (McBrien, 2005). Before delving into a discussion of these differences, an overview of immigrant and refugee populations' similarities will be presented, as it is these similarities that have led many scholars to address immigrant and refugee populations as similar categorical groups. This discussion will be followed by a critical dialogue assessing and distinguishing variations between these groups as well as the limitations of literature that focuses solely on these similarities.

Much of the literature assessing acculturation within various fields grouped refugees and immigrants together (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Berry, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), highlighting the similarities of these two groups. For example, Bozorgmehr and Sabagh (1991) proposed that immigrants and refugees share similar motivations and characteristics upon resettlement. Further, these authors contend that both groups face difficulties associated with migration and adjustment to different cultures and lifestyles. In particular, the authors note that for children these difficulties

include struggles in adapting to school settings. Moreover, their research indicates that both immigrant and refugee youth populations confront an additional acculturation crisis of negotiating identity development while, simultaneously, attempting to meet the cultural demands of a particular school setting. Another area of similarity, commonly cited within immigrant and refugee population literature, is population's experiences of discrimination and racism due to racial, ethnic, religious, and/or cultural distinctions (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2009). Such similarities facilitated scholars' conflation of immigrant and refugees populations as homogeneous subject samples, blurring the distinctions between the two groups.

Despite the similarities addressed above, more recently, scholars have recognized important distinctions between refugees and immigrant populations. Such unique features should be considered when attempting to assess each population's specific needs and vulnerabilities. Immigrant groups' adjustment factors, and the circumstances that initiate their arrival to a new host country, are recognized as primary catalysts of immigrants' acculturation experiences. Immigrants tend to enter host countries voluntarily with preconceived motivations of economic prospects and bright futures for their children. Notably, many immigrants, who resettled in the United States, are highly educated. Immigrant newcomers tend to exhibit positive attitudes toward acculturating and adapting to the host country, leading to experiences of lower degrees of distress upon resettlement, compared with refugees (Berry, 1990; Kim, 2014). Immigrants typically experience the luxury of time to determine

migration decisions, and it is often feasible for them to visit a host country prior to resettlement. In addition, many people resettle with sufficient financial means and are in contact with family members or friends from their native countries who are currently residing in the destination nation (Coward & Coward, 2002; Kim, 2014; Wachter, Heffron, Snyder, Nsonwu, & Busch-Armendariz, 2015).

However, unlike most immigrants, refugees tend to leave their homes involuntarily. Refugees are forced to flee their native countries out of fear due to traumatic circumstances, such as wars, unstable governments, persecution, and/or natural disasters (Wachter et al., 2015). Prior to traumatic experiences, many refugees felt no desire to resettle in another country. During such involuntary departures, refugees are commonly separated from family members and tend to exhibit feelings of guilt and abandonment along with a sense of a lack of control over their own fate upon resettlement (Ellis et al., 2008; Fazel, Reed, Panter, & Stein, 2012; Sue & Sue, 1990). Countless refugees become homeless and reside in temporary refugee camps for decades before safely finding resettlement in other host countries (McBrien, 2005). Although permanent resettlement is often the most desired solution among refugees, less than one percent of refugees worldwide are eventually resettled into third countries (UNHCR, n.d.). Moreover, many who are eventually resettled to permanent locations, do not have a choice in their country of resettlement, except in cases of special circumstance.

In refugee camps, the living conditions are frequently inadequate, with insufficient food, shelter, and medical care (Westmeyer & Wahmonholm, 1996; Fazel

et al., 2012). For many refugees, poor living conditions contribute to significant medical and physical disorders, such as malaria, hepatitis, tuberculosis, liver damage, and malnutrition. In addition, many refugees suffer mental health ramifications on account of previous trauma, such as enduring torture, rape, or witness to mass murder of relatives (Ellis et al., 2008). Statistics indicate that, in particular, children and adolescent refugees are more likely to experience death and be maimed, disabled, or orphaned as a result of their resettlement experiences than are other adolescent populations (Burnett & Peel, 2001; Fazel et al., 2012). More specifically, adolescent refugees frequently encounter violence, injury, torture, murder, massacre, terrorist attack(s), shelling, detention, disability, sexual assault, famine, forcible eviction, harassment, and other abuses during their resettlement experiences (Burnett & Peel, 2001; Fazel et al., 2012). Many adolescents face such experiences during a time precisely when they are not fully developed cognitively or psychosocially, which makes it difficult, if not impossible, for them to comprehend such life events that happen and occur around them (Ellis et al., 2008; Halcon et al., 2004; Kocijan-Hercigonja, Rijavec & Hercigonja, 1998; Kovacev & Shute, 2004).

Refugee youths tend to exhibit higher rates of psychological traumas due to such disruptions during their development (Bemak, Chung, & Pedersen, 2003; Halcon et al., 2004). Upon resettlement, many suffer from high levels of alienation related to their cultural differences and deficient language skills in the new country of settlement (McBrien, 2005). Research indicates that many refugees suffer the effects of such experiences for years. One study, conducted by Stein (1981) on Asian refugees, for

instance, found that five years after resettlement, participants continued to experience concerns about their separation from family members, homesickness, and stress related to their memories of war and departure.

#### **1.4 Lenses of Refugee Population Analysis**

On account of refugee populations' unique resettlement processes, recent researchers have focused nearly exclusively on the past traumatic experiences of such populations, and the resulting effects of these experiences on refugees' adaptation habits (e.g., Barenbaum, Ruchkin, & Schwab-Stone, 2004; Marshal et al., 2005). Such researchers often employed trauma and/or medical approaches to investigate the prevalence of mental disorders, depression, and post-traumatic stress (Ellis et al., 2008; Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005). Although these approaches illuminate some of the psychological problems that result from refugee migration processes and previous traumas, the approaches do not entirely account for the psychological, emotional, and social factors associated with resettlement that are central to refugee populations' adjustment to new environments. In fact, some literature indicates that post-migration experiences may be stronger predictors of psychological difficulties and adjustments than pre-migration experiences (e.g., Birman, Trickett, & Vinokurov, 2002; Kovacev & Shute, 2004). The use of previous "trauma-" or "medical-" based models in research does not consider the fact that the majority of children and adolescents demonstrated resilience despite past traumatic experiences (Amone-P'olak, 2007).

Indeed, scholars recently shifted approaches to studying refugee populations to strength-based “resiliency” lenses, giving increased attention to refugee populations’ psychosocial adaptation, adjustment, and well-being (Stoll & Johnson, 2007). In addition, greater emphasis is placed on the identification of potential factors that predict such outcomes, including individual-level acculturation and social capital factors. However, much of the literature focused on either acculturation or social capital variables, and their independent relationships, as regards general well-being or school adjustment, rather than assessing them simultaneously (Kim, Chen, Li, Hunag, & Moon, 2009; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Sam & Berry, 2006). Moreover, the literature predominantly focused on multicultural immigrant populations from a variety of backgrounds rather than specifically on adolescents or refugee populations (Garcia, Ramirez, & Jariego, 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkin, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006; Lopez-Gonzalez, Aravena, & Hummer, 2005).

### **1.5 Statement of Problem**

Given the recent increase of globalization and growth of human mobility worldwide, scholarly attention also increased in the literature on acculturation, adaptation, and well-being of immigrant populations after resettlement. Despite systematic immigration changes, most of the current literature on immigration adaptation is based on outdated European immigrant models that focus specifically on adult immigrant populations rather than adolescent refugee populations. It is clear that older European immigrant models fail to accommodate for the unique nature of the

acculturation processes and adaptation of current immigrant youths. Overall, the literature indicates that immigrant youths tend to acculturate much more rapidly (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco, & Suarez-Orozco, 2009) and favor more integrative/bicultural acculturation orientations than do their parents (Rick & Forward, 1992). Moreover, many of these youths are simultaneously confronted with the normative developmental processes of adolescence, such as puberty, the establishment of a sense of identity, and the renegotiation of earlier parent-child relationships (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 2006; Myers, 1999; Phinney & Ong, 2007). In the case of refugee adolescents, such processes are further complicated by pre-migration traumatic experiences, the loss of former social relationships, and a need to develop new relationships during the resettlement process (Kovacev & Shute, 2004). Thus, not only do young refugees need to cope with both pre- and post-migration stressors, but also, like many other adolescents, they are actively attempting to develop their sense of identity and social support networks (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 2006; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Ramsden & Taket, 2013).

## **1.6 Rationale for the Current Study**

Since 1975, the United States resituated more than three million refugees (Office of Refugee Resettlement, n.d.). Although the admissions rate of resettlement dropped drastically after 11 September 2001, it appears to be increasing slowly, especially with the rising number of South Asian refugee populations (Office of Refugee Resettlement, n.d.). Research on this group, however, remains scarce despite

the increased number of refugee adolescents resettling in the United States. Very few scholarly publications address factors that help refugee youth populations successfully adjust and adapt to resettlement. Although it is clear that unique challenges confront many refugees upon resettlement to host countries (Berry, 2007; Ellis et al., 2010; Heptinstall, Sethna, & Taylor, 2004), researchers have failed to comprehensively explain the factors relevant to the general well-being and school adaptation needs of such populations. Many current theoretical approaches, examining refugee adolescents utilize a deficit lens, whereby refugee adolescents are typecast as victims of faith or circumstance. Instead, scholarship needs to employ strength-based theories in which refugee adolescents are recognized as active participants of successful development. This study utilized a recently resettled Bhutanese adolescent refugee sample to investigate factors that helped adolescent refugees to successfully adjust and adapt upon resettlement.

Bhutanese refugees are individuals of Nepali origin who fled or were deported from Bhutan, a country situated between India and China. The United States ranks as the top-listed nation of primary resettlement for Bhutanese refugees, followed by Australia and Canada (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Emerging and Zoonotic Infectious Diseases, 2014). By early 2012, more than 49,000 Bhutanese refugees resettled in the United States (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services et al., 2014). Specifically, Bhutanese refugees resettled in 41 states in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services et al., 2014). Adolescents are among the

49,000 Bhutanese refugees who faced potential psychological vulnerabilities of resettlement in the United States. In fact, reports point to a disproportionately high number of suicide rates among Bhutanese refugees resettled in the United States – a rate of 20.3 per 100,000 individuals compared with 12.4 per 100,000 individuals from the general population (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services et al., 2014). Despite the high number of Bhutanese refugee children and adolescents challenged by adaptation in the United States, few systematic empirical studies examine Bhutanese refugee adolescents' general well-being and school adaptation. Indeed, scholarship does not often focus on examining the determinant predictors, such as acculturation and familial social capital, on the Bhutanese adolescent population's general well-being and school adaptation after resettlement.

### **1.7 The Study's Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationships among familial social capital and acculturation variables affecting Bhutanese refugee adolescents' school-level adjustments and general well-being. A primary focal point of the study sought to find a deeper understanding of the functions that social capital and acculturation serve for a sample of Bhutanese adolescent refugees' adjustment and well-being in the United States. Further, this study attempted to assess whether there is a potential additive contribution of social capital (size and quality) beyond the relationship of acculturation identity (both ethnic and native) on school adjustment and general well-being.

## 1.8 The Study's Research Questions and Hypotheses

To gain a more comprehensive understanding of these relationships, four specific questions and six hypotheses were formulated. The four specific questions will be listed first, followed by the six hypotheses. The four specific research questions are as follows:

- 1) What are the relationships among Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital, acculturation identity, and general well-being?
- 2) What are the relationships among Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital, acculturation identity, and their school adjustment?
- 3) Is there an additive relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being, beyond the effects of acculturation identity?
- 4) Is there an additive relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment, beyond the effects of acculturation identity?

The following are the six proposed hypotheses shaped by the previous literature:

- H1) There will be a significant positive relationship between Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital quality and their general well-being.
- H2) There will be a significant positive relationship between Bhutanese

adolescents' acculturation variables (degree of ethnic and American identity) and general well-being.

H3) There will be a significant positive relationship between Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital quality and their school adjustment.

H4) There will be a significant positive relationship between Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation variables (degree of ethnic and American identity) and school adjustment.

H5) There will be an additive positive relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being, beyond the effects of acculturation identity.

H6) There will be an additive positive relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment, beyond the effects of acculturation identity.

## **Chapter 2**

### **FRAMING THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL LITERATURE FOR STUDYING BHUTANESE REFUGEE ADOLESCENTS**

To establish the conceptual framework of this study, it is necessary to address the specific socio-historical flight of Bhutanese refugees. Additionally, relevant theories and literature on acculturation, psychosocial development, social capital, school adjustment, and general well-being must be reviewed. This chapter begins with an account of the socio-historical context of Bhutanese refugees, followed by a review of the theories and literature on normative adolescent development, well-being, acculturation, and social capital. Limitations of the literature will be highlighted throughout the chapter.

#### **2.1 Socio-Historical Background of Bhutanese Refugees**

Bhutan is a South Asian country located between India and China, which dates back to 1865 (Sinha, 2001). Its population consists of nearly one million diverse inhabitants from three major ethnic groups: Drukpas, Sarchhop, and Lhotshampus. The Drukpas and Sarchhop compose the majority of Bhutan's population, and they are traditionally Buddhist. However, the Lhotshampas are a minority group originally from Nepal and follow Hindu traditions. Border control remains a longstanding and

sensitive issue within Bhutan, especially its southern regions. The country's current southern borders were initially formed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, partly as a result of disputes with the British colonial government in India. Conflict over access to the Bengal Duars region resulted in the Anglo-Bhutanese war of 1864–1865. This war led to the 1865 Treaty of Sinchula, which gave Duars to the British in return for an annual cash subsidy paid to the Bhutanese (Sinha, 2001). A further consequence of this treaty was the British encouragement of larger numbers of Nepali immigrants to relocate to Darjeeling and Sikkim, some of whom eventually settled in Bhutan (Sinha, 2001).

In the 1800s, Bhutan's need for skilled field laborers led to a large influx of over 60,000 ethnic Nepali immigrants to the southern region of Bhutan to help cultivate agricultural lands (Kharat, 2001). Nepali individuals eventually started to develop families and small communities within Bhutan, today recognized as the Lhotshampas (Giri, 2005). The growing number of Lhotshampas intensified fear in the Bhutanese government and among the Drukpa people. Initially, the Bhutanese government responded with isolation initiatives attempting to restrict Nepali Bhutanese residences to southern regions of Bhutan. Lhotshampas were not allowed to own land in the north, and many were not given the opportunity to learn the Dzongkha language (Kharat, 2001). From the late nineteenth century onward, many of the Lhotshampas experienced further disparate treatments such as heavy taxes and policy restrictions from other ethnic groups.

The situation appeared more promising during the reign of the third king, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, between 1952 and 1972. Jigme established the Tshogdu, the body of people's representatives, in 1953 and initiated a five-year plan to put Bhutan on the road to modernization (Hutt, 2003). Additionally, Jigme developed the Royal Advisory Council, including Lhotshampas Nepali representatives, to “draw the king of matters of national importance” (Hutt, 2003, p. 133). Moreover, during this time, financial incentives were introduced to encourage marriage between northerners and southerners.

Such progressive efforts quickly changed, however, with the reign of Singye dorji Wangchuck from 1972 to 2006. During his reign, Singye took a stance to unify the nation through a “one country, one people” policy (Giri, 2005, p.22), promoting a homogenous ethnic and religious national identity aligned with Drukpa cultural values (Evans, 2010). The “Bhutanization” policy enacted citizenship regulations, imposing discrimination and strict restrictions on culture, religion, and attire (Giri, 2005). These restrictions specifically targeted Lhotshampas to the point that schools were not permitted to teach the Nepali language (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2008). Such people were deprived of basic civil and political rights and recognized as second-class citizens, “reduced [...] to the level of dumb animals” (Kharat, 2001, p. 39). Further exacerbating the situation, the Bhutanese government enacted the 1985 Bhutanese Act, requiring all persons to generate official documentation of citizenship that dated back to 1958. This act attempted to manage the flow of illegal Nepali immigrants migrating into Nepal; but in its process, the act initiated an identity crisis for many

Lhotshampas born after 1958 as well as trouble for those who did not possess official documents. Those people without proper pre-dated citizenship documentation experienced forced deportation (Kharat, 2001). This act left a large proportion of the Lhotshampa population stateless, without rights, and eventually forced to reside in one of Nepal's seven camps designated for Bhutanese refugees (Quigley, 2004).

Over the last 20 years, more than 100,000 Lhotshampa refugees fled Bhutan, settling in refugee camps across Nepal. Many continue to anticipate their return to what was once their homeland, hoping to restore their dignity (Quigley, 2004). As described by one Bhutanese refugee in an ethnographic study conducted by Desjarlais, “the body, stuck in foreign land, remains detached from home[;] the heart, wishing to be home, lingers in the land from whence it came” (1992, p. 127). Meanwhile, others anticipate resettlement into host countries, such as the United States, to start anew.

## **2.2 Contextual Setting and Culture of the Bhutanese Population of this Study**

In addition to understanding Bhutanese refugees' socio-historical background, it is imperative to also understand their lived contextual experiences and culture within the United States. Conducted in a medium-sized metropolitan county of Pennsylvania (Lancaster), this study focused on an area population of approximately 59,000 residents. Historically, Lancaster County served as a refuge for various marginalized groups, such as the Amish, Quakers, and Huguenots, who fled persecution in the late seventeenth century (Dicklitch, Reese, & Yoder, 2012). Since the late twentieth century, Lancaster County has welcomed and embraced various groups of resettling

refugees from countries such as Bhutan, Burma, Somalia, and Iraq. Moreover, refugees in Lancaster County are resettled by two primary volunteer organizations, Church World Services and Lutheran Refugee Services. One of the strengths of Lancaster County's setting is its strong coalition of community and nonprofit organizations. Both Church World Services and Lutheran Refugee Services work collaboratively with other caring churches, organizations, schools, and volunteers to provide assistance to newly resettled refugees. Through the endorsement of various services, such as the United States reception and placement, education, legal services, integration assistance, and refugee employment, these coalitions provide holistic support to newly resettled refugee populations. In fact, in 2015, the Lancaster County Refugee Coalition was established to improve refugee integration and to help empower social services in the community to support newly resettled populations.

