

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	III
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	IV
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER ONE	1
1.2 BACKGROUND	1
1.2.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION	1
1.2.1.1 Patterns of Canadian immigration.....	2
1.2.2 MULTICULTURAL VERSUS MELTING POT POLICY	7
1.2.3 IRANIANS IN CANADA	10
1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM	14
1.3.1 SCHOLARLY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	17
1.3.2 PERSONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	19
1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	20
1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	21
1.5.1 ACCULTURATION	21
1.5.2 CULTURE AND ETHNICITY.....	30
1.5.2.1 Cultural identity and ethnic identity are distinct.....	31
1.5.2.2 Role of ethnicity in acculturation	33
1.5.3 ACCULTURATION AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOUR.....	34
1.5.3.1 Gambling disorder.....	36
1.5.3.2 Youth ethnic identity, acculturation, and drug use	37
1.5.4 GENDER AND ACCULTURATION.....	40
1.6 CHAPTER ONE SUMMARY	42
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	43
2.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER TWO	43
2.2 MIGRATION	43
2.3 ACCULTURATION RESEARCH	48
2.3.1 COMPONENTS OF ACCULTURATION.....	49
2.3.1.1 Strategies for coping with acculturation.....	50
2.3.1.2 Directionality and dimensionality of acculturation research	55
2.3.2 ACCULTURATION AND MENTAL HEALTH.....	56
2.3.3 ACCULTURATION AND ADDICTION	61
2.4 YOUTH	63
2.4.1 IMMIGRANT YOUTH AND ACCULTURATION.....	64
2.4.1.1 Immigrant youth and problem gambling	70
2.5 GENDER AND ACCULTURATION	71
2.6 MOTIVATION	75
2.6.1 EXTERNAL VERSUS INTERNAL MOTIVATION	76
2.6.2 MOTIVATION AND CULTURE	77
2.6.2.1 Motivational orientation	78
2.6.2.2 Motivational orientation and second language learning (SLL).....	80
2.6.2.3 Additional factors for second language learning (SLL)	82

2.7 CHAPTER TWO SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	86
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS	87
3.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER THREE	87
3.2 METHODOLOGY	87
3.2.1 INTRODUCTION	87
3.2.2 EXPLANATION	89
3.2.3 CAUSAL ANALYSIS.....	90
3.2.4 TYPES OF RESEARCH	91
3.2.5 PRACTICAL ADEQUACY	93
3.3 RESEARCH METHOD	96
3.3.1 DEPENDENT VARIABLES: RISKY BEHAVIOUR	96
3.3.1.1 Alcohol and drug use	96
3.3.1.2 Gambling.....	96
3.3.2 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	96
3.3.2.1 Motivational orientation	96
3.3.2.2 Acculturation level	97
3.3.2.3 Gender.....	97
3.3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN	97
3.3.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	97
3.3.5 HYPOTHESES	98
3.3.6 STUDY DESIGN	99
3.3.7 PARTICIPANTS.....	99
3.3.7.1 Sampling	100
3.3.7.2 Sample size determination	100
3.3.7.3 Recruitment steps.....	101
3.3.8 INSTRUMENTATION	101
3.3.8.1 The CRAFFT tool.....	102
3.3.8.2 The South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS-RA).....	103
3.3.8.3 Acculturation Attitudes Scale	103
3.3.8.4 Motivation Scale Questionnaire.....	104
3.3.9 DATA COLLECTION AND CODING PROCEDURES.....	104
3.3.10 DATA ANALYSIS.....	105
3.3.11 ETHICS	105
3.3.11.1 Informed consent	106
3.3.11.2 Method of gaining consent	107
3.3.11.3 Risks and benefits	107
3.3.11.4 Value to society	108
3.3.11.5 Privacy.....	108
3.3.11.6 Data storage.....	109
3.3.11.7 Data disposal	110
3.3.11.8 Compensation	110
3.3.11.9 Withdrawal procedures.....	110
3.3.11.10 Conflict of interest.....	111
3.3.12 PARTICIPANT FEEDBACK.....	112
3.3.13 DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS.....	112
3.3.14 CHAPTER THREE SUMMARY.....	112
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS	114
4.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER FOUR.....	114
4.2 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS	114
4.2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND PREDICTOR VARIABLES.....	114

4.2.1.1 Covariates.....	115
4.2.1.2 Gender.....	115
4.2.1.3 Motivational orientation.....	119
4.2.1.4 Acculturation.....	121
4.2.1.5 Grade of enrolment.....	121
4.2.1.6 Years since immigration.....	122
4.3 MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES.....	122
4.3.1 FREQUENCY OF DRINKING.....	124
4.3.2 FREQUENCY OF HEAVY DRINKING.....	125
4.3.3 FREQUENCY OF ILLICIT SUBSTANCE USE.....	126
4.3.4 CRAAFT SCORES.....	126
4.3.5 FREQUENCY OF GAMBLING BEHAVIOURS.....	127
4.3.6 SOGS-RA SCORES.....	128
4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	130
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION.....	131
5.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER FIVE.....	131
5.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY.....	132
5.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY.....	134
5.4 SUMMARY OF STUDY APPROACH.....	135
5.5 SUMMARY OF STUDY DEMOGRAPHIC.....	135
5.6 CONSIDERATIONS AND LIMITATIONS.....	136
5.7 SURVEY STUDY DESIGN.....	136
5.8 SAMPLING STRATEGY AND SAMPLE SIZE.....	137
5.9 MEASUREMENT.....	138
5.10 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS.....	140
5.11 UNDERSTANDING ACCULTURATION THEORY.....	141
5.12 IMMIGRANT YOUTH CONTEXT.....	143
5.13 MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS.....	147
5.14 GENDER.....	149
5.15 STUDY HYPOTHESES.....	152
5.15.1 HYPOTHESIS 1.....	152
5.15.2 HYPOTHESIS 2.....	154
5.15.3 HYPOTHESIS 3.....	157
5.15.4 HYPOTHESIS 4.....	159
5.15.5 HYPOTHESIS 5.....	162
5.16 SUMMARY OF STUDY FINDINGS.....	165
5.16.1 ACCULTURATION AND GENDER DIFFERENCES.....	165
5.16.2 MOTIVATION AND GENDER DIFFERENCES.....	166
5.16.3 ACCULTURATION AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOUR.....	167
5.16.4 MOTIVATION AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOUR.....	167
5.16.5 GENDER AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOUR.....	168
5.16.6 CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY BUILDING.....	168

5.17 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	169
REFERENCES.....	172

Tables

Table 4.1: Reported Frequency of Alcohol Use by Gender.....	114
Table 4.2: Frequency of Heavy Drinking by Gender	115
Table 4.3: Significant Predictors for Specific Criterion Variables.....	122
Table 4.4: Regression Analysis for Frequency of Drinking.....	124
Table 4.5: Regression Analysis for Frequency of Heavy Drinking.....	124
Table 4.6: Regression Analysis for Frequency of Illicit Substance Use.....	125
Table 4.7: Regression analysis CRAAFT scores.....	126
Table 4.8: Regression Analysis Frequency of Gambling.....	127
Table 4.9: Regression Analysis SOGS-RA Scores.....	128

Figures

Figure 1.1: Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration 2009–2011	5
Figure 1.2: Two Models of Culturally Plural Societies.....	10
Figure 1.3: Acculturation Strategies.....	34
Figure 2.1: Socioeducational Model of Second Language Acquisition.....	84
Figure 4.1: Alcohol Consumption by Gender.....	115
Figure 4.2: Acculturation by Gender.....	117
Figure 4.3: Motivational Orientation by Gender.....	118
Figure 4.4: Motivational Orientation and Alcohol Consumption.....	119
Figure 4.5: Acculturation and Alcohol Consumption.....	120

Appendices

Appendix A: Research Ethics Board Approval.....	213
Appendix B: Recruitment Flyer.....	214
Appendix C: Screening Questions.....	215
Appendix D: Recruitment Letter.....	216
Appendix E: Informed Consent to Participate in Research.....	218
Appendix F: Online Questionnaire.....	225

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER ONE

The aim of this chapter is to offer the reader a historical and a theoretical base on which the rest of the thesis will rest. The chapter begins with a historical background on the pattern of immigration to Canada and the impetus for the development of its multicultural policy. This section ends with a brief history of Iranian immigration patterns in Canada. After this, I will provide an overview of the problem that was a motivation for this thesis and discuss the scholarly and personal significance of this work. I will then describe the organisation of this thesis and review the process and the chapter layout. Finally, I will map out the theoretical framework and examine the concept of acculturation, ethnic identity, and gender-differentiated motivational orientation in relation to problem behaviour. The chapter will conclude with a summary.

1.2 BACKGROUND

1.2.1 A brief history of Canadian immigration

When the French and British explorers arrived on the east coast of Canada in the early 1500s they encountered Indigenous Peoples who had been living throughout the territory now called Canada for more than 10,000 years (Tennant, 2011). The country was not colonised until 1608 when Champlain founded Quebec as the capital of New France (Anderson, 2014).

In 1759, English settlers won the battle over Quebec, and four years later New France became an English colony, thus creating the 'French fact,' which forms the basis for Canada's bilingualism. The Quebec Act of 1774 incorporated French practice into law (Anderson, 2014). The French settlers were allowed to retain their language, religion, and symbols, and for some time French and British law co-existed in different domains (Kurthen, 1997; Garousi, 2005). The province of Quebec was divided into Upper Canada (now Quebec) and Lower Canada (now Ontario) in 1791 and French immigration came to a halt (Garousi, 2005).

The British North American Act federated Canada on July 1st of 1867. Canadians now celebrate this day every year as Canada Day. The Dominion of Canada originally comprised four provinces: Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia with a population of 3.5 million (Livingston, 1950). In 1931, as the result of the Westminster Agreement, Canada gained its independence as a country. To this date, Canada remains within the British Commonwealth. It took several more decades before Canada established its own flag (1965), anthem (1980), and constitution (1982). The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms came into effect in 1982 when the constitution was transferred from Great Britain to Canada. However, Quebec did not recognise this Constitution (Choudry & Howse, 2000).

1.2.1.1 Patterns of Canadian immigration

Since 1914, Canada evolved into a diverse society. When French and British explorers and colonists arrived on the east coast of Canada (mainly Nova Scotia) in the early 1500s, they encountered Indigenous Peoples who were living throughout the territory that is now called Canada (Anderson, 2014; Tennant, 2011; Waters, 2011). The flow of immigration continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mainly from the United Kingdom, Ukraine, China, Italy, and Ireland.

In the early twentieth century, the Canadian prairies became an attractive place for many settlers who were looking to build a home and run an independent business, and

farmlands allowed them to turn this into a reality. Settlement flourished during the early 1900s in rural areas. As urban centres began to grow towards the middle of the century, new immigrants directed their immigration focus to urban centres (Waters, 2011). Following changes in immigration policy shortly after the 1980s, the majority of immigrants from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean settled mostly in large cities like Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Gogia & Slade, 2011; Reitz, 2012).

This shift from rural to a predominately urban immigration pattern resulted in the concentration of visible minorities in Canadian large cities, accounting for 15% of the immigration population in 2000, which increased Canada's multicultural nature and identity (Gogia & Slade, 2011; Reitz, 2012). As a society of settlers, Canada has been largely built using a deliberate process of immigration (Gogia & Slade, 2011; Reitz, 2012). Like other settler societies such as Australia and New Zealand, Canada has actively sought immigrants with policies and programs to attract them, and have explicit criteria for their selection. Canada is considered a society with one of the largest percentage of immigrants and relatively positive public attitudes toward immigration (Waters, 2011).

Such dimensions of cultural and policy diversity are crucial since immigrants adapt better when cultural communities provide support for immigrants during the acculturation period and process, and when there is public and structural support for cultural diversity (Berry, 2005). Murphy found evidence for this suggestion using indicators of mental health among immigrants to multicultural countries such as Canada and Singapore compared with countries that are not culturally pluralistic (Murphy, 1977). According to this perspective, one would suppose that immigrants would have more positive intercultural relations and more positive adaptation in countries with large number of immigrants and with a clear diversity policy.

The qualification of diversity was originally based on a classification presented in the political science literature. Banting and Kymlicka (2004) proposed nine criteria with which to place societies on a dimension of acceptance of multiculturalism, including: a government policy promoting multiculturalism, a multicultural ministry or secretariat, adoption of multiculturalism in the school curriculum, ethnic representation in the media, exemptions of cultural groups from codes that are rooted in the dominant society (e.g., Sunday closing), allowing dual citizenship, funding of ethnocultural organisations, funding of bilingual or heritage language instruction, and affirmative action for disadvantage immigrant groups.

Culturally, Canada is considered to be one of the most diverse countries not only because of a large proportion of immigrants, but also due to the presence of two large ethnolinguistic groups (French and English). It has a high level of immigration, with 20% of its population of 31 million not born in the country. In 2010, Canada admitted 280,700 immigrants due to various factors, including the accelerated processing of backlogged applications, an increase in economic immigrant admissions, an increase of admitted refugees due to natural disasters in their homeland, and success of the Provincial Nominee Program. In 2011, 32,000 less immigrants were admitted in Canada, falling within a reasonable range at 248,700 (Statistics Canada, 2013). In Toronto, 48.6% of the population are immigrants (see Figure 1.1). The influx of new settlers has transformed the city's cultural landscape over the past 50 years, whereas the percentage of the population with origins in the United Kingdom declined from 73% to 27%, and the most frequent names in the Toronto phone book changed from Smith and White to Smith, Lee, Wong, Singh, and Mohammed. In Canada, Toronto is the most diverse city in the country, with 49.1% of all immigrants settling here (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Figure 1.1 Immigration 2009–2011

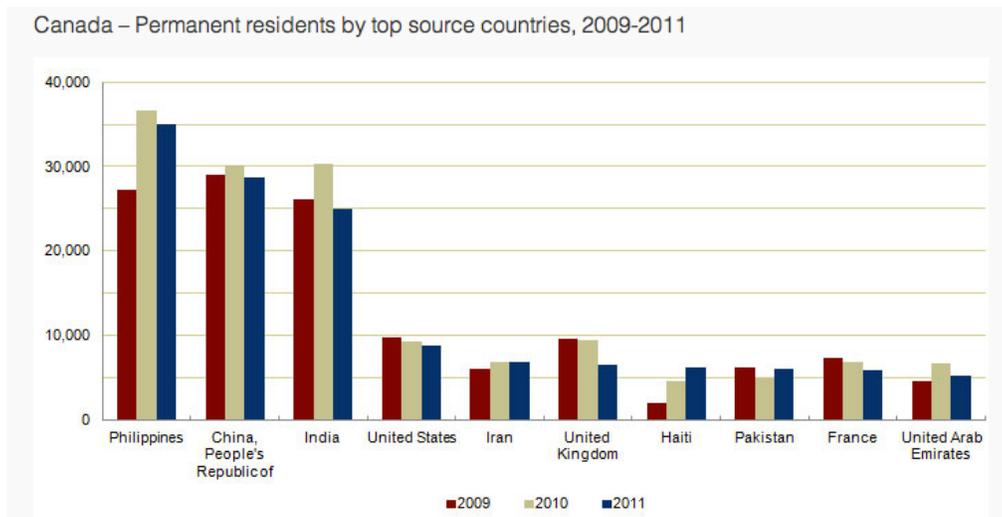


Figure 1.1. Immigrant status and period of immigration. Statistics Canada: 2011 Census

Documented ethnic origins in Canada are British Isles (40%); French (27%); other European (20%); Aboriginal (1.5%); and Asian (11.5%). In Toronto, 75% of the total population was not born in Canada. The largest immigrant groups are from China (11%), Great Britain (10%), Italy (8%), Jamaica (5%), the Philippines (5%), Portugal (5%), Vietnam (3.5%), India (2.4%), and Korea (1.4%). In recent years, the majority of immigrants in Canada have come from Asia (Statistics Canada, 2013).

The overall population growth rate in Canada is 1.2% (Statistics Canada, 2013), and the fertility rate is 1.61 births per woman (Statistics Canada, 2012). Canadian economy is characterised by relatively high affluence (US \$26,474 per capita), and immigrants tend to report slightly higher incomes than the average (Bourne & Rose, 2001). First-generation immigrants have higher educational qualification than the overall population (Kao & Tienda, 2005).

The current goal of the immigration policy in Canada is to admit 1% of the population each year (Statistics Canada, 2013). There are four classes of immigrants: (1) independent class for individuals who meet certain criteria, such as education or job skill, where they receive points for each criterion, and are admitted once they pass a

certain level; (2) family reunification class; (3) business class to encourage investment in the economy; and (4) refugee class under the Geneva Convention.

In 1972, Canada introduced a policy of multiculturalism as part of its constitution with four goals as its core. The first goal seeks to avoid assimilation by encouraging immigrants and other ethnic groups to maintain themselves as distinctive groups in Canada. The second goal seeks to increase intergroup mutual acceptance. The third goal encourages intergroup contact and sharing. The fourth goal professes full and active participation in the society by learning both official languages, English and French (Livingston, 1950).

In national surveys (e.g., Bhatt, Tonks, & Berry, 2013), Canadians generally support integration and reject assimilation and segregation as ways for immigrants to live in their newly settled home. Canadian multiculturalism values cultural diversity (Berry, 2013). Canadians are generally tolerant. Intergroup attitudes are perceived positively, but vary in the degree of acceptance of particular groups. For example, Northern and Western Europeans are the most highly evaluated, followed by Eastern and Southern Europe, East Asia, the Caribbean, and South Asia.

The majority, if not all, of existing societies, generally are culturally diverse. However, these societies differ in the types of policies they use to determine how the different cultural groups should live together (Berry, 2013). *Multiculturalism* is not just a neutral administrative policy; rather, it is a policy that makes reference to a particular political ideology directing how ethnic groups in a society should live together to maintain their cultural uniqueness.

'Multiculturalism' is the term used to make reference to the situation in a plural society where the different ethnocultural groups are encouraged to maintain their cultural uniqueness while participating in the daily life of the larger society (Roper, 2011). This policy stands in contrast to one where cultural and ethnic diversity is given up in favour of cultural harmonisation, or where cultural differences are permitted, but kept out of

participation in the life of the larger society. As a result of such political practice, a multicultural society such as Canada may not have a single culture or a single dominant culture for all the groups (Berry, 2013).

The ten provinces and three territories of Canada are populated by diverse ethnicities (Reitz, 2012). The ethnic diversity and make up of the population differ across these provinces and territories (Reitz, 2012). For example, the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia are the most ethnically diverse. In the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the majority of the population are neither British nor French, the two official ruling ethnicities. In the province of Quebec, people of French origin are in majority (85%). In the province of Newfoundland, 35% of inhabitants are of British origin (Reitz, 2012; Waters, 2011).

1.2.2 Multicultural versus melting pot policy

Unlike United States of America and its *melting pot* ideology, Canada considers itself to be a *vertical mosaic* that preserves the cultural diversity of its ethnic communities (Burawoy, 2009). *Multiculturalism*, in policy and law, encourages immigrants to keep some of their country-of-origin's cultural values and practices but, at the same time, expects them to integrate into the Canadian society (Hyman et al., 2011). This is the meaning of cultural pluralism in Canada. The law, therefore, identifies the multicultural practices both as a vital feature of Canada's social and cultural landscape and as an important factor in shaping Canada's future (Hyman, Meinhard, & Shields, 2011). The Canadian Multiculturalism Act is different from multicultural policies in other countries, such as Israel or the United States, in that it encourages retention of one's native culture so long as Canadian cultural values are also adopted.

How do we define or characterise a multicultural society? In this form of society a number of ethnic groups live together within its shared social and political framework (Marsh, 2004). We use two criteria to examine this feature: the continuity of diverse

ethnic communities and their participation in the daily life of the multicultural society.

Countries and societies such as Canada encourage ethnocultural communities and populations to maintain their cultural heritage and share them with the larger society. They not only publicly accept cultural pluralism, but also take steps in the form of public policy to support the continuity of such diversity (Bhatt et al., 2013). This approach represents multicultural doctrine and is in line with the integration strategy presented by Berry (1990). Canadian multicultural policy is shaped by European-Canadian influences (Berry, 2013). According to Murphy (1977), societies that support and advocate for cultural pluralism provide positive settlement contexts because they are less likely to enforce cultural loss on immigrants and more likely to provide social support (e.g., a recent Afrocentric school funded by the Toronto School Board). This acceptance is not always straightforward as there are variations in the relative acceptance of specific cultural, racial, and religious groups, leading to hierarchies of acceptance and rejection across groups (Berry, 2013; Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bhatt et al., 2013). Groups that are less accepted (e.g., Muslims in the Canadian province of Quebec) experience hostility and discrimination, a factor that is predictive of poor long-term adaptation (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999).

Of the several models of plural societies, the multicultural model and the melting pot model are considered to be two contrasting models (see Figure 1.2). In the “melting pot” model, one single group dominates (also called the mainstream group) and on its margins are various nondominant (also called minority) groups (Steinberg, 2014). The underlying assumption of this model is that minority groups should be assimilated into the mainstream population since their cultural identity is irrelevant to the host society. In relation to the two above criteria (continuity and participation), this model rejects the minority group’s cultural continuity since it is based on the view that there should be “one people, one culture, one nation” as a goal. This model reflects the ideological position of colonial policy pursued earlier by the Europeans and attributed to the philosopher Montaigne: “to gently polish and reclaim for humanity the savages of the

world” (as cited in Berry, 2005, p. 705). If such incorporation into a uniform society is not achieved, then the nondominant groups literally become marginalised.

At the other end of the spectrum, the multicultural model views the plural society as a mosaic of *ethnocultural groups* (Berry, 2013). In relation to continuity and participation, the multicultural model professes that individuals and groups should retain their cultural continuity and participate in the social structures of the *larger society*. According to this model, people in this society share common norms about how to live together (Berry, 2013) while at the same time, local institutions are allowed to evolve in order to accommodate the different cultural interests of all groups.

Figure 1.2 Two models of culturally plural societies

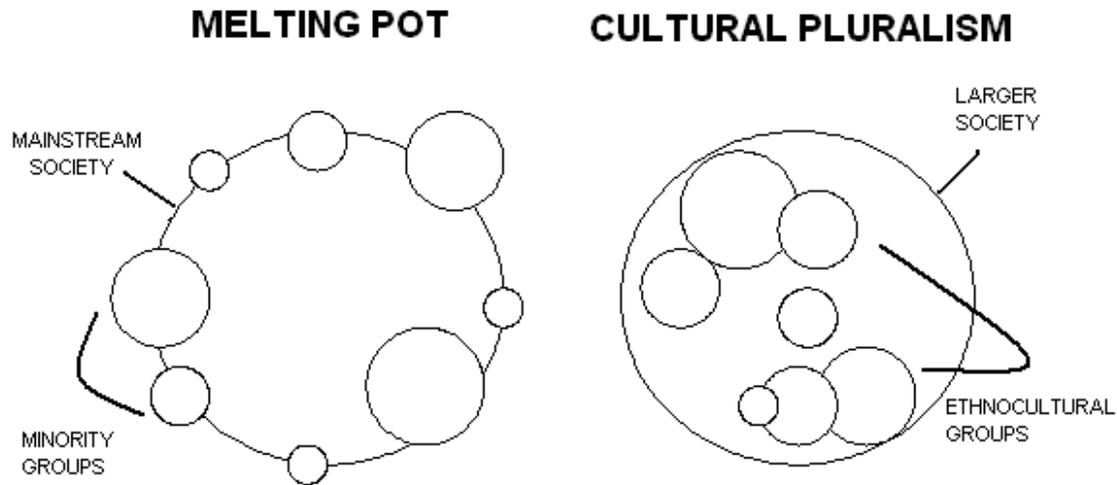


Figure 1.2. Figure to show models of cultural pluralism (Berry, 2005).

1.2.3 Iranians in Canada

Migration, more than just physical movement of people from one location to another location, also is a social process whereby an individual moves from one's cultural setting into another cultural setting for many reasons, including the purpose of settling down (Syed & Vangen, 2003). People engage in such transitions for experience, education, political, or economic reasons (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Most move to find a better life. However, because of the difficulties related to the migration process, finding a better life could become an unachievable goal. Such failure that could lead to adverse effects has attracted the attention of healthcare workers in mainstream hospitals and community health centres.

The assumed connection between migration and one's health status raises several concerns about whether immigrants are generally less healthier than the general population; if there are some factors in the acculturation process that jeopardise people's health; or if migrants, because of acculturation, adopt health-compromising

behaviours that make them unhealthy.

In order to explore this link, various hypotheses were put forward. The *selection hypothesis* suggests that those who migrate are predisposed to have health problems (Chiswick, 2000; Kraut, 2006). The *stress hypothesis* suggests that the health problems immigrants have relate to their inability to cope with the stresses associated with migration and acculturation (Beiser, 1990). The *healthy immigrant effect* (MacPherson, Gushulak, & Macdonald, 2007) suggests that immigrants who migrate are healthier than those who do not migrate. Finally, the *immigrant paradox* suggests that immigrants have better health than their socioeconomic backgrounds (Urquia, O'Campo, & Heaman, 2012); this theory further suggests that while these immigrants start off with better health than their non-immigrant counterparts, their health worsen with time.

Migration has become a worldwide trend and an expected fate for the populations of underdeveloped and developing nations. Currently there are an estimated 130 million immigrants and refugees worldwide (Kosic, Kruglanski, Pierro, & Mannetti, 2004). In recent decades Iran has greatly contributed to this number. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Iran has produced more than three million refugee-status immigrants since the 1979 revolution (UNHCR, 2004). Many of these Iranians have made Canada their new home (Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004) and have made the Iranian community one of the most rapidly growing ethnic groups in Canada, especially in Toronto.

In comparison to other immigrant groups, Iranians are relative newcomers to Canada. The large influx of immigrants following the Second World War did not include Iranians. There have been three waves of Iranian immigration to North America since the early 1960s. The first wave took place between 1960 and 1970 and included mainly those from affluent and educated families. Before that (i.e., throughout the 1950s and early 60s) the number of Iranians entering Canada ranged from 10–100 annually (Government of Canada, 2004). The second wave of Iranian immigration took place between the 1970s and 1980s and consisted, similar to the first wave of Iranian

immigrants, of affluent individuals and professionals. Overall, prior to the 1979 revolution, the number of Iranians who emigrated for Western countries was small. The third wave started right after the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Individuals in this wave of Iranian immigration came from a heterogeneous background and left Iran for a various political, social, and religious reasons. After the revolution and especially with the onset of Iran-Iraq war in 1980, the number of Iranian immigrants to Europe, the U.S., and Canada increased dramatically. The number was highest for the years between 1981 and 1990 (Government of Canada, 2004).

The influx of a large number of Iranians over the past three decades has resulted in the formation of groups of first-generation Iranians, and the start of second-generation Iranians in Canada (Bollman & Reimer, 2009). According to Statistics Canada's 2013 Census, there are an estimated 121,510 Iranian-Canadians living in Canada. Most of these immigrants came to the province of Ontario, and particularly to the city of Toronto. Statistics Canada reported that Toronto houses the largest population of Iranians residing in Ontario, although there are also large Iranian communities both in Montreal and Vancouver (Bollman & Reimer, 2009).

The exact number of Iranian immigrants (including refugees) living in Canada, however, is unclear. The approximate size of the total Iranian population, nevertheless, can be drawn from the Statistics Canada's ethnic origin questionnaires. This data may be faulty in that various ethnicities who originally lived in Iran may, due to their pre-existing or acquired nationalistic beliefs, indicate their particular ethnicity—(see e.g., Azeri, Kurd, Arab, Armenian) as their “true nationality” and, thereby, contribute to an underestimation of the number of Iranians living in Canada (Bollman & Reimer, 2009). It should be emphasised that Iran's population comprises several main ethnic groups: Persians, Arabs, Kurds, Azeri, Baluch, Gilak, and Armanians (CIA, 2005).

It should be mentioned that the existing literature is not clear on the use of the term ‘immigrant.’ It is often applied to those who voluntarily and legally leave their country of residence or origin and arrive legally to a second country. The term, however, is also

used to refer to refugees. The refugee population differs from the legal immigrant population in that they are forced to leave their home. They are not necessarily attracted to the host country and may experience higher level of adjustment problems (Shapiro et al., 1999). Illegal refugees are usually motivated by the desire to move away from the unpleasant and often dangerous situations in their homeland. This motivation is often a fear of prosecution or an ongoing violent situation and the necessity of finding a safe place to live. Immigrants, however, usually are motivated by a desire to 'improve' their socioeconomic standing. Most studies tend to blur these subtle differences, using the term 'immigrant' as a blanket term for both illegal refugees and legal immigrants. For the purpose of this thesis, I am excluding refugee samples from this study.

I am not including the refugee population in my analysis because the group tends to have a dramatic pre-migration history (i.e., most have experienced traumatic events and/or have lost their material possessions) and transition experience compared with legal immigrants. Refugees, also called 'forced migrants' (Dwyer & Brown, 2005) have the greatest difficulties to face. They either involuntarily leave their homelands or face uncertainty regarding the right to stay and settle into the new society. When refugees arrive at the border of a country that has signed the Geneva Convention on Refugees, they are permitted to stay until their claim is adjudicated. Many of these refugees live with the knowledge that they are forced to flee their country and settle in their new society.

The psychosocial experience of adjustment and adaptation among immigrants varies depending on the host country's social and political attitude towards newcomers. Each host country has a unique history, which shapes its current and future cultural landscape. To understand the unique acculturative experience and process in Canada, it is important to review the geopolitical history of Canadian immigration and the composition of its immigrant population.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

Between 1998 and 2000, key informants from the Toronto Iranian community reported complaints from many parents that their youngsters suffered from academic difficulties. Since then it has been observed that most of these adolescents have also been experiencing some form of cultural-adjustment difficulty at school. This has resulted in a perception by community members, supported by observations via my clinical practice, that school dropout rates are high among Iranian students, particularly among males. Furthermore, it has been perceived that such cultural maladjustments may result in risky behaviour such as illicit substance use and gambling behaviour. This has resulted in a great concern among Toronto's Iranian community. A review of literature suggests a relationship among variables of gender, motivational orientation, and post-immigration adjustment may explain cultural maladjustments. Research as to the exact nature of this relationship, however, is presently lacking or, at best, limited. The relationship between gender and motivational orientation, in particular, requires a closer examination and is vital to understanding how each of these elements impacts the entire process of adjustment and is modulated by the entire process.

In this thesis, I explored the relationship between gender-differentiated motivational orientation and acculturation process. More specifically, I tried to explore whether or not motivational orientations (instrumental or integral), acculturation, and gender are associated with risky behaviours among Iranian youth who have immigrated to Toronto. While previous research provides insight into these relationships, more rigorous studies are necessary to identify which factor has a stronger predicting value relative to risky behaviour. Particularly, an effort is made to examine the role of this relationship in mental health maladjustment, including illicit substance use and gambling, among Iranian immigrant youth in Toronto. I have examined the empirical evidence which indicates that the immigrant population, including Iranian immigrants, who adopt an integrative motivational orientation of acculturation and adjustment to life in their adopted country exhibit positive attitudes toward their new cultural environment and cope more successfully with their daily challenges.

For the purpose of this thesis I focused on two subsets of motivational orientation: *integrative* and *instrumental motivation*. The most convenient way to characterise individual youth and groups adhering to these types of motivation styles is a profile that is drawn from the literature. *Integrative motivation* is said to be a set of complex structural attributes related to attitudes and goal direction (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2013). The acculturation attitudes of these immigrants reflect their inclination for integration and moving away from assimilation and separation. They display strong ethnic identities. This means that the person who uses *integrative motivation* is one who is motivated to learn the language of the host society, has a desire and willingness to identify with the host ethnic group, and tends to evaluate the learning and change situation positively. *Integrative motivational orientation* reflects “a desire to be like representative members of the other language community” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 14) or it relates to a desire or willingness to form relationships with those who speak the language (Shirbagi, 2010). *Integrative motivation* is defined in this thesis as the successful adoption of, and integration into, Canadian cultural values and norms while preserving the cultural values of the country of origin.