In addition to county coalition support, grassroots efforts from the Bhutanese community actively developed their own social and ethnic support systems such as the establishment of the Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster and the Bhutanese Community Development organization of Lancaster. The Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster was established in 2009, and it provides weekly services for Bhutanese families along with biweekly youth fellowship groups. Further, the Bhutanese Community Development organization, developed in 2013, provides weekly professional development services and citizenship classes for both parents and seniors. Both of these organizations provide the Bhutanese refugee community with forums for

ethnic and social support. On many evenings, Bhutanese families gather and socialize over tea and card games at various locations sponsored by these organizations.

One of the strengths of this particular refugee population is its strong close-knit community. *Family* is considered to be one of the highest cultural priorities within the Bhutanese community, and individuals tend to remain closely connected throughout the life cycle. Household doors are commonly open, and members of the extended family, as well as other close friends and neighbors, are always welcome to come and go freely. The elders within the Bhutanese community are highly respected and valued. Families tend to be cohesive, with strong bonds of love and obligation. Moreover, many Bhutanese families maintain patriarchal structures, in which sons are expected to support and take care of their parents as they age (Bridging Refugee Youth and Children's Services & Head Start National Center of Cultural and Linguistic Responsiveness, 2013).

### **2.3 Theoretical Frameworks**

The current study draws from several theoretical frameworks to develop a holistic account of the nature of adolescent refugees' acculturation process and the role of social capital (both school and familial level) with respect to refugees' adaptation. The experiences of refugee adolescents are complex and need to be explored through a variety of theoretical frameworks and lenses. Social capital, psychosocial development, acculturation, and ecological theories were used as frames of reference for this study. Indeed, no single theory can adequately explain the

integrative nature of adolescent refugees' acculturation process and the role of social capital (familial level) in their adaptation.

### **2.3.1 Social Capital**

Social capital, first systematically defined by Pierre Bourdieu in 1985, refers to “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (p. 248). Later, it became recognized as “intangible social resources based on social relationships that one can draw upon to facilitate action and to achieve goals” (Coleman, 1990, p. 302). It has persisted to serve as a salient theory used by many interdisciplinary scholars, policy makers, and international organizations, despite its vague definition as a concept. More recently, social capital theorists identified critical elements of this construct, which have since become universally recognized as the production of social networks or social structures characterized by norms of trust, investment, commitment, and reciprocity. Regarding this theory, these characteristics ultimately lead to the generation of mutually beneficial social support and resources for all individuals involved (Bourdieu, 1993; Coleman, 1990; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1993). Further, social networks have been found to operate in various ecological contexts. These ecological forms of social capital have been categorized into three subsets known as *bonding*, *bridging*, and *linking* (Coleman, 1990; Putman 1993; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Ziersch, Baum, MacDougall, & Putland, 2005). *Bonding* refers to dense or closed networks (immediate family and friends) that help people to function daily (Hunter, 2004, p. 3). These networks are associated with

relations within groups of people who regard themselves similarly in terms of social identity (Holland, Reynolds, & Weller, 2007). *Bridging* refers to more distant crosscutting ties between people, which are commonly weaker, such as business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, or friends of friends (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Finally, *linking* refers to the wider networks of relationships interacting across “explicit, formal, and institutionalized power or authority gradients in society” (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004, p. 655). Social capital theory helps to explain the mechanisms and processes of relational attachments among individuals and actors at various levels of their social networks.

Social capital, and the familial-level bonding subsystem in particular, was documented as a salient component of successful adolescent development (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). Evidently, it is particularly essential for young adolescents, such as refugees, undergoing stressful life events and transitions (Liebkind & Jasinkaja-Lahti, 2000; Ying & Han, 2008). Most adolescent refugees are resilient, and do, in time, adjust successfully, despite the challenges and stressors they face initially upon resettlement. Research strongly suggests that the majority of refugees are resourceful and proactive agents throughout their resettlement process. This perspective strongly parallels the theoretical framework of social capital (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). In this study, a social capital framework explains the role that familial support networks serve in supporting refugee adolescents’ well-being and school adjustment upon resettlement within the United States.

### 2.3.2 Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

When attempting to study the adaptation and general well-being of any refugee adolescent population, it is additionally imperative to understand the normative developmental tasks that confront adolescents. Developmental research indicated that one of the main normative tasks in adolescence is the establishment of a sense of self and identity (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 2006). Developing ethnic, cultural, and racial identities has long been recognized as a unique and significant developmental task for many adolescents of color and various ethnic backgrounds. These distinct identities refer to “the sense of belonging that an adolescent feels toward a particular racial or ethnic group, as well as the significance and qualitative meaning that the adolescence assigns to that group membership” (Wakefield & Hudley, 2007, p. 148). Moreover, identity development is a process modeled by a number of researchers. Many of these representations stemmed from Erik Erikson's work (1968). Erikson is known as one of the first developmental psychologists to address a *lifespan psychosocial theoretical* approach to development. He delineated eight stages of development, with different milestones associated with individuals at each stage. Among the important dimensions of Erikson's theory was the concept of *ego identity*, which he defined as “the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity [...] the style of one's individuality, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community” (Erikson, 1968, p. 50).

Further, Erikson recognized that an individual's identity of self is not stagnant; instead, it is fluid and changes continuously through a person's daily social and environmental interactions. *Ego identity* is a concept that is prevalent throughout all stages of Erikson's theory; however, it becomes more pervasive during the fifth stage of his theory.

Erikson's fifth stage, identity versus role confusion, marks the beginning of adolescence (1968). Erikson emphasized identity development as the primary developmental task during adolescence. This stage is characterized as the development of a sense of self and independence from others, particularly one's parents. Erikson articulated that adolescence begins as a process of self-discovery, exploring the individual self across various domains of one's life, including occupational identity, religious identity, and especially for many minority/immigrant populations, ethnic or racial identity. Erickson emphasized further that this process also involves "trying on" different roles to determine identities and areas of inner strength and weakness, which ultimately leads, in most cases, to an identity crisis (Erikson, 1968). This crisis may result in the adolescent aligning with such categories as follows: identity achievement (experiencing the crisis and then achieving a sense of identity); moratorium (going through a crisis and committing to an identity at a later life stage); foreclosure (not experiencing a crisis and committing to an identity), and finally diffusion (an absence of both crisis and commitment). Erikson contended that adolescents who fail to accomplish their tasks at this stage become insecure about themselves and uncertain about their futures, which he referred to as *identity diffusion*.

### **2.3.3 Multidimensional Framework of Acculturation**

Another theory that provided background for this study's foundation included Berry's (2007) multidimensional framework of acculturation. Within this framework, Berry defines *acculturation* as the behavioral and psychological changes that occur due to contact between two cultures. This theoretical model provides a lens to study cultural changes of individuals and groups in multicultural societies. The acculturation process at the group level involves changes in social structures, institutions, and cultural practices. At the individual level, the process involves changes in personal behaviors, attitudes, practices, identities, and beliefs. These changes occur across various domains: physical, biological, cultural, social, and psychological, which includes behavioral and mental (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Berry recognized acculturation as a process, rather than as an outcome, in which individuals change their psychological characteristics, environment, or amount of contact with others in an effort to achieve positive adaptation outcomes (Berry, Kim, & Bosky, 1988). Due to the influence of multiculturalism in the United States, and the cultural changes that refugee youths experience upon resettlement, it is important to apply Berry's multidimensional theory of acculturation to this study.

Berry's multidimensional theory is derived from two basic dimensions, including: (1) orientation toward one's own group; and (2) orientation toward other groups (Berry, 2007). Berry proposed that acculturation is too complex to be conceptualized as a uni-dimensional construct. Therefore, when examining acculturation, it is more accurate to assess the extent to which an individual not only

identifies with his or her own culture/ethnic orientation but also the degree to which he or she identifies with other groups (Berry, 1990; Berry, 2007). According to Berry, the process of acculturation is influenced by an individual's desire to maintain a traditional identity and customs, along with aspirations for "interethnic contact," and the degree to which these relationships are valuable and solicited (Berry et al., 1988). Individuals and groups, who are in the process of adapting, are also challenged by decisions to maintain their cultural identities, values, and characteristics or to seek the dominant culture's values, identities, and characteristics.

Berry identified four forms of acculturation at the individual level: (1) assimilation; (2) integration; (3) separation; and (4) marginalization. He believes that these forms are dynamic and psychological in nature. Assimilated individuals are categorized as those who orient themselves with the mainstream culture while decreasing orientation to their cultural identity. Individuals with integrated acculturation statuses are those who maintain their cultural orientation while seeking increased orientation with the larger society. Those with separate statuses attempt to maintain their cultural orientation while rejecting the larger society's culture. Finally, marginalized individuals orient themselves to neither their own culture nor to society at large. With this theory, Berry recognizes that the acculturation process produces varied effects on individuals' adaptation. It can have either a positive effect, improving individuals' life chances or mental well-being, or a negative one, challenging individuals' life chances or mental health (Berry et al., 1987; Berry et al., 1988). Adopting Berry's multicultural framework, and focusing on the individual

level, can help to explain the process and the function that acculturation identities serve regarding individual adaptation and well-being.

#### **2.3.4 Ecological Theory**

The final theory that provided a foundation for this study was Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological theory. When examining the integrative nature of adolescent refugees' acculturation processes, social capital (both school and familial levels), and adolescent refugees' adaptation, it is necessary to integrate an ecological framework. This approach allows for a broadening of the conceptualization of acculturation, social capital, school adjustment, and general well-being along with the multiple interactions and relationships among these variables. According to this theory, all developing individuals exist within multiple environmental systems, and these interact with one another over time. Bronfenbrenner distinguished five nested environmental levels that influence, and are influenced by, developing individuals in a bidirectional manner. These include the following: (1) the microsystem; (2) the mesosystem; (3) the exosystem; (4) the macrosystem; and (5) the chronosystem. The microsystem is the first level of an individual's environment, the closest one to the person, in which he or she has direct contact with others such as family members, school staff, or peers. The next level of the ecological system, the mesosystem, consists of interactions among an individual's different microsystems. The third level of the ecological theory, the exosystem, refers to an environment that does not involve the person but still influences him or her. The fourth level of the ecological theory, the

macrosystem, encompasses the cultural environment in which a person lives and all other systems that influence him or her, such as the economy, cultural values, and politics. The final component of the ecological theory is the chronosystem, consisting of environmental events and transitions that occur in an individual's life, including socio-historical events. Each of these systems serves as a potential source of capital that influences adolescent individuals' acculturation, school adaptation, and general well-being. For example, the microsystem familial social networks or peer social relationships may serve as potential sources of capital, influencing adolescent individuals' acculturation, school adaptation, and general well-being.

Taken together, these four theoretical frameworks –social capital theory, acculturation theory, Erikson's psychosocial development theory, and ecological theory – facilitate a holistic assessment at the individual level as well as broader microsystem factors that influence adolescent refugees' individual levels of general well-being and microsystem-levels of school adjustment.

#### **2.4 The Context of Ethnic Identity Development in the United States**

As the United States becomes more ethnically diverse, ethnic and racial group memberships become increasingly important elements for adolescents' personal identity development. Desegregation of schools and housing, along with a shifting global economy, created communities and schools that, although still economically segregated, are ethnically and racially diverse (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Within this increasingly diverse context, adolescents now face interactions across various racial

and ethnic dimensions, bringing race and ethnicity to the forefront. This situation makes negotiating ethnic identity more complicated than previously, such as at a time when many ethnic and immigrant minorities resided in racial and ethnic enclaves (French et al., 2006). Minority group members within a hierarchical multiethnic society, such as the United States, must consider the extent to which they will sustain a unique group identity while simultaneously attempting to identify the characteristics that will afford optimal success in the dominant society of their residence (Berry, 2007; Berry et al., 2006). Finally, many people are also confronted with the need to learn how to negotiate their identity in relation to other similarly situated minorities within the power hierarchy of a particular society (Phinney et al., 2006).

This identity dilemma is recognized in the field as the “triple quandary” for immigrant adolescents and people of color (Boykin, 1986). Some scholars believe these tasks to be more salient and complex for refugee adolescent groups that have been forced, due to a variety of factors, to resettle in a new country and to begin a life (Berry, 2007; Ellis et al., 2008; Fazel et al., 2012). Research indicated that contact with others in a new country inevitably raises issues of ethnic identity and group differences, even for adults whose ethnic identities were diffused previously (Phinney & Alipura, 1990). For many refugee youths, adjustment is related to how successful they manage the “multiple worlds” in which they live (Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, & Lopez, 1998) and how effectively they negotiate acculturation processes (changes in behaviors and attitudes).

## **2.5 Ethnic Identity Development as Resiliency Factor**

Research assessing ethnic identity among adolescents has focused particularly on the link between ethnic identity development and well-being. Extensive scholarship demonstrates the link between ethnic identity development and adolescent self-esteem. More advanced stages of ethnic identity achievement are commonly perceived as a resiliency factor in the development of overall positive well-being (Wakefield & Hudley, 2007). Also, research has indicated that individuals with higher states of ethnic identity often display higher levels of self-esteem. This relationship has been exhibited by adolescents from various backgrounds, such as African American, Asian, Latino, and Middle Eastern descent (Moradi & Hasan, 2004; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997; Phinney, Chavira, & Tate 1993; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). In addition, research has noted that individuals with advanced stages of ethnic identity development exhibit lower levels of depression and anxiety (Yasui, Dorham & Dishion, 2004). Such individuals tend to endorse beliefs that support positive social behaviors, and they are more likely to report positive attitudes toward individuals from other ethnic and racial groups (Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004). Choi, Harachi, Gillmore, and Catalano (2006) found that a strong ethnic or racial identity may protect adolescents from engaging in violent and antisocial behaviors and from using illegal substances.

## 2.6 Well-Being

The concept of well-being received more attention in the last four decades than previous literature that focused on the subject of mainstream adolescent populations (Cohen & Wills, 1985) and other vulnerable populations, such as adult and adolescent immigrants (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999; Husaini et al., 1991). Two of the most commonly recognized forms of well-being are subjective and psychological.

*Subjective well-being* was defined as “a broad category of phenomena that includes people’s emotional responses, domain satisfactions, and global judgments of life satisfaction” (Diener et al., 1999, p. 277). Many scholars categorized measures of subjective well-being as having two components: (1) affective: referring to the presence of a positive affect along with the absence of a negative affect; and (2) cognitive: referring to an individual’s perceptions of life. Scholars, however, recognized psychological well-being as the integration of physical, intellectual, emotional, social, and spiritual facets of human functioning (Bensley, 1991; Ellison, 1991; Magilvy, Congdon, & Martines, 2000). Due to the nebulous definition and the various components of well-being, this concept is often regarded in simplistic terms by many researchers, using phrases such as “individual satisfaction,” “happiness,” “morale,” or “lack of negative health or cognitive disorders.” (Abu-Raiya, Pargament, Krause, & Ironson, 2015; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010; Cuéllar, Bastida, & Braccio, 2004; Greenman & Xie, 2008).

Literature that examines well-being tends to use a risk and resiliency framework, assessing factors that promote or hamper positive well-being

development. Increasingly, the literature focuses on risk factors along with buffering factors (related to negative well-being, such as mental health disorders and symptomology) (Cohen, & Wills, 1985; Ellis et al., 2010). Some common resiliency factors previously investigated include social support networks, financial status, acculturation, religion, ethnic identity, and length of stay in the host country (Abu-Raiya et al., 2015; Cohen, & Wills, 1985; Ellis et al., 2010; Lustig et al., 2004; Sharma, Pandav, & Lally, 2015).

There is heightened attention devoted to the well-being of immigrant children and adolescents (e.g., Ellis et al., 2010; Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Sharma, Pandav, & Lally, 2015; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). However, the literature has primarily focused on risk factors, such as emotional vulnerabilities and mental health disorders, rather than on resiliency traits. Some research indicated that immigrant youths are at a higher risk for developing mental health issues than are their United States born counterparts. This distinction was found to be a result of immigrant youths' previous migration experiences, family instability, and acculturation stress (Bhattacharya, 2002; Blake, Ledsky, Goodenow, & O'Donnell, 2001; Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007). Concurrently, other scholars extrapolated that immigrant youths of all racial and ethnic backgrounds experience higher rates of depression, alienation, and lower feelings of "self-efficacy" than do native-born youths (Ellis et al., 2010; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008; Zayas, Kaplan, Turner, Romano, & Gonzalez-Ramos, 2000).

In contrast, other studies suggested that immigrant adolescents tend to experience lower levels of depression and greater or equal levels of positive well-being than do native adolescents (Georgiades, Boyle, & Eric, 2007; Harker, 2001; Mirsky, 2007; Oppedal & Roysamb, 2004). For example, studies found immigrant adolescents to be at a lower risk for developing health problems and engaging in risky behaviors than are United States born adolescents (Georgiades, Boyle, & Eric, 2007; Harker, 2001). Many of these studies speculated that, despite the difficulties that confront immigrant adolescents and children, in general, they tend to enjoy higher levels of mental health than do native populations.

Along with the growing literature on the well-being of adolescent immigrant populations, there is considerable growth in the literature on the well-being of adult immigrant and refugee populations (Dybdahl, 2001; Fanta-Vagenshtein & Anteby-Yemini, 2015; Goodkind, 2006; Marshall et al., 2005). Much of the literature assessing positive well-being with respect to adult immigrant and refugee populations focused specifically on their upward social and economic mobility (Bauder, 2005; Chiswick, Lee, & Miller's, 2005; Fanta-Vagenshtein & Anteby-Yemini, 2015). This emphasis prompted debates about the distinction concerning the adjustment of new inflows of immigrants, compared with that of older ones, along with the applicability of previous assimilation theories of acculturation on current immigrants. For example, in Chiswick, Lee, and Miller's (2005) longitudinal study, focused on assessing immigrant populations' occupational well-being, the authors questioned the utility of previous assimilation theories. They attempted to better understand the link between

assimilation and occupational mobility and proposed a design for a new assimilation theory. This theory was based on their findings from a secondary analysis of a nationally-representative survey of immigrants in Australia, who arrived between September 1993 and August 1995. Participants were interviewed three times in an effort to examine their occupational trajectories, from pre-migration to post-migration. Chiswick and his colleagues found that for newer generations of immigrant populations in Australia, there was a decline in occupational status from their last job in their country of origin to their first job upon resettlement. However, the researchers found that immigrants' first jobs did not dictate their long-term upward mobility. Rather, their long-term upward mobility was dictated by their resettlement destination, language obtainment, and access to occupational licenses.

Much of the rest of the literature linking adult immigrants and well-being focuses on negative well-being, specifically with respect to internalizing psychological disorders, such as post-traumatic stress, anxiety, and depressive disorders. This focus is particularly true of research on refugee populations. For example, a study conducted by Marshall and colleagues (2005) found exposure to trauma to be associated with internalizing symptoms in Cambodian refugee adults living in the United States, even two decades after resettlement. Moreover, higher rates and severity of lifetime traumas were associated with greater probabilities for developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in Kosovar refugees in the United States (Ai, Peterson, & Uebelhor, 2002) and Rwandan refugees in Uganda (Kolassa et al., 2010). Additionally, higher rates of lifetime traumas were associated with more severe depression and anxiety in

Cambodian populations residing in Thai refugee camps (Mollica, McInnes, Poole, & Tor, 1998), West Nile refugees residing in Uganda (Karunakara et al., 2004), and Vietnamese refugees residing in the United States (Mollica et al., 1998). Similarly, these findings were evident in other adult immigrant populations that experienced trauma. For example, a study conducted on Latino immigrants in the United States (Kaltman, Green, Mete, Shara, & Miranda, 2010) found that participants who had reported four or more incidents of traumatic events in their lives, such as life-threatening accidents and physical abuse, were more likely to exhibit depression and anxiety than those with three or fewer. Other studies found that within Latino immigrant adult populations residing in the United States, previous exposure to trauma from their country of origin placed them at a greater risk to exhibit internalizing problems following the September 11 terrorist attacks (Boscarino & Adams, 2009; Pantin, Schwartz, Prado, Feaster, & Szapocznik, 2003).

An extensive search using PsychINFO, Academic OneFile, Eric, Sociological Abstracts, Family and Social Sciences worldwide, and Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ASSIA), using keywords – such as *refugees*, *asylees*, *immigrants*, *well-being*, *happiness*, *psychological adjustment*, and *mental health* – found limited research on the well-being of refugee youths. Similar to previous literature on immigrant populations, these results tended to reveal an overriding focus on negative well-being, such as emotional vulnerabilities and mental health factors. Considering that this population is exposed to wars and other forms of political or environmental violence, the literature tends to focus on trauma's effects on refugee populations, such

as chronic psychopathology or maladaptive behaviors (Ellis et al., 2010; Fazel, Reed, Panter-Brick, & Stein, 2012; Fazel, Wheeler, & Danesh, 2005; Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). Refugee youths are at a higher risk for developing chronic psychopathologies or maladaptive behaviors due to their premigration experiences and the demands of their resettlement (Pumariega, Rothe, & Pumariega, 2005).

An increased emphasis on the rates of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) within refugee adolescent populations occurred more recently (Steel et al., 2009). *PTSD* is classified as an anxiety disorder, which refers to an array of symptoms experienced after the onset of a traumatic event (Cunningham & Cunningham, 1997). The traumatic event may be acute or chronic, and the disorder may be short or long in duration (Cunningham & Cunningham, 1997). Adolescents with PTSD may exhibit symptoms of confused or disordered memory, nightmares, personality changes, and violent behaviors. Moreover, many adolescents also exhibit guilt-related expectations about survival in relation to previous traumatic events (Hicks et al., 1993). Although the nature and extent of trauma exposure varies across distinct cultural groups, studies indicated the prevalence of PTSD symptomology in various refugee youth populations (Ellis et al., 2010; Fazel et al., 2012; Fazel et al., 2005; Kinzie, Sack, Angell, Manson & Rath, 1986; Miller & Rasmussen, 2010; Pumariega, Rothe, & Pumariega, 2005). Kinzie and his colleagues (1986) pioneered the investigation of PTSD in refugee adolescent populations. They interviewed 46 Cambodian refugees, aged 14–20, all of whom were exposed to some form of trauma (e.g., starvation, separation, beatings, and/or witnessing executions) between the ages of 8-12. Approximately half of the

subjects reported exhibiting PTSD symptoms and negative adaptation, which placed them within the clinical range for diagnosis. Another study indicated that the rate of PTSD among resettled refugee adolescents ranged from 7 to 17 percent (Fazel et al., 2005).

In addition to the presence of PTSD, other scholars examining the negative well-being of adolescent refugees' mental health identified the presence of elevated rates of depression, anxiety, psychosis, and dissociation (Keyes, 2000; Jensen & Shaw, 1993; Rousseau, 1995). Depression and anxiety were the most commonly reported disorders, aside from PTSD, within refugee children populations (Keyes, 2000; Howard & Hodes, 2000). Although the presence of anxiety is not surprising to experts, due to its overlap with PTSD, some scholars speculate that depression may be commonly associated with ongoing adversity following resettlement (Clarke, Sack, & Goff, 1993, as cited in Howard & Hodes, 2000). Howard and Hodes (2000), who focused specifically on the mental health symptomology of refugee children, found that refugee children received more diagnoses of disorders of a psychosocial nature than did any other populations. These disorders consisted of minor affective disorders: anxiety, conduct disorders, eating disorders, and sleep disorders. Whereas levels of social impairments were observed across comparative groups, refugee children were identified as more isolated and disadvantaged.

Further, there is an increased emphasis recently in the literature on refugee populations' psychosocial adjustment (Bemak et al., 2003). *Psychosocial adjustment* is referred to as the feelings of comfort and the level of acceptance of a particular

population (Stoll & Johnson, 2007). This emphasis originates from more recent literature, which demonstrated the long-term psychosocial resiliency of immigrant populations. Psychosocial advocates tend to utilize a resiliency-based frame of analysis in their research and practice. They do not downplay the impact of past traumatic experiences on refugee youths; rather, these advocates focus on the present stressors and resiliency factors of resettlement that they recognize as more urgent and equally important. These present stressors and/or resiliency factors consist of social support networks, housing, and acculturation. According to psychosocial adjustment advocates, present stress and resiliency factors hold far greater weight in refugee adolescents' psychosocial adjustment and well-being than do past traumatic experiences (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010; Ryan, Benson, & Dooley, 2008).

Much of the current scholarship on psychosocial adjustment and well-being is concerned with how the acculturation processes or experiences of “new” immigrant children of Asian and Latin American descent differ from those of the earlier waves of European immigrants. Such work often questions whether classical theories of immigrant adaptation, which assumed assimilation to be an integral part of the process of upward mobility and positive well-being for immigrants, remain applicable (Alba & Nee, 1997; Rumbaut, 1997). This discussion prompted many scholars to ask the question: “Is Assimilation Dead?” (Glazer, 1993), and to develop more multifaceted theories of acculturation (Berry, 2007) to better assess the link between acculturation and well-being.

## 2.7 Acculturation and Well-Being

Acculturation and its link to immigrant and refugees' well-being has gained recent attention in the literature. Broadly defined, *acculturation* is the behavioral and psychological changes that occur due to contact between two different cultures (Sam & Berry, 2006). Although acculturation is a more recently developed construct in the field of cross-cultural psychology, scholars studied it from a scientific perspective since the late 19th century within various fields of anthropology, sociology, and psychology (Rudmin, 2003). In fact, the term *acculturation* was coined in 1880 by Powell, who defined it as “the psychological changes induced by cross-cultural imitation” (as cited in Rudmin, 2003, p. 3). This initial investigation of acculturation rose from European domination of colonial and indigenous peoples in addition to early immigrants' resettlement in the United States (Berry, 2007; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1919).

Prior to 1965, the term *acculturation* was operationalized as a process of assimilation in which immigrants were expected to identify with their new host culture while simultaneously rejecting their native cultural and ethnic identities. Within this classical conceptualization, acculturated individuals were expected to assimilate completely into the mainstream culture of their host country and to exhibit non-ethnic distinctiveness, such as language use, dress, and cultural practices (Warner & Srole, 1945). Assimilation was acknowledged as an integral part of immigrant populations' successful adaptation and adjustment, specifically in relation to upward mobility. During this time, a unidirectional model of acculturation, utilizing a linear continuum,

was used to explain and analyze the integration process of European immigrants into the United States (Gordon, 1964). According to the unidirectional model of acculturation, greater acceptance of a new culture resulted in a decrease in the role and acceptance of the original culture. This model does not account for those individuals who maintain high levels of enculturation in more than one culture. Although rarely used today, the unidirectional model paved the way for investigating the concept that individuals can retain some aspects of their culture while possessing varying degrees of assimilation.

In the late twentieth century, with the onset of the 1965 Immigration Act and shifts in immigration trends, scholars began to question the use of previous assimilation theories for new incoming populations. Scholars began recognizing that classical assimilation theories were no longer applicable to newly arriving Asian, Middle Eastern, and Latin American immigrants. Many of these newly arriving immigrants were able to simultaneously retain their cultural identity while adapting to their new host culture in a bidirectional manner. Such scholarship acknowledged that experiences of the new wave of immigrants were different from those of previous immigrants of European descent. Many of the new immigrants were not acculturating in the same unilateral manner as did previous immigrants, who chose integration over separation or assimilation (Berry et al., 1987).

Relatedly, scholars began to acknowledge various assimilation trajectories, both positive and negative, that immigrants follow. This concept became known as *segmented assimilation* (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). According to this concept, Portes

and Rumbaut identified three distinct forms of adaptation that focused primarily on socioeconomic status. This include the following: (1) acculturating into the middle class; (2) acculturating into the “underclass,” or downward assimilation; and (3) selectively acculturating into the middle class while preserving ethnic culture and community ties (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Segmented assimilation spurred scholars to shift their focus to the negative implications of assimilation, such as acculturation stress. For example, Berry et al.’s (1987) work revealed a heightened emphasis on acculturation stress. Moreover, *acculturation stress* was defined as a reduction in the health status of various life facets, placing individuals at higher risks for suicide, depression (Hovey & King, 1996), anxiety (Crockett et al., 2007), and substance abuse (Gil, Wagner, & Vega, 2008). Berry and his colleagues attempted to identify particular groups of immigrants who are more susceptible to acculturation stress. These groups were categorized through migration “push and pull factors,” ranging from involuntary to voluntary (Berry et al., 1987). Researchers speculated that those with involuntary “push-pull factors” were at a higher risk for experiencing higher levels of acculturation stress than people without these factors.

Current literature, examining the relationships between acculturation and well-being variables, presents mixed results. Although in some studies, higher levels of acculturation are associated with increased levels of perceptions of stress (Buddington, 2002; Mak, Chen, Wong, & Zane, 2005), depression (Cuéllar et al., 2004; Ramos, 2005; Torres, 2010), problem behaviors (Dinh, Roosa, Tein, & Lopez, 2002), and

substance abuse (Gfroerer & Tan, 2003), other studies indicate higher levels of acculturation associated with decreased levels of depression (Jang, Kim, & Chiriboga, 2005) and higher levels of well-being (Valentine, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2013). Additionally, research on the link between low levels of acculturation and “maladaptive” symptoms was found to display similar complex findings. Although some research indicated that low levels of acculturation may be related to increased depressive symptoms and higher levels of psychological stress (Abu-Bader, Tirmazi, & Ross-Sheriff, 2011; Foss, 2001; Thoman & Suris, 2004), other studies linked low levels of acculturation to decreased levels of anxiety and depression (Jang, Kim, & Chiriboga, 2005; Torres, 2010).

Research on resiliency factors of acculturation and their relationships to populations’ adaptation and well-being increased in recent decades. Regarding these studies generally, *integration* – the simultaneous maintenance of ethnic culture and adoption of host culture – was recognized to be the most adaptive acculturation strategy in relation to well-being and positive psychological functioning (Berry, 2007; Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008; Kim et al. 2009; Lieber, Chin, Nihira, & Mink, 2001).

Although integration was widely recognized as the most adaptive acculturation strategy in relation to well-being, it is important to note that in some studies, assimilation was found to be associated with lower levels of negative psychological symptomology and higher levels of well-being (Abu-Rayya, 2007; Berry, 2007; Li, Liu, Wei, & Lan, 2013; Park, 2009), better life satisfaction (Lieber et al., 2001), and

positive self-esteem (Phinney, & Chavira, 1992). Moreover, other studies found separation – maintenance of cultural orientation while rejecting the larger society's culture – to be linked to greater levels of personal well-being (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011; Persky & Birman, 2005; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Smith & Silva, 2011).

Current empirical and theoretical literature on acculturation was developed primarily based on adult immigrant populations, aged 21-40 (Abu-Rayya, 2009; Lopez-Gonzalez, Aravena, & Hummer, 2005; Pham & Harris, 2001). Most of the previous studies used bidimensional cultural domains, assessing ethnic identity and American identity independently. Primarily, studies demonstrated positive associations among ethnic identity and psychological well-being (Abu-Rayya, 2006; Smith & Silva, 2011) as well as host nation identity and psychological well-being (Abu-Rayya, 2007; Li et al., 2013; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

Despite the popularity of investigating the link between acculturation and well-being within adult populations, the literature examining the link between adolescent immigrants' acculturation and their well-being has not received adequate attention (Oppedal & Roysamb, 2004). A limited amount of research focuses on the acculturation process and its link to resiliency among immigrant youths. Recent literature examining adolescent immigrants' acculturation process, however, found the process to be unique and distinct from adult populations (Berry, 2007; Costigan & Dorkis, 2006; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2009). Research indicates that when considered as a whole, children and adolescent immigrants tend to acculturate more rapidly (Costigan & Dorkis, 2006; Santisteban & Mitriani, 2003; Suarez-Orozco, 2001;

Suarez-Orozco et al., 2009) and favor more integrative/bicultural acculturation orientations than do their parents (Berry, 2007). Research demonstrated that immigrant youths are more likely to engage with culturally diverse peer groups, community events, and leisure activities, compared with their parents (Coll & Marks, 2009; Suarez-Orozco, 2001).

Research revealed mixed findings regarding the link between acculturation states and positive youth psychosocial adaptation and well-being, especially with regard to assimilation and separation categories. Although several studies illustrated positive relationships between assimilation and psychosocial adaptation components in youth immigrant populations (Abu-Rayya, 2007; Berry, 2007; Li et al., 2013; Lieber et al., 2001; Park, 2009; Phinney, 1996), recent literature increasingly highlights the complexity of these relationships (Greenman & Xie, 2008; Harker, 2001; Kovacev & Shute, 2004; Rudmin, 2003). For example, Kovacev and Shute (2004) found that the association between adolescent assimilation and adjustment varied based on participants' cultural background. Moreover, Greenman and Xie (2008) found that not only does the association between adolescent assimilation and adjustment vary, due to participants' cultural background, but it also varies on account of adjustment outcomes under consideration. Additionally, scholars documented a separation acculturation strategy (maintenance of cultural orientation while rejecting the larger society's culture) as providing temporary protection in the short term (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011; Phinney & Ong, 2007) but showing negative consequences in the long term if individuals fail to interact and become involved in their host societies

(Correa-Velez et al., 2010; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). With respect to integration, much of the literature indicated positive correlations between integration and psychosocial adaptation (Berry, 2007; Birman & Taylor-Ritzler, 2007; Kovacev & Shute, 2004; Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, Obradovic, & Masten, 2008; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zheng, Sang, & Wang, 2004). Furthermore, researchers documented *marginalization* – a negative orientation to both original and mainstream culture – as the worst adjustment and adaptation outcome for immigrant adolescents (Kovacev & Shute, 2004; Pisarenko, 2006; Sam, 2000). Overall, acculturation research indicates that integrated immigrant youths, those who are able to accept and balance their native and host cultures, are better adjusted in their new environment than are those who do not balance their cultures.

## **2.8 Acculturation and Academic Adjustment**

As the influx of migrants and refugees worldwide continues to increase, a correlating increase in scholarly attention to their psychological adaptation and academic adjustment has emerged. School is recognized as the primary setting in which refugee children are first confronted with mainstream American culture, and it is this location that is found to serve as a broader context for fostering academic achievement, language acquisition, and cultural learning (Trickett & Birman, 2005). The majority of the literature on school adjustment of immigrants and refugees suggests that there are links between various domains of acculturation such as

language, behavior, and identity. However, these links vary depending on the specific acculturation domain and population under investigation.

Research assessing the language domain of acculturation on immigrant youth populations indicated that their competencies of host nation languages were linked to academic achievement. For example, Bhattacharya (2000) found low proficiency in English to be a critical factor in the low achievement and school failure of immigrant children, originally from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan and residing in the United States. Other scholars, such as Portes and Zady (1996) and White and Kaufman (1997), also suggested that school adaptation is driven by language proficiency of the host nation. However, Trickett and Birman (2005) found no relationship between host nation language proficiency and school adaptation. Scholars also cite retention of language of origin as a valuable asset for academic achievement (Myles & Cheng, 2003; Zhou & Bankston, 1998). Research by Zhou and Bankston (1998) found a strong relationship between retention of a native language and academic achievement among Vietnamese adolescents in New Orleans. These researchers suggested that native language skills not only translate into English literacy but also help connect these adolescents to ethnic support networks within their community.

Studies examining the link between behavioral acculturation and academic adjustment show inconsistent results. A study conducted by Bankston and Zhou (1997) on Vietnamese adolescents found assimilation (associated with either American or Americanized Vietnamese friends) to have a negative effect on school adjustment. In contrast, another researcher found positive relationships between

behavioral assimilation and academic achievement (Gibson, 1998). Moreover, other studies demonstrated conflicting results (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005; Eisikovits, 1995). For example, Birman, Trickett, and Buchanan (2005), studying former Soviet refugees in America, found no relationship between behavioral acculturation and school adjustment.