In contrast, an *instrumental motivational orientation* (Soodmand-Afshar, Rahimi, & Rahimi, 2014), while similar to integrative motivation, is generally characterised by the desire or willingness to gain something practical from, for example, the study of a second language (Hudson, 2000; Fazel & Ahmadi, 2011). This form of motivational orientation reflects “a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a another language” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 14) or relates to a desire or willingness for concrete benefits of language study/cultural learning such as finding a good job or a completing university degree successfully (Shirbagi, 2010). These individual groups display strong ethnic identity, proficient skill in ethnic language, and form social relationships primarily with their ethnic friends. They keep an attitude of separation, not favouring assimilation, do not identify with national identity, and keep low contacts with the national group. These individuals are largely embedded within their own cultural context and show little interest in merging with the larger society.

The acculturation profiles described above not only show different ways immigrant youth acculturate, but also point to the fact that the attitudes, identities, and behaviours we studied are closely related. These profiles can be viewed in the context of a relationship between acculturation attitudes and the cultural identities. For example, attitudes toward integration tend to be positively correlated with both ethnocultural and national identities, while marginalisation attitudes are viewed as negatively correlated with both ethnocultural and national identities (Ward, Stuart, & Kus, 2011). On the other hand, assimilation is viewed as positively correlated with national identity and negatively with ethnocultural identity, while separation attitudes are viewed as positively correlated with ethnocultural identity and negatively correlated with national identity. Generally speaking, these acculturation profiles suggest that the way each group is clustered relate to a broader concept of acculturation strategy (Berry & Sam, 1997; Berry, 2005).

Although both integrative and instrumental motivation are considered essential elements of successful enculturation, it has been suggested that integrative motivation tends to sustain long-term success when learning a second language or acquiring a set of cultural norms (e.g. Taylor, Meynard & Rheault 1977; Ellis 1997; Shirbagi, 2010; Ahmadi, 2011). Additionally, numerous studies have implicated the role of motivation in acculturation success and/or failure (e.g. Abu-Rabia, 1996; Ghafarian, 1987; Zangeneh et al., 2004). Furthermore, 'gender' has been cited as another important factor in the process of acculturation (Garcia-ramirez, de la Mata, Paloma, & Hernandez-plaza, 2011). These elements formed the independent variables in this study. The empirical evidence examined in this thesis was limited to the frequency of the use of alcohol, drugs, and gambling, which formed the dependent variables in this study. This thesis examined the impact of *instrumental* and *integrative motivational* orientation and orientations on the frequency of problematic ways of coping with alcohol, drugs and gambling use.

1.3.1 Scholarly significance of the study

A common theme emerging from the existing literature on immigration and ethnic populations points to motivational orientations and acculturation as important variables in successful adjustment to the adopted country (Ward et al., 2011). During my search in the electronic databases (Humanities Abstract, Medline, Embase, Social Work Abstracts, PsycINFO, International Bibliography of Social Sciences, and Google Scholar, ERIC, ProQuest, Dissertations & Theses Global, and JSTOR), I found no records that points to any attempts that has been made to look at these relationships concurrently, however a few studies have offered important and valuable insights into the process and the impact of each of these elements.

The population of this study is rather a new group whose immigration history dates back to 1979 and, therefore, very few studies have been conducted on this group of immigrants (Hojat et al., 2000; Jafari, Baharlou, & Mathias, 2010; Safdar, Lay, & Struthers, 2003; Soodmand Afshar, Rahimi, & Rahimi, 2014; Zangeneh et al., 2004). These studies primarily concentrate on second-language learning as an outcome predictor and marginally consider gender issues (Soodmand-Afshar et al., 2014). Because gender may be a relevant variable with respect to motivational orientation, the relationship between gender and motivation requires attention and clarification. Understanding the dynamics of immigration and how it relates to other factors such as acculturation stress and motivational orientation will be a major step forward in our understanding of mental health adjustment or maladjustment. This knowledge offers educators a guideline to develop curricula that could address differential motivation and acculturation processes among newly immigrated youth.

As my core interest is focused on individual young people searching to (re)establish their lives and identity in complex intercultural settings, this study could help facilitate immigrant youth's acculturation transition. Such effort could translate into early school

dropout prevention, exercise of effective coping skills among immigrant youth, and avoidance of risky behaviour. In this study the role of motivational orientation in health and coping among immigrants was explored. The research is intended to:

- Enable health professionals and program planners to identify intervention opportunities and establish health priorities that address the needs for Iranian youth who are at risk for, or presently engaged in, problematic behaviour;
- Assist frontline health workers in the development of culturally appropriate preventions and interventions in regard to the Iranian immigrant group in Canada; and
- Facilitate the future application of the principle of the integrative approach in acculturation interventions for Iranian and other immigrant groups.

Additionally, the research will accomplish the following more general aims:

- Since this project involves multiple variables that cover several possible factors derived from the empirical analysis, it will hopefully generate useful data for future research;
- The data may disclose some dynamics of how immigrant youth sift through their own traditional values and beliefs in the process of adjusting to the Canadian cultural landscape;
- The study will show how the adoption of an *integrative* motivational orientation and orientation to intercultural adjustment enables these adolescents to recognise that cultural differences can act as a constructive push towards multiculturalism. This integrative impetus could help immigrants to incorporate values, beliefs, and practices that are compatible with their native culture and, thereby, minimise cultural conflict, maximise their learning, and improve their chances for a successful adjustment to the host country.
- Furthermore, the study is anticipated to impact the understanding between immigrant parents and Canadian educators, thereby improving the cross-cultural adjustment of immigrant youth in Canada.

The ultimate practical goal of this study is to generate research that will foster

constructive exchange between the host culture and immigrants' original culture. It is anticipated that such exchanges result not only in positive attitudes towards the challenges presented by the new culture, but are also viewed as opportunities that help immigrants improve their language skills and cultural training.

1.3.2 Personal significance of the study

As an immigrant myself, I have immensely benefited through both academic learning in Canadian educational institutions and by non-academic learning gained through immersing myself in the Canadian cultural setting. Cross-cultural psychologists refer to this kind of approach to acculturation as the “integrative orientation” (Berry, 2011).

According to these research findings, an integrative orientation enhances the acculturation process. Acculturation refers to cultural and psychological changes that result from the contact between cultural groups, including attitudes and behaviours generated in this process. By conducting this research, I wanted to test the theory of the motivational orientation of acculturation and to advocate its benefits for immigrant youth. I also hope this research will help immigrant youth, specifically Iranian youth, gain a better understanding of how and how well they live in their intercultural world.

Inquiring about how well immigrant youth deal with their personal, social, and academic problems will help them reach a better understanding of their goals and their compatibility with Canadian values, thereby maximising their social and academic achievements.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is conceived in five parts. Chapter One is the introduction to this thesis, which included a brief history of Canadian immigration and its multicultural policy, and a brief history of settlement patterns of Iranians in Canada. This chapter also included an overview of the research problem. This chapter further provided a theoretical framework by examining *acculturation*, *ethnic identity* and gender-differentiated *motivational orientation* in relation to ‘problem behaviour.’ Chapter Two is the review of the literature. This chapter provides a review of literature and examines the current body of knowledge on the concept of acculturation, various theories and components of acculturation, and different strategies that are associated with the process of acculturation. This chapter further examines the relationship between acculturation and mental health or addiction. This chapter also examines the literature on immigrant youth and their acculturation with regards to problem behaviour. Additionally, this chapter examines the empirical evidence on the role of gender in acculturation. This chapter ends by examining the concepts of motivation and motivational orientation by drawing a conclusion from the parallel research in Second Language Learning literature. Chapter Three deals with the methodology that is used in this thesis. This chapter provides a theoretical foundation for the methodology by examining the explanatory framework and its assumptions and discussing the power of causal analysis and its theoretical implications, and highlights the problem with preliminary formulations in cultural studies. This chapter then outlines the study objectives and hypothesis, dependent and independent variables, research design, data management and analysis, and ethical considerations. These three chapters that gradually build the theoretical core of this thesis focus on the interrelated roles of motivation, acculturation process, and adjustment among immigrant youth, generally, and particularly Iranian youth. The central objective in these chapters is to examine the intersection of gender, motivational orientation, acculturation success with adjustment/coping and psychological well-being, including illicit substance use and gambling behaviour. Ideas

from cross-cultural psychology, anthropology, education, and other social science fields are integrated in an interdisciplinary framework.

Chapter Four presents the results of the current explorative quantitative study that was conducted to validate the theoretical model. It covers the study's empirical approach to acculturation, motivation, and adjustment. Chapter Five presents the study's contributions to the literature, conclusions of the study with regards to the objectives that are stated in Chapter Three, theoretical and methodological challenges that affected the outcome of this research, and suggestions for future research.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study focuses on the acculturation of Iranian youth into an urban Canadian multicultural setting. The theoretical framework addressing acculturation and assimilation theories are informed by *ethnicity* and *cultural identity* as important components of the 'acculturation process', and the relationship between 'acculturation' and 'problem behaviour', and the role that gender-differentiated motivational orientations play in shaping the relationship between acculturation and problem behaviour.

1.5.1 Acculturation

The concept of *acculturation* is a multidimensional process that is often misconstrued (Berry, 2013). The average individual refers to *acculturation* as the process of immigrants or refugees from developing countries arriving in a developed country where their priority is to learn the language, become familiar with and understand cultural norms, and interact with members of the country whose values differ significantly from their own.

The definition above perhaps touches the surface of how the *acculturation process* is defined (Steinberg, 2014). In actuality, those who go through the process of immigration and, subsequently, *acculturation* face more challenges that lead to positive and negative changes in their lives (Berry, 2013). This process and its end result vary widely depending on such factors as an individual's cultural origin, personal characteristics (e.g., age, gender), and general motivational profile.

Gordon (1964) presented explicit phases involved in *acculturation*, or what he called 'assimilation', and suggested that this process involves passing through seven linear stages. Gordon termed these stages as behavioural, attitudinal, cultural, structural, marital, civic, and identificational. The central point of assimilation theory is that immigrants will become more like the members of the host culture, increasing in similarity as the duration of their stay increases (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, & Mollenkopf, 2010). Although this linear classification might have worked for early immigrants to countries such as the United States, this is hardly the case for current waves of migrants flocking to all parts of the world (e.g., Glazer, 1993). We have begun to see the introduction of the concept of *segmented assimilation* (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Researchers adhering to this concept argue that assimilation is contingent on a number of factors, including social class differences, the time of arrival, and the context of their reception, which together may contribute to a nonlinear, multidirectional assimilation outcome.

For many researchers in the field of immigration and acculturation studies, the main concern continues to be the arrival and settlement of immigrants. Research on immigration has been characterised by numerous empirical studies of specific ethnic groups, which resulted in a wide variety of findings, but little in the way of theory (Portes, 1997). According to Portes (1997) and Castles (2007), no overarching and accepted theoretical approach to understanding immigration and acculturation phenomena exists, however, several themes within the broader sphere of immigration and acculturation may lead to theoretical advances.

One way to understand the process and the outcomes of resettlement is to examine the *intercultural variables*. *Intercultural variables* describe the way individuals perceive relationships among groups and functions in multicultural settings (e.g., identity gaps that may lead to mental health issues such as depression among a group of immigrants) (Castles, 2010), and are related to characteristics such as demographic and socioeconomic situation. The acculturation process occurs following the contact between two cultural groups leading to changes in both groups.

Further, adaptation has been defined in the literature both in psychological and sociocultural senses (Ward et al., 2001; Ward et al., 2011). *Psychological adaptation* refers to characteristics that are internal in the individual, such as good mental health, fewer symptoms of anxiety and depression, and a high sense of well-being (Kuo, 2014). Well-being is related to positive self-esteem. *Sociocultural adaptation*, on the other hand, refers to the quality of relationships between individuals and their sociocultural situations (Demes & Geeraert, 2014). This variable could be viewed in terms of youth attitudes toward school, academic performance, and positive adaptive behaviour.

Acculturation theory is a useful model for understanding the adaptation processes of immigrants. According to Rudmin (2003), “acculturation is an ancient and probably universal human experience” (p.9). Over the past two decades, researchers, particularly psychologists, have extensively used this model, which as a result, has been empirically tested and theoretically developed (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001). An important reason for the interest by psychologists has been its presumed relationship to mental health and addiction.

The notion of acculturation was originally formulated and developed in the field of anthropology to help describe and understand how ethnocultural groups changed once they made contact with other groups. The focus of anthropology was on structures such as societies, communities, and institutions, but not individuals. However, the focus

of acculturation study shifted once psychologists applied it to individuals and individual differences.

The current study incorporated both the group and individual perspectives with the aim of seeking to study patterns of similarities and differences in cultural and individual acculturation phenomena. In particular, I aimed to investigate the issue of the extent to which they are variations in the ways individuals engage in the acculturation process.

The long and extensive history of the acculturation model dates back to the introduction of phenomenon by Powell in late 1800 (Rudmin, 2003). However, it was not until early 1900 when a more concise definition of acculturation was provided in the literature. Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits (1936) defined acculturation as:

[T]hose phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from *culture-change*, of which it is but one aspect, and *assimilation*, which is at times a phase of acculturation. (p. 149)

In the early 1950s, a paper summarising important theoretical and research problems defined acculturation as:

[C]ulture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from non-cultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental consequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors. (Broom, Seigel, Vogt, & Watson, 1954, p. 974)

Forty years later in 1989, McGee published an article describing two types of acculturation: *piratical* and *amicable*. McGee described *piratical acculturation* as the interchange of ideas and traditions that emerges from a context of competition between two cultural groups. He also defined *amicable acculturation* as a more civilised form of acculturation that involves a friendly interchange of ideas. Historically, acculturation was mostly an area of interest to social anthropologists and sociologists.

Acculturation has been conceptualised in many more ways. One of them presents cultural change on a linear bipolar continuum, going from the home and motherland culture to the host culture (e.g. Clement, 1980). This definition presupposes a change in the cultural values, norms, and behaviours of individuals of a specific ethnic background moving from the culture of origin directly to a new culture. Another way of conceptualisation is related to the cultural dimension of acculturation. Padilla and Perez (2003) conceptualised this term by focusing on two dimensions: *cultural awareness* (familiarity with one's culture of origin and the dominant culture) and *ethnic loyalty* (preference for one culture over another). According to this conceptualisation, each person's degree of acculturation is the result of the relationship between *cultural awareness* and *ethnic loyalty*. This model predicts that the greater the level of *cultural awareness* and *ethnic loyalty*, the less acculturated the person is to the host culture. (See Padilla & Perez, 2003, for further discussion). Several researchers focus on other cultural domains of acculturation such as involvement in cultural behaviours, cultural identity, and language use (Cabassa, 2003; Cuellar, Arnold & Maldonado, 1995) or focus on the cultural context in which acculturation takes place (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboagna, & Szapocznik, 2010).

Another conceptualisation of acculturation emphasises relationship between cultural groups and how each individual identifies him or herself with his or her own culture, the host culture, either cultures, or neither. Researchers subscribing to this conceptualisation of acculturation, which is a multidimensional model, have proposed four types of acculturation strategies: *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, and *marginalisation* (Berry, 1990; Berry, 2005). *Assimilation* is defined as the desire to

interact with the host culture and society and to assume their characteristics and dispose of their own cultural identity (Berry, 2013). *Separation* is defined as holding on to one's culture and avoiding the culture of the host country. *Integration* is defined as the desire to keep one's own culture while interacting with the host culture (Berry, 2013). *Marginalisation* is defined as both the lack of desire to hold on to own culture and relating with the host culture.

Put simply, 'acculturation' refers to changes resulting from intercultural contact and interactions between people of different cultural groups. According to Redfield et al., (1936), acculturation pertains to "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). Although the definition is now regarded as classical, the term 'acculturation' incorrectly refers to assimilation (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992). Other terms that are used interchangeably, although incorrectly, are 'multiculturalism' and 'integration', which came about mostly due to an increase in global migration, increased economic exchange, and harmonisation. Documented examples of these terms are not only used as a replacement for or synonymous with *acculturation*, but as subsets of each other (e.g., Gordon, 1964; Teske & Nelson, 1974). Perhaps researchers view *acculturation* and *assimilation* or *integration* as independent processes with a bidirectional quality. To avoid confusion, Berry (2013) considers *assimilation*, *integration*, *marginalisation*, and *separation* as four strategies an individual may use during the process of *acculturation* (Berry, 2013).

An important source of variance and inconsistency in these terms is how different disciplines define specific terms. For example, anthropologists preferred to use the term 'acculturation' while sociologists preferred to use the term 'assimilation'. It is important to note that the use of 'acculturation' by anthropologists was related to the fact that they were primarily concerned with how so-called primitive societies changed and became more civilised after they interacted with what are considered to be civilised societies, while sociologists' use of the term 'assimilation' was mainly directed towards

immigrants who had to adopt the ways of life of the host people (Berry, 2013).

Many researchers have questioned the operationalisation of *acculturation* and argued that individuals change on more than one dimension (e.g., Berry, 2001) and that *acculturation* is a multidimensional process (Berry, 1990). Several investigators have suggested that in order to understand the relationship between culture and psychological processes, specific measures of culturally relevant dimensions must be used (e.g., Betancourt & Lopez, 1993). Berry (2005) has suggested three phases of *acculturation* for new immigrants: *contact*, *conflict*, and *adaptation*. He has also suggested that all immigrants experience these phases differently.

Acculturation theory is used here in order to explain how members of immigrant communities incorporate their old cultural values and practices into their new cultural values and lifestyles. In other words, the model helps understand how these individuals try to achieve a 'fit' between their traditional culture and the host culture (Berry, 2013). The underlying assumption of acculturation theory is that individuals can move successfully between cultures (Berry, 2005). Equally essential to this theory is the idea that the process of acculturation can result in a successful adjustment and cultural adaptation for many (Berry, 2005).

Conversely, research also suggests that *acculturation* can be very stressful (e.g., Cervantes, Padilla, Napper, & Goldbach, 2013; Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006) because the process of *acculturation* involves a reorientation of thinking, feeling, and communicating (Brown, 1994). In other words, when individuals with different cultural beliefs and practices come in contact with a new cultural landscape in which they plan to live, they may face and experience behavioural, emotional, and psychological challenges that may change their original cultural beliefs and practices (Berry, 2013).

These experiences can at times overwhelm the person going through this process. According to Berry (1990), individuals and groups undergoing the process of *acculturation* face two important questions: "Is my cultural identity of value to be

retained?” and “Can positive relationships with the larger (dominant) society to be achieved?” (p.13). Stress arising from the process of acculturation has been associated with emotional difficulties (Forti & Pittau, 1999; Hovey, 2000; Igoa, 1998; Jalali, 1996; Pawliuk, Grizenko, Chan-Yip, Gantous, Mathew, & Nguyen, 1996), social and economical hardship and marginality (Bennett, Rigby, & Boshoff, 1997; Fortuijn, Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998; Gonzalez, Coxe, Roosa, White, Knight, Zeiders, & Saenz, 2011; Williams & Berry, 1991), alcohol, drug, and gambling problems (Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004), as well as poor academic performance and criminal behavior (Aretakis, 2011; Hahn, 1987; Hicks & Connolly, 1995; Kazdin, 1995; Michaud, Ferron, & Narring, 1996; Smokowski, David-Ferdon, & Stroupe, 2009). Furthermore, according to Berry (2005), even in the most ethnically diverse societies where multiculturalism is embraced and practised, some ethnic cultures are less accepted than others.

Acculturative stress occurs when one’s coping mechanism is maladaptive to assist successful adjustment to a new cultural landscape (Dressler & Bernal, 1982; Romero, Cuellar, & Roberts, 2000). This type of stress is triggered by new life events and directs individuals to possible positive or negative consequences. Berry (1990) defines acculturative stress as “a stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation” (p. 20). The psychosocial stressors that arise during *acculturation* can contribute to problem behaviours among immigrant groups, including Iranians (Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004). Research to investigate *acculturation* as it relates to risk-taking behaviours among ethnic populations is needed (De La Rosa, 2002; Nielsen, 2001; Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006; Zangeneh, Mann, McCreedy, Oseni, 2010).

Of the many studies about the psychological effects of migration and the impact of *acculturation* on coping and mental health conducted with immigrant and refugee groups, few published studies to date address Iranians. Even among the studies about Iranians, the general pattern of the relationship between *acculturation* and mental health still remains unclear. Perhaps this fact is related to how *acculturation* has been

conceptualised and measured. However, the disagreement regarding the nature of *acculturation* and methods to measure it is not new, and the theoretical discussions regarding such measurements are currently being debated. Nevertheless, because of the limited scope of this thesis, only a short overview of current *acculturation* concepts is presented in this report. (Please see Chapter Two for the review of literature).

The greater the difference between the culture of origin and the culture of the host country, the more difficult it is to bridge the gap between these cultures (Bocher, 2003). Additionally, immigrants who are more traditional in their beliefs and cultural practices tend to be less acculturated. Iranians are similar to other traditional groups in terms of value systems and behaviour. The Iranian culture and society is strongly family-oriented; males are dominant and females are brought up to be supportive and obedient. These differences in cultural values that differ considerably from the dominant Canadian culture may make Iranian immigrants more vulnerable to acculturative stress.

As mentioned earlier, acculturation orientations tend to have close relationships with positive adaptation. *Integration*, at one end of the polarity, is usually the most successful; while *marginalisation* at the other end of this polarity has the least relationship with positive adaptation (Berry, 1990; Berry, 2005; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Berry & Sam, 1997). Various suggestions might explain this phenomenon. While Berry (2005) suggested that the integration orientation incorporates protective factors, including having two social support systems and flexible personality, marginalisation incorporates risk factors such as rejection by the dominant society and/or by shedding one's own culture. But another school of thought, the *cultural learning approach*, explains the relationship between *acculturation* and *adaptation* by assuming that problems resulting from intercultural interaction relate to the fact that cultural novices, individuals or groups, are unable to manage their everyday social interactions (Berry, 2013). In this context, *adaptation* is viewed in the form of learning the culture-specific and culture-relevant skills that are needed to learn and live in a new culture (Bochner, McLeod, & Lin, 1977).

Researchers who have advocated the *culture learning approach* to explain intercultural contact and change focused on the significance of culture-specific variables in the *acculturation* and *adaptation* process.

1.5.2 Culture and ethnicity

Before we can further examine the *acculturation* process and its outcome, it is important to explore the definition of ethnicity. The term 'ethnocultural' describes both the ethnic and cultural qualities that are characteristic of every group living together in a given country or society (Steinberg, 2014). This term inclusively covers both immigrants and non-immigrants.

Several studies have used the term 'ethnicity' as being similar to any other socially constructed identity. These studies have defined this identity as the ethnic component of the overall social identity (Liebkind, 2001). According to Social Identity Theory (Stets & Burke, 2000; Tajfel, 1982), we all have a self-image that is comprised of two main components of personal and social identity. Further, the social component of our identity comes from the groups to which we belong. As Tajfel (1981) suggests, ethnocultural identity is simply "that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 24).

Tajfel (1978) defined ethnic minorities as a group that feels connected by common psychological traits that are held in low regard by the dominant, majority culture (Verkuyten, 2007). This definition lends support to strengthen the connection between the concept of minority and psychological states of uncertainty (Bhatt et al., 2013; Liebkind, 1992). Tajfel (1981) focused on the differential status and power between the majority and the minority group in the society, attempting to explain the role of the

psychological effects of minority membership in relation to power imbalance between minority and majority groups. According to researchers (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals can accept or reject a negative social identity and may alter the valuation of their group depending on the perceived legitimacy and stability of the social system. This definition of social mobility might be possible only if the group boundaries are not fixed.

This debate has encouraged many ethnocultural studies to look at the more general effect of status differences between groups and consider the 'minority' aspect of ethnicity as a central focus (Verkuyten, 2007). According to Verkuyten's (2007) study, ethnocultural identity is psychologically more important for ethnic minority groups than for other majority groups.

1.5.2.1 Cultural identity and ethnic identity are distinct

Cultural identity refers to individuals' orientation that occurs as they live within a mixed cultural environment that may refer to thoughts and feelings about belonging to one's ethnocultural group (*ethnic identity*) or to the larger society (*national identity*). This form of identity is a sense of belonging to either or both of named cultural categories. *Ethnic identity* is not just a collective of minority status, as this view limits our ability to understand the rich meaning and experience associated with ethnic and cultural identity. When focusing on the social position of the 'minority' label, we tend to view it in terms of low-status issue, which would encourage us to ignore the 'ethnic' aspect and lead us to fail to theorise ethnicity (Verkuyten, 2007).

Immigrants go through significant life changes in order to integrate into the host society. The relevance of ethnicity and culture becomes obvious when one examines the coping strategies and transition adjustments of these immigrants. *Ethnicity* means an individual's group membership (Kwak & Haley, 2005) that is often associated with nationality, language, and a common cultural origin (Philipsen, 2003). But *culture* is

generally defined in terms of shared values. There are several definitions of 'culture' in the literature (Triandis, 1994). For example, 'culture' can be understood as the dynamic interaction of shared attitudes, beliefs, customs, and norms (Carlo, Carranza, & Zamboanga, 2002). It is also defined as a set of rules, traditions, and norms that are common to a society (Super & Harkness, 1997). Furthermore, 'culture' can be defined as "a complex and personal biopsychosocial phenomenon that provides meaning within life for an individual, a group, or a community" (Warren, 2007, p 213). Culture is conveyed to the members of a group via implicit and explicit messages embedded in the socialisation processes. As a result, members of a culture form a psychological and social sense of belonging to the cultural group (Al-Issa & Tousignant 1997), and these internalised socialisation processes are reflected in their behaviour. 'Ethnicity' differs from 'race'. While 'race' is a biological division of the individual, 'ethnicity' is the shared custom that people of a particular culture experience across generations (Pasion-Gonzales, 1993).

Despite these definitions above, there is no agreed-upon definition of 'ethnic identity' mainly due to lack of a consistent approach and the absence of a cross-cultural meaning of *person* (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1998; Liebkind, 2000; Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Verkuyten, 2007). Although ethnic and cultural identity generally refers to one's origin, the term 'ethnicity' could be conceptualised as how it is rooted in common biological descent and shared culture. Generally, the terms 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identity' refer to an individual's sense of self as a member of a particular ethnic group (Liebkind, 2001; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), which is generally viewed as adopting self-identification, feelings of belongingness to a group and sharing its values, and attitudes towards one's own ethnic group (Liebkind, 2001).

Although the term 'ethnicity' originates from the field of anthropology, this term is now defined across disciplines (e.g. Phinney et al., 2001). As stated above, the term 'ethnicity' is defined as a sense of belonging to a particular origin (e.g., Cornell & Hartmann, 1998; Philipsen, 2003). Thus, an ethnic group is believed to exist when people group around the belief in a common origin (Verkuyten, 2007). However, this

definition may pose minor problems. One such problem lies in the fact that we may run the risk of treating ethnic identity formation and re-construction as transient, flexible, and voluntary in the process of acculturation. This essentialism may lead us to neglect more enduring identities with long-term cultural commitments to past generations. Many ethnocultural groups associate their heritage and cultural obligations with the nature of self-definition (Lay & Nguyen, 1998; Verkuyten, 2007; Verkuyten, Drabbles, & van den Nieuwenhuijzen, 1999). This research therefore suggests that a person cannot freely choose his/her ethnic group, rather she or he is born into one and such identity can be most pervasive part of overall identity.

Having acknowledged the importance and continuity of cultural origin for self-identification, it is universally accepted that during the process of acculturation, self-identification is influenced and shaped by factors similar to those used to identify acculturation attitudes (e.g., retention of the ethnic label) (Berry & Sam, 1997; Phinney, 2003; Phinney et al., 2001).

1.5.2.2 Role of ethnicity in acculturation

Ethnicity and cultural identity are important components of the *acculturation* process. To many researchers, *acculturation* is viewed as a linear process. This view focuses on unidimensional change towards the mainstream society. It suggests that the original cultural identity of immigrants will eventually disappear (Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Tomiuk, 1998; Nguyen et al., 1999; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Walters, Phythian, & Anisef, 2007). In contrast, other researchers view *acculturation* as a bidimensional process where the ethnic individual and groups preserve their cultures while adapting to the mainstream society (Berry 2005). Current research trends lend support to the recent shift from unidimensional to bidimensional conceptualisations of *acculturation* (Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2003).

Berry and Sam (1997) proposed two questions to identify strategies used by immigrants in dealing with *acculturation*. Firstly, does a person or group value keeping their

heritage; and secondly, does having contact with, and participating in the larger society, have value for a person or group? Four acculturation strategies—*integration*, *assimilation*, *separation* and *marginalisation*—can be derived from ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers to these questions. (See Figure 1.3.)

Figure 1.3 Acculturation strategies

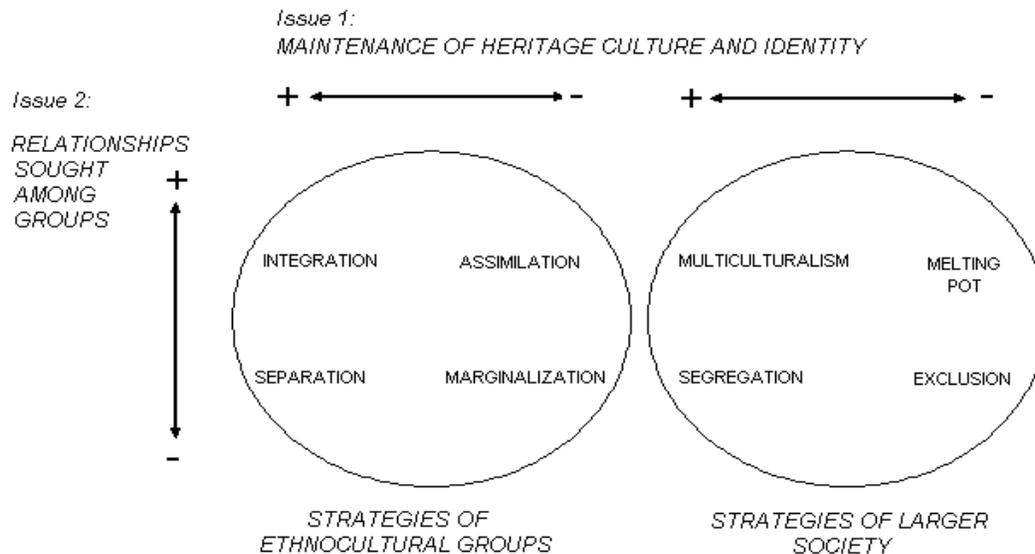


Figure 1.3. Figure to show strategies for acculturation for ethnocultural groups and the larger society (Berry & Sam, 1997)

Current research is not too clear in distinguishing between the concept of *acculturation* and *ethnocultural* identity (Liebkind, 2001; Nguyen et al., 1999). It might be useful instead to explore these concepts of *acculturation* in terms of the degree of *acculturation* (Phinney et al., 2001). Although Hutnik (1991) suggests that *ethnic identity* and *acculturation* are independent concepts, others (Snauwaert et al., 2003) have described this relationship as an interrelated one.

1.5.3 Acculturation and problem behaviour

Before we can examine the relationship between *acculturation* and problem behaviour, it is important to define the terms ‘addiction’ and ‘gambling disorder’ as components of

'problem behaviour'.

'Addiction' is a lay term, which is often used informally in the literature. Although numerous working definitions of 'addiction' are present in the literature, the real meaning of the term remains vague. Researchers and clinicians are still uncertain as to what they mean by this term (Kranzler & Li, 2008), and the term has not yet been widely used in the contemporary psychiatric and other diagnostic manuals.

In the absence of a precise definition of 'addiction', researchers will struggle to determine accurate prevalence rates, understand etiology, or the necessary and sufficient causes that help recovery. Without a clear definition of 'addiction', clinicians will encounter screening, diagnostic, and treatment difficulties. On the policy level, the absence of a defined term will negatively impact social policy and regulatory legislations that are necessary for treatment planning and guidelines for health care reimbursement.

As can be gleaned from the above discussions, the concept of addiction represents a troublesome tautology for the scientific community and, as a result, addiction is not yet included in the diagnostic taxonomy (Kranzler & Li, 2008). The current conceptual confusion surrounding 'addiction must be resolved before we can clarify the similarities and differences between substance-use 'addictions' such as alcohol dependence, and process or activity 'addictions' such as pathological gambling (Kranzler & Li, 2008).