Regarding acculturation identity, considerable research assesses the role of cultural identity and academic well-being. However, similar to behavioral acculturation, studies present conflicting findings. Some studies found positive relationships between ethnic identification and academic success for various immigrant populations, such as Chinese Americans (Obgu, 1992; Sung, 1987), Punjabi children (Gibson, 1988), and Mexican Americans (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Meanwhile, other studies found negative relationships between ethnic identity and academic adjustment (Wood & Clay, 1996). For example, Wood and Clay (1996) found a negative relationship between Indian American students' identity and their grades. Also, with respect to American identity and its relationship to academic adjustment, studies showed mixed findings. Some researchers indicated positive relationships between high assimilation and school adjustment (Guzman, Santiago-Rivera & Hasse, 2005; Trickett & Birman, 2005; Wood & Clay, 1996); whereas others found negative relationships (Portes & Zady, 1996). For example, Trickett and Birman (2005) found overall that American identity proved to be a positive predictor of school adjustment for Soviet refugees in the United States; whereas Soviet acculturation was unrelated to school outcomes. Moreover, other

studies found that individuals with bicultural identities tend to be protected from academic difficulties and possess higher levels of academic adjustment (Berry, 2007; Farvor, Narang, & Bhadha, 2002).

## **2.9 Associations among Demographic Factors, Acculturation, Well-Being, and School Adjustment**

Further, studies indicated that there are associations among immigrant populations' demographic factors, such as socioeconomic status (SES), length of residency, acculturation, and well-being. For example, studies linked SES to adolescents' acculturation, well-being, and school adjustment (Berry et al., 2006; Cuéllar & Roberts, 1997; Farver et al., 2002; Ward, 2001). Higher levels of SES were found to be positively associated with assimilation (Berry et al., 2006; Farver et al., 2002; Ward, 2001). Additionally, higher levels of SES were associated with decreased levels of depression (Cuéllar & Roberts, 1997; Shen & Takeuchi, 2001), higher levels of well-being (Berry et al., 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2007), and better school adjustment (Berry et al., 2006; Manaster, Chan, & Safady, 1992). Similarly, research consistently indicates positive associations among length of residency and immigrant populations' general wellbeing, school adjustment, and acculturation (Kuo & Roysircar, 2004; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

Regarding other demographic factors, such as gender and age, their associations to acculturation were found to be variable. For example, although some studies reported differences between immigrant men and women in the strength of their cultural identities (Abu-Rabia, 1997; Gungor & Bornstein, 2013; Liebkind, 1996;

Phinney et al., 2006; Qin-Hilliard, 2003; Sirin & Fine, 2007), other investigations failed to find gender differences (e.g., Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009; Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002; Tang & Dion, 1999). Moreover, mixed results were found in relation to the directionality of these relationships. For example, one study conducted with Arab immigrant college students found that female students were more likely to endorse integrative attitudes of acculturation compared to male counterparts (Abu-Rabia, 1997). This was similarly evident in a large international study conducted by Phinney and colleagues in 2006, in which they found that women endorse integrated strategies and men endorse diffuse identities. Meanwhile, other studies presented conflicting results, with women endorsing more separation acculturation strategies than men (Liebkind, 1996; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). It is evident from these mixed findings that the relationship between gender and acculturation is more complicated than previously suspected. In fact, a longitudinal study conducted by Qin-Hilliard in 2003 demonstrated that while there were no gender differences in ethnic identification within the first year of recent immigrant students, by the fifth year, males were significantly less likely than females to keep their country of origin identity. Similarly, when it comes to age, inconclusive evidence exists as to the association between age and acculturation (Bauman, 2008; Kuo & Royisrcar, 2004; Liebkind, 1996; Phinney et al., 2006; Yeh, 2003).

## 2.10 Social Capital

In addition to acculturation, a growing body of scholarly literature discusses the role of social capital within immigrant populations' adolescent development. Social capital is recognized as instrumental in helping promote positive adolescent development (Rose, Woolley, & Bowen, 2013), well-being (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Correa-Velez et al., 2010), and academic achievement (Bankston, 2004; Crosnoe, 2004). Crosnoe (2004) assessed the impact of both school and familial level social capital of 10,465 adolescents from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health, and the study found that both school and familial social capital were significantly linked to adolescents' academic achievement. Some scholars believe that social capital is a salient component of modern-day adolescents' development, particularly for those undergoing stressful situations or transitions such as immigrants or refugees. Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2003) described the situation as follows:

For adolescents to successfully meet developmental challenges in today's world, they require resourceful relationships and activities socially organized within a network of significant others and institutional agents distributed throughout the extended family, school, neighborhood and community. For youth from working-class ethnic minority communities, these agents often play a decisive role in guiding them away from risk factors and into protective adulthood. (pp. 231–232)

Despite the growing amount of literature on social capital and positive adolescent development, well-being, and academic achievement, there is a limited array of research that has investigated the role of social capital among minority youth populations in the United States. Few studies focus on the distinctive nature of social capital in minority populations and its relationship to positive development, well-being, and academic adjustment (Elias & Haynes, 2008; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Taylor, Chatters, Woodward, & Brown, 2013). This fact is concerning due to the evident differences found among distinct ethnic minority groups' social networks and those of mainstream Caucasian populations. Studies indicated that African Americans and Black Caribbeans have larger fictive kin social networks (Richardson, 2009; Taylor et al., 2013) than do other minority populations. *Fictitious kin* are those who are unrelated by either blood or marriage but who regard themselves as family. Within Latino adolescent populations, studies indicated that older siblings, extended family members, peers, neighbors, and key adults in the community all serve an important function in determining these adolescents' well-being and future life opportunities (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Not only has social capital been found to support positive levels of well-being, but it has been found also to serve as a resiliency factor for disadvantaged minority populations experiencing social and economic hardships. For example, one study investigating the relationship between social capital and positive academic achievement in minority, low-income, urban elementary school students, found social support from teachers to serve a critical role in supporting children's positive academic adjustment (Elias & Haynes, 2008).

Along with the increased literature addressing ethnic minorities' social capital and its link to their psychological well-being and school adjustment, there exists an increasing emphasis in the literature on investigations of social capital among immigrant populations. Immigrants' families, relatives, and ethnic communities have more recently become recognized as crucial factors in the resettlement process of refugee youths (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Finch & Vega, 2003; Garcia, Ramirez, & Jariego, 2002; Noh & Kaspar, 2003). For example, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that immigrant students are positively affected by parental support and parental interest in their education. Much of the literature examining familial social capital has its own array of limitations. Indeed, the literature has focused primarily on macro-level bonding forms of social capital, such as cultural networks, rather than on microlevel forms such as familial capital (e.g., Goulbourne & Solomos, 2003).

Studies that incorporated familial levels of social capital as part of their investigations tended to aggregate the information as a single, holistic, social capital variable (Garcia et al., 2002; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). This strategy does not permit an accurate investigation of the role that familial social capital serves in newly resettled immigrants' lives. Moreover, much of the literature focused on immigrant families' social capital as a whole rather than on the social capital of specific individuals. Research that focused on individual immigrant adolescents tended to emphasize exclusively on their academic achievement (Bankson, 2004; Ramsden & Taket, 2013; Ream & Rumberger, 2008) rather than on the general well-being and adaptation in school settings. For example, Rumberger and Larson (1998) found that

migrant adolescents with larger information networks and ties to school personnel demonstrated higher bilingual abilities and grades. In addition, many such studies are commonly conducted on second-generation populations rather than on first-generation populations (Crul, & Vermeulen, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Furthermore, several measures in the literature tend to be limited in scope, assessing the structure or frequency of contact within social networks rather than the function or quality of these social networks (Finch & Vega, 2003; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006).

There is also a large subset of the literature on immigrant families and social capital centered on the obstacles of parental social support on adolescent school adjustment. Much of this subset focuses specifically on acculturation dissonance, particularly the causes of dissonance, rather than on resiliency factors. *Acculturation dissonance* is a concept coined by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) in which parents follow their children in terms of language acquisition and acculturation. Indeed, parents of adolescent immigrants tend to evidence slower rates of language acquisition than do their children and exhibit culturally different parental styles than American parents. Scholars believe that these conditions increase cultural dissonance and negatively influence immigrant refugees' school success (McBrien, 2005). McBrien reported that parental factors, such as misunderstanding, conflicting cultural beliefs, and language difficulties, amount to dissonant acculturation. In the report, McBrien highlighted how many parents tend to feel a loss of control and exhibit identity problems when their

children are forced to adopt adult roles, which McBrien linked to increased levels of insecurity among immigrant children.

Along with the prevalent focus within the literature on the influence of social capital and immigrant adolescents' academic achievement, research increasingly focused on the influence of familial social capital networks on adolescent immigrants' general well-being. For example, Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) observed that parental support was associated with lower perceptions of discrimination, which contributed to successful adjustment and overall satisfaction with life among immigrants in a new environment. In another study, Ying and Han (2008), examining Filipino America families, found evidence that parent home education and social involvement enhanced the quality of the families' intergenerational relationships. Consequently, parent home education and social involvement increased adolescents' self-esteem and reduced depressive symptoms. Other studies linked parental social support, specifically nurturing parenting behaviors, to higher adjustment levels and attachments to immigrant children's school settings for immigrant youth (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Taylor, Larsen-Rife, Conger, & Widaman, 2012).

Although some scholars acknowledged the beneficial role that both formal and informal social capital serves in the resettlement of immigrant children and adolescents, few studied this phenomenon among refugee adolescents (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Substantial research identified family support as a crucial factor in the resettlement process of immigrant and refugee families (Grieco, 1998; Portes, 1998); however, much of the literature focused specifically on families as a whole or solely

on adult refugees (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006; Elliot & Yusuf, 2014; Lamba, 2003). In the literature focused on refugee families or adults' social capital, much centers on the structure of social support networks rather than their functions. For example, Elliot and Yusuf (2014) found that social capital resources for Somali refugees were gendered, with women's social capital networks more likely to be composed primarily of other parents, whereas men's were composed of coworkers. In addition, much of the literature on adult refugees focused on employment acquisition (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006; Lamba, 2003) rather than on well-being and adjustment in the new host country. For example, Lamb (2003) found refugees' familial and extra-familial ties to be associated with significantly higher, more lucrative, and quality employment.

Despite an increased acknowledgement of the powerful role of social capital on majority, minority, immigrant, and refugee adults, limited research examined the role of social capital within the adjustment processes of refugee adolescent populations. Literature that does assess social capital variables among refugee adolescents tends to use macro-level constructs of social capital. These constructs incorporate various domains of capital, such as school, community, peer, and parental (Birman et al., 2002; Kovacev & Shute, 2004). Much of the literature has focused specifically on the protective role of social capital in the adjustment of refugee adolescents. For example, Kia-Keating and Ellis (2007) found social capital to serve as a significant moderating role in the relationship between subjects' exposure to adversities and their poor mental health functioning after resettlement. These authors found that social support-related variables, such as the impact of parental well-being

and family separation, were correlated with children's mental health symptoms. The researchers further observed that refugee youths living with family members showed more positive psychological outcomes than those living in foster care or alone (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). Research specifically focused on familial social capital within refugee populations tends to report positive relationships among familial social capital support networks and these populations' general well-being along with school adjustment (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Lee & Green, 2008; Supple & Small, 2006). For example, Supple and Small (2006) examined Hmong refugees residing in the United States and found higher levels of parental support to be related to higher levels of self-esteem, higher grade point averages (GPAs), and lower levels of deviant health behaviors. Moreover, Trickett and Birman (2005) found that parental support contributed to feelings of belonging in school settings. Finally, an additional study conducted by Davies (2008) on African adolescent refugees found social support from family to be essential in helping Sierra Leonean adolescent refugees' school adjustment in their new environment.

This comprehensive review of the literature reveals that our understanding of how new waves of adolescent refugees are adjusting and adapting upon resettlement is limited. This is particularly true for Bhutanese adolescent refugees resettled in the United States. Until now, no single study examined the adjustment and adaptation of Bhutanese adolescents within the United States. Thus, there is a need to explore the experiences of newly resettled refugee adolescent populations residing in the United States, such as the Bhutanese, to gain a better understanding of the factors that help

them to adapt in a resilient manner. The purpose of this current quantitative study aimed to address this need by examining the well-being of a select group of newly resettled refugee adolescent population (the Bhutanese) in the United States.

### **Chapter 3**

#### **METHODOLOGY: DESIGNING A STUDY ON BHUTANESE REFUGEE ADOLESCENTS**

This study aimed to examine the well-being and adjustment of newly resettled adolescent refugee populations residing in the United States and focused on a select Bhutanese refugee population. It sought to examine the relationships among Bhutanese adolescent refugees' acculturation identity, familial social capital, general well-being, and school adjustment.

To better understand these relationships, four specific research questions were addressed as follows:

- 1) What are the relationships among Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital, acculturation identity, and general well-being?
- 2) What are the relationships among Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital, acculturation identity, and their school adjustment?
- 3) Is there an additive relationship among familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being, beyond the effects of acculturation identity?
- 4) Is there an additive relationship among familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment, beyond the effects of acculturation identity?

Six hypotheses, shaped by the previous literature, were identified prior to the implementation of the study. These hypotheses are as follows:

- H1) There will be a significant positive relationship among Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital quality and their general well-being.
- H2) There will be a significant positive relationship among Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation variables (degree of ethnic and American identity) and their general well-being.
- H3) There will be a significant positive relationship among Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital quality and their school adjustment.
- H4) There will be a significant positive relationship among Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation variables (degree of ethnic and American identity) and their school adjustment.
- H5) There will be an additive positive relationship among familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being, beyond the effects of acculturation identity.
- H6) There will be an additive positive relationship among familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment, beyond the effects of acculturation identity.

### **3.1 Sample**

The population of interest in this study included Bhutanese adolescent and emerging adult refugees, between the ages of 11 and 22, residing in Lancaster, PA.

The sample age range extended to emerging adulthood because cultural identity exploration and formation evidently continues into emerging adulthood (Torres, 2003; Fuller-Rowell et al., 2013). A sample of 119 Bhutanese adolescent refugees from the Lancaster area were invited to participate in this study through convenience snowball sampling via pre-established contacts with the Pennsylvania Migrant Education Program and the Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster. Lancaster County is a mid-sized metropolitan area of approximately 59,000 residents with a prevalence of well-established refugee support services and programs. This study's researcher worked in conjunction with youth mentors of the Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster and with the team leader of Lancaster County Migrant Education Program to contact eligible Bhutanese adolescents. Parental consent (both in English and in Nepali) and adolescent assent were first obtained through consent and assent forms, which were fully explained and interpreted for both students and parents during weekly community/school events and home visits, in the presence of both the principal investigator and the bilingual trained interpreter/investigator. Prior to collecting data, an a priori analysis using G power was conducted to determine the necessary sample size for a regression analysis with eight predictor variables and a medium effect size. After the G-Power analysis, it was evident that at least 103 participants were needed to achieve appropriate power; a sample of 103 was below the total number ( $N = 119$ ) who ultimately participated in the study.

## **3.2 Instruments**

A survey assessing a wide range of both independent and dependent variables was compiled, consisting of familial social capital network size and quality (IV), acculturation conational and ethnic identity (IV), life satisfaction (DV), and school adjustment (DV). These variables were accessed from previous reliable and validated measures, either taken directly or with minor modifications, thereby attempting to simplify the survey's "readability" level and to incorporate prompts for further elaboration. In addition, demographic factors – length of stay, gender, age, parental/legal guardian education level and employment– were collected to serve as potential controls for the relationships among the variables in question. These measures are as follows.

### **3.2.1 Cultural Identity Measure**

To assess the first independent variables of acculturation identity, dimensions of ethnic and national identity were measured. Cultural identity was assessed using an eight-item scale developed by Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006), derived from the work of Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997). From this scale, ethnic identity is measured with items assessing ethnic affirmation, such as a sense of belonging and positive feelings about one's ethnic group; meanwhile, national American identity is assessed via questions relating to American identity. This scale was found to demonstrate good psychometric properties among diverse population samples in relation to both national identity (Cronbach alpha = .77) and ethnic identity (Cronbach

alpha = .86) (Berry et al., 2006). Two specific continuous items were used to assess ethnic identity, and one specific continuous item was used to assess national identity. For both domains, higher scores indicated higher levels of identification. In addition, a question prompt was created to explore whether this study's participants identify with any other acculturation identity besides national and ethnic identity. The prompt was as follows: "I think of myself as a part of another ethnic group. What group?" This prompt was included to further examine other sources of cultural identity that the quantitative items did not capture.

### **3.2.2 Indicators of Familial/Fictive Kin Informal Social Support Network**

The second set of independent variables examined in this study included dimensions of familial social capital (both size and quality). Components of the National Survey of American Life Indicators of Informal Social Support Network, both the familial and fictive kin, were used to assess these variables (Neighbors et al., 2007). The familial and fictive kin components consist of eight questions, assessing both familial social network size and quality. Six of the questions addressed familial/fictive kin quality, and two of the questions assess social network size. The six questions addressing familial/fictive kin quality were continuous scale items composited as a single variable (social capital quality). Meanwhile, two additional questions, addressing familial/fictive kin social network size, were continuous scale items added together to obtain a subject's familial social network size. For example, one item prompt for measuring network size was as follows: "How many people in

your family would help you out if you needed help?” The reason why fictive kin were included in this measure was due to the cultural practices of fictitious kin social ties within Bhutanese populations. The purpose of separating size and quality was to assess the structure and function of familial social capital independently. This instrument was used to study diverse populations, and it exhibits strong psychometric properties (Neighbors et al., 2007; Taylor, Chatters, Woodward, & Brown, 2013). A study conducted by Taylor and colleagues (2013) found this instrument to have a Cronbach’s alpha of .75; however, this was conducted with an adult population. Since this was the first study utilizing this measure on an adolescent population, Cronbach’s alphas were measured to examine the reliability of this measure on the current populations. The National Survey of American Life Indicators of Informal Social Support Network survey within this study demonstrated strong reliability and psychometric properties (Cronbach’s alpha= .81).