In the absence of a widely shared definition of 'addiction', treatment providers and policy makers are left to debate whether people who use substances such as drugs, alcohol, and tobacco also 'abuse' those substances (Kranzler & Li, 2008). Generally, treatment providers mistake substance users for substance 'abusers'. Furthermore, both of these groups are readily confused with those who are substance dependent. This confusion often leads to unnecessary hospitalisation, increased medical costs, and overburdening of health care infrastructure (Chen, Jha, Guterman, Ridgway, Orav, & Esptein, 2010).

Even under current established definitions of 'addiction', not all individuals with dependency display addictive behaviour. When smoking was socially acceptable, the addictive behavior by nicotine-dependent people was less obvious, but now that there are many restrictions on smoking, the addictive nature of nicotine is more obvious (Chen et al., 2010). To complicate this matter further, physical dependence is not always viewed as necessary for the notion of 'addiction' to apply; and if 'addiction' can exist independent of physical dependence, then this concept must be broad enough to include human predicaments that are related to either substances ('substance use addiction') or activities ('process addiction').

As in the case of problem gambling, 'addiction' can exist without the presence of substance use. This observation could offer insight into the need for considering a more complex relationship between those who might develop addiction and the object of their dependence.

1.5.3.1 Gambling disorder

Gambling is considered to be one of the few leisure or commercial activities that cut across cultural and socioeconomic barriers. For the purpose of this study, *gambling* is defined as the act of risking the loss of something of value (usually money) on an uncertain outcome in the hope of winning something of greater value (usually money). *Gambling* is widespread and prevalent.

Estimates according to collected data indicate that nearly 80% to 94% of British adults (Cornish, 1978), 24% to 68% of American adults (Culleton, 1985; Culleton & Lang, 1985), 81% to 92% of Australian adults (Grichting, 1986; McMillen, 1995), and more than 80% of the adult population of Ontario engages in some form of *gambling* (Room, Turner, & Ialomiteanu, 1999; Turner, Wiebe, Falkowski-Ham, Kelly, & Skinner, 2005). Three-quarters (76%) of individuals aged 15 and up spend money on some form of gambling, with 38% of that percentage engaging in the behaviour at least once a week (Marshall & Wynne, 2003). The majority of people gamble as a means of

entertainment; however, a small proportion develops a clinically significant gambling problem or pathology. *Gambling disorder*, according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2014), is characterised by persistent and maladaptive *gambling* behaviours that have disruptive consequences for familial, occupational, and social pursuits. A meta-analysis by Shaffer, Hall, and Vander Bilt, (1999) reported the lifetime prevalence of problem *gambling* in North American adults is 1.6%, with an additional 3.9% having a milder, subclinical level of *gambling* problems. Furthermore, recent American research concludes that disordered *gambling* may be endemic to certain groups, for example, the Cambodian refugee population. Specifically, Petry, Armentano, Kuoch Norinth, and Smith (2003) reported that over 70% of Southeast Asian refugees, including Cambodian refugees, met lifetime criteria for problem and/or pathological *gambling* (Marshall, Elliot, & Schell, 2009).

1.5.3.2 Youth ethnic identity, acculturation, and drug use

The relationship between problem behaviour and acculturation could be tied to the link between *ethnicity* and *acculturation*, although the basic relationship between *ethnic identity* and *acculturative stress* is still being debated among researchers (Paukert, Pettit, Perez, & Walker, 2006). Leibkind (1996), who examined the relationship between *ethnicity* and *acculturation stress*, found that Vietnamese and Chinese boys reported greater acculturative stress. Another study conducted by Yeh, Arora, Inose, Okubo, Li, & Greene (2003) investigating the role of acculturation with Chinese, Korean, and Japanese immigrant groups found support for previous research, which suggests that moving to a new culture can have detrimental effects on immigrant youth's coping system. Hovey (2000), investigating the relationship between acculturative stress with mental health issues, found a significant correlation between high levels of acculturative stress, high levels of depression, and increased incidents of suicide. Hovey argued these results illustrate that the feeling of being caught between the influences of two cultures might explain this phenomenon. He also concluded that these challenges could lead them to use drugs and/or alcohol as a coping strategy.

In documented individual interviews, Hyman, Vu, and Beiser (2000) described the difficulties of *ethnic identity* as illustrated by the experiences of Vietnamese youth refugees who grew up in Canada, and explored how the *ethnic identity* of the participants created difficulties with social interactions at school, academic achievement, and employment. They discussed that participants reported: “feeling different than peers” (p. 289) due to their lack of English fluency, which made them insecure about making friends at school. Some of these youth reported academic frustration due to the language barrier. Many also reported that they believed they had to work much harder in order to succeed because of the discrimination they face due to their *ethnicity*.

However, further to difficulties integrating into a new environment that caused frustration and stress, *acculturation* was also a reason for tension. These youth felt that they needed to adapt to their surroundings outside the home, but as they did the strong cultural ties they once had were weakened such that many became more comfortable speaking English than the language of their ethnic background. This *acculturation* created not only a linguistic barrier in the home for those whose parents did not speak English, but also disagreements about autonomy and freedom. Authors’ findings suggest that *ethnic identity* became a risk factor for success and integration into society. However, they also showed that identifying with Canadian cultural identity weakened family ties and also became a reason for stress.

Amaro, Whitaker, Coffman, and Heeren (1990) confirmed the relationship between acculturative stress and drug use among Hispanic youth across several demographic variables including gender. Vega, Sribney, and Achara-Abrahams (2003) investigated comorbidity of drug and alcohol use disorder and suggested that drug abuse was nearly eight times higher among immigrant youth than non-immigrant youth. The literature review by Fabrega and Wallace (1968) strongly suggests that individuals who experience cultural change also experience psychological stress as a result of having to cope with challenges usually involved in the process of culture change, such as social exclusion. Earlier studies suggested that immigrant youth generally had lower school

achievement (e.g., McLatchie, 1997) and that this lower school achievement might be expressed in socially deviant behaviors (Rutter, 1995). Furthermore, an additional study found that the extent to which Hispanic orientation and American orientation are associated with substance use, both were directly and indirectly caused by acculturative stress and lower self-esteem (Zamboanga et al., 2009).

Not all researchers support this position. Some investigators claim that the frequency of substance and alcohol use is positively related to an individual's acculturation level (e.g., Caetano, 1987; Vellani, 1994; Zamboanga et al., 2009). Kasper and Noh (2001) point to the importance of understanding the link between discrimination and mental health. The role of an ethnic identity is to provide minority or immigrant groups with a sense of purpose, meaning, community, belongingness and personal well-being, all of which are closely interconnected with mental health.

Smith and Silva (2011) and Kaspar and Noh (2001) suggest the 'ethnic identity' variable is the mediating factor linking the two separate experiences of discrimination and mental health. Ethnic identity functions as a "protective factor that safeguards individual well-being from the adverse influences of discrimination" (Kaspar & Noh, 2001, p. 25). Ethnic identity as a psychological outcome of perceived racial or ethnic discrimination functions as a protective factor, rather than as a risk factor, for both adults and youth. The thesis examines the effectiveness of applying one's ethnic identity as a protection or defence against the negative forces of discrimination.

The thesis discusses whether or not discrimination weakens one's *ethnic identity* or forces it to become stronger under vulnerable circumstances. An example of this relationship is summarising in the findings of a study conducted by Kaspar and Noh (2001), who found that experiences of racial or ethnic discrimination prompted stronger and more favourable feelings about *ethnic identity* among university students in Toronto. The authors stress the importance of discovering the reasons for the variations in psychological responses to discrimination among minorities, as well as the reasons for varying vulnerabilities to discrimination, for example, because of age,

gender, or minority status. By uncovering the secrets that lie behind these trends, further efforts can be made to understand the connection between discrimination and health status.

To further complicate the matter, several researchers found no relation between the two variables, 'ethnic identity' and 'mental health or addiction' (e.g. Bettes, dusenbury, Kerner, James-Ortiz & Botvin, 1990), while others found a weak link (e.g. Brooks, Stuewig, & LeCroy, 1998). Additionally, given that gender is deeply rooted in the complexity of social processes and institutions devoted to cultural heritage and origin, one's gender role may be given particularistic meanings by one's *ethnicity*, and hence its acculturative transition (Liebkind, 1992).

1.5.4 Gender and acculturation

Throughout the twentieth century acculturation research conducted by anthropologists (e.g., Hallowell, 1955) and sociologists (e.g., Park, 1928) increased. More recently, the field of psychology engaged in this research area (e.g., Berry, 2005; Berry 2013).

This expansion could be related to two major historical events. First, the surge in worldwide migration in response to factors such as poverty (e.g., potato famine in Ireland), war (e.g., Iran-Iraq war of 1980), natural disasters (e.g., displacements due to earthquakes or floods), and recently, improved means of travelling over large distances. Second, increased understanding of the relation between culture and human behaviour remains another factor that accounts for increased migration.

A quick search of current academic databases (Humanities Abstract, Medline, Embase, Social Work Abstracts, PsycINFO, International Bibliography of Social Sciences, and Google Scholar, ERIC, ProQuest, Dissertations & Theses Global, and JSTOR), online resources and clearinghouses (Alberta Gaming Research Institute and the Ontario Responsible Gambling Council), conference websites (International Association for

Cross-Cultural Psychology and the International Academy of Intercultural Research), and internet-based sources would reveal an abundance of studies in this area. The references at the end of this thesis are a testimony to how fast this field is expanding.

Despite the abundance of acculturation research, one area that has been largely neglected has been the role of gender-differentiated motivational orientations. Only recently did interest in this area began to emerge. Culture shapes gender roles and has a great impact on an individual's gender role attitude. Although research has been inconsistent about the nature of *acculturation* among females and males, many researchers have suggested differential acculturative processes for them (e.g. Huang & Uba, 1992; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004). According to Garcia-Ramirez, de la Mata, Paloma, and Hernandez-Plaza (2011), the more acculturated females are, the more liberal they act. Several studies have explored empirically the way females go through the process of *acculturation* (Garcia-ramirez et al., 2011; Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982; Zangeneh et al., 2004). Gender differences have been found to be important: women tend to change more and acculturate more successfully at a faster rate compared to their male counterparts (Nicholson, Miller, Schwertz, & Sorokin, 2013). Iranian women have not been an exception to these rules. According to Tohidi (1993) and Darvishpour (2002), views of gender role and acculturation are changing more quickly among Iranian women than compared to their male counterparts. This change led to the exploration of gender differences in coping with stress (Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004).

Despite the above findings, evidence for gender differences in *acculturation* is largely inconclusive. Some studies have reported differences between immigrant men and women in their strength of cultural identity (Abu-Rabia, 1997; Liebkind 1993, 1996a; Nicholson et al., 2013), while other studies failed to find gender differences (e.g., Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997). As noted earlier, Liebkind (1996a) suggested that adult female immigrants from traditional cultures are the main carriers of their cultures. Other studies (e.g., Darvishpour, 2002; Tang & Dion, 1999), however, suggest that this position has not been clarified, either with respect to ethnic identity or with respect to

acculturation.

Ghafarian (1987) suggested Iranian men tend to be more acculturated than Iranian women (Hill-Lindsay, 2007), and that Iranian females tend to suffer from acculturative symptoms more than their male counterparts due to more expectations to maintain and perpetuate cultural traditions. Like other immigrants, many Iranian immigrants experience loss, separation, and psychological adjustment and adaptation in a new cultural environment (Darvishpour, 2002; Laosa, 1990). Therefore, I have formulated a hypothesis with respect to gender to re-examine this conflict of view. Few researchers to date have studied Iranians in Canada. This thesis is the first of its kind in that it examines motivational orientation and *acculturation* among Iranians in Canada.

1.6 CHAPTER ONE SUMMARY

In Chapter One I examined a brief history of immigration to Canada and the motivation that shaped Canadian multicultural policy. I also provided a brief history of Iranian immigration to Canada and the current settlement pattern across the country. I then provided an overview of the problem that shaped the direction of this thesis: to explore the relationship between gender-differentiated motivational orientation and acculturation processes. More specifically, Chapter One examined the existing theoretical frameworks in formulating a thesis to explore whether or not motivational orientations (*instrumental* or *integral*), *acculturation*, and gender are associated with risky behaviours (illicit drug use, alcohol use, and gambling behaviour) among Iranian youth who have immigrated to Toronto.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER TWO

Chapter Two provides a literature review examining the current body of knowledge on the concept of *acculturation*, acculturation theories, components of acculturation, and different strategies that are associated with the process of acculturation. This chapter further surveys the relationship between acculturation and mental health or addiction. This chapter also explores the literature on immigrant youth and their acculturation with regards to problem behaviour, as well as the empirical evidence on the role of gender in acculturation. This chapter ends by reviewing *motivation* and *motivational orientation* as presented in the second language learning literature.

2.2 MIGRATION

Migration is a worldwide phenomenon. Individuals and populations have been relocating since the beginning of human existence. For example, the movement of northern tribes prompted China to build its Great Wall to prevent the invasion of its empire; the Middle East has witnessed a long series of occupations, expansions, and invasions since the beginning of civilisation; and the creation of the Persian, Roman, and Ottoman empires were the result of large population drifts (Torkington, 2012). Most of these movements coincided with political power struggles often associated with slavery, colonisation, and other forms of domination. New societies were formed as a result of these events, some with continuing and ongoing conflicts and others with pioneering social arrangements (Torkington, 2012). As a result, there are very few culturally homogeneous societies, which has created opportunities and challenges for immigrants and their host societies.

Immigrants are defined as individuals who have moved from their country of birth and

have permanently settled into a new country. These individuals are referred to as *first-generation immigrants* (Torkington, 2012). First generation immigrants are often forced to leave their friends and family behind and, in many instances, their coping abilities are challenged. However, some researchers have found that this picture is changing and many have argued that while immigration exposes people to a number of challenges, long-term adaptation is often favourable (see Sakamoto, 2007; Schmitz & Schmitz, 2012).

According to the United Nation's Population Division (2013), most recent data show 232 million people (3.2 per cent of the world's population) live outside their country of birth. This number only reflects the actual number of people who have physically moved from one country to another; ignored are the almost equal number of children who were born to these immigrants, and who are often perceived as 'immigrants' themselves even though they were born in their country of residence. These individuals, sometimes referred to as *second-generation immigrants*, frequently face the same challenges of transitioning into their adult life that first-generation immigrant youth experience (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).

The current rate of immigration is unprecedented. Some have left their homeland in hope of finding a safe place to avoid oppression or violence, while others have moved in search of a better and more economically prosperous life. Others still immigrate for political, religious, or personal reasons. Such high rates of immigration result in culturally diverse societies. Many of these societies host first- and second-generation immigrants in numerous ethnocultural communities and neighbourhoods. Many of these societies now need to determine ways to manage their immigration flows and the resulting cultural pluralisation of their communities (Appleyard, 2001; Esposito & Kalin, 2011). According to researchers, these changing societies respond to complex situations in different ways largely due to differences in immigration patterns, culture social, and sociopolitical histories (e.g., Berry & Sam, 1997; Esposito & Kalin, 2011).

Canada, for example, used to be regarded as a bicultural country with Anglo-Europeans

forming the majority group and the French forming the minority group. Shortly after the Second World War, many Europeans including Germans, Ukrainians, Italians, Dutch, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, and Poles immigrated to Canada (Torkington, 2012). In 1978, a new immigration law came into effect that eradicated several discriminatory barriers, and led to a large influx of immigrants from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. Since this time, the dominant Anglo-European population has begun to decline, losing its status as the majority group. The same trend is also being documented for French populations.

In the United States, Europeans have historically been considered the dominant cultural group, with African-Americans forming the largest minority. However, in accordance with a new trend, African-Americans have been surpassed by Hispanics, who emigrated predominantly from Mexico and Central America. In fact, after Mexico and Spain, the United States has the world's largest Spanish-speaking population (Snowden, 2013), and Spanish now has become the most widely taught language after English in schools across the country. An exponential increase in the Hispanic population, caused by immigration and compounded by a higher birth rate (when compared to Europeans and African-Americans), makes it clear that the United States has turned into a bicultural country, comprised of an Anglo-Western majority and a Hispanic minority.

In Western Europe, the immigration trend was different than it was in the Americas mainly because each country has its own language and its own specific immigration history (Koopmans, 2013). In the mid-1960s, there was a large flow of immigrant 'guest workers' from Turkey and North Africa to Germany, France, and the Netherlands, where they established Muslim communities. Currently, Muslims comprise nearly 10% of the population in Western Europe, and these numbers continue to grow (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012).

Australia has historically been considered one of the most Anglo-dominated countries in the world. According to a census from 1970, the majority (nearly 85%) of its population originated from the British Isles, while the rest came from Italy, Greece, and Germany

(Koopmans, 2013). However, a dramatic change in Australia's immigration policy in the early 1970s opened the doors to an immigration boom from mostly non-European countries such as China and Vietnam. Asians make up nearly 10% of Australia's current population (Hugo, 2003). In 1986, Australia officially introduced a national policy of multiculturalism, similar to the one used in Canada.

Notably, immigration is no longer limited to what we consider as 'classic' immigrant-receiving destinations, such as Canada, Australia, the United States, and Western Europe, but is also a reality for regions such as Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe, which are relatively new to the immigration experience (Koopmans, 2013). For example, a large number of Indians immigrated to Africa and the West Indies, while many Italians, Arabs, and Jews immigrated to Argentina and Columbia, and hundreds of thousands of Iranians fled to Turkey during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s.

According to statistics from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Iran has produced more than three million refugees since the 1979 revolution that led to the Iran-Iraq war (UNHCR, 2004). Because of the social and cultural turmoil caused by the war, and because of the strains associated with immigration and adjustment to a new society, Iranian immigrants have experienced a wide array of changes. Some of these include changes in family status and structure, finances, language, and social status (Bagheri, 1992; Jafari, Baharlou, & Mathias, 2010; Hassen & Sardashti, 2000; Shirpak, Maticka-Tyndale, & Chinichian, 2011; Nouroozifar & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004;). Consequently, this wave of Iranian immigrants was identified as being prone to psychosocial stress and psychological symptoms (Emami et al, 2000; Jafari et al., 2010; Martin, 2009; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004). These factors are assumed to have interfered with their integration into the host society by alienating them from their surroundings.

These country-specific examples suggest that migration is not a new reality, nor is it restricted to certain parts of the world. As noted above, migration is often triggered by

several circumstances, including: wars, economic considerations, human rights violations, and natural disasters (Koopmans, 2013). Such circumstances put significant pressure on an individual's capacity to cope and, as a result, make them more susceptible to maladaptation. The extent that migration influences maladaptation for individuals and groups depends on many factors, including: 1) motivation for immigration; 2) the existing psychosocial conditions in the country of settlement; and 3) the cultural differences between the country of origin and the country of settlement (Berry, 2013).

Accordingly, one can suggest that a person's vulnerability may be heightened under stressful situations, making them susceptible to the risks associated with migration.

A common theme emerging from the existing literature indicates that the extent of acculturation experienced by immigrants is one of the most useful predictors of successful adjustment to the host society (Berry, 2013). However, most of these studies focus on one specific ethnic group. On the basis of these studies, it is very difficult to ascertain any general principles as to how the process of acculturation occurs or how well these individuals adapt to their new home. In addition, there is an absence of studies that seek to identify and examine the specific attributes that may undermine or strengthen the adaptation process of immigrants. In spite of this insufficiency, some studies have offered important and valuable insights into the impact of acculturation, which is vital to understanding how various elements, such as age, gender, and motivational orientation, impact the acculturation process, and how the process modulates each element (Berry, 2013; Koopmans, 2013). Unfortunately, the numbers of these studies are small, quality is poor, and few attempt to examine how relationships among these various elements impact the acculturation experience.

2.3 ACCULTURATION RESEARCH

'Acculturation', as defined by Gordon-Larsen, Harris, Ward, and Popkin (2003), is "the acquisition of dominant cultural norms by members of a non-dominant group" (p. 2028). Acculturation requires continuous, first-hand contact between cultures and some change in psychological or cultural phenomena (Berry, 1990), which occurs when immigrants leave their homeland, enter a new society, and must learn to adapt and integrate their minority culture into the dominant culture. The level of acculturation experienced by individuals can be influenced by several factors, including the nature of the host society (pluralistic or monistic) (Schmitz & Schmitz, 2012) and the ability of the host society to meet the needs of the immigrant; generational status and age (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas, 1996); the number of personal contacts with the host society; the nature and pleasantness of these contacts; and the immigrant's evaluation (positive or negative) of these contacts (Berry, 1990; Berry, 2013).

Acculturation has been conceptualised in many ways and various measurement tools have been used to assess general and mental health outcomes, scholastic performance, feelings of acceptance, and cultural behaviours (Berry, 2005; Ra Cho & Hummer, 2013). Although the acculturating group experiences many changes, changes at the individual level are idiosyncratic. Graves (cited in Berry, 1992) suggested the term *psychological acculturation* to describe the changes seen in an individual who is experiencing acculturation. The idea of *psychological acculturation* is particularly important when we consider that acculturation can occur unevenly across different domains of behaviour and social life (Berry, 1990; Berry, 2013). In a similar model, Ward et al. (2011) make a distinction between *psychological* and *sociocultural adaptation*. In their work, *psychological adaptation* focuses on the affective part of acculturation. Works by Berry and his colleagues are examples of such a focus (e.g., Berry & Lapoce, 1994; Berry & Sam, 1997; Berry & Kim, 1998). On the other hand, *sociocultural adaptation* mainly deals with the behavioural aspects of the acculturation process and is conceptualised in terms of social skills (Kosic, 2002). An example of such an approach includes work done by Furnham & Bochner (1982), who examined

the social difficulty and social psychology of intercultural encounters.

2.3.1 Components of acculturation

One way to explore the meaning of acculturation is through an analysis of its three components: *contact*, *reciprocal influence*, and *change* (Redheld et al., 1936). The first component, *contact*, refers to how people of different cultures come in contact with one another, such as through face-to-face interaction, virtual communication, or mass and social media exchange. The *contact* may be continuous (such as in the permanent migration of individuals from one country or another), short-lived (such as when ethnographers have visited isolated tribes), or intermittent, such as when contact is neither isolated nor continuous (such as sojourner). Berry (1990) has further subdivided contact along three dimensions: voluntary (legal immigrants) or involuntary (refugees), sedentary (immigrants) or migrant (sojourners), and permanent (indigenous people) or temporary (sojourners).

Intercultural contact is not a new phenomenon (Kramsch & Uryu, 2014). A quick glance of recorded history reveals that people have migrated as far back as a hundred thousand years ago ('Out of Africa' theory) for a variety of reasons, including: searching for food, fleeing from catastrophes (natural disasters), engaging in trade (silk road), escaping prosecution (Zoroastrians' move to India from Iran or Jewish immigrants' move to Yemen from current Israel), or because of forced displacement (Palestinians from current Israel). These migrations lead to the intermingling of people from different cultural backgrounds, resulting in the diversification of cultures and the formation of new societies (Kramsch & Uryu, 2014). This process of cultural change for immigrants has come to be known as *acculturation* (Berry, 1990).

The second component of acculturation, *reciprocal influence*, refers to intercultural interactions, where both immigrant and native groups influence *each other* to varying degrees. The weight and the direction of such influence depends on factors such as

economic power, status, and other variables which would enable one group to exert more influence on the other (Berry, 2013). Bogardus (1949) suggested that reciprocal influence can take one of three forms:

1. Blind acculturation, which refers to acculturation that occurs when people of different cultures live in close proximity to each other and cultural patterns are adopted on a chance basis;
2. Imposed acculturation, which refers to situations where one group forces its culture onto another, such as during colonisation; and
3. Democratic acculturation, which occurs when people of both cultures view each other with respect, and show a mutual interest in maintaining a culturally diverse society.

The final component of acculturation is *change*.

Reciprocal influence involves a dynamic process that may result in a relatively stable outcome. As Berry (1990) points out, change is not only limited to cultural change, but may also extend itself to other areas such as individual change (e.g., affective, behavioural, and cognitive changes), physical or environmental change (e.g., setting up temporary houses to accommodate immigrants and refugees), biological change (e.g., reaction to local nature and pattern of diseases), economic change (labour and financial contribution of immigrant forces), or political change (change to immigration policy).

2.3.1.1 Strategies for coping with acculturation

By exploring the array of successful and unsuccessful strategies employed by acculturating immigrants and their host societies, we can place ourselves in a position to advocate for policies and practices that encourage positive outcomes for all. Two main theoretical approaches attempt to explain how people manage the process of acculturation: the *stress, coping, and adaptation approach* (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2013), and the *cultural learning approach* (Kolb, Boyatzis, & Mainemelis, 2001). The *stress, coping, and adaptation approach* focuses on the changes that result in stress for the

acculturating individual and group, while the *cultural learning approach* focuses on the cultural and psychological changes that result from culture learning and shedding. In either model, cultures can conflict and clash, particularly when they compete for resources or when values held by acculturating groups are incompatible with the values of the host culture (Berry, 1997; Kolb, Boyatzis, & Mainemelis, 2001). Such situations can result in substantial stress for the acculturating individual as they seek to find their place in their new society (Berry, 2013). Therefore, according to these perspectives, stress occurs when a person cannot adequately respond to the demands brought about by the immigration process, and specifically by having to learn how to participate in two cultures.

The process of dealing with life events begins when certain demands are placed on the organism (Lazarus, 1997; Wang et al., 2009). The term 'acculturative stress' is used when "an immigrant experiences an imbalance between their new demands and their ability to cope with these demands" (Sandler, Braver & Gensheimer, 2000, p. 189). Drawing on this model, 'acculturative stress' is a reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation.

It is important to note that many immigrants show no difficulty in achieving their educational goals, finding jobs, and fitting into their new societies (e.g., Beiser, 2005; Fuligni, 1998a; Sinacore, Mikhail, Kassan, & Lerner, 2009). General stress theorists believe that change and stress are a part of normal life (e.g., Patterson, 2002; Wang et al., 2009), and that most people are able to effectively deal with the demands that result from stressful life events. For some, however, these stressful life events can be difficult and traumatic, and can lead to serious psychological and social consequences. According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984), one's ability to get through challenging life situations is influenced by the *coping strategies* employed by the individual. *Coping strategies* are cognitive or behavioural efforts that lead one to either adapt positively or negatively to a stressor. From this perspective, the acculturation experience could be viewed as being either advantageous (i.e., providing opportunities) or disadvantageous (i.e., limiting opportunities), depending on the *coping strategy* used by the individual.

Many definitions and delineations of *coping strategies* are described in the literature. While Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman (1977) identified a three-factor model of intercultural effectiveness that includes the ability to communicate effectively, the ability to manage psychological stress, and the ability to establish interpersonal relationships, Mendenhall and Oddou (1985) distinguished between affective, behavioural, and cognitive components of adaptation, such as psychological well-being, functional intercultural interactions, and the acceptance of appropriate attitudes and values. In one of the most widely cited formulations, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) and Endler and Parker (1994) proposed the three major types of *coping strategies* are:

1. *problem-focused* coping strategies, which are used for the purpose of problem management (e.g., changing the source of stress);
2. *emotion-focused* coping strategies, which are used to reduce the level of emotional distress that is caused by a stressful situation (e.g., venting feelings); and
3. *avoidance-oriented* coping strategies, which involve a retreat into alternate activities or thoughts in order to avoid dealing with a stressful or uncomfortable situation.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) discussed these strategies in their transaction model of *stress*. This model suggests that coping strategies depend on two main cognitive processes of 'primary appraisal', which refers to how situational stressors are perceived and judged, and 'secondary appraisal', which refers to one's beliefs about available coping strategies and the effectiveness of such coping strategies in managing stressful situations.

No matter what coping strategy is used to describe the process of acculturation, it is important to keep in mind that each individual will take his or her own unique pathway through the acculturation process. Some immigrants will become indistinguishable from the mainstream population, others will find ways to participate in both their native and host cultures, while others choose to adhere only to their own culture and stay largely

outside of mainstream society. To capture these variations in the acculturation process, a model by Berry (1980) identified four strategies that can be employed during acculturation: *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, and *marginalisation*.

Assimilation strategies occur when an individual or group of people do not want to maintain their own cultural identity and actively look for interaction with other cultures. Conversely, *separation strategies* are used when an individual or group of people greatly value their own culture and avoid interacting with other cultural groups. When an individual or group shows interest in maintaining their original culture, but also actively seek interactions with other cultural groups, this acculturation strategy is defined as an *integration strategy*. Finally, *marginalisation strategies* are used by individuals or groups who show little interest in seeking relations with other cultural groups.

Research has indicated that the *integration strategy* is usually the most conducive to successful adaptation (Berry, 2005; Sam & Berry, 1995; Schmitz, 1992;). One reason to suggest that the *integration strategy* is the most adaptive strategy is that the majority of research supporting integrative acculturation strategies took place in multicultural societies where cultural diversity is accepted (Berry, 2005; Berry, 2013). Furthermore, findings from studies conducted in countries with strong assimilationist tendencies have also shown that the *integration strategy* was the most adaptive (Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Sam & Berry, 1995; Schmitz, 1992). Additionally, other studies have found that acculturating groups and individuals prefer *integration* to the other three strategies, with *marginalisation* being the least preferred. The only exceptions were Turks in Germany (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000) and the indigenous people of Canada and Australia who, in most cases, preferred *separation* to integration (Berry, 1999).

Some theorists have demonstrated how four acculturation strategies relate to the *coping strategies* discussed above. For example, Schmitz (1992b) reported that integration into host society was positively related to *problem-oriented* coping, and that assimilation

strategies were positively related to both *problem-* and *emotion-oriented* coping, but negatively associated with *avoidance-oriented* coping. Conversely, *separation* was found to be positively associated with *emotion-* and *avoidance-oriented* coping. In another study, Kosic (2004) found that positive relationships with the national group were negatively associated with *avoidance-* and *emotion-oriented* coping strategies and were positively associated with *problem-oriented* coping strategies. It follows that poor acculturation was positively related with both *emotion-* and *problem-oriented* coping.

Despite the usefulness of these concepts, cross-cultural differences in these categories seem to exist. According to Diaz-Guerrero (1979), one way to address such variability is to distinguish between *active* and *passive coping orientations*. Individuals with active coping orientations tend to take a rational, action-driven approach to dealing with a problem, which could be similar to what was categorised as the *problem-focused* coping strategy identified by Lazarus & Folkman (1984). This form of coping may be of limited success if the acculturating persons or groups have limited interest in the culture of the dominant group. In contrast, individuals with a passive coping orientation display patience and self-modification, which resembles the assimilation strategy defined by Berry and Sam (1997). In this form of acculturation, the coping strategy will only be practical if the dominant group is willing to accept members of the acculturating group.

This discussion reminds us that immigrants and other non-dominant ethnic groups are not free to choose how they acculturate (Berry, 1990). Instead, their acculturation is only possible when they live in a society that is explicitly multicultural and where certain psychosocial conditions are established (Berry & Kalin, 1995). These conditions include the presence of a positive multicultural ideology, low levels of ethnocentrism and discrimination, positive attitudes among ethnocultural groups, and a high degree of identification with the larger society (Berry, 1990, 2005, 2013). According to Berry, such attitudes are highly conducive to the building of multicultural societies, where cultural diversity, integration, and mutual accommodation are valued (Berry, 1990). On the other hand, when the dominant group prefers the 'assimilist' attitude, society is said to exist as a melting pot (Steinberg, 2014). This form of attitude is dominant in the U.S.

and Israel, for example. When the dominant group imposes *separation*, it is termed 'segregation'. This form of attitude is dominant in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, for example. When the dominant group enforces *marginalisation*, it becomes a form of exclusion (Bourhis et al., 1997; Esposito & Kalin, 2011). These attitudinal orientations toward *acculturation* have been frequently assessed and validated using various methods and populations (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989).

It is tempting to assume that higher levels of integration will result in greater cultural learning, and consequently better coping and adjustment (Zangeneh et al., 2010). This assumption was challenged, however, by Hoffman's (1989) study of second language learning (SLL) for California's Iranian immigrants. According to this author, Iranians demonstrated a significant level of structural and behavioural assimilation and a low level of cultural and identification assimilation. In other words, integration occurred readily when American cultural values and norms were in line with Iranian culture, but not when the difference between the two cultures was significant. As a result, Iranian-Americans in California were found to adhere to a mixed cultural perspective, with *instrumental* integration providing motivation for cultural learning (Hoffman, 1989). These surprising results highlight a need for more research in this area to better understand how various acculturation strategies impact cultural learning.

2.3.1.2 Directionality and dimensionality of acculturation research

When considering theory and research in the field of acculturation, one needs to consider two fundamental concepts: *direction* and *dimension*. *Direction* refers the way in which groups affected by the acculturation process undergo change. For immigrants, this may involve learning a second language, while for the host country this may involve adopting a national policy of multiculturalism. Several researchers, such as Gordon (1964), have suggested that acculturation is a *unidirectional* process, while others such as Taft (1977) have suggested that it is a *bidirectional* process. Researchers adhering to the *assimilation* theory believe that change takes place in one direction. For example, an incoming immigrant group will imitate the national group by adopting the

language, culture, and morals of their new country. On the other hand, researchers adhering to *bidirectionality* believe in mutual or reciprocal influence between the two groups in contact. Most current psychological theories consider acculturation to be *bidirectional* rather than *unidirectional*.

For the *dimension* aspect, researchers ask whether change takes place along a single *dimension* or multiple independent *dimensions* at the same time. Researchers adhering to *unidimensional* theories believe that people lose their original cultural identity as they gain a new one (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). The *unidimensional* stance—acculturation is mutually exclusive—argues that maintaining both cultures is psychologically problematic (Sung, 1985); this is in line with the ‘assimilist’ view, which suggests that one either remains unchanged or becomes assimilated into the host culture. Conversely, researchers adhering to *bidimensionality* theories believe it is possible to gain a new culture without necessarily losing one’s original culture (Berry, 1990); this view advocates that change can take place along two independent dimensions: the maintenance or loss of the original culture, and participation in the new culture; the gain of one culture does not mean the loss of the other.

2.3.2 Acculturation and mental health

Mental illness is a serious global concern that, according to the Global Burden of Disease study, accounts for approximately 10% of global disease burden and affects roughly 450 million people worldwide (World Health Organization, 2012). In Canada, one in five people will develop a mental illness at some point in their lifetime, and at any given point, 14% of Canadians suffer from some type of mental illness (Statistics Canada, 2014). This rate is higher among youth, with 18% of Canadian adolescents (ages 15-24) reporting a mental illness or substance abuse problem.

Because immigration is a risky affair that exposes individuals to various social dangers, many studies tend to paint a grim picture of the immigration process (Sibley, Duckitt,

Bergh, Osborne, & Perry, 2013; Ward et al., 2001; Zangeneh et al., 2010). Current literature on the rate of depression and anxiety among immigrants is inconsistent and contradictory at best. This lack of clarity could be related to differences in the methodology used for assessment, which ranges from the use of invalidated and unstandardised self-reports (Sam, 1999s) to standardised instruments, such as the Beck Depression Inventory (Gutkovich, Rosenthal, Galynker, Muran, Batchelder, & Itskhoki, 1999) or clinical interview tools such as the WHO's Composite International Diagnostic Interview (CIDI) (Carta, Kovess, Hardoy, Morosini, Murgia, & Carpiniello, 2002). To complicate matters further, immigrant samples used in these studies have been drawn from various sources, including clinical samples (Gutkovich et al., 1999), samples drawn from the general population, and samples drawn from the local community (Noh, Wu, Speechley, & Kaspar, 1992; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharpe, 2004). To highlight this discrepancy, Noh and colleagues (1992) used the Center for Epidemiological Studies' Depression scale (CES-D) among immigrants in Toronto and found that immigrant depression rates were similar to those found in a typical North American community sample. In another study using the Hamilton Depression Scale and the Beck Depression Scale to assess Russian-Jewish immigrants at a primary care clinic in the United States, 40% of the 57 patients reported clinically significant depression (Gutkovich et al., 1999). In yet another study, the CES-D scale was used to interview participants from the three major ethnoracial groups in the United States (Caucasian, African-American, and Latino), and found that Mexican-American immigrants had higher rates of mental illness compared to Caucasians and African-Americans (Gonzalez, Haan, & Hin-ton, 2001).

The 'acculturative stress' model developed by Berry et al. (1992) may help explain mental illness symptomology among immigrants. Berry et al. (1992) defined the term as a particular kind of stress in which the stressors are a consequence of the process of acculturation itself. This type of stress occurs when an immigrant's coping mechanisms are maladaptive and fail to assist successful adjustment to a new cultural landscape (Dressler & Bernal, 1982; Wang et al., 2009). The advantage of using the term 'acculturative stress' lies in the fact that the source of the stressful experience is

identified to be in the interaction between cultures, and is not seen as an inherent quality of any particular culture (Berry, 2005, 2013). In contrast, if the term 'culture' was used to describe this phenomenon, we run the risk of misidentifying the source of the problem as being within a single culture.

The underlying assumption of acculturation theory is that individuals can transit successfully between cultures; however, while the acculturation process can be accomplished successfully by many people who adapt, even in the most diverse societies where multiculturalism is embraced and practised, some ethnic cultures are still less accepted than others (Berry, 1990). This is not to suggest that immigrants can belong to an 'unacceptable' group; rather, it is important to realise that not all minority groups are accepted in the same way. For example, if the group in question is perceived as 'problematic', acculturation may be more stressful (Berry et al., 1992; Esposito & Kalin, 2011). In this context, 'acculturative stress' can manifest itself in different ways. Sam and Berry (1995) suggest that 'acculturative stress' may be related to many psychological changes, such as lowered mental health status, feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom levels, and identity confusion. 'Acculturative stress' may underlie a reduction in the health status of the individual on the physical, emotional, and psychological levels (Berry et al., 1992; Wang et al., 2009). Wiking, Johansson, and Sundquist (2004) found a strong association between ethnicity and poor self-reported health, explained by poor acculturation and experiences of discrimination. Others reported effects such as spousal abuse, new forms and rates of aggression and neglect, homicide, personal crises, and social disintegration (Berry, 1990, 2005).

A number of etiological models of mental illness among immigrants have been developed in order to make sense of the impact of the immigration process on the psychological well-being of immigrants (Bourque, Van der Ven, & Malla, 2011).

Two prominent models include the *locus of control model* and the *loss and grief model* (Bhugra, 2003). The *locus of control model* argues that thoughts of being a failure may

result from difficulty coping with the life changes that follow migration, which may subsequently contribute to the onset of depression. Berry's 'acculturative stress' model is an example of such a cognitively driven model. In his model of migration and depression, Berry argues that individuals who lack social skills and who have an external locus of control may be more vulnerable to depression than those who do not (Berry, 2005, 2013). Therefore, vulnerable immigrants who have left their support networks behind and who experience difficulty adjusting to their new life may be particularly prone to depression. This model focuses on mourning and grieving following the symbolic loss of familiar people and physical conditions.

Many researchers have reported an association between immigration and the increased risk of developing mental health and addiction problems (Hovey & King, 1996; Martin, 2009; Sundquist, 1993; Trovato, 1986; Unger, Ritt-Olson, Wagner, Soto, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2007; Wang et al., 2009). According to these researchers, new immigrants often experience stress resulting from inadequate language skills, anxious disorientation in response to being in an unfamiliar environment, limited social and financial resources, feelings of not belonging to the host society, and conflict between traditional values, norms, and customs and those of the new country. Consequently, the acculturation process can result in elevated levels of stress stemming from maladjustment. Recent research on the Iranian community in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) supports these findings (Zangeneh, Nouroozifar & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Littman-Sharp, 2004), however, there are a number of factors even within the immigrant population that can affect levels of 'acculturative stress'. For example, groups that were nomadic in their homeland will tend to find acculturation more stressful if their new culture is sedentary (Berry, 1992).

Immigrants enter a new culture with customs, assumptions, expectations, institutions, laws, and language that differs from that of their native culture. The roles they play in their new culture differ from the roles they played in their native culture; suddenly being labelled and treated as a member of an ethnic minority group is yet another shocking transition that many may need to deal with. Tolerance of immigrant groups varies

substantially and is largely influenced by the group's visible minority status. Age can also affect the experience of acculturation, with younger immigrants more likely to be exposed to the acculturation process, and thus to 'acculturative stress'. The influence of individual differences on 'acculturative stress' is also important to consider (Berry et al., 1992; Wang et al., 2009). Individuals differ with respect to coping skills, attitudes toward the dominant society, media usage, religion, relationships, psychological and social characteristics, demographic characteristics including age, emotional functioning, level of contact with the dominant society, and an emphasis on academic performance in the family (Unger et al., 2007).

Acculturation may be thought of as a spectrum along many different existing modes. This concept refers to the amount of new culture that a given immigrant has absorbed and the amount of old culture that the immigrant has shed. Of special importance to the development of 'acculturative stress' is the mode of marginality. Marginality can occur during *acculturation* when a shedding of the old culture has occurred, but incorporation of the new culture is either delayed or absent. In this case, there is loss of contact with both the traditional culture and the larger society by either exclusion or withdrawal (Berry et al., 1992). *Marginalisation* can be a very stressful experience, perpetuating a sort of 'cultural limbo' in which one does not feel aligned with any single cultural group. If the individual continues to remain in a state of crisis with the dominant society, maladjustment will be the likely result.

The 'acculturative stress' that individuals and families experience when they resettle into a new country can manifest itself in a number of ways, such as lowered mental health status, feelings of marginality, and increased psychosomatic symptoms and symptom levels. In addition, stress can have an impact on both the mental and physical health of an individual. The physical demands placed on the human body as a result of stress can result in symptoms such as headaches, insomnia, depression, weight loss or gain, and panic attacks (Maki, Moore, Grunberg, & Greenberg, 2005), while the mental health effects of stress can include the development of depression and/or anxiety (Maki et. al, 2005; Piko, 2001). Many studies have reported strong associations between immigrant

status and psychological problems (Aronowitz, 1984); elevated levels of 'acculturative stress' were associated with an increased incidence of anxiety, depression, perceived stress, and work-family strains (Grzywacz, Quandt, Arcury, & Marin, 2005; Hovey & Magana, 2000; Parker et al., 2005). The 'acculturative stress' that individuals and families go through when they resettle in a new country may cause marital conflicts, parent-child conflicts, financial hardship, substance abuse, depression, loss of status, and academic and behaviour problems in children (Bornstein & Cote, 2006; Khanh, et al., 2002).

2.3.3 Acculturation and addiction

According to a meta-analysis performed by the Toronto District Health Council (1998), the number of years an immigrant lived in Canada (a crude proxy of acculturation), was positively associated with the increased incidence of non-problem gambling and all levels of problem gambling, particularly in men. This effect was observed in immigrants living in Canada for as long as 20 years, and declined after that point. Many new immigrants feel marginalised due to the involuntary nature of their migration and the many differences between their culture and the host culture. *Marginalisation* can trigger the development of 'acculturative stress', and the existence of 'acculturative stress' can lead to the development of lowered mental health status and risky behaviours.

Hovey (2000) studied the relationship between 'acculturative stress' and mental health issues by collecting 78 surveys from new immigrants to Los Angeles from Central America; he found a significant correlation between a high level of 'acculturative stress' and high levels of depressive symptoms and suicide. Hovey argued that these results stem from feelings of being caught between two cultures. He further argued that these immigrants often lack the coping skills that are necessary for successful adjustment to their new culture, and they also lack the social support that they received from their community network in their home country. Earlier studies (e.g., Fabrega & Wallace, 1968) reviewed the literature regarding immigration, acculturation, and psychological symptoms and suggested that those who experienced cultural change also experienced

stress as a result of having to cope with social exclusion and other challenges that are usually involved in the immigration process. According to these investigators, acculturation challenges affect the psychological and emotional state of the immigrant, particularly when their value systems are in conflict with that of the host group. Ultimately, these issues and challenges may lead some immigrants to use drugs, alcohol, or engage in other risky behaviours, such as gambling.

Indeed, many researchers have suggested a connection between immigration and an increased risk of developing problem behaviours. Vega, Sribney, and Achara-Abrahams (2003) examined the co-occurrence of alcohol and substance use problems among 3,012 Latino participants and found that drug misuse was almost eight times higher among immigrants than non-immigrant subjects. They also found a significant correlation between drug use and depressive symptoms. Reliable indicators of problem behaviours during acculturation include the number of court appearances, rate of alcohol consumption, and rate of work or school absenteeism (Berry, 1990). As described below, these unhealthy behaviours are more prevalent in the immigrant youth population (Smokovski & Bacallao, 2006).

The aforementioned discussion views the process of migration and acculturation as a risk factor for the mental health of immigrants. Incompatibility of the host society's values and practices with those of the immigrant may lead to internal conflict and confusion (Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006). Discrimination and exclusion may further threaten the mental health of immigrants (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006; Wang et al., 2009). While immigration and acculturation are viewed as inherently stressful, leading to mental health issues and challenges (especially anxiety and depression), feelings of marginality, and increased psychosomatic symptoms, several investigators reject the argument that the acculturation process is negatively related to problematic behavioural consequences; for example, Caetano (1987) contend that the frequency of substance and alcohol use is positively related to the individual's level of acculturation. From this perspective,

acculturation-specific factors such as cultural competence have been viewed as positive and potentially beneficial to mental health and well-being (Oppedal et al., 2005; Roberts, Roberts, & Chen, 1997).

Perhaps this difference in evidence may be related to the extent to which cultural competence plays a role in acculturation and its link to mental health. Several studies have demonstrated an association between the construct of competence (e.g., self-perception, self-efficacy) and mental health outcomes (Bandura, 1986; Wang et al., 2009), and support the *acculturation development model*. In this model, cultural competence is important to immigrant youth since it improves their chances of being accepted in the social domain. Current findings suggest a close link between competence and mental health (Bandura, 1986), which is especially relevant for *cultural competence* that encourages the sense of belonging. Research among immigrant youth has shown that competence has a significant impact on mental health (Oppedal et al., 2004). Given the contested evidence, several researchers have highlighted the need for additional research that examines acculturation as it relates to stress, mental health, and risk-taking behaviours among ethnic populations (De La Rosa, 2002; Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006; Nielsen, 2001).

2.4 YOUTH

The future of any society lies in the hands of its youth. Therefore, their well-being should be of utmost concern. Unfortunately, and in spite of the growing importance of immigration worldwide, the needs of immigrant youth are often overlooked (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a). A report by the Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (2006) made the observation that “despite a rapid and diverse growth of immigration to Canada since the 1960s, there has been relatively little research on immigrant youth carried out in Canada” (p. 96). To date, public discussions and policies focused on ethnic youth typically are not supported or informed by research findings (Bonifazi & Strozza, 2002). While there is a paucity of research in this area,

one thing is clear: youth are the most vulnerable members of migrating families when it comes to cultural transition (Allan & Hill, 1995; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b; Drachman, Kwon-Ahn, & Paulino, 1996; Hovey, 2000; Lucas, 1997) and, as such, they are often more susceptible to risky behaviours and the development of mental health issues.

2.4.1 Immigrant youth and acculturation

Adolescence is a distinct developmental phase and process of biological, psychological, and social change that distinguishes it from both childhood and adulthood. Migration takes a toll on adolescents because they may find it difficult to face the challenges associated with learning a new language, finding replacements for the friends and family they have left behind, and continuing to perform well in school. While many adjust successfully, others have difficulty meeting these new challenges (Berry, 2005; Flaherty, 1999; Lucas, 1997) and are vulnerable to mental health problems such as depression, anxiety, and addiction (Research Resource Division for Refugees, 2000). This is unfortunate because immigrant youth make up a sizeable proportion of many national populations and are one of the fastest growing demographic worldwide (Aronowitz, 1984; Passel, 2011). For example, in 1997, one out of every five children in the U.S. was reported to be the child of an immigrant (Hernandez & Charney, 1998).

Throughout the adolescent years, young people have to deal with two defining tasks of identity formation and self-worth (McMahon & Watts, 2002; Nightingale & Wolverton, 1993), both of which are shaped by contextual as well as individual factors (Crockett & Bingham, 2000; Peterson & Epstein, 1991; Schoon, Parsons, & Sacker, 2004). Additionally, young people begin to construct their own life course shaped by an ongoing negotiation amongst personal goals, hopes, and social expectations (Crockett & Bingham, 2000). In addition, they engage in important decision-making processes and identity formation about who they are (actual self) and who they hope to be in the future (ideal self). For immigrant youth, these tasks are particularly challenging because as adolescents they are not only defining themselves as individuals, but as

immigrants who are also learning what it means to be a member of a non-dominant group in Canada. Therefore, not only do they engage in the normal process of identity formation like any youth, but they must also develop an identity as a member of their own cultural group within the larger society (Berry et al., 2006b; Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chryssochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012; Phinney, 1990).

As immigrant youth age, their adaptive skills mature and they are better able to support the process of constructing a sense of self. For ethnic identity (Liebkind, 2001; McMahon & Watts, 2002; Phinney, 1990), this process can lead to constructive actions aimed at affirming the value and legitimacy of one's group membership (Brown, 2000) or to feelings of insecurity and resentment over the treatment of one's group. To negotiate the demands of this developmental phase successfully, immigrants must strike a balance between two systems—their culture and the host culture. The degree of their orientation (i.e., whether they develop a preference for the ethnic group, the national group, or a combination of the two) could impact their psychological adjustment directly (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton 1993; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharpe, 2004). Kaplan and Marks (1990) used an instrument that contained language usage and ethnic identity items to show that higher scores on these measures corresponded to higher levels of distress in Mexican-American youth; conversely, they found that higher scores on these measures corresponded to lower levels of distress in older Mexican-Americans. It has been suggested that these differences could be due to age-related differences in coping.

Georgas et al. (1996) contend that youth are less traditional in their values and are therefore more likely to shed them after immigration. In addition, Berry et al. (1992) proposed that because younger immigrants are more likely to be exposed to acculturating influences, they experience greater 'acculturative stress'. This is supported by findings from Liebkind (1996), who interviewed 159 Vietnamese and Chinese participants about their native culture, homeland, and host society and found that immigrant youth experienced a greater amount of 'acculturative stress' than adult immigrants. It is also possible that problematic acculturation in youth populations is a

function of 'intergenerational conflict', which is itself a function of the variable rates of acculturation in the family unit. When the acculturation of younger family members is expedited compared to older family members, the "the loss or strain of this primary support may place [acculturating] individuals at a higher risk for psychosocial and behavioural problems" (Khanh, Dinh, Roosa, & Lopez, 2002, p. 298). Indeed, it has been argued that "foreign-born youths experience increasing risk of substance use as they become assimilated into US society" (Gfoerer & Tan, 2003, p. 1893). This was supported in a study by Yeh et al. (2003), who used a large sample of immigrant Chinese, Korean, and Japanese high school students to demonstrate that moving to a new culture can have a harmful impact on the coping system of immigrant youth and consequently on their mental health and addiction status. Lara, Gamboa, Kahramanian, Morales, and Hayes Bautista (2005) examined the relationship between acculturative stress and drug use among Hispanic youth and confirmed this connection across many demographic variables, such as gender and age. These findings raise concern because according to a report by the Research Resource Division for Refugees (2000), it was found that there are "different levels of comfort among different groups regarding mental health as a treatable disorder" (p.19), meaning that mental health issues frequently go untreated in immigrant youth and for longer periods of time, which compounds the negative effects of acculturation.

Immigrant youth learn their cultural values and practices through the process of socialisation at home or in the community. Immigrant families from the Eastern tradition typically emphasise the spirit of interdependence (Fuligni, 1998; Phinney et al., 2000). This teaching focuses on factors such as the expectation of mutual support within the family. However, as these adolescent immigrants grow, they face pressure for greater autonomy from their Western peers who offer alternative models of interaction based on the spirit of independence. Although a strong sense of connection to the family may benefit immigrant youth by giving them clear roles and a sense of direction (Fuligni, 1998), striving to establish autonomy in their own lives may conflict with their parents, who are often less willing to give them the autonomy that they seek. These conflicts, therefore, are a direct result of intergenerational discrepancies in value orientations

brought about by different rates of acculturation within the family (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). This conflict often escalates when immigrant youth begin to form intimate relationships with members of other cultural groups (Berry et al., 2006a). When immigrant youth start to establish such relationships, pressures from parents and peers put significant stress on these youth that challenges successful adaptation.

In these contexts, immigrant youth face tough decisions, such as whether to accept the expectations imposed on them by their parents to retain the values and behaviours of their native culture or to adopt the values and behaviours of their host culture. In addition to these challenges, another area where immigrant youth feel the pressure of a cultural tug-of-war is at school. They may face language barriers, which can negatively impact their self-esteem and social adaptation. They may also feel the impact of their parents' unfamiliarity with the school system and their high expectations in terms of academic achievement, which may be difficult to achieve immediately upon settlement into a new country (Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009). These tough situations often tax the coping skills of immigrant youth, making them vulnerable to maladaptation and mental health issues (Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006; Yeh et al., 2003), though studies have consistently shown that a multicultural orientation in schools fosters better academic performance (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

The current state of knowledge on the role of acculturation in successful adaptation among immigrant youth is contradictory at best (Same, 2000). While some studies have concluded that immigrant youth successfully adapt (e.g., Fuligni, 1998; Kao & Tienda, 2005), most studies report that immigrant youth poorly adapt when they immigrate to a new country with their parents (Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004). This disagreement may be related to the impact that differing developmental pathways have on immigrant youth. Another explanation of such discrepancies could be attributed to the use of less rigorous research methodologies in some of these studies (Aronowitz, 1984). Although one could suggest that psychological problems are not unique to immigrant youth, the experience of migration and culture change could amplify normal developmental stressors and lead to maladaptation.

Learning how to balance the cultural tug-of-war between home, friends, and school that is inherent in this identity formation process is painful (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). Many youth who are unable to cope with this stress experience emotional difficulties (Bozorgmehr & Sabagh, 1988; Hovey, 2000; Igoa, 1998; Jalali, 1996; Pawliuk et al., 1996; Sam et al., 2006; Segel, 1996); become socially and economically marginalised (Berry, 2005; Williams & Berry, 1991); succumb to alcohol, drug, and gambling addictions; show poor academic performance or drop out of school prematurely; and are often involved in criminal behaviour (Schwartz et al., 2006). For example, a number of studies have shown that immigrants in general, and immigrant youth in particular, turn to alcohol and drugs as a way of dealing with the stress of moving to a different culture (Gfoerer and Tan, 2003). Several studies have also shown that substance use and risky behaviour among immigrant youth is greater than it is in their country of origin (Caetano & Medina-Mora, 1986; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Kar, 1999). In addition to addiction and risky behaviour, the unemployment rates among dropouts that come from ethnic backgrounds—those without qualifications or with lower qualifications—have been increasing since the late 1990s (OECD, 2003). Some researchers suggested that ethnic youth are even less likely to find stable, well-paying jobs (Heath & Cheung, 2007).

Devising evidence-based prevention and treatment strategies for youth is difficult because the acculturation literature is largely focused on adult populations (e.g., Berry, 1997), although interest in immigrant adolescents is slowly increasing (e.g., Fuligni, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). All four named orientations toward acculturation (*assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, and *marginalisation*) have been conceptualised using adult populations and researchers examining migration studies tend to overlook or underestimate the diversity of acculturation approaches, strategies, and experiences among immigrant youth. Indeed, cross-cultural and developmental researchers are only beginning to develop their own comparative research programs by examining the varying fates of ethnic youth across various ethnic contexts.

Acculturation attitudes of immigrant youth are influenced largely by their families and communities. They develop their attitudes about various cultures from their family and friends, but they are also influenced by the kinds of friends they prefer, by their level of motivation to learn a new language, and by the extent to which they follow their own culture or the culture of the host society. In addition, their preferences and orientations are shaped by factors such as the type of neighbourhood they are residing in, the quality of their personal interactions within the host culture, or personal characteristics such as gender. For most immigrant youth, however, school is the most frequent source of intercultural contact. Thus, school adjustment may be considered an important target for intervention and prevention strategies because school can provide an avenue for participation and mobility within the host society.

Although there is substantial research focusing on the school performance of ethnocultural youth (e.g., Georgiades, Boyle, & Duku, 2007; Yeh et al., 2003), relatively little empirical data is available on the school adaptation of immigrant students. Fuligni (1998a) concluded that children from immigrant families show a relatively high level of adaptation and he attributed this finding to immigrant families' emphasis on the value of education and the dynamics of cultural identification. In Israel, Slonim-Nevo and Sharaga (2000) found no differences in the school functioning of high school immigrants who emigrated from the former Soviet Union compared to Israeli-born children whose parents emigrated from the Soviet Union during the 1960s and 1970s. These results, however, do not seem to characterise all immigrant groups in all countries. Results from a large-scale study of second-generation American immigrants showed substantial variations among groups with respect to both education achievement and its predictors, though youth who performed the best in school generally came from ethnic groups that were better integrated into American society (Portes, 1999). Studies also suggest that immigrants' academic achievement was influenced not only by factors such as perceived social support and age, but also by their level of second language mastery (Leung, 2001). In addition, Liebkind (1996a) has suggested that the effect of age on acculturation is moderated by gender; she suggests that older immigrant women have

typically been seen as carriers of their culture, and are thus more likely to remain at home in order to maintain traditional practices.

On the other hand, immigrant female youth (particularly those from cultures that restrict women) may identify with Western values that allow women greater freedoms. Consequently, these differences may cause stresses within the family and have a negative effect on their adaptation.

2.4.1.1 Immigrant youth and problem gambling

Gambling is yet another problem facing immigrant youth. Despite a growing awareness of the seriousness of problem gambling among young people, especially ethnic minority youth, research concerning the impact of gambling on this population is scant (Dickson, Derevensky, & Gupta, 2004; Shaffer, LaBrie, Scanlan, & Cummings, 1994; Toronto District Health Council, 1998). Yet, according to some researchers, more youth are gambling now than ever before (Messerlian & Derevensky, 2005; Shaffer et al., 2004). It has been reported that young people believe that they need money and that gambling will provide it; these young gamblers have more faith in their ability to manipulate chance and to 'beat the system' (Moore & Ohtsuka, 1999). The majority of youth gamble (Messerlian & Derevensky, 2005; Nower, Derevensky, & Gupta, 2004); adolescents commonly gamble at least once prior to the age of 15 (Messerlian & Derevensky, 2005). Adolescent gamblers generally prefer cards, bingo, games of personal skill, sports teams, and lottery tickets with pull or scratch tabs (Messerlian & Derevensky, 2005; Winters et al., 1993). Despite organised gambling activities being illegal for adolescents, gambling remains a popular recreation outlet for youth (Winters et al., 1993). Because adult pathological gambling is viewed as a progressive clinical condition, adolescent problem gamblers may be the most vulnerable group to develop a problem gambling condition. Gambling involvement and problem severity scores were found to be higher among males (Merlian & Derevensky, 2005; Turner & McDonald, 2001; Winter et al., 1993). Winters et al. (1993) and Haroon and Derevensky (2002) also showed that adolescent gambling tended to be higher among teens with poor

grades, histories of delinquency and drug abuse, and among those whose parents gamble.

2.5 GENDER AND ACCULTURATION

Acculturating women face a double jeopardy upon migration to a new country, meaning that in addition to adjusting to a new society and going through the acculturation process, they must also navigate what it means to be a woman in their new society, while simultaneously conforming to the expectations of their old culture (Steinberg, 2014). According to Hannassab (1991), acculturated females tend to behave more liberally than their non-acculturated counterparts. This can create significant conflict within the family environment. Although the issue of gender roles has been the focus of study for many decades, only recently has this interest begun to emerge in acculturation research (Schwartz & Montgomery, 2006). Gender roles play an important role in each individual's value and belief systems; with the transition to a new country, the values, beliefs, and cultural rules of the immigrant are challenged. This is more visible in those who come from traditional societies such as Iran, where conservative views towards women are widespread. This cultural belief is fuelled by the fact that the majority of women's work goes unpaid and is not legally classified as work (Ahmad, Riaz, Barata, & Stewart, 2004).

Women make up a large portion of immigrants; however, their size and presence has been largely ignored in immigration research, which has traditionally focused on men and their experiences (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009; Kofman, 2000). Even as late as the 1970s, gender classification was rarely used for the purpose of migration research (Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002). This phenomenon could be related to gender bias and the fact that many immigrant women do not occupy roles in the public arena and are therefore excluded from public discourse. However, this picture does seem to be changing.

Studies focusing on the issues immigrant women face are increasing, and since the early 1990s they have had an increased presence in the public sphere. Currently, there are over 4,000 references on female immigrants from a diversity of fields such as psychology, medicine, anthropology, economics, law, and sociology. Despite this dramatic shift in research focus, much of the research published on immigrant women is of limited utility due to methodological issues posed by small sample sizes and response bias because of the difficulty of accessing immigrant women who come from cultures where participation in the public sphere is discouraged. Consequently, many researchers have called for more attention to be given to understanding how the acculturation experience is processed along the gender divide. Some key areas where gender differences have been found are in cultural expectations, psychological orientations, and the types of coping strategies used to manage the acculturation experience (Dion & Dion, 2001; Wittebrood & Robertson, 1991).

Many studies report that male immigrants acculturate faster than female immigrants. For example, Ghafarian (1987) found that Iranian males were generally more acculturated than females, and that Iranian women tend to suffer from acculturative symptoms such as anxiety and depression more than their male counterparts due to the greater expectations to maintain cultural norms. Conversely, some studies found that women acculturate more successfully and at a faster rate than male immigrants (Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004). In other studies, it was determined that although the pace of this process is usually slower for women in many aspects of life, females tend to acculturate faster when it comes to their traditional gender roles (Abu-Rabia, 1996, 1997; Hojat et al., 2000; Phinney & Flores, 2002). For example, in a study by Tohidi (1993), views on gender roles and acculturation changed more among Iranian women than they did among their male counterparts, possibly because of differences in coping with the stress associated with the acculturation process (Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004). Compared to males, immigrant females report more positive attitudes toward integration and are more frequently represented in the integration profile. In addition, they also use the national language more often. Several studies have shown that although girls have more

psychological problems than boys, they adjust easier to school and exhibit fewer behavioural problems (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). This may be because in school both genders have an equal opportunity for exposure to the new society. Girls are likely to find school a pleasant atmosphere because they generally do better in school (e.g., McCord, 1990) and because the school atmosphere encourages gender equality, often giving them greater freedom than they experience at home. Positive attitudes toward school may further contribute to the better school adjustment of girls (Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002). Therefore, the few gender differences found among immigrant youth may reflect common developmental phenomena that are not necessarily a product of the acculturation process.

Although the current literature reveals inconsistent findings, gender differences in coping styles have been identified. Studies have found that females report more stressful life events and daily challenges by the time they reach mid-adolescence (Elgar, Arlett, & Groves, 2003), and that women manage these events by utilising social supports and *emotion-focused* coping strategies, such as relaxation and affective release (Elgar et. al, 2003). Maladaptive emotional strategies, such as drug use, are more frequently reported by girls than boys (Hampel & Petermann, 2005), as are maladaptive cognitive and behavioural strategies such as *problem-focused* coping. Although these findings appear convincing, it is important to note that some studies have failed to show significant gender differences in adolescent coping strategies, underscoring the importance for continuing research in this area (Hampel & Petermann, 2005).

Chelf and Ellis (2002) examined the coping behaviours of sexually abused and non-sexually abused college students who had completed the Survival and Coping Beliefs subscale of the Reasons for Living Inventory (RFL). Results showed no differences between men and women in coping behaviours. Though the sample size was relatively large (n=161), all participants were college students and therefore the results may not be representative of the general population. Wilson, Pritchard, and Schaffer (2004), who examined gender differences in coping styles and alcohol consumption among

college athletes, found that 'drinking to cope' was the most significant predictor of alcohol consumption among female athletes, female non-athletes, and male non-athletes. For these groups, the quantity consumed, frequency of consumption, and frequency of intoxication were significantly related to alcohol use as 'a way to feel better'. For male athletes, alcohol use depended more on social influences than on its use as a coping mechanism. The convenience sample size, however, was small. A similar study was also conducted at a small Midwestern university with a largely homogenous population. Despite concerns over the nature of the sample populations used in these studies, they both highlight the importance of examining intragroup differences when studying alcohol use as a coping mechanism. For example, most studies find that gender differences related to alcohol consumption reveal a higher prevalence and more severe consequences among men, however, Wiesbeck (2003) found that women develop negative pathological effects faster than men, are half as likely to enter treatment, and have higher levels of depression, anxiety, and guilt once in treatment.