### **3.2.3 Life Satisfaction Scale**

To assess general well-being, the life satisfaction scale (Larsen, Diener, & Emmons, 1985) was used in this study. This instrument is a five-item scale, which measures subjects’ overall perceived degree of satisfaction in their lives, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Participants were required to indicate their level of agreement on five life-scale statements, such as “I feel worried at times.” This scale was tested among diverse groups, including immigrant adolescents, and demonstrated strong psychometric properties (Larsen, Diener, & Emmons, 1985). There are 13 total

questions, five of which are reverse coded. Higher scores indicate higher life satisfaction. Cronbach's alphas of variable items ranged from .82 to .87 in various studies (Arrindell et al., 1999; Larsen et al., 1985). This range indicates there were relatively high levels of internal consistency and reliability among various items within this scale when conducted on various populations.

#### **3.2.4 School Adjustment Scale**

To assess school adjustment, the school adjustment scale, developed by Berry and colleagues (2006) from the research of Andersen (1982), was used in this study. The school adjustment scale is a seven-item scale, assessing participants' degree of agreement (ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree) on statements centered on participants' school adjustment, such as "At present, I like school." In the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY) study conducted by Berry and colleagues (2006), this scale was found to have a uni-factorial structure and to be structurally equivalent across a variety of ethnic groups. Cronbach's alpha was .63 for the immigrant sample and .70 for the national sample, respectively (Berry et al., 2006).

#### **3.2.5 Demographic Control**

Demographic characteristics were collected to serve as potential controls for this study. Participants were asked to report their current age, gender, length of stay in the United States, and parent/legal guardians' occupation and degree of

education. Participant's current age and length of stay in the United States were measured on a continuous a scale. Moreover, gender and degree of parental education (1 = less than high school, 2 = high school graduate) were dichotomously coded. Finally, parental/legal guardians' occupations were collected to gauge participants' familial level income. The reported occupations were converted to average annual salaries/wages based on the Occupational Outlook Handbook (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). The average annual income wages of the reported occupations of both mothers and fathers were researched in the Occupational Outlook Handbook (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015) and added to indicate adolescent's Socioeconomic Status (SES).

### **3.3 Procedures**

Following approval by the University of Delaware Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, recruitment permission letters and a copy of the study's proposal were submitted to both the Pennsylvania Migrant Education Program and the Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster. Permission was not obtained prior to the IRB submission, due to both organizations' requiring IRB approval before granting consent. Pending written and signed approval from both sites, the research investigator worked in conjunction with youth mentors of the Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster and with the team leader of Lancaster County Migrant Education Program to contact eligible Bhutanese adolescents.

Parents received consent forms in both English and Nepali (translated by a certified translator), allowing them to choose the language they felt more comfortable using. Parental consent and adolescent assent were first obtained through consent and assent forms, which were fully explained and interpreted for both students and parents during weekly community/school events and home visits, in the presence of both the principal investigator and the bilingual trained interpreter. This process took place to ensure that both children and parents fully comprehended the content of the consent/assent forms.

Once consent and/or assent were established, an agreed-upon time and location – determined as comfortable for participants – were selected to complete an established 40-minute questionnaire packet. This packet assessed subjects' demographic information, how they viewed themselves (acculturation identity), their well-being, school comfort, and family support (social support size and quality). Prior to implementing the questionnaire, the principal investigator, along with the bilingual trained interpreter/investigator, reminded participants of the study's purpose, the study's minimal risks and benefits, and instructions on how to complete the quantitative questionnaire. Participants were also reminded that their participation was voluntary and that they could choose at any time to withdraw from the study without penalty to them or their families. Moreover, participants were told that their survey questionnaires would remain confidential and that their names would not be included on any questionnaire forms. The principal investigator and the bilingual interpreter/investigator were present during the survey's administration to answer any

questions from the participants and to ensure that all participants fully understood the questions being asked. Once the questionnaires were fully completed, participants were thanked for their time and given a \$5 Wal-Mart gift card as a gesture of gratitude. This compensation was incorporated to offer incentive for students to participate in this study.

### **3.4 Confidentiality**

Every effort was made to protect all participants' confidentiality in this study. The surveys were completely anonymous, and no names were collected on the survey questionnaire. Code numbers were used to de-identify data. Data entry and code numbers were encrypted and securely maintained on a password-protected computer file on a University of Delaware server. Personal contact information was only used for the purposes of setting up a location and time for the adolescents to complete the questionnaires. Consent forms and questionnaires were secured and returned to campus as soon after collection as was practical. Consent forms and questionnaires were stored in two separate locked file cabinet drawers in a secure office located on the University of Delaware campus.

### **3.5 Ethical Concerns**

Several ethical concerns were accounted for while conducting this study, especially because it necessitated the consent of an at-risk population. For refugee adolescents, having to recount difficulties in their resettlement process and current

issues could elicit emotional and psychological concerns. Participants were made aware of these concerns prior to their participation to allow them to make an informed decision. Such concerns were clearly explained and elaborated prior to the dissemination of consent forms and implementation of the quantitative survey. All participants were informed that they would have the right to stop participating in the study at any time with no penalty to them or their families. Participants were reminded that they were not required to respond to any question they did not feel comfortable answering. Finally, if the study evoked any potential emotional or psychological concerns, a list of counseling service resources in the community were available. No participants indicated a need for these resources.

### **3.6 Analytical Strategy**

Statistical analyses was performed using SPSS version 23. All data were examined for accuracy in data entry, missing values, and fit between distributions and the assumptions of multivariate parametric analysis. Pairwise deletion was used for any missing data. Individual variables were screened for normality via tests of skewness and kurtosis. Moreover, Cronbach's alpha statistics were assessed to measure the internal consistency of relevant instruments.

To examine the relationship among Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation identity orientation (both ethnic and co-native identity), familial social capital (size and relational quality), general well-being, and school adjustment, two sequential hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed. Sequential hierarchical

multiple regressions are commonly employed for investigating the contributions of predictors beyond previously-entered predictors as a means of control and for assessing incremental validity in social sciences (Kovacev & Shute, 2004; Kuo & Roysircar, 2004; Murray, Simpson, Eccles, & Forshaw, 2015; Uskul & Greenglass, 2005). Unlike stepwise regression, which allows computer software to determine the sequential order of regression, the order of variable entry is determined by the researcher based on theory and past research, which is recognized as a more credible method within the social sciences (Field, 2009).

Prior to conducting hierarchical regression analyses, correlation coefficients among the independent variables (Bhutanese well-being and school adjustment) and predictor variables (degree of ethnic identity, degree of co-native identity, social capital size, and social relationship quality), along with controls (gender, length of stay, age, SES) were analyzed. Significantly, correlated predictors and demographic control variables, identified in the univariate analyses, were subsequently included in the multiple hierarchical regression analyses. Significant demographic control variables, including years in the United States and/or parental education, were entered in block 1, followed by Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation identity orientation in block 2, and familial social capital in block 3. The purpose of this sequential multiple hierarchical regression analysis design was as follows: (1) to examine whether Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation identity orientation contributes beyond the demographic controls in predicting each dependent variable; and (2) to examine whether familial social capital contributes beyond acculturation identity in predicting

each dependent variable (school adjustment and general well-being). This order of variable entry was selected due to more consistent findings in the literature on the associations among social capital, adolescent's school adjustment, and well-being (Bankston, 2004; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Rose, Woolley, & Bowen, 2013), compared to the literature on acculturation identity, adolescent's school adjustment, and well-being (Berry, 2007; Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011; Smith & Silva, 2011).

## Chapter 4

### **RESULTS: THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL ON BHUTANESE ADOLESCENT REFUGEES' GENERAL WELL-BEING AND SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT**

The following results help to explain the relationships of acculturation identity and social capital variables on Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment and general well-being. Further, the results explore the potential additive contribution of social capital beyond the relationship of acculturation identity on school adjustment and general well-being. The variables used in this study were school adjustment, general well-being, acculturation (ethnic and native identity), social capital quality, and control variables such as social capital size, age, years in the United States, and parents' education. To evaluate the hypotheses of the current study, a combination of descriptive statistics, correlations, and hierarchical multiple regressions were used. First, demographic information was assessed, and results from preliminary analyses were examined, to identify the significant correlations between the independent, control, and dependent variables. Next, two 3-step hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted to determine the relationship among significant acculturation identity and social capital variables on Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment and general well-being. Moreover, these hierarchical multiple regressions were attempted to examine the potential additive contribution of significant social capital

variables beyond the relationship of acculturation identity and significant control variables on school adjustment and general well-being.

#### **4.1 Demographic Information**

Table 1 shows the descriptive information of the research sample. A total of 119 Bhutanese adolescent subjects participated in this study. The sample consisted of 54.2% females and 45.8% males. The population's sample age ranged from 11–22, with a mean age of approximately 17 ( $SD=2.94$ ). The average length of stay in the United States was approximately 3.64 years, ranging from .33 to 7 years ( $SD= 1.61$ ).

Of the full sample, 78.9% participants resettled with two parents, 9.5% with mothers only, 3.2% with fathers only, and 8.4% with no parent at all. Of the adolescents in this study, 39.2% of the subjects resided in households with fathers as the primary familial financial supporter, 29.7% with mothers as the primary familial financial supporter, and 28.4% with both parents contributing equally to the family's income. Approximately 70% of the population's parental highest level of education was less than high school and 14% was a high school diploma. Moreover, only 8% of the subjects had parents who completed degrees above high school and 8% did not answer this question.

In general, adolescents tended to identify more with their own Bhutanese ethnic identity than with an American identity. It is not surprising that a majority of the adolescents in this population tended to embrace separation acculturation identity statuses, as they live in communities with high levels of ethnic composition. Previous

literature associated high levels of ethnic composition with separation identities. For example, Phinney and colleagues' large international study on immigrant populations found that immigrant adolescents living in neighborhoods where almost everyone belonged to their ethnic group had higher separation scores than did those living in more diverse neighborhoods (Phinney et al., 2006). Additionally, approximately 32% of adolescents reported another identity (e.g. religion) as personally salient to them; 26% identified themselves as Christian, 4.2% identified themselves as Hindu, and 1.8% selected another identity. This finding suggests that religion was a supplementary and major source of identity for this population.

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics for Sample Population

Descriptive Statistics						
Variable	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
Age	119	11.00	22.00	16.55	17.0	2.94
Years in US	119	.33	7.00	3.64	4.0	1.61
School adjust	119	1.83	5.00	3.68	3.67	.74
SCQ	119	2.25	4.00	3.58	3.60	.42
Ethnic Ident	119	1.72	5.00	4.31	4.53	.70
Amer Ident	119	1.88	5.00	3.91	3.75	.70
GWB	119	2.77	4.58	3.74	3.70	.46
Valid N (listwise)	119					

*Note.* “Age” represents the current age of the participants. “Years in U.S.” indicate the number of years the adolescent resided in the country. “School adjustment” indicates the students’ levels of adjustment in school, with higher scores constituting higher levels of school adjustment. “Familial SCQ” stands for familial social capital quality, with higher scores representing higher levels of familial social capital quality. “Ethnic Ident” stands for ethnic identity. The ethnic identity variable represents participants’ degrees of ethnic identification, with higher scores associated with higher degrees of ethnic identification. “Amer Ident” stands for American identity. Similar to the ethnic identity variable, the American identity variable represents participants’ degrees of American identification, with higher scores associated with higher degrees of American identity. Finally, *GWB* stands for the general well-being variable, with higher scores indicating higher levels of well-being.

## 4.2 Inter-Correlational Analyses

To examine the relationships of familial social capital and acculturation identity factors on Bhutanese adolescents’ general well-being and school adjustment, correlations among the independent, control, and dependent variables were computed. Appendix A presents the inter-correlations of the study variables. Years in the United States, parent education, social capital quality, and ethnic identity were found to be significantly and positively associated with Bhutanese adolescents’ school adjustment.

Meanwhile, years in the United States, social capital quality, and ethnic identity were significantly and positively associated with Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being. These findings supported the first hypothesis of this study, which predicted a statistically significant positive relationship between Bhutanese adolescents' familial social capital quality and their general well-being ( $r = .28, p < .05$ ). Similarly, the correlational findings supported the third hypothesis of this study, indicating a statistically significant relationship ( $r = .32, p < .05$ ) between adolescents' familial social capital quality and adolescents' school adjustment. However, the second hypothesis, which predicted a significant positive relationship among Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation variables (degree or ethnic and American identity) and general well-being, was only partially supported, insofar as the results indicated that only ethnic identity was significantly and positively associated with general well-being ( $r = .37, p < .05$ ). American identity was not statistically and significantly correlated with general well-being. Finally, similar to the previous hypothesis, this section's correlational findings only partially supported the fourth hypothesis of this current research study, which predicted a significant positive correlation among Bhutanese adolescents' acculturation variables (degree of ethnic and American identity) and these adolescents' school adjustment. The study's results indicated that only ethnic identity was significantly and positively associated with school adjustment, and that American identity was not significantly positively correlated to school adjustment ( $r = .29, p < .05$ ).

In addition to the correlations of variables emphasized in this study, further correlational relationships were found. Age was found to be significantly negatively associated to SES ( $r = -.19, p < .05$ ) and significantly positively associated to American identity ( $r = .26, p < .05$ ). Moreover, years in the United States was significantly positively associated to both household size ( $r = .23, p < .05$ ) and ethnic identity ( $r = .22, p < .05$ ). Age, gender, SES, social capital size, and American identity were not significantly related to Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment. Therefore, age, gender, SES, social capital size, and American identity were eliminated in the proceeding hierarchical linear regression for school adjustment. Meanwhile, parental education, age, gender, SES, social capital size, and American identity were not found to be significantly related to Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being. Therefore, parental education, age, gender, SES, social capital size, and American identity were eliminated in the following hierarchical linear regression for general well-being.

### **4.3 Hierarchical Regression Analysis for General Well-Being**

A three-step hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to determine the relationship between acculturation identity and social capital on Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment and the potential additive contribution of social capital, beyond the relationship of acculturation identity, on school adjustment after controlling for years in the United States. Only significant variables from the prior correlations were included in this three-step hierarchical multiple regression. The number of years in the United States was entered at stage one of the regression to act

as a control for demographic variables. Ethnic identity was entered at stage two and social capital quality at stage three.

Prior to conducting these hierarchical regressions, relevant assumptions of this statistical analysis were tested. First, a sample of 119 was deemed adequate given four independent variables to be included in the analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The assumption of singularity was also met, as the independent variables (years in the United States, parent education, ethnic identity, and social capital quality) were not perfectly correlated, and one independent variable was not a combination of one or more of the other independent variables. An examination of correlations revealed that no independent variables were highly correlated. Multicollinearity was further calculated via tolerance values. Collinearity statistics were all within acceptable limits, with tolerance values ranging from .85 to .97; thus, multicollinearity was not a problem for this dataset. An examination of the Mahalanobis distance scores indicated no multivariate outliers. To evaluate the homoscedasticity, linearity, and normality assumptions, standardized residuals were evaluated against the values of the predicted dependent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001; Venter & Maxwell, 2000). The residual scatter plot revealed a concentration of residuals in the center of the plot and a normal distribution of residuals trailing off symmetrically from the center, forming a rectangular shape. Therefore, no violations of these assumptions were detected.

The hierarchical multiple regression (Table B) revealed that at stage one, years in the United States, contributed significantly to the regression model,  $F(2, 117) = 17.03, p < .01$  and accounted for 13% of the variance in general well-being.

Introducing ethnic identity explained an additional 6% of variation in general well-being, and this change in  $R^2$  was significant,  $F(1, 116) = 8.93, p < .05$ . Because American identity was not correlated with school adjustment in the previous correctional analysis, that aspect of acculturation identity was not included in this analysis. Finally, adding social capital into the regression model explained an additional 2% of the variation in general well-being, and this change in  $R^2$  was not significant. The results of this hierarchical multiple regression did not support the fifth hypothesis, which had predicted an additive positive relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being beyond the effects of acculturation identity.

#### **4.4 Hierarchical Regression Analysis for School Adjustment**

A second three-step hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to determine the relationship between acculturation identity and social capital on Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment. This included the potential additive contribution of social capital beyond the relationship of acculturation identity on school adjustment after controlling for years in the United States and parent education. Only significant variables from the prior correlations were included in this three-step hierarchical multiple regression. Years in the United States and parent education were entered at stage one of the regression to control for demographic variables. Ethnic identity was entered at stage two and social capital quality at stage three.

The hierarchical multiple regression (Appendix C) revealed that at stage one, years in the United States and parent education contributed significantly to the regression model,  $F(2, 117) = 8.34, p < .01$  and accounted for 13% of the variance in school adjustment. Introducing ethnic identity explained an additional 6% of variation in school adjustment, and this change in  $R^2$  was significant,  $F(1, 116) = 8.53, p < .05$ . Finally, adding social capital to the regression model explained an additional 9% variation in school adjustment, and this change in  $R^2$  square was also significant  $F(1, 115) = 14.10, p < .01$ . When all four independent variables were included in stage three of the regression model, the ethnic identity acculturation variable was not a significant positive predictor of school adjustment. Together, the four independent variables accounted for 28% of variance for school adjustment. In summary, years in the United States, parent education levels, and social capital quality were positively associated with higher levels of school adjustment. The results of this hierarchical multiple regression supported the sixth hypothesis, which predicted an additive positive relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment beyond the effects of acculturation identity. When the social capital quality variable was added to the model, it revealed a significant  $R^2$  change, and the ethnic identity variable became insignificant. This result further indicates the additive positive relationship that familial social capital has on Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment beyond ethnic identity.

The results of this study highlighted the promising associations between social capital and acculturation factors on the well-being and school adjustment of recently

resettled Bhutanese adolescent refugees residing in the United States. This study's results indicate a greater need to further understand these associations and the importance of expanding upon them in future research. A discussion of the study's results in the context of theory, along with limitations and future directions, will be addressed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 5**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS**

Given the increased influx of adolescent refugees resettled in the United States, such as the Bhutanese, there is an urgent need to develop a deeper understanding of the factors that help to promote select refugee populations' successful adjustment and well-being. Despite the fact that the United States resettled more than 49,000 Bhutanese refugees, half of whom are youth, there remains a gap in the literature examining this select population's well-being and school adjustment (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services et al., 2014). This study is among the first to examine the adjustment of Bhutanese adolescent refugees resettled in the United States. The purpose of this current study aimed to assess the social capital and acculturation factors that affect Bhutanese adolescents' well-being and school adjustment, despite their previous pre-migration experiences. More specifically, this study was designed to examine the relationships of familial social capital and acculturation on Bhutanese refugee adolescents' school-level adjustment and general well-being.