Lukassen and Beaudet (2005) examined the prevalence of heavy alcohol dependence and consumption among Canadians aged 18 and older. Their study found that men were more likely to engage in heavy drinking; however, both sexes were equally as likely to be classified as alcohol dependent. Both men and women who were depressed were 3.6 times more likely to be classified as also being alcohol dependent. Perceived stress was the only factor that was consistently associated with the comorbidity of depression and alcohol dependence among both men and women. Torkelson and Muhonen (2004) found that for both genders, *emotion-focused* strategies such as seeking emotional support were associated with fewer health problems than strategies that focused on alcohol and drug use.

A number of research studies have also examined gender differences in coping strategies among adults in the work place and their impact on general and mental health (Schwartz & Montgomery, 2002). Research has shown that female managers often assumed responsibility for the positive emotional outcomes of all the employees

that they supervised, which may be a factor in the higher levels of stress experienced by women. When Maki et al. (2005) examined gender differences in responses to workplace stress among male and female managers they found that female managers were more likely to use alcohol as a coping mechanism in response to workplace stress. In contrast, Torkelson and Muhonen (2004) found that at the managerial level men and women used the same coping strategies for workplace stress, but that their strategies differed at the non-managerial levels. At this level, both men and women employed strategies that adhere to traditional gender roles, with men more likely to use *problem-focused* strategies and women more likely to employ *emotion-focused* strategies.

Research also reports differences among males and females with respect to gambling and substance abuse patterns. A review by Stinchfield (2002) noted that boys gambled more frequently than girls. Whilst previous studies have explained problem gambling as an issue experienced solely by men, a survey conducted by Crisp et al. (2001) revealed that 46% of problem gamblers seeking assistance were females. In addition, female gamblers were found to be older, living with family, have dependent children, and use electronic gaming machines more often than male gamblers. There also appears to be gender differences in the range of risky behaviours that pathological gamblers engage in. Martins, Tavares, Lobo, Galetti, and Gentil (2004) examined risky behaviours in 78 male and female pathological gamblers. Results show that female pathological gamblers were more likely to attempt suicide than male pathological gamblers, whereas males were more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour and alcohol abuse. The study also found that emotional distress and impulsivity were linked to risk-taking in both male and female gamblers (Martins et. al., 2004).

2.6 MOTIVATION

Motivation refers to a set of reasons why people behave as they do and occurs when a need is aroused that the individual wishes to satisfy (Maslow, 1943). Motivation is

defined as a psychological trait, driven from a neuropsychic state of readiness for mental and physical action (Allport, 1954). Originating from the Latin word *motus* (to move), *motivation* pushes us towards action and demonstrates signs of life. To look for life, we tend to look for signs of movement. *Motivation* is thus a type of movement that recognises no boundaries, triggers an interaction between two opposing forces (internal and external elements), and thereby initiates and brings about reciprocal interaction between the individual and their environment (Kuo, 2014). A distinction must be made between *motivation* that stems from internal movement and motivation that stems from external movement; internal movement consists of thoughts and emotions that are focused on the desire for a certain object or a consequence, while external movement consists of actions directed at achieving a specific result. *Motivation* can therefore be understood as a series of consecutive movements that organise, lead, and structure life.

Motivation is said to consist of three components: 1) the cognitive element related to a person's perceptions, beliefs, and expectations; 2) the affective element related to the emotional aspects of motivation; and 3) the behavioural element, referred to as an individual's action and reaction towards various social groups and settings. This action may include acceptance or rejection, distancing, and withdrawal or rejection, depending on the cultural milieu in which an individual is apart (Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, & Chein, 1954).

2.6.1 External versus internal motivation

An effort to reach a goal, as well as any action that results from this effort, can be the consequence of inner or outer elements. If the outcome results from external factors, then the *motivation* is considered *extrinsic* and the person's focus is said to be away from the self. An example of *extrinsic motivation* is the carrot and the stick scenario formulated by Kerr (1997). In this example, if a child works to get a higher mark on a subject in order to obtain the 'carrot' (e.g. spending money) and to avoid the 'stick' (e.g., being grounded), then they are responding to *extrinsic* motivators (Kuo, 2014). On the other hand, if the child is motivated to achieve a higher mark because they know it will

result in greater physical comfort and feelings of satisfaction, then the attraction to the goal and the push to act are considered *intrinsic* motivators, coming from inside the child.

Intrinsic motivations are deeper and more personal than *extrinsic motivations*. Hassen (2000) acknowledges that it is the emotional preference for a task that brings us pleasure and enjoyment. *Intrinsic motivation* arises from having “a strong emotional interest in an activity and a sense of freedom and autonomy related to it” (Haasen, 2000, p. 39). Individuals who are *intrinsically motivated* tend to exhibit affect, effort, and desire as a result of their motivation, leading to the development of short- and long-term goals (Kuo, 2014). These individuals also tend to experience and enjoy greater satisfaction when they are successful, and they are more willing to acknowledge their own successes and failures.

2.6.2 Motivation and culture

The nature of culture has long been studied and defined by many disciplines. Scarcella and Oxford (1992) were able to integrate these viewpoints from behaviourists, anthropologists, social psychologists, and cognitive anthropologists into a more comprehensive definition of culture as “observable and nonobservable behaviours, their underlying rules, the attitudes, and values suggested by these rules, and any interpretations and symbol systems used by individuals in understanding their society or another society” (p. 183).

Cultural variables are crucial to the sociocultural adaptation of immigrants because they are key elements in cultural learning and effective intercultural communication. Current literature suggests that attitudinal and motivational variables affect how successful an individual will be in learning another language (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). DeAvila and Havassy (1974) suggested that second language proficiency is the most consistent predictor of academic achievement for language minority groups. The ability to learn and use the host’s language is a key factor that influences several areas of adjustment,

including academic adjustment among immigrant students (Lin, 1992).

Key informants from the Iranian community in Toronto reported that their children suffered from academic difficulty (Dastjerdi, 2012). It was found that many immigrant youth who are experiencing academic stress were also experiencing some form of cultural-adjustment difficulty at school, putting them at an increased risk for dropping out. Indeed, in a recent study it was found that dropout rates were high among Iranian students, particularly among males in the community. This finding indicates a need to explore the factors that support or hinder second language learning among immigrant students.

Research carried out by Gardner and colleagues highlights the importance of *integrativeness* (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). *Integrativeness* refers to an individual's attitudes towards the foreign language community, respect towards other cultural groups, and a willingness to engage in social interactions with these cultural groups (Gardner & Clement, 1990). A large number of studies have demonstrated that *integrativeness* is positively correlated with motivation for second language learning (SLL), which itself is correlated with the ability of immigrants to adjust to their new lives (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). *Integrativeness* is likely mediated by intercultural contact. For example, in a study conducted by Masgoret and Gardner (2003), the role of positive attitudes towards Canadian culture were not limited to English language proficiency, but was also related to the frequency and quality of contact with English-speaking Canadians.

2.6.2.1 Motivational orientation

Many theories have attempted to define and categorise motivation style, such as drive theory, expectancy theory, and Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Higgins & Kruglanski, 2000). Perhaps the most frequently applied categorisation is the trichotomy theory developed and operationalised by McClelland (1987). This theory focused on three categories of needs: 1) the need for power; 2) the need for affiliation; and 3) the need

for achievement. According to Boneva and Frieze (2001), individuals who choose to emigrate tend to possess different motivational needs than those who choose not to emigrate. Emigrating individuals usually possess higher achievement motivation and lower affiliation motivation. For example, those with high achievement motivation may migrate in order to find better opportunities, and those with high power motivation may be more willing to take risks in order to achieve their goals.

Integrative motivation orientation is considered to be a combination of attitudinal, goal-directed, and motivational attributes. According to this line of thought, a person with an *integrative motivational orientation* is someone who is motivated to learn the second language, has a desire to identify with other cultural groups, and tends to evaluate cultural diversity more positively (Gogol, Brunner, Goetz, Preckel, & Martin, 2014). This type of *motivation* is characterised by open-mindedness, concern about being able to identify with the host culture, and a willingness to communicate with speakers of that language. Curiosity about and genuine interest in the people of the host culture characterises *integrative motivation* (Gardner & Smyth, 1975; Lamb, 2004). While one's level of *integrative motivation* and their attitudes towards cultural diversity are viewed as two cofactors supporting cultural learning, it is *motivation* itself that is primarily responsible for cultural adjustment. In another words, a person with high levels of *integrative motivation* or with positive attitudes toward the cultural group will not exhibit high learning achievement unless it is coupled with a strong *motivation* to learn the host culture's language.

In contrast, *instrumental motivational orientation* is generally described as the willingness or desire to gain something practical from a task, such as the study of a second language (Hudson 2000; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). With *instrumental motivation*, the purpose of language acquisition is more utilitarian in nature, such as meeting the requirements for university graduation, applying for a job, requesting higher pay, reading technical or sophisticated material, or gaining higher social status (Gogol et al., 2014). *Instrumental motivation* is a characteristic of the type of cultural learning that takes place among immigrant communities with little or no desire or opportunities

for social integration with the host community.

Gardner and Lambert (1959) were the first to propose a distinction between *integrative* and *instrumental motivation*. According to these Canadian educational psychologists, second language learning (SLL) entails more than merely wanting to learn a new set of linguistic skills. They suggested that it involves having positive feeling toward the target language group and a desire to gain a general set of behavioural patterns of another linguistic and cultural community. *Instrumental orientation* stems from pragmatic or utilitarian reasons for learning a second language, while *integrative orientation* stems from 'social-emotional' contact with the target community.

2.6.2.2 Motivational orientation and second language learning (SLL)

Language learning strategies are defined as “specific actions or techniques that students use, often intentionally, to improve their progress in developing L2 skills” (Green & Oxford, 1995, p. 266). This implies that motivated individuals develop ways to promote further cultural learning in this process (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993b; Oxford, 2003; Oxford & Nyikos, 1989; Oxford & Shearin, 1996). As SLL research bears strong similarities to cultural studies in general within the context of acculturation, drawing from SLL literature can help us understand the role of motivation in cultural learning. Research in this area has shown that one’s confidence in using a second language is a good indicator of success in second language proficiency (Clement, 1980; Clement, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003; Clement, Dornyei & Noels, 1994). These studies have also revealed that an important predictor of language motivation and success is related to the goal of achieving effective intercultural interactions (MacIntyre, Dornyei, Clement, & Noel, 1998; Rubinfeld, Clement, Lussier, Lebrun, & Auger, 2006).

The evidence appears to be mixed concerning which type of motivation is more conducive to second language acquisition; however, in most cases *integrative motivation* has been shown to have a positive impact on SLL (Engin, 2009; Gardner, 1990; Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, & Mihic, 2004; Tucker, Hamayan, & Genesee,

1976). Gilksman (1982), who studied 149 Grade nine, ten, and eleven students who were enrolled in French classes in Southwestern Ontario secondary schools, hypothesised that the quality, activity, and affect displayed in SLL would be different for students with high levels of *integrative motivation* than those with low levels of *integrative motivation*. An adapted version of the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) classified the students as being either *integratively* or *nonintegratively motivated* individuals. These findings indicated that students with high *integrative motivation* had the tendency to volunteer more by raising their hands, giving more correct answers, and were rated as being more satisfied with their learning experience. Gilksman concluded that *integratively motivated* learners were successful because they were more active learners.

In a few cases, however, *instrumental motivation* was found to be the primary predictor of second language proficiency. Lukmani (1972) studied 60 Marathi-speaking female high school students in India who desired to learn English for *instrumental* reasons, yet were not interested in learning about Western culture. From the student's perspective, the English language symbolised modernity and a better standard of living. According to Lukmani, the students' *instrumental motivation* scores correlated significantly with English proficiency scores. In other cases, however, the results were culture-dependent. There is a basic principle offered by cross-cultural psychology that suggests that human behaviour develops and is manifested in the context of culture and, as such, can influence human behaviour and learning in its own unique way. For example, two American studies, one with Chinese graduate students in the Southwestern United States (Oller, Hudson & Liu, 1977, p.1), and the other with female Mexican-American students at a Job Corps vocational school in New Mexico (Oller, Baca, & Vigil, 1977, p.1), used similar instruments to test English language proficiency, reasons for learning English, and attitudes toward American people and culture. Students in both studies had high *instrumental* orientations towards learning English, such as obtaining a university degree or making themselves more competitive in the job market. Chinese students showed a more *integrative* orientation towards American culture than did Mexican-American students. Mexican-Americans who rated their

culture as better than Anglo-American culture achieved higher grades on the English as a second language proficiency test than Mexican-Americans who rated their culture lower than Anglo-American culture. This result differed significantly from results reported from Chinese graduate students, who did better on the English proficiency test when they rated Anglo-American culture more positively than their own culture. These results suggest that further investigation into the cross-cultural effects of motivational orientation are needed in order to better understand what types of attitudes influence SLL.

2.6.2.3 Additional factors for second language learning (SLL)

Although *motivational orientation* is a key determinant of success in SLL, it is also important to consider the degree to which the individual acculturates to the host culture. This acculturation serves as a remote cause for bringing the learner into a close interaction with the target cultural group, eventually leading to language acquisition. Schumann (as cited in Lalleman, 1987) suggested that acculturation acts as a major causal factor in spontaneous second language acquisition. In response to this suggestion, Lalleman (1987) explored the linkage between acculturation and second language acquisition in the classroom setting rather than the spontaneous situation. In a sample of 18 Turkish immigrant students (ages eight and nine) who grew up in the Netherlands, he examined three variables: 1) students' social position (i.e., social contact); 2) cultural position (i.e., cultural norms and values that link them to their home country); and 3) psychological position (i.e., attitudes towards Dutch language and culture). Although Lalleman did not find that acculturation was the major cause of SLL in the classroom, most students in his study appeared to display an *integrative motivational orientation* towards the Dutch community that allowed them to keep their Turkish cultural values.

In another model, Gardner (1983) summarised his empirical research findings in the area of English as an SLL situation in Canada, where English and French are official languages. He proposed a socio-educational model with four major constructs: (1)

cultural beliefs resulting from a social milieu; (2) *integrative motivation*; (3) formal and informal learning situations; and (4) linguistic and nonlinguistic outcomes. These constructs were causally linked, based on empirical and theoretical grounds.

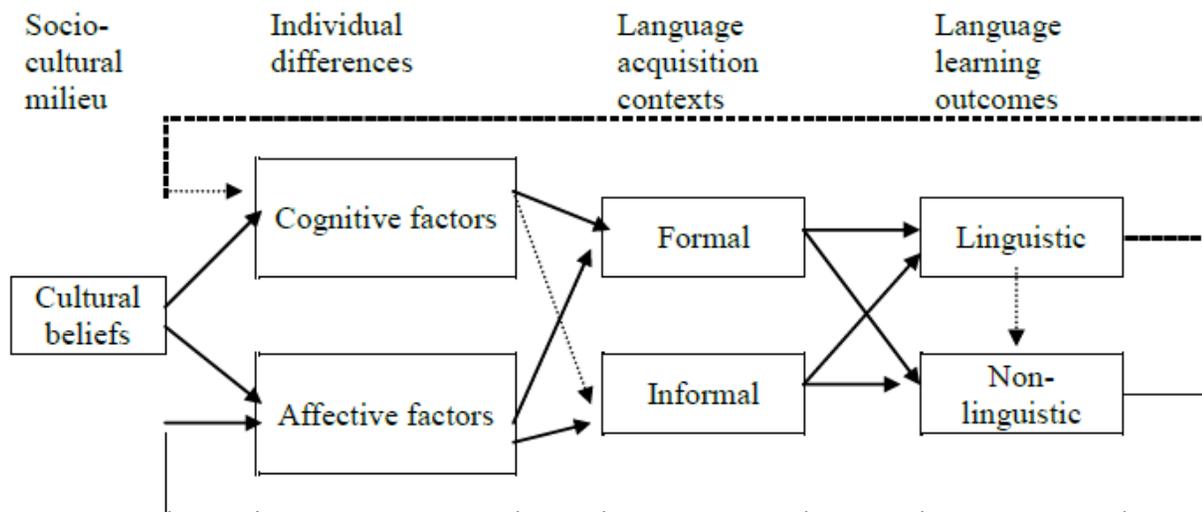


Figure 2.1 Socioeducational Model of Second Language Acquisition (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1992).

In addition to motivational factors and level of acculturation, research in the area of SLL has also revealed that the choice of strategies varies by gender (Ehrman, Leaver, & Oxford, 2003; El-Dib, 2004). Research suggests that females tend to use a greater variety of strategies than males (Hong-Nam & Leavell, 2006; Peacock & Ho, 2003), and that the choice of specific strategies might be related to gender-specific motivational orientations (El-Dib, 2004). For example, Oxford and colleagues found that females scored higher than males on ‘integrative motivation and personal use’ factors, but not on ‘instrumental and general motivational’ factors. Schmitz (1996) also found that males had more externally defined reasons for studying English (both *instrumental* and *integrative*), while females were more motivated by internal goals and rewards. These gender differences could be attributed to gender-related differences in learning styles, as well as motivation, attitudes, and the choice of language learning strategies used by the immigrant (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1992, 1993b; Green & Oxford, 1995; MacIntyre, 1994a; Zangeneh, Sadeghi & Sharp, 2004).

In a study of Arab student attitudes towards Canadian society, Abu-Rabia (1997) claimed that male Arab students were *instrumentally* oriented toward English and Western culture, but did not emotionally identify with Canadian society. In contrast, female Arab students felt emotional support for, and identification with, Canadian society. According to Abu-Rabia (1997), the *integrative* attitude of female Arab students in Canada had a positive impact on their SLL. As a result, they were more likely than their male counterparts, who had more negative attitudes towards Canadian society, to adopt the English language and Canadian culture. This finding may question Berry's suggestion that immigrant females experience more stress. Abu-Rabia (1996) argued that this difference could be attributed to the lower status of women in their countries of origin, and that identification with Canadian language and society may be a sign of rebellion against conservative expectations.

Muchnick and Wolfe (1982) also found that females, regardless of factors such as level of difficulty or performance in Spanish language classes, had significantly higher scores on Spanish language acquisition tests. Burstall (1975) conducted a longitudinal study with primary school children to examine the effects of variables such as gender, age, and socioeconomic status on their French language learning ability. She found that females achieved significantly higher scores than the boys on all tests measuring achievement in French. The attitudes of females towards learning French were also found to be consistently more favourable than boys. Research has also shown that girls generally have more favourable attitudes towards school and value education and self-knowledge more than boys (Bassi, Steca, Delle Fave, & Caprara, 2007).

A common thread within the reviewed literature suggests an important relationship and possible relationship among gender, *motivational orientation*, and post-immigration adjustment. Research to examine these relationships concurrently is lacking.

2.7 CHAPTER TWO SYNTHESIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter offered a review of literature and examined the existing knowledge on the concept of *acculturation* and its role in problem behaviour among adolescent youth in general and Iranian adolescent immigrants specifically. Additionally, this chapter examined the literature on the role of gender and *motivational orientations* as these relate to *acculturation* and problem behaviour.

Much of the available evidence on gender differences within ethnic groups is quite diverse, and the findings about acculturation success or failure and gender are mixed and largely inconclusive.

Furthermore, the existing knowledge on gender differences and motivational orientation lack definitive evidence. The current literature also offers a contradictory result on the association of gender and problem behaviour. While there are very few empirical studies that examined the relation between *motivational orientations* and problem behaviours, findings from the motivational literature on SLL consistently suggest that *integrative motivation* is associated with positive outcomes while an *instrumental motivational orientation* was significantly positively correlated with lower academic success and increased risky behaviours. Further, some of the current empirical evidence suggests that behavioural problems are common among individuals who poorly acculturate.

With regards to immigrant youth, the current state of knowledge on the role of acculturation in successful adaptation among immigrant adolescents is contradictory at best. While some studies have concluded that immigrant youth successfully adapt, most studies report that immigrant youth poorly adapt when they immigrate to a new country with their parents.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER THREE

This chapter is divided into two main sections: methodology and research methods. In the methodology section, this chapter begins with an introduction to the methodological challenges and then discusses the concepts of *explanation*, *causal analysis*, *research types*, and *practical adequacy*. In the research methods section, the following sections will be introduced and described: Variables including dependent variables: risky behaviour (illicit substance use, and gambling behaviour) and independent variables (*motivational orientation*, *acculturation* level, gender), research design, research questions, hypotheses, study design, participants, sampling, recruitment steps, instrumentation, data collection and coding procedures, data analysis, ethical consideration including informed consent, method of gaining consent, risks and benefits, value to society, privacy, data storage, data disposal, compensation, withdrawal procedures, participant feedback, dissemination of results, and conflict of interest. This chapter ends with a summary.

3.2 METHODOLOGY

3.2.1 Introduction

The breadth, scope, and diversity of theoretical and conceptual foundations of the *acculturation* perspective create enormous ontological, epistemological, and methodological challenges for empirical research. Moulding reliable knowledge into an explanation of the relationship between cultural transition and health that bridges the gap between abstract and concrete dimensions of understanding while dealing with the indefinite way that social meanings are constructed is a major challenge.

The theoretical foundations of this thesis have underscored the complexity and multiplicity of factors that shape successful integration and healthy coping. These factors could account for a relationship between motivational orientation and acculturation success. This theoretical framework postulates serious methodological challenges for empirical research. If empirical examination of these factors does not yield an association between motivation and acculturation, should we conclude that an association does not exist?

This chapter attempts to discuss several important issues regarding the way research is conducted in the social scientific field. It also addresses how knowledge is acquired and shaped, and details the relationship between empirical work, theory, and methodology. Although there is growing interest, established methodological norms in cultural and educational research do not examine or address assumptions. Nevertheless, the complexity of the issues implicated in immigration and education research call for consideration of what is meant by 'explanation', 'theory', and their relationship to the existing literature. The discussion that follows is informed by a broader discussion within scientific realism: the rejection of the positivist premise that prediction of events or patterns follows a similar process as explanation of the same events or patterns, and it follows that it is a scientific necessity that a research explains an event or pattern through its prediction (Sayer 1992), which is evident in each objective explored in the study and how that has impacted the theoretical and/or empirical research used (Bhaskar 1975, 1979a, 1979b; Pawson 2006 ; Sayer 1992, 1993). It also sets the stage for a description of the methodology of the present research.

The past three decades have revealed a theoretical shift in cultural psychology, characterised by the emergence and ultimately the widespread recognition of an alternative philosophical orientation to scientific explanation, post-positivist approaches. This trend has peaked in the past decade or so with the infiltration of poststructuralist thought into contemporary cultural psychology, establishing a provision for a rich body

of knowledge to emerge. This trend has also brought a sense of perplexity about the objective nature of social scientific research. In the research reported here, scientific realism influences the approach used to address the objectives of this thesis.

3.2.2 Explanation

According to the realist approach to social scientific research, patterns and laws that regulate them are not necessary conditions to identify and govern *cause and effect* phenomena. In fact, in the realm of social science regularities of patterning are not common. Where regularities are reported in the social sciences, they “do not approach the universality and precision of those available to physicists and astronomers” (Sayer 1992, p. 124). To observe regularity of patterning and for mechanisms to operate consistently, there must be absolutely no variation in the object possessing the causal powers. This phenomenon is coined by Bhaskar (1979) as the “intrinsic condition for closure” (Sayer, 1992, p. 124). Since humans have the capacity to change, the notion of patterns and the regularity of patterning condition is hardly relevant in the social sciences. Further, Sayer argued:

The relationship between the causal mechanism and those of its external conditions which make some reference to its operation and effects must be constant if the outcome is to be regarded (the extrinsic condition for closure).... Most systems we encounter violate these conditions in some way and therefore any regularities they produce are at best approximate and short-lived; these are open systems. (p. 122)

To move forward in the field of cultural psychology and acculturation research, it is imperative to emphasise the fundamental point that regularity of patterning of events, be it regular or irregular, are rare in the social sciences, and they must be supported by reference to what shapes them. The observation of gender-differentiated acculturation is the foundation of the cultural psychology framework and, to date, there have been few efforts to challenge this premise. Studies that operate based on positivistic

assumptions would call for more research as they expect to find a 'pattern' to 'explain' the relation between gender and *acculturation*. On the other hand, from the realist view, this relationship is not explained through patterning regularities or irregularities; rather it needs to be explained with reference to mechanisms that are believed to be responsible for producing them, which Sayer (1992) calls causal powers and liabilities.

3.2.3 Causal analysis

To "ask for the cause of something," argues Sayer, "is to ask what makes it happen, what 'produces', 'generates', 'creates', or 'determines' it, or, more weakly, what 'enables', or 'leads to' it" (1992, p. 104). Although Sayer argued that such analogies for describing *cause and effect* are not adequate for scientific explanation, researchers who adhere to the realist view believe that "causality concerns not a relationship between discrete events," but "their ways-of-acting or '*mechanism*'" (Sayer 1992, pp. 104-5, emphasis in original). People have causal power, for example, to be able to migrate away from their birthplace and immigrate to a new country; and they have causal liabilities, for example, to be susceptible to cultural knowledge, rituals, and behaviours. Sayer further argued that "causal powers inhere not simply in single objects or individuals, but in the social relations and structures which they form" (p. 105).

If causation is a matter of causal powers and liabilities rather than a matter of patterns, we conclude that "powers and liabilities can exist whether or not they are ... exercised or suffered; unemployed workers have the power to work even though they are not doing so now" (Sayer 1992, p. 105). The conclusion is that "a causal claim is not about a regularity between separate things or events but about what an object is like and what it can do and only derivatively what it will do in any particular situation" (p. 105).

It is logical to argue, therefore, that causal analysis is not simply a matter of a phenomena altering understanding in some form; it is about the factor(s) that allows it (them) to do this. It is often the case that we know little about the factors responsible for occurrences or events (Sayer 1992). On the other hand, we have the knowledge of

how the electrical conductivity of neurons works. We know that this conductivity is facilitated through the exchange of negative and positive ions. The mechanism for this process was identified by Luigi Galvani (1737-1798) and his explanation has been accepted to be 'practically adequate' for most purposes (Sayer 1992). Sayer refers to this as a "mode of inference [in which] events are explained by hypothesising and identifying mechanisms which are capable of producing them is considered 'retroduction'" (Sayer 1992, p. 107).

Also important is the relationship of causal mechanisms:

Processes of change usually involve several causal mechanisms which may be only contingently related to one another. Not surprisingly then, depending on conditions, the operation of the same mechanism can produce quite different results and, alternatively, different mechanisms may produce the same empirical result. At one level this seems unexceptional, although it does not rest easily with the orthodox view of causation in terms of regular associations. (Sayer 1992, p. 108)

As the examination of the influences of psychological and social factors on acculturation at the individual and group levels involves a wide diversity of factors and relations, it is going to be a challenging process that will disprove traditional ideas of 'proof'. To address this difficult task, it is imperative to identify causal powers and liabilities, as suggested by Sayer, of a varying range of factors and relations and their combined interfaces. This research is an initial step to address this issue.

3.2.4 Types of research

Can we reduce the explanation of events and occurrences to some statistical association? Can we predict any outcome based on patterns? If the answer is no to both questions, then what is the alternative? Sayer argues:

[C]ausal analysis is usually closely tied to abstraction and structural analysis and hence explanation to description" of how events and objects are related and

interact ... [T]he discovery of empirical regularities may draw attention to objects whose causal powers might be responsible for the pattern and to conditions which are necessary for their existence and activation. But in order to confirm these, qualitative information is needed on the nature of objects involved and not merely more quantitative data on empirical associations. (Sayer 1992, p. 114)

In fact, it is common in social science research to use methods to differentiate between common factors that are associated with an occurrence and predict what could cause it. The challenge with this approach is that it neglects to account for the mechanism that explains the processes responsible for the occurrence, which can lead to reductionist and misleading conclusions. Sayer's solution is to identify any mechanism that could describe the underlying processes. Sayer further argued that the mechanism can be identified through 'retroduction' or 'abstraction', ultimately formulating a hypothesis.

How the term 'abstract' is used in research is quite different than how it is utilised colloquially. The term 'abstract' is often used colloquially to mean 'vague' or removed from reality. In research, according to Sayer:

[A]n abstract concept, or an abstraction, isolates in thought a *one-sided* or partial aspect of an object. What we abstract from are the many other aspects which together constitute concrete objects such as people, economies, nations, institutions, activities and so on. (1992, p. 87)

The reason why scientific researchers approach the concept of abstract differently from how it is approached in common language is simply due to how research views things from its unique worldview, which professes that 'abstract' concepts do not need not to be vague. Examples to support this point include elements such as gender that are very precise. Of human existence, and display a certain degree of practical adequacy for explaining it. Whereas, the concept of 'concrete objects':

[D]oes not merely concern 'whatever exists' but draws attention to the fact that objects are usually constituted by a combination of diverse elements or forces

[that] might be isolated in thought by means of abstraction, as a first step towards conceptualizing their combined effect. (Sayer, 1992, p. 87)

As a result, understanding concrete events or objects;

[I]nvolves a double movement: concrete => abstract, abstract => concrete. At the outset our concepts of concrete objects are likely to be superficial or chaotic. In order to understand their diverse determinations we must first abstract them systematically. When each of the abstracted *aspects* has then examined it is possible to combine the abstractions so as to form concepts, which *grasp* the concreteness of their objects. (Sayer 1992, p. 87, emphasis in original)

How we engage in abstraction or grasp concreteness forms the basis for our research and how we understand the relationship between events and mechanisms explaining the relationship between those two events. Positivist conventional empirical research operates only at the level of empirical events, seeking to identify patterns and make generalisations. While the abstract research “deals with the constitution and possible ways of acting of social objects” (Sayer 1992, p. 236), concrete research attempts to relate reproductions to their specific referents. However, it is fair to ask a final question on concerns related to methodology. The burning question centres on the criteria and intention of social science. What criteria do we use to evaluate the results of social science and what do their objectives tend to serve?

3.2.5 Practical adequacy

Realism provides an authoritative perspective on the question of evaluative criteria and intention through an alternative idea of ‘practical adequacy’. This notion is used to substitute the traditional concept of ‘truth’, *ontology*. To be practically adequate, argues Sayer, “knowledge must generate expectations about the world and about the results of our actions which are actually realized and it must be intersubjectively intelligible and acceptable in the case of linguistically expressed knowledge” (Sayer 1992, p. 69). Sayer argues that the adequacy of knowledge must be examined for its ability to guide

practice in a fashion that is responsive to context. Furthermore, to “acknowledge that a theory ‘works’ or has some *practical adequacy* in a particular context is not to suppose that every one of its constituent elements is ‘true’ or practically adequate” (Sayer 1992, p. 78). It implies that our knowledge of events or phenomena can be unevenly developed, yet still be considered as practically adequate (Sayer 1992).

Accordingly, the concept of *practical adequacy* crosses the boundaries of orthodox notions of truth and “giv(es) the impression that to hold such false beliefs is necessarily to know nothing and hence to be able to do nothing” (Sayer 1992, p. 78). In fact, the purpose and ability to use knowledge to inform practice is an important objective of social science. Sayer suggests:

[S]ocial science must stand in a critical as well as an explanatory and interpretive relationship to its object and to common- sense knowledge... Social science should not be seen as developing an accumulation of layers of knowledge about an object which is positioned external to us, instead, its purpose is to develop a critical self-awareness in people as subjects and help them in their own process of change. It enables this through two ways: by reminding that the social world is socially constructed and encouraging self-development by bringing to light formerly unrecognized structural *constraints*. (Sayer 1992, pp. 41-2, emphasis in original)

Accepting the world as neutral is highly problematic as it *naturalises* social phenomena and reinforces ‘common sense’. Sayer argues:

[A] social science which builds critically on common sense, and reproduces these errors, may, at a superficial level appear to produce correct results. On the other hand, from the standpoint of common sense, which takes its knowledge to be self-evident and beyond challenge, the knowledge produced by critical theories ...will appear to be false because it *conflicts* with what it judges to be the case (‘an affront to common sense!’). Yet such theories aim not just to present an alternative or to reduce the illusions inherent in social understanding but to represent and explain what actually exists as authentically as possible. (Sayer

1992, p. 43, emphasis in original)

Indeed, the above points highlight the problem with preliminary formulations of the cultural psychology perspective, which was strongly dependent on unexamined, common sense understandings of the nature of cultures and societies.

The likelihood for a richer theoretical treatment of *acculturation* in cultural psychology depends on the development of not just an alternative ‘theory’, but also to represent and explain what actually exists in a genuine fashion that offers some new possibility for change in explanatory practices that lead to deferential *acculturation* processes.

From this viewpoint, “it becomes possible to see how knowledge can simultaneously be not only explanatory and descriptive but also evaluative, critical and emancipatory” (Sayer 1992, p. 43), where society’s objective world and its self-reflection are interdependent, and insights have the potential to be successfully translated into practice. Obviously, this challenges the future progress of cultural psychology.

This current thesis research is generally speaking an example of the realist approach, but its range is limited. There are certain areas of the conceptual model that are not addressed by the data collected, and other areas are either addressed by secondary reports of other investigations or addressed by the abstraction of the causal powers and liabilities of the objects under study. The enormous task ahead is to combine them, as this challenging process would require a meticulous examination of the *strength* of evidence and the clarity of theoretical views on the structures and mechanisms of any phenomenon.

3.3 RESEARCH METHOD

In this section, study variables, research design, research questions, hypotheses, study design, participants, sampling, recruitment steps, instrumentation, data collection and coding procedures, data analysis, and ethical considerations are described.

3.3.1 Dependent variables: Risky behaviour

Although many forms of risky behaviour exist, this study will focus on alcohol and other drug use, and gambling behaviour, as listed below. These risky behaviours have been extensively studied among the Ontario student population, which provides an important benchmark for comparing and validating the proposed research findings.

3.3.1.1 Alcohol and drug use

Frequency of drinking alcohol in the past year

Frequency of heavy drinking in the past year

Frequency of drinking alcohol in the past month

Frequency of heavy drinking in the past month

Frequency of illicit drug use in the past year

Adolescent alcohol and substance abuse as measured by CRAAFT

3.3.1.2 Gambling

Frequency of gambling activities in the past year

Problem gambling as measured by South Oaks Gambling Screen – Revised for Adolescents (SOGS-RA)

3.3.2 Independent variables

3.3.2.1 Motivational orientation

Instrumental motivation

Integrative motivation

3.3.2.2 Acculturation level

3.3.2.3 Gender

3.3.3 Research design

This section of the research methods deals with the approach that was taken to incorporate the different parts of the study in a sound and rational fashion. The goal was to ensure that the research problem is addressed effectively.

3.3.4 Research questions

The questions for the research in regards to the stated problem are as follows:

1. Are higher levels of instrumental motivation associated with problem behaviours?
2. Is difficulty with acculturation or assimilation associated with higher levels of problem behaviours?
3. As previous studies suggest, do males possess a gain-oriented (*instrumental*) motivational orientation and females possess a goal-oriented (*integrative*) motivational orientation, which is more beneficial during the assimilation process?
4. As previous studies suggest, do males display lower levels of *acculturation*?
5. Do males engage in risky behaviours due to lower levels of *acculturation* and higher levels of *instrumental motivation*?

3.3.5 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be tested:

H₁:

Higher levels of *instrumental motivation* are positively associated with higher levels of risky behaviours such as illicit drug use, alcohol use, and gambling behaviour. Therefore, given that *instrumental motivation* is an intrinsic motivational act solely expressed for an ultimate potential gain and is associated to impediments in the assimilation process, it is assumed that gain-stricken behaviour is associated with problematic behaviours.

H₂:

Lower levels of *acculturation* are positively associated with higher levels of risky behaviours such as illicit substance use, and gambling behaviour. Therefore, if an individual or group has difficulties in the acculturation or assimilation process also associated with lowered *integrative* motivation, it is assumed the individual and/or group is more likely to engage in risky behaviours.

H₃:

Males possess *instrumental* motivational orientation while females possess *integrative* motivational orientation. Therefore, males possess a higher gain-oriented motivational orientation, whereas females possess a higher goal-oriented motivational orientation, which studies demonstrate is ultimately more beneficial to the individual and/or group during the assimilation process.

H₄:

Males will display lower levels of *acculturation*. Therefore, males will display lower levels of *integrative* motivation.

H₅:

Males will display higher levels of risky behaviours such as illicit substance use, and gambling behaviour. Therefore, due to the assumptions listed above, data may show that males will predominantly engage in risky behaviours due to lower levels of acculturation and higher levels of instrumental motivation.

3.3.6 Study design

Given the exploratory nature of the proposed research, a cross-sectional research design was employed. Cross-sectional studies are frequently used to describe the extent of outcome variables in regard to person, place and time. Results from cross-sectional studies are, therefore, considered descriptive but sufficient to establish associations between variables such as *motivational orientations* and *acculturation* with risky behaviour. However, because the variables of interest are being collected at the same time, cross-sectional research cannot prove causality.

3.3.7 Participants

The target population for the proposed research consisted of a sample of individuals meeting all of the following inclusion criteria:

1. Participant was born in Iran;
2. Participant has recently immigrated to Canada from Iran 2–8 years ago; and
3. Participant is currently attending a Toronto high school, enrolled in Grades 10, 11, or 12 (ages 15 to 18).

The decision regarding the period of residency in Canada is arbitrary; however,

according to several Iranian service providers, migrating families require 6–12 months to settle and enroll their children in school. Sufficient time is required for these children to learn basic English.

3.3.7.1 Sampling

A sampling frame of individuals meeting the exclusion criteria described above does not exist and considerable resources would be required to create one. Therefore, a probability sample was not feasible or practical. Instead, other nonprobability sampling techniques that are commonly used at the exploratory or pilot stage were used. Nonprobability methods are not typically representative of the underlying population but provide a convenient and inexpensive way to obtain reasonable approximations of the truth. A combination of purposive-proportional quota sampling and snowball sampling methods were employed. In this form of sampling, the researcher uses personal judgment to select and recruit study participants (Bachman & Schutt, 2003; Curtis et al., 2000). The study participants were intentionally selected and were considered to represent the predefined population (Evans, 2007).

3.3.7.2 Sample size determination

It is estimated that 21,565 Iranians live in Toronto. Assuming that the age distribution is similar between Iranian and Torontonians in general, it is expected that there are approximately 1,500 Iranian youth between 15 and 18 years living in Toronto. With a 95% confidence level, a margin of error of 5%, and a p -value of 50%, it was estimated that 308 Iranian youth meeting the study criteria would need to be interviewed.

3.3.7.3 Recruitment steps

Recruitment flyers were posted at: Iranian Community Association of Ontario, IRCAN, ICNetwork, Toronto Iranians Group, and Iranian Women's Organization of Ontario. I liaised with these social and cultural organizations to identify sampling opportunities.

1. The subject emails or calls the researcher.
2. When the subject expresses her/his interest, s/he will be screened via phone or email. If s/he is qualified to participate in the study, then a copy of the consent form will be emailed to her/him.
3. If the subject agrees to participate, s/he will be asked to call or email the researcher to confirm her/his intention to participate.
4. The researcher will request that the subject comes to the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health.
5. Upon arrival, the subject will submit her/his completed consent form and will be briefed by the researcher.
6. The subject will then be given an online access code to complete the survey.

3.3.8 Instrumentation

For the purpose of this thesis, risky behaviour, attitude, and acculturation were operationalised through multiple indicators. The following tools and instruments were chosen for their reliability and validity; they have been used extensively. The risky behaviour measures will be derived using multiple measures and screening instruments that have been tested for reliability and validity, and have been extensively cited in peer-reviewed research.

Alcohol and drug use was assessed using the 6-item CRAAFT tool (Adlaf & Paglia-Boak, 2005). The 12-item South Oaks Gambling Screen-Revised for Adolescents (SOGS-RA) was used to screen for gambling behaviour (Adlaf & Paglia-Boak, 2005;

Poulin, Hand, Boudreau, & Santor, 2005; Wiebe & Cox, 2005;). The questions for each of these screens and the methods used to interpret and score them have been published and validated (Adlaf & Paglia-Boak, 2005; Knight, Sherritt, Shrier, Harris, & Chang, 1999) and are widely available on the Internet.

Motivational orientations and Acculturation Levels were also measured using standardised instruments. Motivational orientation was derived using an eight-item scale (Abu-Rabia, 1996), whereas acculturation level was assessed using a thirteen-item scale (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987).

The measurement instruments will now be discussed in more detail.

3.3.8.1 The CRAFFT tool

CRAFFT, a brief screening tool, is a mnemonic acronym that stands for the six areas examined in the screen, including having access to alcohol or drug while in a **car** (C), using alcohol or drugs to **relax** (R) using alcohol or drugs when **alone** (A), **f**orgetfulness as a result of drinking or drug use (F), **f**riends or **f**amily members expressing concerns about drinking or drug use (F), or getting into **t**rouble as a result of drinking or drug use (T) (Knight, Shrier, Bravender Farrell, vander-Bilt, & Shaffer, 1999). CRAFFT was constructed specifically for use among adolescents. This tool is very simple and easy to score, where each yes answer equals one point. CRAFFT, as a test battery designed to screen for drugs and alcohol with adolescents, uses questions with developmentally appropriate language. CRAFFT has displayed promising concurrent validity compared with a more lengthy scale (20 items) used among teenage patients who had used alcohol and drugs (Knight et al., 1999).

CRAFFT was originally piloted with nine questions, however later analyses determined that the above six domains adequately predicted alcohol-related problems among teenagers (Knight et al., 2002). By applying the cut-off point of two positive responses to the six given questions as a method of identifying the need for treatment, it yields a

significant sensitivity and specificity for positive identification, 92.3% and 82.1% respectively. In terms of its internal consistency, CRAFFT has shown to have a satisfactory internal consistency for all its six items (Chronbach's $\alpha = 0.68$), sensitivity of 0.80, and specificity of 0.86 when tested on a clinical sample of teenagers (Winters et al., 1993).

3.3.8.2 The South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS-RA)

The South Oaks Gambling Screen-RA (SOGS-RA) is a widely used gambling behaviour screening tool for adolescents (Winters et al., 1993). This screen was developed based on the adult version of the South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS). The SOGS-RA has 12 questions, which are framed in the past 12 months. This screen has a high content and construct validity and moderate internal consistency reliability (.80) (Winters et al., 1993). In addition, its criterion validity has also been established through various comparisons with similar measures (Volberg, 2004). It was suggested that the SOGS-RA is able to assess several distinct dimensions of gambling behaviour among teenagers (Wiebe, Cox, & Mehmel 2000).

3.3.8.3 Acculturation Attitudes Scale

The Acculturation Attitude Scale was a revised and shortened version of Kim's Acculturation scale. The original Acculturation Attitudes Scale (Kim, 1984) containing 52 items addressing 13 issues was later revised and shortened to 30 questions addressing 10 issues. The three issues that were excluded from the focus of this scale dealt with food preference and cultural identity. An example of food preference was the item "I prefer to cook/eat Canadian foods rather than my own cultural foods." The rationale behind this deletion was that preference might reflect simplicity of recipe and availability of ingredients.

The revised scale then consisted of questions that addressed the following issues: friendship, marriage, children, names, language, cultural activity, newspaper readership and TV watching, association with member of a culture, living in a particular community,

and studying the history or literature of a cultural group. These items were addressed in relation to assimilation and integration as two main styles of acculturation. An example of an assimilation question was, “Because I live in Canada, I think it is waste of time to learn about Iranian history, literature, and art.” An example of an integration question was, “It is equally important for me to have access to both Iranian and Canadian TV and newspapers.” The scale that is used in this thesis is a shortened revised version of Kim’s Acculturation Attitudes Scale. This is a self-report tool that participants use to identify with Iranian and Canadian cultures.

3.3.8.4 Motivation Scale Questionnaire

Adapted from Gardner and Lambert (1972), the questionnaire contains items about two motivational orientations: *instrumental* (e.g., I want to continue my academic studies in Canada) and *integrative* (e.g., I tend to imitate English language speakers). This motivation scale has a Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of .91. To prevent respondents from choosing only one side of the rating scale, three out of the seven items were negatively worded.

3.3.9 Data collection and coding procedures

The researcher approached adolescents individually, and the questionnaire was filled out individually. After being told about the study and that involvement was voluntary and anonymous, each participant received a unique, time-limited computer login and password to access the self-explanatory questionnaire via the Internet on-site at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health. Surveys of this type have many benefits over mail and face-to-face surveys, including: speed of data collection, low cost, data-entry accuracy, security of secure servers, and the ability to gather complex data using built-in skip patterns, edit, and logic checks. Online surveys also have an advantage over telephone and face-to-face interviews in that they provide greater anonymity, which is important when collecting sensitive data such as gambling and alcohol and other drug

use. The initial design time of 45 minutes for an online survey is similar to that of computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI). Also similar to CATI, data-entry and data coding occur in real-time. Given that the collected data were typically stored in Microsoft Access tables, the data were downloaded into SPSS-compatible data files. A codebook containing the labels for each of the questions and the response values for the response options were constructed from the final questionnaire. The codebook was used to program the online survey.

3.3.10 Data analysis

First, descriptive statistics were used to describe sample characteristics such as proportion, mean, standard deviation, median, and quartiles. Plots such as histograms and box-plots was used to profile the 1) overall sample's demographic characteristics, and 2) characteristics by gender.

Second, a bivariate analysis was used to assess the relationships between the dependent variables (risky behaviours) and independent variables (motivational orientation, acculturation level, and gender) using the Pearson correlation coefficient, the *t*-test or the Chi-Square test of independence.

Third, multivariate analysis was used to test for associations between the dependent and independent variables. Multiple regression analyses were used for: 1) frequency of drinking, 2) frequency of drug use, 3) CRAAFT score, 4) frequency of gambling, and 5) SOGS-RA score. Logistic regression analysis was used for dichotomous outcomes of alcohol use, drug use, and gambling behaviour.

3.3.11 Ethics

In scientific research, ethical guidelines about benefits and harms of conducting

research guide our practice of how to balance cost and benefit to individuals and society as a whole. It not only is designed to help researchers promote their scientific aim by avoiding misrepresenting research data and promoting the truth, but to ensure that researchers are transparent and accountable to the public. Furthermore, their research work is based on the promotion of important morals and values of the society (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, & Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2010).

Due to the nature of issues explored in this study and the fact that the participants for this study are adolescents who recently migrated to Canada, the ethical issues must be centred on privacy and confidentiality. Given the sensitive nature of the research, it was important to develop a trusting relationship between the researcher and the subjects. It was equally important to develop a strong sense of respect between the researcher and participants, and finally a reciprocal consent. To achieve these goals, this study followed the following ethical principles:

3.3.11.1 Informed consent

To ensure that this study adheres to the ethical guidelines, the researcher was required to obtain an informed consent from each participant. This mechanism is set in place by the ethical regulatory body to ensure that participants' privacy is not violated and that participants voluntarily choose to take part in the research without any undue influence by the researcher (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al., 2010). In this process, the researcher described the project to participants. The assumption behind this process is that the researcher carefully considers how to best present the study, and has a moral responsibility of care for the participant (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al., 2010, p. 60). Through an informed consent process, the researcher communicates clearly with the participants and fully describes their participation to them.

Privacy: To ensure anonymity, the researcher explicitly and implicitly guarantees that no one can identify the participant's identity and that any information that a participant

provides to the researcher cannot be attributed back to that respondent. Although confidentiality is not necessarily sufficient to satisfy the privacy criteria, it is important that all transcripts and survey documents (digital and hard copy) are stored safely (Streubert & Carpenter, 1999).

All research conducted must be put through an ethical review process. The current research was submitted to the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health Research Ethics Board and approved by its ethics committee.

3.3.11.2 Method of gaining consent

Prior to their participation in the study, participants were given information on exactly what the research involves as well as the potential risks and benefits that may exist by taking part in the study in order for them to freely consent to participate.

Additionally, all participants were required to read the information and consent letter outlining the purpose of the study and describing how the data will be used. Potential participants were required to sign the consent form if they voluntarily agree to participate.

3.3.11.3 Risks and benefits

Risk. Survey completion took place at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health. All data were kept confidential and anonymous. Each survey file was given a unique code identifier. The surveys were separated from the consent form and were saved digitally in two different encrypted digital filing systems.

Additionally, in that some of the data collected from potential participants is of sensitive nature (i.e., substance use or gambling attitudes/ behaviours), it may be triggering for some participants. Hence, the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health made available

to participants appropriate support to reduce any foreseen possible harm to study participants.

Benefit. By participating in the project, participants were to gain insight on their own attitudes and behaviours pertaining to substance use and gambling. For some participants, the research may provide an opportunity for them to reach out for support from researchers or healthcare professionals.

Moreover, participants may become familiar with their personal motivational orientation. In addition, their participation may further allow for the learning process of acculturation and a better understanding of their ethnic identity.

Additionally, participants were exposed to and gained experience on how research is conducted.

Ultimately, some participants may have great satisfaction in knowing that they are contributing to a formal research project and that other individuals in similar situations may benefit from this research and their contributions.

3.3.11.4 Value to society

Understanding the dynamics of immigration and how it relates to other factors such as ‘acculturation stress’ and *motivational orientations* will be a major step forward in our understanding of mental health adjustment or maladjustment among Iranian youth. This knowledge will offer educators a guideline on developing a curriculum that could address differential motivation and acculturation processes among newly arrived youth, including Iranian youth. Such effort could translate into early school dropout prevention, effective coping skills, and avoidance of risky behaviours among immigrant youth.

3.3.11.5 Privacy

All possible precaution measures were taken to protect the privacy of participants and maintain the confidentiality of all information collected throughout the survey and reporting process.

Care was taken to ensure confidentiality of all information. Raw data were stored in encrypted digital files. Original data were set to be destroyed after one year. The initial identifying profile of each participant did not include any identifying information that might be used in reports. To ensure confidentiality of the research data, I did not ask participants for their name, only their age and ethnicity.

Any personal information and/or other identifying information were not stored with the data to ensure the prevention of any potential harm to participants. Further, consent forms contained the personal information of participants which were stored in encrypted digital folders at all times, separate from the raw data collected from the study participants.

3.3.11.6 Data storage

Every precaution was taken to protect confidential information obtained or stored in any medium to safeguard study participants' information. Written and electronic records/ data and other sensitive information were stored in secure locations and were not made available to those who were not authorised to have access. Further, the data files did not contain any personal identifiers and were stored in safe, encrypted files. Surveys did not include the names of the participants nor any other information that would allow identification of participants. When storing electronic data of human subjects, secure servers such as a PC with or without encryption is usually recommended. Therefore, in regards to the current study a stand-alone PC located at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health was used to store the anonymous data, which cannot be tracked to any of the participants and cannot be matched to other data sources. In addition, although the server did not have encryption software, the data is anonymous and the server requires an authorised password to access information, which ensures confidentiality.

3.3.11.7 Data disposal

Raw data were stored in an encrypted digital file. Original data were to be destroyed after one year. Research data were to be disposed of securely. Paper records will be destroyed in such a manner that leaves no possibility for recognition or reconstruction of information (i.e., cross-shredding).

3.3.11.8 Compensation

Each participant was compensated with a five dollar gift certificate to show appreciation for their time and contributions to the study. The incentive was limited to a five dollar certificate so it does not coerce participants or add duress to take part in the study. An additional incentive that was provided to participants for taking part in the study were bus tickets to address potential transportation cost barriers in participating. If the participant is a driver, the cost of parking will be covered instead.

Study participants may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason without their incentives/compensation being compromised.

3.3.11.9 Withdrawal procedures

Prior to commencement of the study, participants were advised by the researcher that their participation is voluntary and that they can, and have the right to, withdraw from the study at any given time for any which reason. If a participant decides to withdraw from the study before the project is completed, the participant will be compensated in

full, and their identifying information as well as data provided throughout the study will be obliterated. Participants can revoke their answers at any time by emailing the research team a letter that clearly states that they wish to withdraw their authorisation to use of their survey answers in the research.

3.3.11.10 Conflict of interest

Researchers will not exploit any professional relationship to further personal, political, or business interest at the expense of the best interest of the study participants.

Researchers will avoid dual relationships that could impair professional judgment or increase the risk of harm to research participants or form close personal relationships with supervisees, students, or research assistants. Precautions were made to ensure that the interviewers would not be interviewing someone they know.

The researcher has taken precautions to avoid conflicts of interest. If a conflict of interest or the perception of a conflict cannot be eliminated or avoided, further steps would have been taken to protect the affected individuals.

At the time of recruitment, all participants were required to read the information and consent letter outlining the purpose of the study and describing how the data will be used. [See Appendix E.] Participants were required to sign the consent form if they voluntarily agree to participate. Those who agreed to participate were provided with a card containing a unique username and password, which allowed them to gain confidential and anonymous access to the survey. All possible measures were taken to ensure security, privacy, and confidentiality of all information collected throughout the survey and reporting process. Data were collected on a secure server using the same type of encryption software that is used to encrypt credit card numbers for internet-based financial transactions. The raw data file did not contain any personal identifiers. Transcripts did not include the names of the participants, and no quote that would allow the identification of the individual was used in any report. The data file will be retained

for two years following the publication of any reports and journal articles.

3.3.12 Participant feedback

Participants were briefed before they took part in the study. Furthermore, they were debriefed after they have completed the survey. Participants were encouraged to contact the principal investigator for a copy of the final report.

3.3.13 Dissemination of results

Research participants were provided with the name and contact information of the principal investigator in the event that they would like to receive a copy of the report upon completion of the study.

The research results will be disseminated in numerous ways. The University of South Africa will receive a full thesis. The researcher will make himself available to present findings to the research community at various conferences. Papers addressing the design of the research and findings will be written and submitted to journals such as *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction*, *The Journal of Gambling Studies*, *Addiction Journal of Ethnicity*, and the *Journal of Addictive Behaviour*. Research results will be presented at various national and international conferences.

3.3.14 CHAPTER THREE SUMMARY

This chapter presented the methodology and methods of the research. The research approach and strategy were described and further discussed in details. The research methods section was described in terms of setting, procedure, sampling, data collection,

data recording and management, and data analysis. Furthermore, ethical considerations in regards to privacy, confidentiality, withdrawal, compensation, and reporting were addressed.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER FOUR

In this chapter, the results of the survey with 308 Iranian male and female immigrant youth in the Greater Toronto Area are presented. In the first section, descriptive statistics are used to describe sample characteristics. Plots such as histograms, bar graphs, and box-plots were used to profile the 1) overall sample's demographic characteristics, and 2) characteristics by gender. In the second section, a bivariate analysis was used to assess the relationships between the dependent variables (risky behaviours) and independent variables (*motivational orientation*, *acculturation* level, and gender). In the last section, multivariate analyses were used to test for associations between the dependent and independent variables. Multiple regression analyses were used for: 1) frequency of drinking, 2) frequency of drug use, 3) CRAAFT score, 4) frequency of gambling, and 5) SOGS-RA score. Logistic regression analysis was used for dichotomous outcomes of alcohol use, drug use, and gambling behaviour.

4.2 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

4.2.1 Demographic characteristics and predictor variables

The final study sample consisted of a total of 308 participants. Of these, 155 (50.6%) were male, and 153 (49.4%) were female. The average age of the participants was 16.4 years ($SD = 1.40$). Participants scored an average of 38.9 ($SD = 4.70$) on the 13-item *acculturation* scale. In terms of their *motivational orientation*, the average scores for the *instrumental* and *integrative motivational orientation* scales were 10.6 ($SD = 1.52$) and 15.3 ($SD = 2.76$) out of a possible 12 and 20, respectively. There were more subjects with mainly *instrumental motivational orientation* (dominant instrumental) compared to

subjects with a mainly *integrative motivational orientation* (dominant integrative). Interestingly, subjects who reported possessing mainly an *integrative motivational orientation* (dominant integrative) were exclusively female. This effect might be the artefact of the sample size that was used for this thesis.

4.2.1.1 Covariates

On average, participants moved to Canada 8.71 ($SD = 3.95$) years prior to the study date. The average grade level of participants at the time of their enrolment was 10.98 ($SD = 1.03$), which is similar to non-immigrant secondary school students (Anisef, Bworn, Phythian, Sweet, & Walters, 2008).

4.2.1.2 Gender

Males had significantly more substance-related risky behaviours than females ($\chi^2 = 34.65$, $df = 8$, $p = .000$). Specifically, males reported more frequent alcohol consumption than females. Please see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1, below.

Gender	Frequency of Alcohol Use									Total
	Never in lifetime	Had a sip of alcohol to see what it is like	Drank only at special events	Once a month or less	2-3 times a month	Once a week	2-3 times a week	4-5 times a week	Almost every day	
Male	108	0	4	10	16	5	5	2	2	152
Female	92	7	10	7	1	0	0	0	0	117
Total	200	7	14	17	17	5	5	2	2	269

Table 4.1. Reported frequency of alcohol use by gender

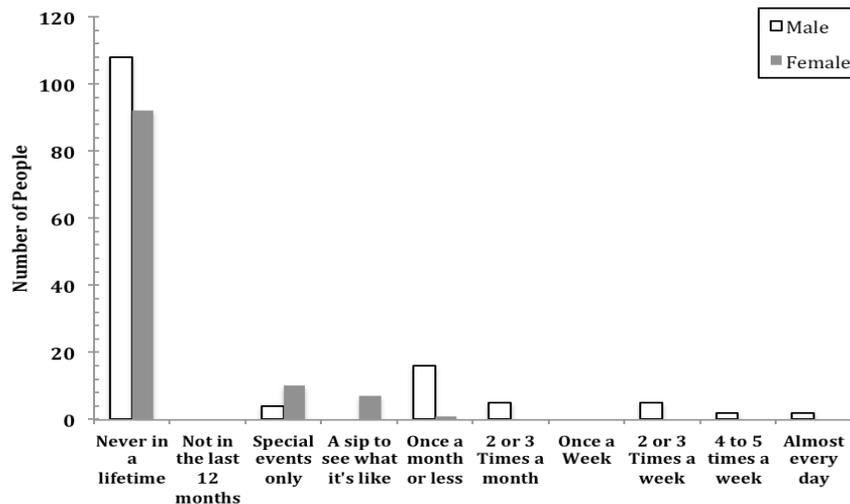


Figure 4.1: Twelve-month alcohol consumption demonstrated by each gender

Males and females also differed in terms of their self-reported frequencies of heavy drinking (three or more drinks per week) during the previous year, as illustrated in Table 4.2, below. Males reported more frequent episodes of heavy drinking than females ($\chi^2=24.31, df = 3, p = .000$), even though females were more likely to have had at least one episode of heavy drinking in the preceding year.

Gender	Frequency of Heavy Drinking				Total
	<i>Never or do not drink</i>	<i>Less than once a month</i>	<i>About once a month</i>	<i>About once a week</i>	
Male	131	11	8	3	153
Female	117	35	0	0	152
Total	248	46	8	3	305

Table 4.2. Reported frequency of heavy drinking by gender

In terms of illicit drug use, females reported significantly more frequent use of illicit drugs in the preceding year than did males ($M = 3.56, SD = 6.61$ and $M = 2.03, SD =$

4.97 for females and males, respectively; $t = -2.271$, $df = 299$, $p = .024$). Males and females did not differ in their scores on the six-item CRAAFT scale ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 7.35$ and $M = 3.36$, $SD = 6.27$ for males and females, respectively; $t = -.471$, $df = 304$, *n.s.*). CRAFFT, as a test battery designed to screen for drugs and alcohol with adolescents, uses questions with developmentally appropriate language.

In terms of gambling, males reported a significantly greater frequency of gambling activity than did females in the past year ($M = 24.61$, $SD = 45.19$ and $M = 2.07$, $SD = 6.33$ for males and females, respectively; $t = 6.049$, $df = 301$, $p = .000$). Where both males and females reported buying lottery tickets, betting on card games, buying sports lottery tickets, playing slot machines, and playing internet gambling, only males reported playing casino games, betting on sports games, rolling dice for money, and playing bingo.

Males also scored significantly higher on the SOGS-RA scale than did females ($M = 1.18$, $SD = 2.57$ and $M = 0.01$, $SD = .16$ for males and females, respectively; $t = 5.594$, $df = 304$, $p = .000$). The South Oaks Gambling Screen-RA (SOGS-RA) is a widely used gambling behaviour-related screening tool for adolescents (Winters et al., 1993). This screen was developed based on the adult version of the South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS).

Males demonstrated significantly lower levels of *acculturation* ($M = 35.4$, $SD = 1.71$) than did females ($M = 42.3$, $SD = 4.11$, $t = -19.3$, $df = 303$, $p = .000$), as illustrated in Figure 4.2, below.

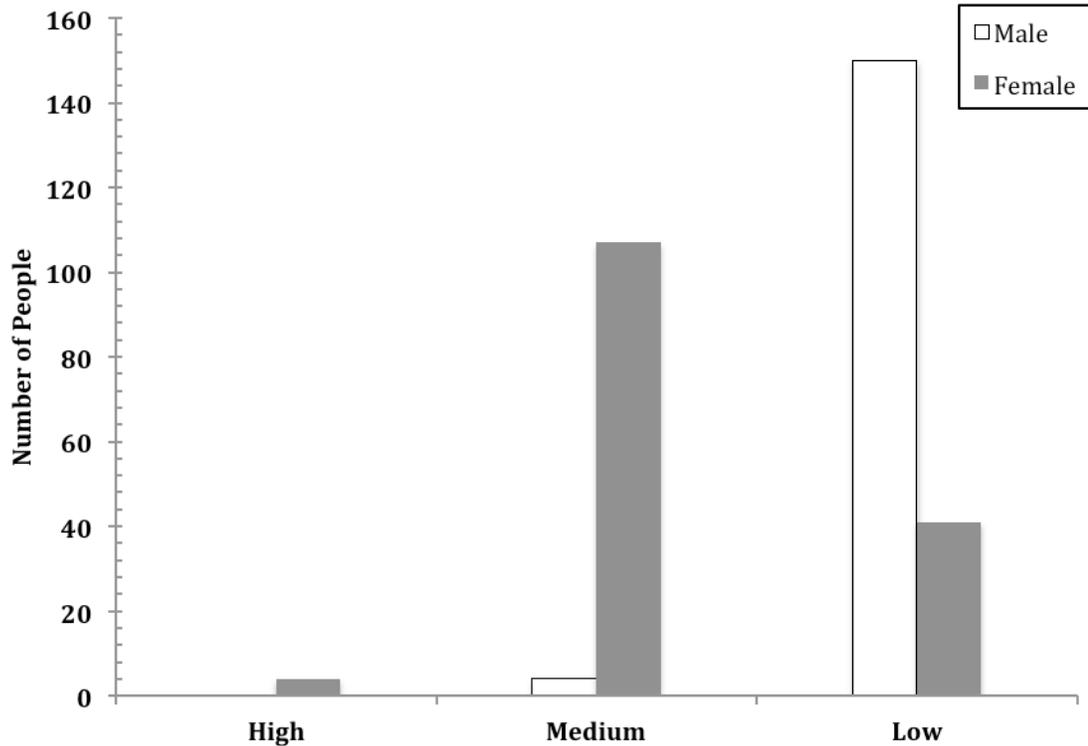


Figure 4.2: Acculturation by gender

In terms of *motivational orientation*, males resorted to an *instrumental motivational orientation* ($M = 11.5$, $SD = 1.18$) significantly more than did females ($M = 9.75$, $SD = 1.30$, $t = 12.16$, $df = 304$, $p = .000$); females, on the other hand, resorted to an *integrative motivational orientation* ($M = 16.5$, $SD = 2.95$) significantly more than did males ($M = 14.0$, $SD = 1.88$, $t = -8.69$, $df = 303$, $p = .000$). This difference is illustrated in Figure 4.3 below.