The findings of this study can serve as a lens for better understanding newly resettled immigrant adolescents' acculturation identity development, familial social capital networks, general well-being, and school adjustment. This study can help deepen the understanding of adolescent immigrants' resettlement experiences and further identify the potential acculturation identity and familial social capital factors

that may influence adolescent refugee populations' general well-being and school adjustment. The current study highlights the important role that familial social capital and acculturation identity serve in Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being and school adjustment, as well as the additive role that familial social capital serves in Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment. Up to this point, no study has empirically examined all of these factors in conjunction with one another in a similar manner.

Results of this current study reveal a strong orientation to ethnic identity within this Bhutanese population as positively significantly related to their general well-being and school adjustment. This finding indicates that during these adolescents' fifth stage of Erikson's psychosocial development, ethnic identity serves a significant function in their general well-being and school adjustment. Moreover, this study found that American orientation was not significantly related to either general well-being or school adjustment. These results support the notion that when it comes to this specific population's negotiation of their acculturation process, at the individual level, separation seems to be the most adaptive approach in relation to this population's general well-being and school adjustment.

Studies conducted on other immigrant adolescent groups, examining the relationship between acculturation and general well-being, demonstrated mixed results. Literature within the field supports the notion of integration as the most promising acculturation status in promoting healthy psychological adaptation (Berry, 2007; Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008; Kim et al., 2009; Lieber, Chin, Nihira, & Mink, 2001). Importantly, those studies contrast to the findings of this current study

on Bhutanese adolescent refugees. The most substantial study on immigrant youths' acculturation and adaptation to date has been conducted by Berry and colleagues (2006). Theirs was a large international study conducted on immigrant youth (ages 13–18 years) who were settled in 13 host societies. The results of Berry and colleagues' study indicated that individuals with integrated acculturation statuses evidenced the best psychological adaptation outcomes, and that those with separated acculturation statuses had moderate levels of psychological adaptation. Meanwhile, those individuals with assimilated acculturation statuses evidenced poor psychological adaptation, and those with marginalized acculturation had the lowest levels of psychological adaptation. These relationships were supported by another study in the field that examined the relationship between acculturation and the well-being of Turkish immigrant adolescents, aged 13–18, living in six countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, France, and the Netherlands). The authors of that study found integration to be conducive to Turkish immigrants' psychological adaptation (Vedder, Sam, & Liebkind, 2007). These findings do not adequately support the findings of the current study on Bhutanese adolescent refugees' acculturation and general well-being.

Despite the preponderance of literature emphasizing the significance of integration on immigrant populations' general well-being, a growing subset of literature supports this study's results and highlights the significance of ethnic identity on immigrant adolescents' general well-being (Abu-Rayya, 2006; Smith & Silva, 2011). For example, one study conducted by Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, and Fuligni (2006) on Mexican and Chinese immigrants' backgrounds found that

adolescents with higher levels of ethnic identity exhibit greater levels of happiness and lower levels of daily anxiety over a two-week period. Ethnic affiliation was found to moderate the association between Mexican and Chinese Americans' normative daily stressful demands and their happiness. Ethnic identity was recognized to buffer the daily stressors that could impede Mexican and Chinese Americans' happiness.

Further, another study, examining the link between acculturation and well-being on a population of diverse immigrant youths in Finland, found immigrant youths' ethnic identity values to be related to their well-being (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). The results of this current study on Bhutanese adolescents add to the growing subset of literature that emphasizes the positive importance of ethnic identity on newly immigrating populations' general well-being.

Similar to the previous literature on the relationship between acculturation identity and general well-being, mixed findings emerged within the literature, assessing the links between acculturation identity and school adjustment on other immigrant populations. The results of this current study align with the findings of studies on other U.S. immigrant youth populations, such as Chinese American (Ogbu, 1992; Sung, 1987), Punjabi American (Gibson, 1988), and Mexican American (Bankston & Zhou, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1993) youths. Studies conducted on Chinese American, Punjabi American, and Mexican American populations found positive relationships between individual participants' ethnic identification and their academic adjustment. In contrast, the results of this current study conflict with those of other studies conducted on Indian American (Wood & Clay, 1996) and Soviet American

refugees (Trickett & Birman, 2005), which found positive associations between assimilation (embracing American culture) and academic achievement. Although acculturation identity development and its relationship to general well-being and school adjustment seem to be complicated, acculturation identity development should not be taken lightly, especially due to the concrete evidence in the field that links individuals with marginalized identities to be at heightened risk for very poor levels of well-being and school adjustment (Berry et al., 2006).

Most of the limited literature on familial social capital and its relationship with school adjustment and general well-being found consistent results with those of this study. This study specifically focused on the bonding sub-system of social capital theory and familial relationships, in particular. The results of this study support previous empirical work documenting familial social capital as a salient component of successful adolescent resettlement (Liebkind & Jasinkaja-Lahti, 2000, Ying & Han, 2008; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). The current study indicated that Bhutanese adolescents' familial level social capital plays a significant role in their successful adaptation, particularly in relation to their general well-being and school adjustment. In fact, when it comes to school adjustment, familial social capital was found to hold an additive relationship beyond the effects of acculturation identity. This finding is in line with the literature on immigrant and minority populations that indicated familial social capital quality to be positively associated with general well-being and school adjustment (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003; Supple & Small, 2006; Trickett & Birman, 2005). A study conducted on Latino adolescent populations found the degree

of familial support Latinos obtain through older siblings and extended family to be positively associated with their levels of well-being and future life opportunities (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2003). Another study, conducted on Hmong refugee populations residing in the United States, similarly found levels of familial social capital quality to be positively associated with self-esteem and grade point average (Supple & Small, 2006). In addition, a further study on adolescent refugees from the former Soviet Union residing in the United States found parental support to be positively associated with their feelings of belonging in school settings (Trickett & Birman, 2005). This current study not only replicated the findings within the literature on familial social capital but also further indicated the significant role that familial social capital serves in Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment, after controlling for other demographic and acculturation variables.

Overall, this study demonstrates that individuals' acculturation identities, along with their microsystem familial social capital characteristics, are significantly related to their general well-being and microsystem school adjustment. These results show the bi-directionality of associations between individual and microsystem levels of refugee adolescents' ecological systems.

### **5.1 Limitations, Future Research, and Strengths of the Current Study**

Although this study offers pioneering insights on the resiliency factors that promote Bhutanese adolescent refugees' general well-being and school adjustment, the results of this study must also be considered with regard to several limitations.

These limitations may guide future research directions. The first limitation of the current study involves the scope of the population sample. Participants of this study were all recruited from a mid-sized city in Pennsylvania with an established refugee resettlement hub. Therefore, this study's results may not be representative of other Bhutanese refugee adolescents who are resettled in different cities and states in the United States. Future research could replicate this current study in multiple locations, such as regions with limited refugee populations without well-established refugee support services and programs. Moreover, researchers could use a variety of adolescent population locations, including those from rural, urban, and/or metropolitan areas. This approach would allow researchers to better compare the results of these findings to the results of studies on other refugee adolescent populations from similar national backgrounds within the United States and to determine whether these findings are generalizable to other regions.

Another limitation of this current study was the study's sample size. The sample size was relatively small ( $N = 119$ ). A larger sample size, and a more balanced representation of Bhutanese refugee adolescents nationwide, could provide more accurate information on the relationships among this population's acculturation, social capital, general well-being, and school adjustment.

A further limitation of this current study was the age range of the participating subjects (ages 11–22). Due to the specificity of the select population sample, the researcher was not able to limit the scope of the sample requirements to a more precise age group, such as early adolescence or emerging adulthood. Future researchers might

conduct studies with more contained sample age ranges, such as early adolescence or emerging adulthood. Early adolescents and emerging adults' resettlement processes and migration transitions might vary greatly and thus those factors could be taken into account. Conducting additional studies, using constrained age range samples, would allow researchers to obtain more composited understandings of each age group's unique transitional experiences.

Additionally, there were limitations to the survey methodology used in this study. The measures were all self-report quantitative measures. Participants were required to self-select their perceptions of these variables. The likelihood of a selection bias and social desirability within participants' responses were possible. Although the researcher, along with all the research assistants involved in the current study, took precautions to keep the surveys anonymous (through the use of codes instead of participants' names) to prevent social bias, the subject samples' prior knowledge of the researcher or research assistants may have affected the ways that they responded to the items on the survey measures, such as rating themselves highly on certain questions.

The final limitation of this study was the finite scope of the variables measured. For example, the acculturation scale used in the study focused specifically on acculturation identity rather than on other dimensions such as behaviors and beliefs. Future researchers could explore other facets of acculturation identity that adolescent refugees may be negotiating, such as religion and/or spirituality. When prompted to identify any other cultural identity besides their Bhutanese identity that

they deemed important to them, this study's participants indicated religion to be a primary facet of their cultural identity. Therefore, future research could examine multiple dimensions of acculturation, such as religion. There could be further investigation into the relationships of refugee adolescents' degree of religious identity and ethnic identity on their general well-being and school adjustment. Moreover, future researchers could also investigate other domains of acculturation aside from identity, such as behavioral and language acculturation.

Overall, this was the first empirical study on the acculturation, social capital, general well-being, and school adjustment of Bhutanese refugee adolescents resettled in the United States. The results set a precedent for future research in examining the relationships of adolescent refugee populations' acculturation, social capital, general well-being, and school adjustment. Results from this study indicate a need for further development and refinement of culturally appropriate models and theoretical approaches when examining and working with adolescent refugees. As mentioned previously, research on refugee populations tends to use more deficit model approaches to examine these populations' psychological adaptation, recognizing refugees as victims of their own fates rather than as active participants. Much of the literature focuses on risk rather than on resiliency factors, such as social capital and acculturation processes.

A primary contribution of this study aimed to build upon and expand the limited body of literature regarding the role that social capital and acculturation serve for adolescent refugees' adjustment and well-being in the United States, via a strength-

based approach. Despite the increased number of adolescent refugees residing in the United States today, there is still, surprisingly little known about how they are adjusting to their new environments. Moreover, many of the previous theoretical approaches used in the literature on refugee populations are based on deficit-based lenses, in which refugees were recognized as victims of circumstance rather than as resilient participants. These theoretical lenses led to a heightened emphasis in the field on the unique challenges that confront refugees upon resettlement, such as financial problems, acculturation stress, discrimination, and social exclusion (Berry, 2007; Ellis et al., 2010; Heptinstall et al., 2004). Future researchers could continue using culturally-grounded and strength-based frameworks when assessing Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being and school adjustment.

## **5.2 Implications for Practice**

With the rising number of Bhutanese refugee families being resettled in the United States, and practitioners working with Bhutanese adolescent populations (teachers, doctors, caseworkers, and counselors), there is a need for information about Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being and school adjustment. This study's results may provide insight into the ways in which professionals may help support Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being and school adjustment.

Further, insights from this study may be beneficial for practitioners working with Bhutanese refugee adolescents in school settings. Efforts, such as building stronger collaborative partnerships among Bhutanese adolescents' families, and

attempting to involve Bhutanese adolescent families in their school settings, may be advantageous for those adolescent refugees who are struggling to adapt to their new school environments. It is evident that familial social capital is significantly related to Bhutanese adolescents' school adjustment, over and above other factors. Counselors, teachers, and other professionals working with children in school settings could identify ways in which they could potentially involve family members in these adolescents' academic lives.

Teachers and school administrators might also attempt to contact families and other relatives through various school and community organizations, such as Parent Teacher Associations, family literacy programs, adult English as a Second Language (ESL) or citizenship courses, parent-teacher conferences, and other community-based centers working with refugee families. Teachers and administrators might open and develop avenues of communication between Bhutanese adolescents' family members and communities, such as elders and pastors, to help holistically support these adolescents' academic success.

Within communities with higher rates of Bhutanese adolescent refugees, mental health professionals outside of school settings also need to be aware of the role that Bhutanese adolescent refugee populations' families serve in students' school adjustment. Counselors might consider using family counseling approaches in working with adolescent refugee populations and encourage family members, such as parents, siblings, and/or elders, to attend counseling sessions.

Although familial social capital is recognized as a salient and significant variable in Bhutanese adolescent refugees' school adjustment, it does not seem to have as much significance in terms of the relationship with these adolescents' general well-being. Practitioners working with Bhutanese adolescents, who are struggling with low levels of general well-being, should be aware of the role that ethnic identity serves in this population's general well-being. Based on these findings, counselors, working with Bhutanese adolescents with lower levels of general well-being, could conceptualize and develop more appropriate and relevant treatment plans centered on supporting Bhutanese adolescents' ethnic identity development. It would be beneficial for counselors to assess the students' degrees of ethnic identifications and to develop possible channels to strengthen their ethnic identity, such as participating in ethnic community organizations, making friends with other peers from their ethnic background, communicating with family members from their native country, participating in international student events, and celebrating ethnic holidays.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The research presented here makes important contributions to understanding the influence of familial social capital and acculturation identity amongst a sample of recently resettled refugee youths. Influenced by the integration of social capital theory, the multidimensional framework of acculturation, Erikson's psychosocial theory of development, and ecological theory, this study sought to consider several important familial social capital and acculturation identity variables and their relationships with

Bhutanese adolescents' general well-being and school adjustment. Perhaps one of the most important findings of this current study is the significant relationship between familial social capital and Bhutanese adolescent refugees' school adjustment, beyond their ethnic identity. Understanding the relationships among the variables examined in this study (familial social capital, acculturation identity, general well-being, and school adjustment) provides both researchers and practitioners with insights into some of the influential factors related to broader immigrant adolescent population's general well-being and positive school adjustment. These findings might help to promote healthier psychological and social development of other resettled populations within the United States, who may be deemed at-risk for poor psychological and social outcomes.

In the past decades, and especially since September 11, 2001, the world has been alerted to a new reality of our time: “violent extremism” and “radicalization.” (Silke, 2008). The numerous deadly attacks in Europe and the United States contributed to placing the issue of terrorism on the United States and European political agenda. In addition, concerns about youth radicalization gained momentum within the last few years, evidenced by the rising numbers of young European, Australian, Canadian, and United States citizens flocking to countries such as Syria to fight mostly alongside the Syrian opposition. The Islamic State (ISIL or ISIS), and its powerful propaganda tactics targeting Muslim immigrant youths through the use of the Internet and social media, are something our world has never been confronted with previously. This remains an especially alarming issue for many immigrant host nations

that resettled large numbers of immigrants from Middle Eastern and North African regions. These issues have spurred heated debates on immigration policies within the United States and abroad. United States government officials and many European leaders acknowledged the strong recruitment tactics of ISIS and are actively seeking to determine effective ways to combat them. Much of the current effort to confront these issues has focused almost exclusively on macro-level contexts, such as policies regarding immigration caps and homeland security. Although macro-level contextual changes are imperative for the safety of host countries, micro-level factors should not be ignored. On a micro-level, the process of acculturation and cultural identity development were found to be contributing factors to the radicalization of immigrant youths. Moreover, research indicated that immigrant youths with marginalized identities are more susceptible to becoming radicalized (Silke, 2008). In light of these findings, and along with the literature on acculturation identity and familial social capital, it is imperative for those people working with immigrant youth to consider these factors when attempting to prevent isolated immigrant youths from becoming radicalized.

This project is one of the first empirical studies to examine the relationship between acculturation, social capital, general well-being, and school adjustment amongst a group of refugee adolescents in the United States. Studies of this kind hold promise for future researchers to further assess such complex relationships. Moreover, the researcher of this study hopes that her findings will help to shift the direction of current discourse on this topic. These kind of studies identify which factors foster

resilience and help promote refugee groups' general well-being and adjustment. They also identify what can help prevent maladaptive behaviors, specifically such as radicalization. This shift in perspective will not only allow for a deeper understanding of the factors related to immigrants' general well-being and adjustment, but will also provide insights into the ways in which countries with high influxes of immigrants can help to facilitate healthy adolescent acculturation and adjustment.

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## Appendix A

### TABLE 2: INTER-ITEM CORRELATION MATRIX

Table 2 Inter-Item Correlation Matrix

Inter-Item Correlation Matrix											
Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.Age	1.00										
2.YearUS	.19*	1.00									
3.HousS	.06	.22*	1.00								
4.SES	-.19*	.07	.11	1.00							
5.Paredu	.06	.17	.03	-.08	1.00						
6.Schadju	.04	.31**	.10	-.08	.21*	1.00					
7.SCQ	-.12	-.02	.07	.17	-.10	.26**	1.00				
8.Ethid	.08	.24**	-.10	-.14	.01	.31**	.29**	1.00			
9.Amerid	.21*	-.02	.04	.05	-.09	.14	.03	-.03	1.00		
10.GWB	.09	.36**	.09	-.10	.09	.33**	.22*	.33**	.10	1.00	
11.SCS	.09	-.04	.27**	.01	.25**	.12	-.03	.01	-.03	-.03	1.00

*Notes.* Age represents the current age of the participants. YearUS indicates the number of years the adolescent had been in the U.S. HouseS represents household size. SES is abbreviated for socioeconomic status. Paredu indicates parental education level. Schadju represents school adjustment. SCQ stands for familial social capital quality. Ethid stands for the degree of ethnic identity, and Amerid stands for the degree of American identity. GWB is abbreviated for general well-being. SCS represents school capital size.

\* $p < .05$ .

## Appendix B

**TABLE 3: HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR GENERAL WELL-BEING**

Table 3 Hierarchical Regression Analysis for General Well-Being

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$
YearUS	.10	.02	.36**	.08	.02	.30*	.08	.02	.30**
EthnicId				.17	.06	.26**	.14	.06	.21**
SCQ							.16	.10	.15
$\Delta R^2$		.13**			.06**			.02	
F for $\Delta R^2$		17.08**			8.93**			2.86	

*Notes.* Years in the United States indicates the number of years the adolescent has been in the country. Ethid stands for the degree of ethnic identity. SCQ stands for familial social capital quality.  
 \* $p < .05$ . \*\*,  $p < .01$ .