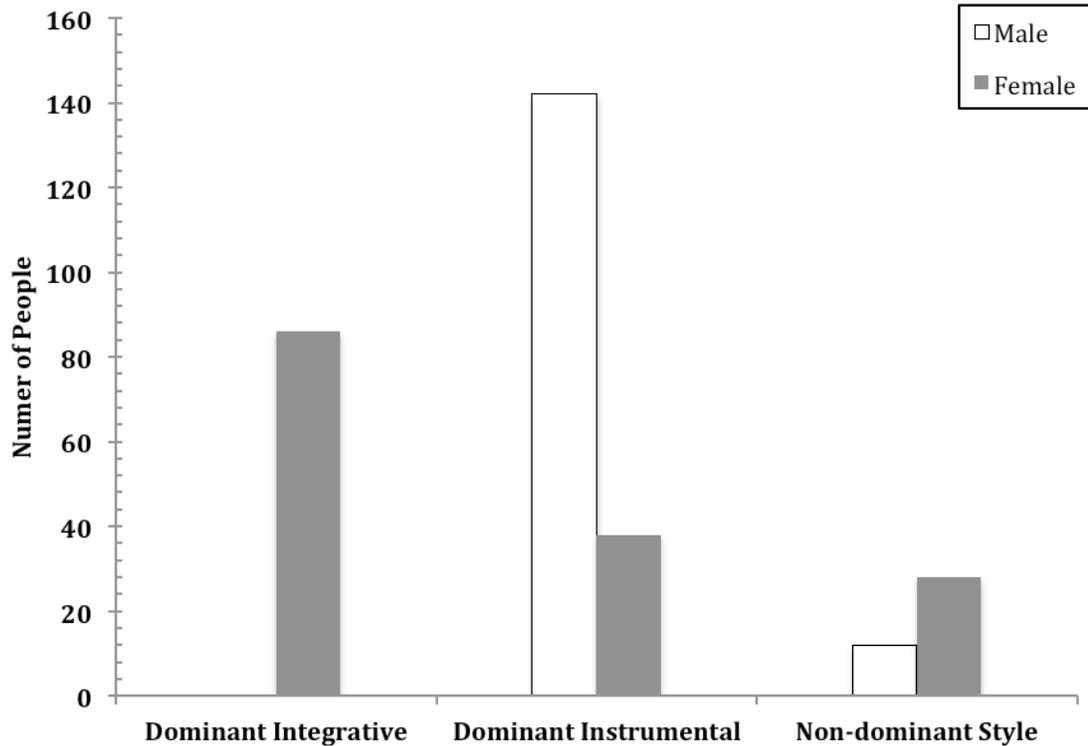


Figure 4.3: Motivational orientation and gender

4.2.1.3 Motivational orientation

An instrumental motivational orientation was significantly positively correlated with the reported frequency of alcohol consumption in the previous year ($r = .309, p = .000$) (please see figure 4.4), the frequency of heavy drinking in the previous year ($r = .385, p = .000$), the frequency of illicit drug use in the previous year ($r = .440, p = .000$), and scores on the CRAAFT scale ($r = .425, p = .000$).

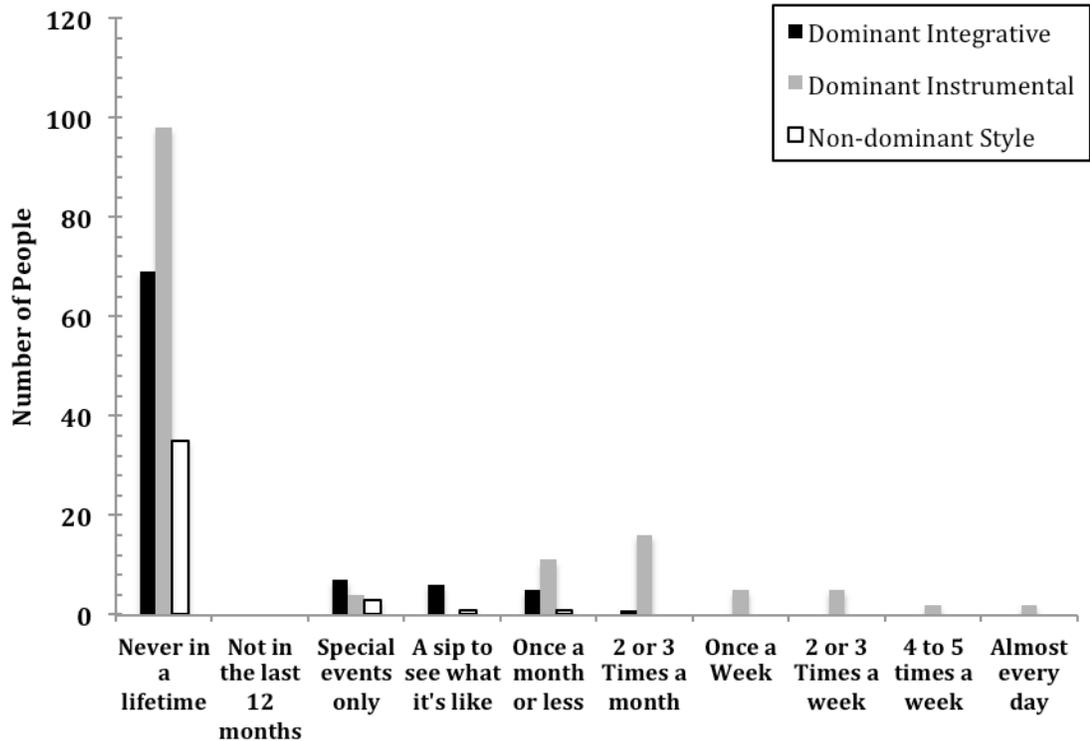


Figure 4.4: Motivational orientation and alcohol consumption

An *instrumental motivational orientation* was also significantly positively correlated with both the frequency of gambling activities in the previous year ($r = .327, p = .000$) and the scores on the SOGS-RA scale ($r = .288, p = .000$). Conversely, an *integrative motivational orientation* was significantly negatively correlated with the frequency of alcohol consumption ($r = -.200, p = .001$), heavy drinking ($r = -.344, p = .000$), and illicit drug use in the preceding year ($r = -.450, p = .000$), as well as with scores on the CRAAFT scale ($r = -.200, p = .396$). Similarly, an *integrative motivational orientation* was significantly negatively correlated with the frequency of gambling activities ($r = -.204, p = .000$) and SOGS-RA scores ($r = -.161, p = .000$).

4.2.1.4 Acculturation

Higher levels of *acculturation* were significantly negatively associated with frequencies of alcohol consumption ($r = -.255, p = .000$) (please see Figure 4.5), heavy drinking ($r = -.335, p = .000$), and illicit substance use ($r = -.375, p = .000$), as well as with CRAAFT scores ($r = -.370, p = .000$). In addition, a significant negative correlation was obtained with frequency of gambling activities ($r = -.300, p = .000$) and SOGS-RA scores ($r = -.275, p = .000$).

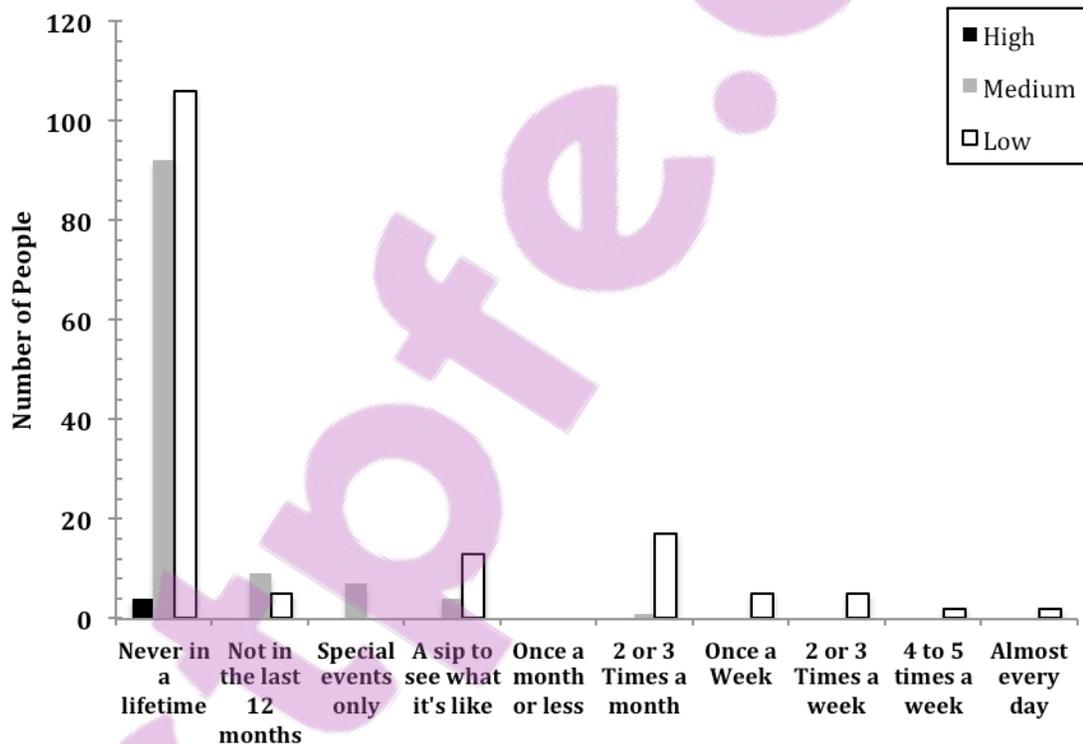


Figure 4.5: Acculturation and alcohol consumption

4.2.1.5 Grade of enrolment

Grade of enrolment was not significantly correlated with any substance- or gambling-

related risky behaviours.

4.2.1.6 Years since immigration

Years since immigration was significantly negatively correlated with frequencies of alcohol consumption ($r = -.188, p = .002$) and heavy drinking ($r = -.125, p = .028$), but not with the frequency of illicit drug use ($r = -.047, n.s.$) or with CRAAFT scores ($r = -.067, n.s.$). More recent immigrants were more likely to report frequent alcohol use and heavy drinking, but were not more likely to use illicit drugs, or to obtain higher CRAAFT scores. In terms of gambling, more recent immigration was significantly correlated with higher reported frequencies of gambling activities ($r = -.191, p = .001$), as well as with higher SOGS-RA scores ($r = -.195, p = .001$).

4.3 MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

Multiple regression models were used to test the association between substance-related risky behaviours (frequency of drinking, frequency of heavy drinking, frequency of illicit substance use, and CRAAFT scores) and the predictor variables (gender, *motivational orientation*, and *acculturation*), as well as covariates (grade of enrolment and years since immigration). The goal was to explore if gender, a particular *motivational orientation*, and the level of *acculturation* success were able to predict substance-related risky behaviour. A further goal explored if grade of enrolment or years since immigration were able to predict substance-related risky behaviour. Multiple regression models were used to test the association between gambling-related risky behaviours (frequency of gambling behaviours and SOGS-RA scores) and the predictor variables (gender, *motivational orientation*, and *acculturation*), as well as covariates (grade of enrolment and years since immigration). The goal was to explore if gender, a particular *motivational orientation* and the level of *acculturation* success were able to predict gambling-related risky behaviour. And another goal explored if grade of enrolment or years since immigration were able to predict gambling-related risky

behaviour. Stepwise multiple regressions with entry level set at $p > .05$ were used with gambling- and substance-related risky behaviours entered individually as the dependent variable in six separate models (one for each dependent variable), and the predictors and covariates entered as independent variables in each model. A stepwise approach was used in order to identify the least number of variables that could predict the criterion variable, thereby providing the most parsimonious model. For each regression analysis (i.e., for each dependent variable), the standardised β coefficients, indicated partial and part correlations between the predictor and criterion variables.

These statistics provide an estimation of the association between identified predictor and criterion variables directly and also control for the association between the other predictor variables and the criterion variable. This statistic provides a clearer picture of the unique association between the set of predictor variables with the criterion variable.

Overall, all four predictor variables that were entered into the models emerged as significant predictors for at least one of the six criterion variables assessing substance- and gambling-related risky behaviours (please see Table 4.3).

Predictors	Frequency					
	Frequency of Drinking	Frequency of Heavy Drinking	Frequency of Illicit Substance Use	CRAAFT Scores	Frequency of Gambling Behaviours	SOGS-RA Scores
Gender		X	X	X	X	X
Instrumental motivational style	X	X	X	X	X	X
Integrative motivational style					X	X
Acculturation		X	X	X		
Grade of enrolment						
Years since immigration						

Table 4.3. Significant predictors for specific criterion variables

On average, the significantly predicting variables accounted for 36% and 14% of the variance for substance- and gambling-related criterion variables, respectively. An *instrumental motivational orientation* emerged consistently as the most reliable predictor, being present in all six models. Gender was also a consistently significant predictor for all criterion variables with the exception of frequency of drinking. An integrative motivational orientation emerged as a significant predictor only for gambling-related risky behaviours, while *acculturation* emerged as a significant predictor only for criterion variables related to substance use (with the exception of frequency of drinking).

Neither one of the two covariates (grade of enrolment and years since immigration) emerged as significant predictors for any of the criterion variables.

4.3.1 Frequency of drinking

The only variable that significantly predicted the frequency of drinking was an *instrumental motivational orientation*, which accounted for only 9% of the variance (please see Table 4.4). The relationship between an instrumental motivational orientation and frequency of drinking was a positive one, such that individuals with greater *instrumental motivational orientation* scores tended to report an increased frequency of alcohol use, $t_{266} = 5.23, p < .001$.

Step	Predictors	R ²	F	df	R ² _{chg}	F _{chg}	df	Final Model				
								B	SE	β	Partial r	Part r
1	Instrumental motivational style	.09	27.33***	1,266				.43	.08	.31	.31	.31
	Overall Model	.09	27.33***	1,266								

Note. Only variables that emerged as significant predictors of frequency of drinking are included.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4.4. Regression analysis for frequency of drinking

4.3.2 Frequency of heavy drinking

As with the preceding regression analysis, the regression model for frequency of heavy drinking was a rather poor fit ($R^2 = .25$), as shown in Table 4.5, below. Frequency of heavy drinking was significantly positively related to an *instrumental motivational orientation* ($t_{299} = 2.30$, $p = .022$) and female gender ($t_{299} = 6.47$, $p < .001$), and significantly negatively related to *acculturation* ($t_{299} = -3.91$, $p < .001$).

Step	Predictors	R ²	F	df	R ² _{chg}	F _{chg}	df	Final Model				
								B	SE	β	Partial r	Part r
1	Instrumental motivational style	.14	50.81***	1,301				.09	.04	.24	.13	.12
2	Gender				.07	25.31***	1,300	.54	.08	.50	.35	.32
3	Acculturation				.04	15.28***	1,299	-.06	.02	-.50	-.22	-.20
	Overall Model	.25	33.11***	3,299								

Note. Only variables that emerged as significant predictors of frequency of heavy drinking are included.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4.5. Regression analysis for frequency of heavy drinking

4.3.3 Frequency of illicit substance use

The regression analysis for frequency of illicit substance use provided a moderate fit ($R^2 = .51$). As with the preceding regression analysis, frequency of illicit substance use was significantly positively related to an *instrumental motivational orientation* ($t_{296} = 2.63$, $p = .009$) and female gender ($t_{296} = 13.84$, $p < .001$), and significantly negatively related to *acculturation* ($t_{296} = -7.94$, $p < .001$) (please see Table 4.6).

Step	Predictors	R ²	F	df	R ² _{chg}	F _{chg}	df	Final Model				
								B	SE	β	Partial r	Part r
1	Instrumental motivational style	.14	50.81***	1,301				.09	.04	.24	.13	.12
2	Gender				.07	25.31***	1,300	.54	.08	.50	.35	.32
3	Acculturation				.04	15.28***	1,299	-.06	.02	-.50	-.22	-.20
	Overall Model	.25	33.11***	3,299								

Note. Only variables that emerged as significant predictors of frequency of illicit substance use are included.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4.6. Regression analysis for frequency of illicit substance use

4.3.4 CRAAFT scores

The regression for CRAAFT scores provided a moderate fit ($R^2 = .59$). CRAAFT scores were significantly positively related to an *instrumental motivational orientation* ($t_{300} = 2.57$, $p = .011$) and female gender ($t_{300} = 8.64$, $p < .001$), and significantly negatively related to *acculturation* ($t_{300} = -5.19$, $p < .001$), as had been the case with the preceding two regression analyses (please see Table 4.7).

Step	Predictors	R ²	F	df	R ² _{chg}	F _{chg}	df	Final Model				
								B	SE	β	Partial r	Part r
1	Instrumental motivational style	.18	64.95***	1,302				1.12	.44	.25	.15	.12
2	Gender				.11	44.60***	1,301	8.51	.98	.63	.45	.41
3	Acculturation				.06	26.96***	1,300	-.89	.17	-.62	-.29	-.24
	Overall Model	.59	52.05***	3,300								

Note. Only variables that emerged as significant predictors of CRAAFT scores are included.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4.7. Regression analysis for CRAAFT scores

4.3.5 Frequency of gambling behaviours

The regression analysis for frequency of gambling behaviours was a poor fit ($R^2 = .15$) (please see Table 4.8). The frequency of gambling behaviours was significantly positively related to an *instrumental motivational orientation* ($t_{297} = 3.73$, $p < .001$) and negatively predicted by an *integrative motivational orientation* ($t_{297} = -2.34$, $p = .020$). Thus, individuals with an *instrumental motivational orientation* tended to report an increased frequency of gambling behaviours, in contrast to those participants with an *integrative motivational orientation*, who reported fewer gambling behaviours. In addition, the male gender predicted an increased frequency of gambling behaviours ($t_{297} = -2.95$, $p = .003$), in contrast to what had been found with substance-related risky behaviours.

Step	Predictors	R ²	F	df	R ² _{chg}	F _{chg}	df	Final Model				
								B	SE	β	Partial r	Part r
1	Gender	.11	36.65***	1,299				-13.35	4.52	-.19	-.17	-.16
2	Instrumental motivational style				.03	9.72**	1,298	9.53	2.55	.42	.21	.20
3	Integrative motivational style				.02	5.48*	1,297	2.98	1.27	.24	.14	.13
	Overall Model	.15	17.88***	3,297								

Note. Only variables that emerged as significant predictors of frequency of gambling behaviours are included.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4.8. Regression analysis for frequency of gambling

4.3.6 SOGS-RA scores

As with the preceding regression model, the regression analysis for SOGS-RA scores provided a poor fit ($R^2 = .13$) (please see Table 4.9). Once again, SOGS-RA scores were significantly negatively related to an *instrumental motivational orientation* ($t_{300} = -3.63$, $p < .001$) and positively predicted by an *integrative motivational orientation* ($t_{300} = 2.67$, $p = .008$). Thus, individuals with an *instrumental motivational orientation* tended to report higher SOGS-RA scores, in contrast to those participants with an *integrative motivational orientation*, who had lower SOGS-RA scores. As with the frequency of gambling behaviours, male gender predicted greater SOGS-RA scores ($t_{300} = 2.86$, $p = .005$).

Table 4.9. Regression analysis for SOGS-RA scores

Step	Predictors	R ²	F	df	R ² _{chg}	F _{chg}	df	Final Model					
								B	SE	β	Partial r	Part r	
1	Gender	.09	31.33***	1,302									
2	Instrumental motivational style				.02	6.09*	1,301	-.73	.26	-.19	-.16	-.15	
3	Integrative motivational style				.02	7.15**	1,300	.52	.14	.41	.21	.20	
	Overall Model	.13	15.29***	3,300									

Note. Only variables that emerged as significant predictors of SOGS-RA scores are included.

p* < .05; *p* < .01; ****p* < .001

4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The results set the stage for exploring the relationship among gender, *motivational orientation*, and *acculturation* on one hand, and behavioural outcomes on the other. The result described in Chapter Four provide an overall picture of the characteristics of the Iranian female and male immigrant youth, and provide the context for the relationships to be explored.

Recall that the objectives of this thesis are to explore: 1) if higher levels of *instrumental motivation* are associated with problem behaviours, 2) if difficulty with *acculturation* or assimilation are associated with higher levels of problem behaviours, 3) if males possess a gain-oriented (*instrumental*) motivational orientation and females possess a goal-oriented (*integrative*) motivational orientation, which is more beneficial during the assimilation process, 4) if males display lower levels of *acculturation*, and 5) if males engage in risky behaviours due to lower levels of *acculturation* and higher levels of *instrumental motivation*. The empirical research in this thesis confirms the first question and the first hypothesis — that higher *instrumental motivation* is associated with problem behaviours. The results of this thesis also confirm the second question and the second hypothesis — that the lower levels of acculturation is associated with problem behaviours. Further, the results of this thesis demonstrate that males mainly possess an *instrumental motivational orientation* while females mainly possess an *integrative motivational orientation*, therefore confirming the third hypothesis. Additionally, the results of this thesis demonstrate that males display lower levels of *acculturation* and confirms the fourth hypothesis. Finally, the results of this thesis show that males engage in more risky behaviour and display lower levels of *acculturation*, however it is difficult to draw any causal conclusion from a correlational analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER FIVE

Chapter Five presents and articulates the current study's contributions to the literature, conclusions of the study with regards to the objectives that are stated in Chapter Three, theoretical and methodological challenges that affected the outcome of this research, and suggestions for future research. Specifically, I will summarise the study; the significance of the study; the study approach; the study demographic; methodological and theoretical considerations and limitations; a survey of the study design; sampling strategy and the sample size, measurement; theoretical assumptions; understanding *acculturation* theory; immigrant youth in the context of *acculturation*; understanding motivation types (integrative and instrumental motivation); study hypotheses; summary of study findings (acculturation and gender differences, motivation and gender differences, acculturation and problem behaviour, motivation and problem behaviour, gender and problem behaviour, and contribution to theory building); and recommendation for future research.

Several research studies explored the relationship between motivational orientation and academic success or acculturation success among immigrant adolescents (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012); however, despite the recent increased interest, there is limited knowledge on the role of gender in this equation.

The current study examined and described the motivational orientation, acculturation success, and psychological adaptation of 308 immigrant Iranian female and male youth participants. This research examined gender, age, motivational orientation, level of acculturation, and self-reported illicit drug use, alcohol consumption, and gambling behaviours.

This study contributes to the existing literature on the adaptation and success of

immigrant male adolescents in Canada by building on previous literature on immigrant youth (Berry et al., 2006a; Gardner et al., 2004; Gil et al., 2000; Jaskinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Verkuyten, 1994; 1998;). In addition, it adds to a body of literature on risk and protective factors related to psychosocial adaptation of immigrant youth.

Findings from this study describe the demographic characteristics of immigrant Iranian adolescents in Toronto. Moreover, the results provide an overview of the prevalence of, and association between, motivational orientation, acculturation and problem behaviours, including illicit drug use, alcohol consumption, and gambling among immigrant Iranian adolescents. Results of this study addressed a fundamental question in the acculturation and motivation literature and established groundwork upon which more rigorous studies can be conducted with Iranian and other immigrant populations.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

In this study, I explored the relationship between gender-differentiated *motivational orientation* and the *acculturation* process. Specifically, I examined whether *motivational orientations* (either *instrumental* or *integral*), *acculturation*, and gender are associated with risky behaviors among Iranian youth who have immigrated to Toronto. As my particular area of focus, I examined the risky behaviours in the context of mental health maladjustment and addiction (i.e., substance use, alcohol use, and/or gambling) among Iranian immigrant adolescents in Toronto.

I examined the existing empirical evidence, which suggests that immigrant populations who adopt an *integrative motivational orientation* of *acculturation* and *adjustment* to life in their adopted country exhibit positive attitudes toward their new cultural environment and cope more successfully with their daily challenges. Please see the literature review in Chapter Two for further information.

The current study employed a cross-sectional research design in order to explore the

relationship between faulty coping mechanisms and independent variables of gender, *motivational orientation*, and *acculturation* success. However, because the variables of interest are being collected at the same time, cross-sectional research cannot prove causality.

The findings of the current study indicate the importance of gender in determining the nature of the motivational orientation (i.e., which gender is adopting which *motivational orientation*) and how this translates into *acculturation* success or failure and a propensity for faulty coping mechanisms. Previous studies demonstrated how genders generally oriented toward one form of *motivational orientation* than another and how this affected their *acculturation* success, while others demonstrated how *acculturation* success or failure predicted faulty coping mechanisms or risky behaviours in the form of illicit drug and alcohol use and gambling behaviour. However, this is the first study of its kind that observed the relationship triad of gender, *motivational orientation*, and *acculturation* success on behavioural or psychological outcome (i.e., coping mechanism).

One interesting finding in this study is that males generally resorted to an *instrumental motivational orientation* and females generally resorted to an *integrative motivational orientation*, a clear gender division on this psychological dimension, which demonstrates that gender seems to play an important factor in determining whether or not an individual adjusts successfully to a new environment and far-reaching implications for the person's mental health. This finding contributes to the current discussion in the literature, which provides largely inconclusive evidence on gender differences. Findings in this study further suggest that an *integrative motivation orientation* predicted successful *acculturation* and better coping mechanisms (Abu-Rabia, 1996, 1997). This finding contradicts recent studies that suggested females are more likely to fail to acculturate and more likely to experience 'acculturative stress'.

5.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

There are an estimated 130 million immigrants worldwide. This trend is increasing due to various social, economical, environmental, and geopolitical reasons. The exponential rise in immigration has led to a tremendous increase in the frequency and importance of cross-cultural interactions. Consequently, in a period of rapid migration a combination of increased positive interest in cultural diversity and negative immigrant experiences with failures in *acculturation* provides a major impetus for *acculturation* research. Issues such as cultural adaptation and cultural maintenance, also phrased as *acculturation*, by immigrant groups have become important topics that have relevance for host societies.

Through the process of *acculturation*, individuals experience cultural and psychological changes that result from contact with the host culture. These changes, including attitudes and behaviours that are generated in the process of *acculturation* (Berry, 1980), describe how individuals try to achieve a 'fit' between their traditional culture and the host culture.

In spite of the growing importance of immigration worldwide, the needs of immigrant youth are often overlooked (Richards, 2011). In Canada, despite a rapid and diverse growth of immigration since the 1960s, there has been relatively little research on immigrant youth carried out (Centre for Research and Education in Human Services, 2000). Considering that youth are viewed as the most vulnerable members of these migrating families, when it comes to cultural transition they are often more susceptible to acquiring risky behaviours and developing mental health issues (Allan & Hill, 1995; Drachman et al., 1996; Hovey, 2000; Lucas, 1997; Richards, 2011).

The dynamics of immigration, 'acculturation stress', and *motivational orientation* will be a major step forward in our understanding of mental health adjustment or maladjustment of immigrant youth.

5.4 SUMMARY OF STUDY APPROACH

The nature of the relationship between ‘acculturation stress’ and *motivational orientation* is still in its infancy. Given the exploratory nature of this topic and how it shapes immigrant adolescents’ mental health, a cross-sectional research design was used to describe the extent of outcome variables in regards to person, place, and time. Results from studies that utilise cross-sectional designs are, therefore, considered descriptive and sufficient to establish associations between variables such as *motivational orientations* and *acculturation* with mental health outcomes. However, because the variables of interest are being collected at the same time, cross-sectional research cannot prove causality.

5.5 SUMMARY OF STUDY DEMOGRAPHIC

The population in this study has an immigration history that dates back only to 1979 and, therefore, very few studies have been conducted among this group. Relatively speaking, Iranians are recent newcomers to Canada compared to many other immigrant groups.

The exact number of Iranian immigrants (including refugees) living in Canada is unclear. An approximate estimate for the size of the total Iranian population, nevertheless, can be drawn from Canada’s Ethnic Diversity Statistics and Immigration questionnaires. However, this data may be faulty in that various ethnicities that originally lived in Iran may, due to pre-existing or acquired nationalistic beliefs, indicate their particular ethnicity—e.g., Azeri, Kurd, Arab, Armenian—as their nationality. This contributes to an underestimation of the overall number of Iranians living in Canada (Dilmaghani, 1999). It should be noted that Iran’s population is comprised of several main ethnic groups, including Persians, Arabs, Kurds, Azeri (Turks), Baluch, Gilak, and Armenians (CIA, 2005).

According to the latest Census report by Statistics Canada (2013), there were 121,510 Iranian immigrants living in Canada in the year 2011; the Iranian population is the fifth largest source of immigration to Canada. This number has increased significantly since then. The largest percentage of Iranian immigrants (58%) live in the province of Ontario. Iranian immigrants often settle in metropolitan cities, with the highest populations living in Toronto (44%), Vancouver (22%), and Montreal (10%) (Jafari et al., 2010). Iranians are the twelfth largest ethnic group in the Greater Toronto Area, numbering well over 46,255.

The target population for the research conducted in this project consisted of a sample of Iranian-born individuals whose length of residency in Toronto was greater than 2 years but did not exceed 8 years. These participants, aged 15 to 18, were also enrolled in high schools in the Greater Toronto Area in Grades 9, 10, 11, or 12. In the final study sample of 308 participants, 155 were male and 153 were female.

5.6 CONSIDERATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The four methodological and theoretical drawbacks identified in the present study — 1) survey study design, 2) sampling strategy and sample size, 3) measurement, and 4) theoretical assumptions — will be discussed below.

5.7 SURVEY STUDY DESIGN

The first set of limitations entails survey method study design. In this research, self-report surveys were used to collect the data. This form of data collection is vulnerable to several methodological limitations. One such limitation is the *social desirability* phenomenon, which Phillips and Clancy (1972) define as “a response determinant that refers to the tendency of people to deny socially undesirable traits or qualities and to

admit to socially desirable ones” (p. 923).

For a number and variety of reasons, respondents often lie, hide, cover up, or exaggerate the truth on surveys (Wood, Schmidtke & Decker, 2007). When answering surveys, many respondents try to paint themselves in a positive light, even when they are not being truthful (Wood et al., 2007). In addition, survey methods, most often associated with positivistic and quasi-positive methodologies, fail to provide flexibility to document details of lived experiences as opposed to cryptic, correlational output. When individuals with different cultural beliefs and practices come in contact with a new cultural landscape in which they plan to live, they may face and experience behavioural, emotional, and psychological challenges that may change their original cultural beliefs and practices. To capture a rich tapestry of this experience, close-ended, survey measures may be deemed inadequate to capture the complexity of these phenomena.

5.8 SAMPLING STRATEGY AND SAMPLE SIZE

The second set of methodological limitations is related to the study’s sampling strategy and the sample size. Most ethnic, immigrant, refugee, or special population studies have relied on convenience samples (see Solarz, 1999 for a more detailed discussion). Even when a probability sampling method has been used, low response rates are common (Solarz, 1999). Considering the relatively recent immigration history and the low level of English proficiency of the Iranian population in general, a survey conducted in English only can result in a small and biased sample.

In this study, a non-random sample was used. This form of sampling strategy limits the generalisability of the sample to Iranians living in other areas. Hence, the data may not be generalisable to other Iranians in Canada, the U.S., or other parts of the world. The same may also be true when attempts are made to generalise findings to other immigrant groups. Furthermore, the modest sample size of this study prevents any complex analysis of the mediation effects of acculturation status and the moderating

influence of motivational orientation.

Moreover, it is important to note that the Iranian-Canadian female identity should be considered as complex and diverse, yet it is often represented as a monolith in popular media images and the Canadian psyche. Some Iranian-Canadian women fed into a keen awareness of the negative stereotyping of the Middle East, forcing them to conform to dominant standards. For these women, cultural assimilation is necessary in order to achieve cultural and social mobility or to blend in with their white non-Middle Eastern or Iranian peers. Perhaps this should be seen as different from cultural adaptation and more aligned with gender identity that is shaped by a particular positionality, products of their own interpretation, as well as a social construct of ethnicity. Iranian-Canadian females' experiences may highlight struggles around gender visibility, locating themselves as separate and different from, but also an integral part of, dominant cultural scripts.

When it comes to acculturation, the above explanation could potentially suggest that an *integrative motivational orientation* is a cultural artifact of participants' native unequal society, where females are treated less favourably than their male counterparts, rather than the true reflection of gender differences.