## Appendix C

**TABLE 4: HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR VARIABLES PREDICTING SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT**

Table 4 Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting School Adjustment

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$
YearUS	.13	.04	.29**	.10	.40	.224*	.10	.04	.23**
ParentEd	.11	.06	.16	.12	.06	.17*	.13	.05	.20*
EthnicId				.27	.09	.253**	.16	.09	.151
SCQ							.56	.15	.32**
$\Delta R^2$		.13**			.06			.09**	
F for $\Delta R^2$		8.34**			8.53**			14.10**	

*Notes.* Years in the United States indicates the number of years the adolescent has been in the country. Paredu indicates parental education level. Ethid stands for the degree of ethnic identity. SCQ stands for familial social capital quality.

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

## Appendix D

### PENNSYLVANIA MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM RECRUITMENT PERMISSION LETTER

Dr. Dámaso Albino

Director of Pennsylvania Migrant Education Program

PO Box 1002

Millersville, PA 17551

Regarding Permission to Conduct Research Study

Dear Dr. Dámaso Albino:

I am writing to request permission to conduct a research study at the Lancaster Migrant Education Summer Program. I am currently enrolled in the department of Human Development and Family Studies at University of Delaware in Newark, DE, and am in the process of writing my PhD dissertation. The study is entitled *Bhutanese Adolescents' well-being and school adaptation: The role of acculturation and familial social capital*.

I hope that the Lancaster County Migrant Education administration will allow me to recruit Bhutanese/Nepali adolescents between the ages of 11–22 from the program to complete a confidential 10-page survey questionnaire (copy enclosed). Parental consent and adolescent assent/consent forms will be distributed to interested students (copies enclosed) and returned to the primary researcher at the beginning of the survey process. Parent consent forms will be available in both English and Nepali, which would give them an option to choose the language that they are dominant in and ensure the legal rights of the parents to understand what they are consenting to. The Nepali consent form has been translated by a federally certified agency.

If approval is granted an agreed-upon time and location, one most comfortable for participants, will be selected for the completion of the questionnaire. The questionnaire process should take no longer than 40 minutes. The survey results will be pooled for the dissertation project and individual results of this study will remain absolutely confidential. Should this study be published, only pooled results will be

documented. No costs will be incurred by either your organization or the individual participants.

Your approval to conduct this study will be greatly appreciated. If you have any questions, I would be happy to answer them or any concerns that you may have at that time. You may contact me at my e-mail address: nmoinolm@gmail.com or phone number (516-244-3315).

If you agree, kindly sign below and return the signed form in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Alternatively, kindly submit a signed letter of permission on your institution's letterhead acknowledging your consent and permission for me to conduct this survey/study at your institution.

Sincerely,

Neda Moinolmolki

Enclosures

Approved by:

_____	_____	_____
Print your name and title here	Signature	Date

## Appendix E

### THE BHUTANESE NEPALI CHURCH OF LANCASTER RECRUITMENT PERMISSION LETTER

Mrs. Gurung  
Youth Director at Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster

Regarding Permission to Conduct Research Study

Dear Mrs. Gurung:

I am writing to request permission to conduct a research study at the Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster. I am currently enrolled in the department of Human Development and Family Studies at University of Delaware in Newark, DE, and am in the process of writing my PhD dissertation. The study is titled *Bhutanese Adolescents' well-being and school adaptation: The role of acculturation and familial social capital*.

I hope that the Bhutanese Nepali Church of Lancaster will allow me to recruit Bhutanese/Nepali adolescents ages of 11–22 from the program to complete a confidential 10-page survey questionnaire (copy enclosed). Parental consent and adolescent assent/consent forms will be distributed to interested students (copies enclosed) and returned to the primary researcher at the beginning of the survey process. Parent consent forms will be available in both English and Nepali, which would give them an option to choose the language that they are dominant in and ensure the legal rights of the parents to understand what they are consenting to. The Nepali consent form has been translated by a federally certified agency.

If approval is granted, an agreed-upon time and location, one most comfortable for participants, will be selected for the completion of the questionnaire. The questionnaire process should take no longer than 40 minutes. The survey results will be pooled for the dissertation project and individual results of this study will remain absolutely confidential. Should this study be published, only pooled results will be documented. No costs will be incurred by either your organization or the individual participants.

Your approval to conduct this study will be greatly appreciated. If you have any questions, I would be happy to answer them or any concerns that you may have at that

time. You may contact me at my e-mail address: nmoinolm@gmail.com or phone number (516-244-3315).

If you agree, kindly sign below and return the signed form in the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely,

Neda Moinolmolki

Enclosures

Approved by:

\_\_\_\_\_

Print your name and title here

Signature

Date

## **Appendix F**

### **STUDENT ASSENT FORM AGES 11–12**

*UD IRB Approval from 07/01/2015 to 06/30/2016*

#### **STUDENT ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (11–12)**

Namaste. My name is Neda Moinolmolki. I am a university student. Right now, I am doing a school project to learn more about Bhutanese students' families, the way they feel about themselves, their happiness, and how they feel in school. You are being asked to help me because you are Bhutanese/Nepali and are between the ages of 11–22. I would like to ask you to help me by answering a few questions. Before I do, I want to explain what will happen if you decide to help me.

I will ask you to complete a 40-minute packet of questions. I and someone who speaks Nepali will be there to help you with the survey. By answering a packet of questions, you will help me understand more about your family, the way you feel about yourself, your happiness, and how you feel in school. Once you complete the packet of question, you will be given a \$5 Wal-Mart gift card for helping me.

Your parents, teacher, or classmates will not know what you write. When I tell other people about my project, I will not use your name, and no one will be able to tell whom I'm talking about.

Your mom or dad have said it is OK for you to be in my study. But if you don't want to be in the study, you don't have to be. I won't be upset, and no one else will be upset, if you don't want to be in the study. If you want to be in the study now but change your mind later, that's OK. You can stop at any time. If you change your mind or want to stop completing the survey, you will still get the \$5 Wal-Mart gift card.

If there is anything you don't understand, you should tell me so I can explain it to you. You can ask me questions about the project. If you have a question later that you don't think of now, you can ask me by calling me (516-244-3315) or sending me an e-mail (nmoinolm@gmail.com).

Do you have any questions for me now? Would you like to be in my study and answer some questions? If so, please write and sign your name below.

**Your Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Your Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Person Obtaining Assent Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Person Obtaining Assent Signature** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix G

### STUDENT ASSENT AGES 13–18

*UD IRB Approval from 07/01/2015 to 06/30/2016*

Participant's Initials \_\_\_\_\_

#### **ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

**Title of Project:** Bhutanese Adolescents' well-being and school adaptation: The role of acculturation and familial social capital

**Investigator(s):** Neda Moinolmolki

Namaste,

My name is Neda Moinolmolki, and I am a student working on my school project at the University of Delaware.

I am asking if you want to be part of a project. This paper tells you what the project is about, what you will be asked to do if you want to be in the project, and the how this project will affect you. Please read this paper and ask us any questions you have.

#### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS PROJECT?**

The purpose of this project is to learn more about how your family and the way you think about yourself changes your happiness and school comfort.

You will be one of about 120 other students. You are being asked to take part in this because you are Bhutanese/Nepali and are between the ages of 13–18

#### **WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?**

You will be asked to complete a 40-minute packet of questions. This will be done in a place that is comfortable to you (school, home, community center). I and someone who speaks Nepali will be there to help you with the survey.

#### **HOW WILL THIS STUDY AFFECT ME?**

Some of the questions in the packet may cause you to feel sad. If you do feel sad, let the person helping you with the packet know and we will give you a list of people you can talk to for help. If you choose to stop at any time, that is fine and all your information will be erased. Nothing bad will happen to you or your family if you choose not to finish the pack of questions.

The information of this project may help school counselors and teachers understand how to work with you or future children coming from Nepal/Bhutan.

**WHO MAY KNOW THAT YOU PARTICIPATED IN THIS RESEARCH?**

No one other than the adults in this study and your parents will know that you were in this project. If we tell other people about the research, we will not use your name. We also must let you know that if you tell us that someone has done or is doing bad things to you or other children, we will tell people who can help.

**WILL I BE GIVEN ANYTHING FOR CHOOSING TO BE IN THIS PROJECT?**

You will be given a \$5 Wal-Mart gift card after completing the survey. If you decide that you would not want to continue completing the survey, you will still be given the \$5 Wal-Mart gift card.

**CAN YOU CHANGE YOUR MIND ABOUT BEING IN THE STUDY?**

You do not have to say yes. If you choose to be in this project, you can change your mind and stop at any time. If you decide to not be in this project or if you decide to stop at any time, nothing bad will happen to you and no one will be unhappy with you. If you decide to stop please let us know by telling one of the adults in this study.

**WHO SHOULD YOU CALL IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS?**

If you have any questions about this study, please call the Principal Investigator, Neda Moinolmolki, at (516) 244-3315 or nedamoin@udel.edu.

I may also contact her adviser on this research project:

Dr. Bahira Sherif Trask  
Professor and Associate Chair,  
Human Development and Family Studies  
113 Alison Hall  
University of Delaware  
Newark, DE 19716  
(302) 831-8187  
bstrask@udel.ed

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Delaware Institutional Review Board at hsrb-research@udel.edu or (302) 831-2137.

**If you want to participate, and we have answered all of your questions about it, please sign below.**

_____	_____	_____
Printed Name of Participant	Signature of Participant	Date
_____	_____	_____
Person Obtaining Consent	Person Obtaining Consent	Date

## Appendix H

### PARENT CONSENT

*UD IRB Approval from 07/01/2015 to 06/30/2016*

Participant's Initials \_\_\_\_\_

#### **INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

**Title of Project:** Bhutanese Adolescents' well-being and school adaptation: The role of acculturation and familial social capital

**Principal Investigator(s):** Neda Moinolmolki

Namaste. My name is Neda Moinolmolki, and I am a student working on a school project (my dissertation) at the University of Delaware.

Your child is being invited to be involved in a research study. A research study is a way to learn more about people and facts. This form tells you what the study is about, what your child will be asked to do, and the possible effects of this study on my child. Please read this paper and ask any questions you may have before you decide to give your child permission to be involved in this study.

#### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?**

The purpose of this study is to learn more about how your child's family and the way he/she views him/herself effects his/her happiness and school comfort. This information will be used as part of my school project (dissertation).

Your child will be one of approximately 120 students in this study. Your child is being asked to take part of this study because he/she is Bhutanese/Nepali and is between the ages of 11–22.

#### **WHAT WILL YOUR CHILD BE ASKED TO DO?**

As part of this study, your child will be asked to complete a 40-minute packet of questions. This will be done in a place that is comfortable for your child (school, home, community center). I and someone who speaks Nepali will be there to help your child with the survey.

#### **HOW WILL THIS STUDY AFFECT MY CHILD?**

Some of the questions in the packet may cause your child to feel sad. If this does happen, a list of people your child can talk to, such as counseling services and school counselors, will be given to your child. If your child decides that he/she does not want to continue at

any time, that is fine, and all of his/her information will be erased. Additionally, I want you to know that nothing bad will happen to you or your child if he/she does not want to continue.

There will be no quick positive change for your child, but the information learned from this project may help school counselors and teachers understand how to work with your child or future adolescents coming from Nepal/Bhutan.

**HOW WILL CONFIDENTIALITY BE MAINTAINED? WHO MAY KNOW THAT YOU PARTICIPATED IN THIS RESEARCH?**

The information from this study will be confidential. Confidential means that your child's identity will be known by the researchers of this study but will not be shared with others. Your child's name will not be included on any packet forms; only random numbers will be utilized to identify your child. A list of numbers will be used to identify your child, and this list will be stored in a password-protected computer file, on the University of Delaware central service. Your child's surveys will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the University of Delaware. The results of this study will only be used for my school project (dissertation), and your child's name will not be utilized in any report.

The confidentiality of your records will be protected to the extent permitted by law. Your research records may be viewed by the University of Delaware Institutional Review Board, which is a committee formally designated to approve, monitor, and review biomedical and behavioral research involving humans. Records relating to this research will be kept for at least three years after the research study has been completed.

I also must let you know that if during your participation in this study our research team was to observe or suspect, in good faith, child abuse or neglect, we are required by Delaware state law to file a report to the appropriate official.

**WILL THIS COST ME ANY MONEY TO HAVE MY CHILD PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT?**

No, you will not have to pay any money for your child to participate in this project.

**WILL YOUR CHILD BE GIVEN ANYTHING FOR CHOOSING TO BE IN THIS PROJECT?**

Your child will be given a \$5 Wal-Mart gift card after completing the survey. If your child decides that he/she would not want to finish the survey, they will still be given the \$5 Wal-Mart gift card.

**DOES YOUR CHILD HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?**

Your child does not have to participate in this research study. If you choose for your child to take part of the study, you or your child have the right to stop at any time. If your child decides to change his or her mind, there will be no punishment or loss of benefits to you or your child. Your child's decision to stop participation, or not to participate, will not influence current or future relationships with your local school district, community center, or the University of Delaware.

**WHOM SHOULD YOU CALL IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS?**

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the Principal Investigator Neda Moinmolki at (516) 244-3315 or nedamoin@udel.edu. *UD IRB Approval*

I may also contact her advisor on this research project:  
Dr. Bahira Sherif Trask  
Professor and Associate Chair,  
Human Development and Family Studies  
113 Alison Hall  
University of Delaware  
Newark, DE 19716  
(302) 831-8187  
bstrask@udel.edu

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Delaware Institutional Review Board at hsrb-research@udel.edu or at (302) 831-2137.

You are making a decision whether or not to have your child participate in this study.

Your signature indicates that you have read the information provided above and decided to allow your child to participate.

_____	_____	_____
(Printed Name of Parent/Guardian)	(Signature of Parent/Guardian)	(Date)
_____	_____	_____
Person Obtaining Consent	Person Obtaining Consent	Date

## Appendix I

### STUDENT CONSENT

*UD IRB Approval from 07/01/2015 to 06/30/2016*

Participant's Initials \_\_\_\_\_

#### **INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**

**Title of Project:** Bhutanese Adolescents' well-being and school adaptation: The role of acculturation and familial social capital

**Principal Investigator(s):** Neda Moinolmolki  
Namaste,

My name is Neda Moinolmolki, and I am a student working on a school project (my dissertation) at the University of Delaware.

I would like to invite you to a research study. This letter tells you what the study is about, what you will be asked to do, and how the study will affect you. Please read this letter and let me know if you have any questions.

#### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?**

The purpose of this study is to learn more about how your family and the way you view yourself effects your happiness and school comfort. This information will be used as part of my school project (dissertation).

You will be one of approximately 120 students in this study. You will be asked to take part of this study because you are Bhutanese/Nepali and are between the ages of 11–22.

#### **WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?**

As part of this study, you will be asked to complete a 40-minute packet of questions. This will be done in a place that is comfortable for you (school, home, or community center). I and someone who speaks Nepali will be there to help you with the survey.

#### **WHAT ARE THE RISKS AND BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY?**

Some of the questions in the packet may make you to feel uncomfortable. If this does happen, a list of people you can talk to, such as counseling services and school counselors, will be given to you. If you decide that you do not want to continue, you may discontinue at any time. Nothing will happen to you if you do not want to continue.

There will be no quick positive change for you, but the information learned from this project may help school counselors and teachers to understand how to work with you or future adolescents coming from Nepal/Bhutan.

**HOW WILL CONFIDENTIALITY BE MAINTAINED? WHO MAY KNOW THAT YOU PARTICIPATED IN THIS RESEARCH?**

The information from this study will be confidential. Confidential means that your identity will only be known by the researchers of this study, but will not be shared with others. Your name will not be included on any packet forms, random numbers will be used to replace your name. A list of numbers will be used to identify you and this list will be stored in a password protected computer file, on the University of Delaware central service. Your packet of questions will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the University of Delaware. The results of this study will only be used for my school project (dissertation), and your name will not be utilized in any report. Records relating to this research will be kept for at least three years after the research study has been completed.

**WILL THERE BE ANY COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROJECT?**

You will be given a \$5 Wal-Mart gift card after completing the survey. If you decide that you would not want to finish the survey, you will still be given the \$5 Wal-Mart gift card.

**DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?**

You do not have to participate in this research study. If you choose to take part of the study, you have the right to stop at any time. If you decide to change your mind, there will be no penalty or loss of benefits to you. Your decision to stop participation, or not to participate, will not influence current or future relationships with your local school district, community center, or the University of Delaware.

**WHOM SHOULD YOU CALL IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS OR CONCERNS?**

If you have any questions about this study, please contact the Principal Investigator, Neda Moinolmolki, at (516)244-3315 or nedamoin@udel.edu.

I may also contact her advisor on this research project:

Dr. Bahira Sherif Trask  
Professor and Associate Chair,

Human Development and Family Studies  
113 Alison Hall  
University of Delaware  
Newark, DE 19716  
(302) 831-8187  
bstrask@udel.edu  
Page 3 of 3 Participant's Initials \_\_\_\_\_

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Delaware Institutional Review Board at hsrb-research@udel.edu or (302) 831-2137.

**You are making a decision whether or not to have your child participate in this study. Your signature indicates that you have read the information provided above and decided to allow your child to participate.**

_____ (Name of Participant)	_____ (Signature of Participant)	_____ (Date)
_____ Person Obtaining Consent  (PRINTED NAME)	_____ Person Obtaining Consent  (SIGNATURE)	_____ Date

**Appendix J**

**SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE PACKET**

Student Id:

\_\_\_\_\_

(A)Demographics

Here are some questions about yourself and your background.  
Fill in the blank or check the answer that applies best to you.

1) How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years

2)What is your gender?

Female (girl)  Male (boy)

3)How long have you lived in US?

\_\_\_\_\_

4) List the people you live with and their relationship to you (mother, brother, sister, etc.)?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5)How many family members were living with you while you were in Nepal/Bhutan?

\_\_\_\_\_

6) How many of your close family/friends live here in the US, who you can go to when you need support?

\_\_\_\_\_

7) How many of your close family/friends are still in Nepal/Bhutan?

\_\_\_\_\_

8)What is the current occupation (job) of your mother (or the person taking care of you) ?  
(If she/he is not working, you can write “not working”)

---

9) What is the current occupation (job) of your father (or another person who is taking care of you)?  
(If he/she is not working, you can write “not working”)

---

10)What is the highest grade of school that your parents (mom, dad, or the person taking care of you) have completed?  
 Less than high school  
 High school graduate  
 Some college  
 College graduate  
 Post college

Now, I am going to ask you some information about your school.  
The following sentences are about school. Please check the answer that you agree with.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree A little	Neither	Agree A little	Strongly Agree
-------------------	-------------------	---------	----------------	----------------

1) I like School

2) I have problems focusing (paying attention) during classes

3) I feel nervous (worried) about going to school in the morning

4) I have problems doing homework

5) I wish I could quit (not go to) school

                                                                                      

6) I feel lonely (alone) at school

                                                                                      

The following sentences are about your relationship with family and friends.

1) How many people in your family would help you out if you needed help?

\_\_\_\_\_

2) How often do people in your family—including children, grandparents, aunts, uncles, in-laws, and so on—help you out?

Never	Not often	Sometimes	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3) How often do you help out people in your family—including children, grandparents, aunts, uncles, in-laws, and so on?

Never	Not often	Sometimes	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4) How often do you see, write, or talk on the telephone with family or relatives who do not live with you?

Never	Not often	Sometimes	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5) How close do you feel towards your family?

Not close	A little close	Close	Very Close
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6) How often do your family members make you feel loved and cared for?

Never	Not often	Sometimes	Very often
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

7) How many people are close to your family who are not blood related or marriage related but who are treated like family?

\_\_\_\_\_

8) How often do they help you out?

Never	Not often	Sometimes	Very often
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)

People think about themselves in different ways. These questions are how you think about yourself.

1) I think of myself as Bhutanese/Nepali

Strongly don't agree	Don't agree A little	Neither	Agree A little	Strongly Agree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

2) I think of myself as American

Strongly don't agree	Don't agree A little	Neither	Agree A little	Strongly Agree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

3) I think of myself as a part of another ethnic group. What group?

\_\_\_\_\_

4) I feel that I am part of Bhutanese/Nepali culture (group)

Strongly don't agree	Don't agree A little	Neither	Agree A little	Strongly Agree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

5) I am proud of being Bhutanese/Nepali

Strongly don't agree	Don't agree A little	Neither	Agree A little	Strongly Agree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

6) I am happy to be Bhutanese/Nepali

Strongly don't agree	Don't agree A little	Neither	Agree A little	Strongly Agree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

7) I feel that I am part of American culture (group)

Strongly don't agree	Don't agree A little	Neither	Agree A little	Strongly Agree
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

8) I am proud to be American  
 Strongly don't agree (1)      Don't agree A little (2)      Neither (3)      Agree A little (4)      Strongly Agree (5)

9) I am happy to be American  
 Strongly don't agree (1)      Don't agree A little (2)      Neither (3)      Agree A little (4)      Strongly Agree (5)

10) Being part of Bhutanese/Nepali culture is embarrassing (something I want to hid from others) to me.  
 Strongly don't agree (1)      Don't agree A little (2)      Neither (3)      Agree A little (4)      Strongly Agree (5)

11) Being Bhutanese/Nepali is uncomfortable (not comfortable) for me  
 Strongly don't agree (1)      Don't agree A little (2)      Neither (3)      Agree A little (4)      Strongly Agree (5)

12) Being part of Bhutanese/Nepali culture makes me feel happy  
 Strongly don't agree (1)      Don't agree A little (2)      Neither (3)      Agree A little (4)      Strongly Agree (5)

13) Being Bhutanese/Nepali makes me feel good  
 Strongly don't agree (1)      Don't agree A little (2)      Neither (3)      Agree A little (4)      Strongly Agree (5)

Now I am going to be asking you questions about how you think about yourself and your life.

1) On the whole, I am happy with myself  
 Strongly don't agree (1)      Don't agree A little (2)      Agree A little (3)      Strongly Agree (4)

2) Sometimes I feel that I am not good at all

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

3) I feel that I have good qualities or that I am a good person.

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

4) I am able to do things as well as other people (or the same as other people)

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

5) I have nothing to be proud of

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

6) I feel nervous (worried) at times

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

7) I feel I am a special person

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

8) I wish I could feel better about myself

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

9) I feel like I am a failure (not good at things)

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

10) I feel very positive about myself

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

11) I am happy with my life

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

12) I have everything I want in my life right now

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

13) I would not change anything in my life right now

Strongly don't agree (1)	Don't agree A little (2)	Agree A little (3)	Strongly Agree (4)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

Thank you for taking this pack of questions. The information learned from this project may help school counselors and teachers to understand how to work with you or future children coming from Nepal/Bhutan.

## **Appendix K**

### **IRB APPROVAL LETTER**

#### **RESEARCH OFFICE**

210 HULLIHEN HALL  
UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE  
NEWARK, DELAWARE 19716-1551  
*Ph:* 302/831-2136  
*Fax:* 302/831-2828

DATE: July 1, 2015  
TO: Neda Moinolmolki

FROM: University of Delaware IRB  
STUDY TITLE: [765403-1] Bhutanese Adolescents' well-being and school adaptation: The role of acculturation and familial social capital

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project  
ACTION: APPROVED  
APPROVAL DATE: July 1, 2015  
EXPIRATION DATE: June 30, 2016  
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review  
REVIEW CATEGORY: Expedited review category # (7)

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this research study. The University of

Delaware IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a study design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulation. Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the study and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form. Informed consent must continue throughout the study via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal

regulations require each participant receive a copy of the signed consent document. Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this office prior to initiation.

Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure. All **SERIOUS** and **UNEXPECTED** adverse events must be reported to this office. Please use the appropriate adverse event forms for this procedure. All sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

Please report all **NON-COMPLIANCE** issues or **COMPLAINTS** regarding this study to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years.

Based on the risks, this project requires Continuing Review by this office on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate renewal forms for this procedure. If you have any questions, please contact Nicole Farnese-McFarlane at (302) 831-1119 or [ornicolefm@udel.edu](mailto:ornicolefm@udel.edu). Please include your study title and reference number in all correspondence with this office.

**Appendix L**

**TRANSLATION CERTIFICATE OF ACCURACY**



Mukunda Nepal  
Translator

**Translated document:** Informed Consent to participate in research.

As a translator for Day Translations, Inc., I, Mukunda Nepal, declare that I am a bilingual translator who is thoroughly familiar with the Nepali and English languages. I have translated the attached document to the best of my knowledge from English to Nepali and the Nepali text is an accurate and true translation of the original document presented to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Signed on May 26, 2015



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. Nepal', written over a horizontal line.

Mukunda Nepal

Professional Translator for Day Translations, Inc.



Day Translations, Inc. is a member in good standing of the American Translators Association for the year 2015

## Appendix M

### TRANSLATED PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेलावेर

आईआरबी अनुमोदन देखि: XX/XX/20XX सम्म: YY/YY/20YY

#### अनुसन्धानमा सहभागी हुन सूचित मन्जुरीनामा

परियोजना शीर्षक: भुटानी किशोरकिशोरीहरूको व्यवहार र विद्यालयमा अनुकुलन: उत्संस्करण र सामाजिक पुँजीको भूमिका

प्रमुख अनुसन्धाता(हरू): निडा माइनोल्मोल्की

नमस्ते,

मेरो नाम निडा माइनोल्मोल्की हो र म युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेलावेयरमा विद्यालय परियोजना (मेरो शोधपत्र) मा काम गरिरहेको विद्यार्थी हुँ ।

तपाईंको बच्चालाई अनुसन्धान अध्ययनमा संलग्न हुन आमन्त्रित गरिएको छ। अनुसन्धान अध्ययन मानिस र तथ्यको बारेमा थप थाहा पाउने एक तरिका हो। यो फारमले अध्ययन के को बारेमा हो, तपाईंको बच्चालाई यस अध्ययनमा के गर्न भनिन्छ र अध्ययनका सम्भावित खराब र असल कुराहरू के के हुन् भनी बताउँछ। कृपया यो कागज पढ्नुहोस् र तपाईंले छोराछोरीलाई यस अध्ययनमा संलग्न हुन अनुमति दिने निर्णय गर्नु पहिले कुनै प्रश्न भएमा सोच्नुहोस् ।

#### यो अध्ययनको उद्देश्य के हो?

यो अध्ययनको उद्देश्य कसरी तपाईंको बच्चाको परिवारको बारेमा र उनले कसरी उनको खुसी र विद्यालय सहजतालाई हेर्छन् भन्ने बारेमा थप थाहा पाउनु हो । यो जानकारी मेरो विद्यालय परियोजना (शोधपत्र) को रूपमा प्रयोग हुनेछ ।

तपाईंको बच्चा यो अध्ययनमा सहभागी करीव 120 जना विद्यार्थीमध्ये एक हुनुहुन्छ । तपाईंको बच्चा 11-22 वर्ष उमेरको भुटानी/नेपाली भएकाले यो अध्ययनमा भाग लिने भनिएको हो ।

#### तपाईंको बच्चालाई के गर्न लगाइनेछ?

यस अध्ययनको भागका रूपमा बच्चालाई 40 मिनेटको प्रश्नहरूको प्याकेट पूरा गर्न आग्रह गरिनेछ। यो आफ्नो बच्चा (स्कूल, घर, समुदाय केन्द्र) को आरामदायी ठाउँमा गरिनेछ । म र नेपाली बोलने कोही तपाईंको बच्चालाई यो सर्वेक्षणमा सहयोग गर्न त्यहाँ रहनेछौं ।

#### मेरो बच्चालाई यस अध्ययनले हुन सक्ने सम्भावित नरामो कुरा के हो?

तपाईंको बच्चालाई एक मात्र खराब कुरा हुन सक्छ। यो प्याकेटका केही प्रश्नहरूले तपाईंको बच्चालाई दुःखी महशुस गराउन सक्छ। यस्तो भएमा, तपाईंको बच्चाले धेरै मान्छेसँग कुरा गर्न सक्छन्, यस्तो परामर्श सेवा र विद्यालय सल्लाहकार तपाईंको बच्चालाई दिइनेछ । यदि तपाईंको बच्चाले कुनै पनि समयमा यसलाई जारी गर्न नचाहेको खण्डमा, त्यो स्विकार गरिनेछ र उनको जानकारी सबै मेटिनेछ। यसबाहेक, म तपाईंलाई तपाईंको बच्चाले जारी गर्न नचाहेमा तपाईं वा तपाईंको बच्चालाई केही मरामो नहुने जानकारी गराउन चाहन्छु ।

**यो अनुसन्धानको बारेमा राम्रो कुराहरू के के हुन्?**

त्यहाँ आफ्नो बच्चाको लागि कुनै द्रुत सकारात्मक परिवर्तन हुनेछैन तर यो परियोजनाबाट सिक्किने जानकारीले स्कूल सल्लाहकार र शिक्षकहरूलाई तपाईंको बच्चा वा नेपाल/भुटानदेखि आउने भविष्यका किशोरकिशोरीहरूसँग कसरी काम गर्न सकिन्छ भन्ने बुझ्न मद्दत गर्न सक्छ।

**गोपनीयता कसरी कायम हुनेछ? कसले तपाईंले यस अनुसन्धानमा भाग लिएको थाहा पाउन सक्नेछ?**

यो अध्ययनको जानकारी गोप्य हुनेछ। गोप्य भन्नाले तपाईंको बालबालिकाको पहिचान यस अध्ययन शोधकर्ताद्वारा चिनिएको हुनेछ, तर अरुसित साझा हुनेछैन भन्ने हो। तपाईंको बच्चा चिन्न, केवल अनियमित संख्या प्रयोग गरिनेछ र नाम कुनै प्याकेट फारममा समावेश गरिने छैन। संख्याको सूची आफ्नो बच्चा पहिचान गर्न प्रयोग गरिनेछ र यस सूची युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेलावेयरको केन्द्रीय सेवामा एक पासवर्ड सुरक्षित कम्प्युटर फाइलमा भण्डारण गरिनेछ। तपाईंको बालबालिकाको सर्वेक्षणको युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेलावेयरमा एक लक फाइल क्याबिनेटमा भण्डार गरिनेछ। यस अध्ययनको परिणाम मेरो स्कूल परियोजना (शोधपत्र) का लागि मात्र प्रयोग गरिनेछ र तपाईंको बच्चाको नाम कुनै पनि रिपोर्टमा प्रयोग हुनेछैन ।

तपाईंको रेकर्ड गोपनीयतालाई कानूनले तोकेको हदसम्म सुरक्षित गरिनेछ। तपाईंको अनुसन्धान रेकर्ड औपचारिक, अनुमोदन निरीक्षण, र बायोमेट्रिकल र व्यवहार अनुसन्धान सम्बन्धित मानिसहरूलाई समीक्षा गर्न नियुक्त युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेलावेयरको संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्डले हेर्न सक्नेछ । अनुसन्धान अध्ययन पूरा भएपछि यो अनुसन्धान सम्बन्धित रेकर्ड कम्तीमा तीन वर्षसम्म रहनेछन्।

मेले तपाईंलाई जानकारी गराउनुपर्छ की यस अध्ययनमा तपाईंको सहभागिता समयमा यदि तपाईंलाई कुनै पनि बाल दुर्व्यवहार वा बेवास्ता देखेको वा महसुस गरेको भएमा हामी उपयुक्त अधिकारीलाई एक रिपोर्ट फाइल गर्न डेलावेयर राज्य कानूनअन्तर्गत बाध्य हुनेछौं।

**यो परियोजनामा मेरो बच्चालाई सहभागी गराउन मलाई कुनै खर्च लाग्छ?**

लाग्दैन, तपाईंले यो परियोजनामा तपाईंको बच्चालाई सहभागी गराउन कुनै रकम तिर्नुपर्दैन ।

**तपाईंको बच्चा यस परियोजनामा छानिएकोमा केहि दिइनेछ?**

तपाईंको बच्चालाई सर्वेक्षण पूरा गरेपछि \$ 5 वालमार्ट उपहार कार्ड दिइनेछ। तपाईंको बच्चाले त्यो सर्वेक्षण पूरा गर्न नचाहेमा पनि \$ 5 वालमार्ट उपहार कार्ड दिइनेछ।

**के तपाईंको बच्चाले यस अध्ययनमा भाग लिनेपर्छ?**

बच्चा ले यस अनुसन्धान अध्ययन मा भाग लिनेपने छैन। यदि तपाईंले अध्ययनमा भाग लिन आफ्नो बच्चा छनौट गर्नुहुन्छ भने, तपाईं वा तपाईंको बच्चा ले जुनसुकै समयमा पनि रोक्न सक्नुहुन्छ। आफ्नो बच्चा ले आफ्नो मनस्थिति परिवर्तन गर्न चाहेमा, तपाईं वा तपाईंको बच्चा लाई कुनै सजाय वा लाभ हानि हुनेछैन। सहभागिता रोक्ने तपाईंको बच्चा को निर्णय ले तपाईंको स्थानीय जिल्ला स्कूल, समुदाय केन्द्र, वा युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेलावेयरसँगको वर्तमान वा भविष्यको सम्बन्ध प्रभावित हुनेछैन ।

**यदि तपाईंको कुनै प्रश्न वा चिन्ता भएमा कसलाई सम्पर्क गर्ने?**

यदि तपाईंसँग यो अध्ययनको बारेमा कुनै प्रश्न भएमा, कृपया प्रमुख अनुसन्धाता निडा माइनोल्मोल्कीलाई (516)244-3315 वा [nedamoin@udel.edu](mailto:nedamoin@udel.edu) मा सम्पर्क गर्नुहोस् ।

मैले यो अनुसन्धान परियोजनामा उहाँको सल्लाहकारलाई पनि सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नुहुन्छःक

डा. बहिरा शरिफ-ट्रास्क  
 प्रोफेसर र सहायक पदाधिकारी  
 मानव विकास र पारिवारिक अध्ययन  
 113 एलिसन हल  
 विश्वविद्यालय, डेलावेर  
 निवार्क, डिइ 19716  
 (302) 831-8187  
[bstrask@udel.edu](mailto:bstrask@udel.edu)

Dr. Bahira Sherif-Trask  
 Professor and Associate Chair,  
 Human Development and Family Studies  
 113 Alison Hall  
 University of Delaware  
 Newark, DE 19716  
 (302) 831-8187  
[bstrask@udel.edu](mailto:bstrask@udel.edu)

यदि तपाईंसँग अनुसन्धान सहभागीको रूपमा तपाईंको अधिकारको बारेमा कुनै प्रश्न भएमा, तपाईंले युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेलावेयरको संस्थागत समीक्षा बोर्डलाई [hsrb-research@udel.edu](mailto:hsrb-research@udel.edu) वा (302) 831-2137 मा सम्पर्क गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ ।

युनिभर्सिटी अफ डेनावेर

आईआरबी अनुमोदन देखि: XX/XX/20XX सम्म: YY/YY/20YY

तपाईंले अध्ययनमा तपाईंको बच्चालाई सहभागी गराउने वा नगराउने भनी निर्णय गर्दै हुनुहुन्छ । तपाईंको हस्ताक्षरले तपाईंले माथि लेखिएका जानकारी पढेको र तपाईंको बच्चालाई सहभागीस गराउने निर्णय गरेको जानकारी गराउँछ ।

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(मातापिता/अभिभावकको मुद्रित नाम)

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मिति

(मुद्रित नाम)

(हस्ताक्षर)

भविष्यका अध्ययनमा सम्पर्क गर्नका लागि मन्जुरीनामा:

के हामीसँग तपाईंलाई भविष्यका अध्ययनमा सहभागिताका लागि सम्पर्क गर्ने अनुमति छ? कृपया तपाईंको छनोटको अगाडि तपाईंको अघिल्लो अक्षरहरू लेख्नुहोस् ।

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