5.9 MEASUREMENT

The third set of limitations involves measurement issues. The interest in and the study of *acculturation* have a long history in the social sciences that dates back to the early works by anthropology scholars (Rudmin, 2003). In the field of psychology, the study of *acculturation* and its relation to immigrants' mental health has attracted a great deal of attention (Berry et al., 1999). However, in spite of the explosion of research in this area, important questions regarding the relationship between *acculturation* and mental health

remain unaddressed. The literature review in Chapter Two reveals that the absence of consistent research findings on the relationship between *acculturation*, *motivational orientation*, and mental health, can, to a large degree, be explained by measurement issues and how *acculturation* is conceptualised.

In terms of measurement, the literature review shows that a multitude of *acculturation* batteries were used across all examined studies. However, nearly 70% of all *acculturation* batteries were utilised in no more than three studies. Therefore, the majority of batteries were used scantily. Furthermore, measures of *acculturation* were based on several different theoretical approaches. In addition, the area examined tended to vary from measure to measure. For example, certain batteries examined only one area of functioning, such as language preference, whereas others assessed multiple areas of functioning, such as alcohol drinking behaviour, gambling, depression and school dropout. The inconsistency in the functional area examined across batteries seems to reflect a disagreement among scholars as to what about *acculturation* is most important to study. Largely, these measurement discrepancies originate from the weak definition of the *acculturation* as a concept. In their review of *acculturation* studies, Hunt, Schneider and Comer (2004) found that 66% of researchers failed to define *acculturation*. Similar studies have also conveyed concern that different researchers define *acculturation* differently and that, generally, *acculturation* constitutes an ambiguous concept (Rudmin, 2003).

Another shortcoming of this study on the measurement of *acculturation* was that the focus of measurement was on a single point in time. To overcome limitations from such an approach, future longitudinal study would allow researchers to compare and assess changes over time.

There are other measurement issues that plagued this current study as well. This study used self-reported behaviours. In order to facilitate accurate recall of substance or alcohol use and gambling behaviour, participants were asked to report substance or alcohol use and gambling behaviour in the past 12 months. The possibility remains that

respondents may have under- or over-reported their substance or alcohol consumption and gambling behaviours. Therefore, the findings in this study should be treated with caution.

Survey instruments used in this research are written in English. This may have prevented those with a weak command of English from participating in this study or limited the comprehension levels of some participants, hence, limited their participation or distorted some of their responses.

Finally, due to the absence of any empirical data on the norms of drug use, alcohol use, and gambling in a variety of ethnic groups, interpretation of results may be limited.

5.10 THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

There are potential unquestioned assumptions that are inherent in theoretical models and Berry's *acculturation* model is not immune to these challenges. One such assumption from the viewpoint of Berry's model is that cultures (including both native and host culture) are nonthreatening and hospitable, inclusive, and without intolerance of difference. Recent anti-immigrant movements in Europe (mainly those countries with more 'immigration-friendly' policies) undermine this assumption. Another assumption that goes unquestioned relates to the lack of notice in seeing how the cultural norms of the host country could be incompatible with the cultural norms of the native country. The third assumption fails to acknowledge that individual immigrants are not mere passive participants, and like any other person can choose to accept or reject their own native culture, culture of the host, or both, hence 'integrate', 'assimilate', 'separate', or 'alienate'. These assumptions have far-reaching implications for the assumed well-being effect pertaining to acceptance and/or rejection of native and/or host cultures (Cashdan, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2006). Another unquestioned assumption relates to how minority and majority groups are viewed. In Berry's model, both groups are treated in a

homogenous way, hence neglecting to acknowledge the diversity in each group (Horenczyk & Munayer, 2003).

Finally, like most studies, this research compared females and males as if they represent homogeneous groups. A cross-cultural comparison could shed light on this methodological limitation and its interpretation.

5.11 UNDERSTANDING ACCULTURATION THEORY

Acculturation theory is considered a useful model (Berry, 2001) for understanding the complex nature of interacting variables and the *adjustment* processes of immigrants. The concept of acculturation originated and was initially developed in the field of anthropology (Redfield et al., 1936). It was created to help describe and understand how ethnocultural groups changed once they made contact with different groups.

Acculturation has been conceptualised in many ways. One of these ways presents cultural change on a linear continuum, going from the home culture to the host culture (e.g., Clement, 1980). This definition presupposes a change in the cultural values, norms, and behaviours of individuals of a specific ethnic background after moving from their culture of origin to a new culture.

Another way of conceptualising *acculturation* is related to the cultural dimension of cultural change or *adaptation*. This conceptualisation focuses on two dimensions: cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty, where each person's degree of *acculturation* is the result of the interaction between cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. This conceptual model predicts that the greater the level of cultural awareness and loyalty, the less acculturated the person is to the host culture (see Padilla, 1980, for further discussion). Other cultural domains of *acculturation*, such as involvement in cultural behaviours, cultural identity, and language use have been studied (e.g., Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995; Szapocnik & Kurtines, 1980), with a focus on the cultural context in

which *acculturation* takes place. However, other researchers have questioned the operationalisation of *acculturation* and have argued that individuals change on more than one dimension (e.g., Berry, 2001). Further, it has been argued that *acculturation* is a multidimensional process (Berry, 1990) emphasising interaction between cultural groups and how each individual identifies him or herself with their own culture, the host culture, both cultures, or neither culture. Researchers subscribing to this multidimensional model have proposed four types of acculturation strategies: *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, and *marginalisation* (Berry, 1990, 2003; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989).

The underlying assumption of *acculturation* theory is that individuals can move successfully between cultures (Berry, 1990). Essential to this theory is the idea that the process of *acculturation* can be completed by many to achieve a successful adjustment and cultural *adaptation* (Berry, 1990). However, some researchers suggest that *acculturation* can be very stressful (e.g., Berry, Cervantes & Padilla, 1991; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004). This is because when individuals with existing cultural beliefs and practices come into contact with a new cultural landscape in which they plan to live, they may experience behavioural, emotional, and psychological challenges, which could shift their original cultural beliefs and practices. The current study found that when individuals experience 'acculturative stress' as measured by dependent variables, this is an indication that their immigration transition did not necessarily lead to successful *adjustment*. There is strong evidence in the literature to suggest that faulty coping mechanisms, such as drugs or alcohol use and gambling, are indicative of escape and denial when individuals are dealing with given stressful situations. Although, the evidence is not definitive when it comes to immigrant youth (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Kim, Suh, & Heo, 2012; Poppitt & Frey, 2007), stress arising from the process of *acculturation* has been reported by previous studies to be associated with a variety of hardships, including: emotional difficulties (Bozorgmehr & Sabagh, 1988; Forti & Pittau, 1999; Hovey, 2000; Igoa, 1998; Jalali, 1996; Pawliuk et al., 1996; Segel, 1996); social and economical hardship and marginality (Bennett et al., 1997; Fortuijn et al., 1998; Williams & Berry, 1991); alcohol,

drug, and gambling problems (Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004); and poor academic performance and criminal behavior (Hahn, 1987; Hicks & Connolly, 1995; Kazdin, 1995; Michaud et al., 1996).

Not all researchers support this position. Some investigators claim that the frequency of substance and alcohol use is positively correlated with the individual's *acculturation* level (e.g., Caetano, 1987; Vellani, 1994). To further complicate the matter, several researchers found a weak link between *acculturation* and problem behaviour (e.g., Brooks, Stuewig, & LeCroy, 1998), while others found no relation between *acculturation* and problem behaviour (e.g., Bettes, Dusenbury, Kerner, James-Ortiz, & Botvin, 1990).

Acculturation theory is used in this project in order to explain how members of immigrant communities incorporate cultural values and practices from their country of origin with new cultural values and lifestyles in the host country. In other words, the model helps understand how these individuals try to achieve a 'fit' between their traditional culture and the host culture.

The current study incorporated Berry's model of *acculturation*. In particular, it focused on the extent to which there are variations in the ways individuals engage in the acculturation process that impacts their psychological well-being. The finding confirms Berry's model by demonstrating that individuals who rated higher on the acculturation scale, reported lower risky behaviour such as drugs, alcohol, and gambling.

5.12 IMMIGRANT YOUTH CONTEXT

Adolescence is a distinct developmental phase that includes biological, psychological, and social changes that distinguishes it from both childhood and adulthood. Identity formation (Erikson as cited in Ryckman, 1997) is the central task of adolescence that occurs between the ages of 13 and 19. Youth at this stage develop independence and self-confidence in their competence. In Erikson's psychosocial model of development,

identity is considered to be a concept made up of individuals' prior experiences, both positive and negative, including the influence of the group with which the individual associates in their younger years, such as family, school, religious institution, and peers (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Throughout the adolescent years, young people are confronted with two crucial and challenging tasks of identity formation and self-worth development (Crockett & Bingham, 2000; Nightingale & Wolverton, 1993; Peterson & Epstein, 1991; Schoon et al., 2004) where they begin to construct their own life course, which is shaped by an ongoing negotiation between personal goals, hopes, and social expectations (Crockett & Bingham, 2000). They engage in important decision-making processes and identity formation, and make decisions about who they are.

Furthermore, there is a close relationship between culture and the ethnic identity of individuals of that particular culture. In this sense, the notion of *culture* includes individuals' interpretations of cultural expressions into personal identity as part of their unique personal experiences (Berry et al., 1999). *Culture*, in this sense, is conceptualised as an historical process that influences the individual's sense of self and identity. In developing their cultural, ethnic, and personal identity, immigrant adolescents identify successively with the culture of their birth, the host culture, or both (Berry et al., 1999). In the current study, as was argued by Abu-Rabia (1996, 1997), females' identification with the host culture and display of cultural integration (Berry et al., 1999) could have been shaped by their past personal experience of gender inequality and attributed to the lower status of women in Iran, and that identification with Canadian language and society may be a sign of rebellion against conservative expectations of their own family and the cultural norms of the Iranian cultural community in Canada. On the other hand, for Iranian male participants, preferences for home culture may indicate failure to identify with the host culture.

Erikson (as cited in Ryckman, 1997) argued that during the path of development, adolescents successively identify in part with relatives and friends, and beyond with

members of the community at large. In the case of immigrants, the cultural community (i.e., *culture* of origin or the host *culture*) is one of the social structures that immigrant adolescents identify with. As a result, adolescent migrants' failure or success to incorporate various aspects of the host culture into his/her overall cultural attitudes, beliefs, and behavioural system may have implications for redefining identity in their cultural transition. In the context of immigration and where individuals are exposed to multiple cultures, it is possible that individuals identify with the native, host *culture* or a mixture of multicultural manifestations, however either identification possibility may sometimes come with a cost.

As immigrant youth age, their adaptive skills mature and they become increasingly better able to support the process of constructing a sense of self. For ethnic identity (Liebkind, 2001; Phinney, 1990), this process can lead to constructive actions aimed at affirming the value and legitimacy of one's group membership (Brown, 2000) or to feelings of insecurity and resentment over the treatment of one's group. The degree of their orientation, whether they develop a preference for the ethnic or national group, or a combination of the two, could impact their psychological adjustment directly (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton 1993; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004).

In addition, immigrant youth face tough decisions, such as whether or not to accept the expectations imposed on them by their parents, retain the values and practices of their native culture, or adopt the values and behaviours of their host culture. In the current study, the issue of intergenerational conflict and parental expectations were not measured or addressed, however it is a matter of considerable importance with regards to the nature of *acculturation* among adolescent immigrants, which is discussed in the literature. In addition to these challenges, another area where immigrant youth feel a cultural tug-of-war pressure is at school. They may face language barriers, which can negatively impact their self-esteem and social *adaptation*. They may also feel the impact of their parents' unfamiliarity with the school system, combined with their parents' high expectations for academic achievement, which may be difficult to attain

immediately upon settlement into a new country (Eldering & Kloprogge, 1989). These tough situations often tax the coping skills of immigrant youth, making them vulnerable to maladaptation and mental health issues (Bromley, 1988). This should all be considered, combined with the knowledge that a multicultural orientation in schools fosters better academic performance (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). A recent study by the C. D. Howe Institute (Richards, 2011) casts a shadow and challenged the knowledge about the success of immigrant boys. Findings from the current study indirectly sides with the argument put forward by the C.D. Howe Institute and demonstrates that Iranian Immigrant youth are at a higher risk for problem behaviours and less likely to identify with the Canadian culture and integrate successfully.

Immigrant youth are particularly challenged because as adolescents they must not only define themselves as individuals, but as immigrants, while also learning to be a member of a non-dominant group in Canada. Therefore, not only do they engage in the normal process of identity formation as most youth will during this time, they must also develop an identity as a member of their own cultural group within the larger society (Phinney, 1990). Indeed, findings from the current study demonstrate that higher *acculturation* or *assimilation* success are negatively associated with the higher frequency of heavy drinking, higher frequency of illicit substance use, and a higher frequency of gambling behaviours.

The current state of knowledge about the role of *acculturation* in successful *adaptation* among immigrant youth is contradictory at best. While some studies have concluded that immigrant youth successfully adapt (e.g, Fuligni, 1997), most studies report that immigrant youth adapt poorly when they immigrate to a new country with their parents (Beiser et al., 1988; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004). This disagreement may be related to the impact that additional developmental challenges have on immigrant youth. Although it could be suggested that psychological problems are not unique to immigrant youth, the experience of migration and culture change could amplify normal developmental stressors and lead to higher levels of maladaptation.

5.13 MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

The question of ‘why am I learning a new language and a new set of cultural norms and how this is affected by my attitude and the existing social and cultural contexts’ may not be too obvious or important for a new immigrant and a second language learner, but for a cultural researcher these questions may present immeasurably differing pictures. Since the late 1950s, there has been a surge in the intersection of psychological theories on *acculturation*. The questions concerning immigrants’ behaviour have helped researchers develop a complex representation of varying psychological and social factors that shape motivation in immigrants (e.g. Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner et al., 2004). However, it is commonly understood that *acculturation* researchers failed to take into account the issue of context in cultural learning (Ushioda, 2009).

Several studies indicate that *motivational orientation* is related to *acculturation* success (Howard, 2013; Pineda, 2014; Rahman, 2005, Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004). This project focused on two subsets of *motivational orientation*: *integrative* and *instrumental* motivation.

Integrative motivation is considered to be a combination of attitudinal, goal-directed, and motivational attributes; immigrants who adhere to this orientation have a desire to identify with other cultural groups and tend to evaluate cultural diversity more positively (Gogol et al., 2014). According to Gardner and Smythe (1975) and Lamb (2004), this approach is reflected by one’s curiosity and genuine interest in the people of the host culture. In the context of the current study, *integrative motivation* is defined as the successful adoption of, and integration into, Canadian cultural values and norms while preserving the cultural values of the country of origin.

In contrast, *instrumental motivation* is defined as a set of complex structural attributes related to attitudes and goal direction that refers to the aspiration to achieve goals, such

as excelling academically or getting a job (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; MacIntyre, MacKinnon & Clément, 2009). The immigrant who uses *instrumental motivation* displays strong ethnic identity, proficient skill in ethnic language, and forms social relationships primarily with friends of their own ethnicity. They maintain an attitude of *separation*, not favouring assimilation, do not identify with national identity, and have fewer contacts with the host national group. These individuals are largely embedded within their own cultural context and show little interest in merging with the larger host society (Culhane, 2004).

In the absence of empirical evidence in the *acculturation* literature about adjustment among immigrants, what is currently known is derived from the related literature of Second Language Learning (SLL). The evidence appears to be clear concerning which type of motivation is more conducive to second language acquisition. In most cases, *integrative motivation* has been shown to have a more positive impact on SLL (Engin, 2009; Gardner, 1959; Gardner et al., 2004; Gardner, 2001).

Findings of the current study supported the findings in the SLL literature and demonstrated that more females resorted to an *integrative motivational orientation* compared to their male counterparts, and that their motivational orientation was positively associated with higher levels of *acculturation*.

Although both forms of motivation are considered as essential elements of successful adjustment, it has been suggested that *integrative motivation* tends to sustain long-term success when learning a second language or acquiring a set of cultural norms (Crookes et al 1991; Ellis 1997; Taylor, Meynard & Rheault ,1977). Although the findings of the current study demonstrates that an *instrumental motivational orientation* is associated with a higher frequency of heavy drinking, illicit drug use, and gambling behaviour among Iranian adolescent males in the study, the results also find a positive correlation between a higher frequency of alcohol use and *integrative motivational orientation* for female participants. This last evidence seems to contradict the existing literature that associates *integrative motivational orientation* with successful adjustment among

immigrant adolescents.

The findings of the current study points to *motivational orientation* and *acculturation* as important variables of successful adjustment in the adopted country (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003), and should be considered as a preliminary attempt to bridge the gap in the *acculturation*, *motivation*, and immigrant adjustment literature. Although limited in design and statistical power, the findings of this study demonstrate that *acculturation* and motivation do not operate independently to affect *adaptation* and psychological well-being. While it seems to suggest that motivation works as a predictor of acculturation success and hence better *adaptation* and well-being, future studies must confirm this idea further.

5.14 GENDER

The role of gender in influencing motivation has a long history in academic research, but despite significant advancement in this area, important gender differences in motivation for *acculturation* remain unanswered. When motivational patterns are examined, significant disparities in adolescents' *acculturation* are reported. Gender gaps in *acculturation* and language learning and school performance in the literature are frequently observed (Grant & Rong, 1999). Therefore, it is important that *acculturation* differences related to these gendered patterns of motivation are examined.

Early theories of motivation viewed motivational constructs as personality dispositions that were developed early in life and remained stable over the individual's lifetime (e.g., McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953), but later theories came to adopt a sociocultural model of motivation that focused on the role of *culture* and socialization in shaping beliefs and behaviours (Weiner, 1986). More recently, researchers proposed the socioeducational model that includes cognitive, psychological, social, and educational factors which shape motivation (e.g., Gardner, 2001; Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972; MacIntyre et al., 2009). Some of the studies using this model suggest that

motivation differs across gender as the function of gender socialisation patterns. For example, Asian and Latina girls are generally expected to be obedient, responsible, and dependent (Weiler, 2000), whereas boys are socialised to be independent and self-confident (Abu-Rabia, 1996, 1997; Pajouhandeh, 2004). Such socialisation patterns are more consistent with the differing gendered experiences and expectations at school. Girls, as a result of this pattern of socialisation, may assimilate into school environments easier than their male counterparts, while boys may experience more academic and behavioural problems than their female counterparts (Richards, 2011).

The available *acculturation* literature on gender differences within ethnic groups is not homogenous, and is even diverse in terms of the questions being asked and the method of inquiry. (Please see Chapter Two for a more detailed discussion.) Although most acculturation studies concentrate on a wide range of outcome predictors, the role of gender as a distinct variable has been considered only marginally (Meece & Kurtz-Costes, 2001), and despite the abundance of *acculturation* research, one area that has been largely neglected has been the role of gender-differentiated *motivational orientations*. It was not until recently that interest in this area began to emerge. There is strong empirical evidence in the social science literature to argue that *culture* shapes gender roles and has an impact on an individual's attitude towards gender roles (Abu-Rabia, 1996, 1997; Pajouhandeh, 2004; Weiler, 2000). Although research has been inconsistent on the nature of *acculturation* between females and males, many researchers have suggested differential acculturative processes for them (e.g., Huang & Uba, 1992; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004).

Several empirical studies have explored the acculturative process females go through (e.g., Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004). Gender differences have been found to be important: women tend to change more and acculturate more successfully and at a faster rate compared to males (Ginorio, 1979). According to Hannassab (1991), the more acculturated females are, the more liberal they behave. Iranian women have not been an exception to these findings, as the current study shows.

According to Tohidi (1993), views about gender roles and *acculturation* are changing more among Iranian women compared to Iranian men. A move to the Western world may have put Iranian women in a new situation where they are exposed to a more modern and liberal society. Migration has become the source of autonomy that provides opportunity for escape from the patriarchal control of their families, enabling them to gain more independence, personal freedom, and economic independence. Research on Iranian families' *adaptation* to the host culture indicates that Iranian women are adopting more flexible attitudes regarding premarital relationships, marriage, and family, while Iranian men hold more traditional views and attitudes (Ghaffarian 1987; Hannasaab & Tidewell, 1996). This change encouraged researchers to explore gender differences in coping with immigrant stress (e.g., Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004). The findings of the current study further supports Tohidi's findings because the majority of female participants demonstrated higher rates of *acculturation* success and identified more with the Canadian culture compared to their male counterparts.

On the other hand, Ghafarian (1987) suggested Iranian men tend to be more acculturated than Iranian women, and that Iranian females tend to suffer from acculturative symptoms more than their male counterparts due to greater expectations to maintain cultural traditions. Although this is a plausible suggestion, in the current study Iranian female participants scored higher on the *acculturation* scale than their male counterparts, indicating that they acculturated more successfully than the male Iranian male participants in the same study.

Immigrants and their families often go through a long process of adjustment to local customs and cultures, language, laws and regulations, and new lifestyles (Jafari et al., 2010). These individuals often aim to fully integrate and successfully acculturate within their new culture. According to Shirpack, Maticka-Tyndale, and Chinichian (2011), among immigrants to North America, Iranian men often acculturate less successfully than Iranian women. This finding is shown in the results of the current study as well.

Men have been eager to experience new ideologies that govern Western culture, but often maintain conventional views with respect to Iranian culture and uphold traditional gender roles (Pajouhandeh, 2004; Shirpack & Maticka-Tyndale, 2011). Alternatively, Iranian women have been quick to embrace Western gender role ideologies, expectations, practices, and behaviours (Shirpack & Maticka-Tyndale, 2011). While this interesting question is beyond the scope of the current study, future cross-cultural studies should strive to clarify the role of gender role ideology.

5.15 STUDY HYPOTHESES

5.15.1 Hypothesis 1

Are higher levels of *instrumental motivation* associated with problem behaviours?

To investigate this question, it was hypothesised that higher levels of *instrumental motivation* are positively associated with higher levels of risky behaviours such as illicit drug use, alcohol use, and gambling behaviour. Therefore, given that *instrumental motivation* is an intrinsic motivational act solely expressed for an ultimate potential gain and is associated to impediments in the assimilation process, it is assumed that gain-stricken behaviour is associated with problematic behaviours.

There are very few empirical studies that examined the relation between motivation orientations (*instrumental* and *integrative*) and problem behaviours. These studies suggested that immigrants (Raylu & Oie, 2004), including Iranians (Howard, 2013; Pineda, 2014), who adopted an *instrumental motivational orientation* of *acculturation* and adjustment to life in their adopted country, exhibited negative attitudes towards their new cultural environment and exhibited problems adjusting successfully with daily challenges, while those who adopted an *integrative motivational orientation* exhibited positive attitudes toward their new cultural environment and adjusted more successfully to their daily life.

Other similar studies also suggest that motivational variables affect how successful an individual will be in adjusting to their new environment (e.g., Rahman & Rollock, 2004; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Zangeneh et al., 2004; Howard, 2013; Pineda, 2014). It has been suggested that in contrast to instrumental motivation, integrative motivation tends to sustain long-term success when adjusting to a new environment or acquiring a new set of cultural norms (Crookes et al 1991; Ellis 1997; Howard, 2013; Pineda, 2014; Taylor, Meynard & Rheault 1977).

Second language learning (SLL) research among immigrant youth confirms the importance of an *integrative motivational orientation* (Gardner & Clement, 1990). Some of the existing empirical studies that focus on *acculturation* and adjustment report a similar finding and have demonstrated that an *integrative motivational orientation* is positively correlated with the ability of immigrants to adjust to their new lives, while an *instrumental motivational orientation* is negatively correlated with the ability of immigrants to adjust to their new lives (e.g., Howard, 2013; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Pineda, 2014; Rahman, 2005). It has been further suggested that this phenomenon is mediated by intercultural contact (Rahman & Rollock, 2004; Howard, 2013; Pineda, 2014); Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). For example, positive attitudes towards Canadian culture are not limited to English language proficiency, but are also related to the frequency and quality of contact with English-speaking Canadians (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999).

One of the goals of the current study was not only to replicate the above findings, but also to examine the role of gender in this equation. In this study, the author examined the associations between gender-differentiated *motivational orientation styles*, *acculturation* success, and risky behaviours (illicit substance use and gambling behaviour) among Iranian youth who have immigrated to Toronto.

The results of the current study confirm the findings in the existing literature that adherence to an *instrumental motivational orientation* is significantly positively correlated with risk-taking behaviours (Rahman & Rollock, 2004; Howard, 2013; Pineda,

2014). Specifically, this study confirmed that adherence to an *instrumental motivational orientation* was significantly positively correlated with the frequency of problem behaviours, such as drinking, heavy drinking, illicit drug use, and gambling, which further confirm results from the existing literature.

Overall, *instrumental motivation* as a predictor variable emerged consistently as a significant and reliable predictor for a criterion variable assessing risky behaviours.

5.15.2 Hypothesis 2

Is difficulty with *acculturation* or *assimilation* associated with higher levels of problem behaviours? To investigate this question, it was hypothesised that lower levels of *acculturation* are positively associated with higher levels of risky behaviours such as drug use, alcohol use, and gambling behaviour. Therefore, if an individual or group has difficulties in the *acculturation* or *assimilation* process, which are also associated with lowered *integrative motivation*, it is assumed the individual and/or group is more likely to engage in risky behaviours.

In contrast to the previous research question and hypothesis that focuses on *motivational orientation* and risky behaviour, the relationship between *acculturation* success and psychological well-being has received greater attention in the literature. Emerging findings suggest that psychological maladjustment is common among individuals who poorly acculturate (see Park, Anastas, Shibusawa, & Nguyen, 2014; Raylu & Oei, 2004), which influences problem behaviours, including gambling (Kim, Grant, Adson, Shin, & Zaninelli, 2002). A large body of early research suggested that there is a relationship between acculturation stress and problem behaviours among immigrant youth and that 'acculturative stress' can sometimes lead to an increase in risk-taking behaviours, including alcohol and substance use and gambling. So-Kum Tang et al. (2011) suggest that individuals who are not acculturating successfully into a new culture often use gambling as a coping mechanism to relieve stress. Additionally, problem gamblers report a greater number of life stressors than individuals who do not

gamble, and that the number of these stressors is positively correlated with the severity of the person's problem gambling (Raylu and Oei, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004; Zangeneh, Mann, McCreedy, & Oseni, 2010).

'Acculturative stress' occurs when one's coping mechanisms are inadequate to assist with successful adjustment to a new cultural landscape (Dressler & Bernal, 1982; Sandler, Braver, & Gensheimer, 2000). This type of stress is triggered by new life events and new psychosocial circumstances. These circumstances may then act as stressors and contribute to problem behaviours among immigrant populations (De La Rosa, 2002; Nielsen, 2001; Nouroozifar & Zangeneh, 2006; Zangeneh et al., 2010) including Iranian immigrants (Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004).

Leibkind (1996), Yeh et al. (2003), and (Hovey, 2000) have examined the relationship between ethnicity and 'acculturative stress'. The result of their study showed that immigrants, especially adolescent males, displayed greater 'acculturative stress' and suggested a linkage between 'acculturative stress' and mental health issues.

A systematic literature review conducted by Kim, Suh, and Heo (2012) to assess the influence of 'acculturative stress' on Asian-American immigrants found that problem gambling is particularly evident among this immigrant and refugee population in the United States. Kim et al. suggested that this might be the result of *acculturation* difficulties.

Some researchers have suggested that higher levels of *integration* (i.e., more successfully acculturated) will result in greater cultural learning and, consequently, better coping and adjustment (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Zangeneh et al., 2010), while lower levels of *integration* (i.e., less successfully acculturated) will result in more symptoms of poor mental health, including depression (Gonzalez et al., 2011; Gutkovich et al., 1999).

The 'acculturative stress' model developed by Berry et al. (1992) may help explain the effects of cultural transitions. Berry et al. (1992) define 'acculturative stress' as a particular kind of stress in which the stressors are a consequence of the process of *acculturation* itself. 'Acculturative stress' occurs when an immigrant's coping mechanisms are maladaptive and fail to assist successful adjustment to a new cultural landscape (Dressker & Bernal, 1982; Grzywacz et al., 2005; Hovey & Magana, 2000). The advantage of using the term 'acculturative stress' is that the source of the stressful experience is identified to be within the interaction between cultures, and is not seen as an inherent quality of any particular culture. Incompatibility of the host society's values and practices with those of the immigrant may lead to internal conflict and confusion (Raylu & Oei, 2004; Zangeneh, Martella, Perna, & Loungo, 2004). Experiences of discrimination and exclusion may further threaten the mental health of immigrants (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004).

Conversely, several investigators reject the argument that the *acculturation* process is negatively related to problematic behavioural consequences. For example, according to Caetano (1987), the frequency of risky behaviour such as substance and alcohol use is positively related to the individual's level of *acculturation*. Others found that as Latino youth become more acculturated in U.S. society, they are more likely to engage in risky behaviours such as substance use (e.g., Alva, 1995; Ebin, Sneed, Morisky, Rutherford-Borus, Magnusson, & Malotte, 2001; see also De La Rosa, 2002 for review). A similar correlation was reported by other researchers (Gil, Wagner, and Vega, 2000; Warheit, Vega, Khoury, Gil, and Efenbein, 1996); Valez & Ungemack, 1995, 1989; Lovato et al (1994)].

The discrepancies between the findings have generated a growing body of research in the literature and served as the impetus for the current investigation.

The results yielded by the current research confirm some of the existing literature, which suggested that lower levels of *acculturation* are negatively associated with problem behaviours. In the current study, the low level of *acculturation* was identified as a

predictor for substance use in immigrant youth. In particular, low *acculturation* levels among male participants were negatively correlated with the frequency of illicit substance use, heavy drinking, and gambling behaviour in the previous year. These findings concur with some of the reported findings in the literature that *acculturation* impacts ethnic adolescents' *adaptation* and adjustment to their social environment.

5.15.3 Hypothesis 3

As previous studies suggest, do males possess a gain-oriented (*instrumental*) *motivational orientation* and females possess a goal-oriented (*integrative*) *motivational orientation*, which is more beneficial during the assimilation process? To investigate this question, it was hypothesised that males possess an *instrumental motivational orientation* while females possess an *integrative motivational orientation*. Therefore, the question addressed was whether males possess a higher gain-oriented *motivational orientation*, and females a higher goal-oriented *motivational orientation*, which past studies have demonstrated to be ultimately more beneficial to the individual and/or group during the *assimilation* process.

Women make up a large portion of immigrants, though their presence has been largely under-reported in the immigration literature, which has predominantly focused on men and their experiences (Houstoun, Kramer & Barrett, 1984; Kofman, 2000). My recent search in electronic databases, including Humanities Abstract, Medline, Embase, Social Work Abstracts, PsycINFO, International Bibliography of Social Sciences, and Google Scholar, produced over 5,000 references pertaining to immigrant women, where most of these references emerged since the late 1980s. Despite the increased research attention on immigrant women and their experiences, much of the research published about immigrant women is inconclusive due to methodological issues, including sampling and design (Dion & Dion, 2001; Wittebrood & Robertson, 1991).

While searching in various electronic databases, including Medline, PsycINFO, ERIC, Humanities Abstract, Embase, Social Work Abstracts, ProQuest, Dissertations &

Theses Global, International Bibliography of Social Sciences, Google Scholar, and JSTOR, for any relevant literature on gender and *motivational orientations*, the question of gender division and whether one gender exclusively uses one *motivational orientation* over another was found to be the most contentious debate in the literature. The existing research evidence on gender differences and motivational orientation were found to be inconclusive at best.

In a study that examined the role of motivation, stress, self-esteem, gender, and students' expectations in predicting academic outcomes, Chouikrat (2013) failed to find any gender difference in *motivational style* or *orientation*. Furthermore, other studies also failed to find any gender differences in *motivational orientation* among female and male language learners (e.g., Shaaban & Ghaith, 2000; Young, 2003;).

While Basaran and Hayta's study (2013) showed a weak correlation between motivation and gender variables, other researchers reported higher *instrumental motivation* among females (e.g., Dörnyei and Clément, 2001) and higher *integrative motivation* among male participants (Vallerand et al., 1992).

On the other hand, numerous studies have showed that females resort to an *integrative motivational orientation* and display more positive attitudes towards second language learning (SLL) than their male counterparts (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Nieva & Gutek, 1981; Powell, 1990; Terborg, 1977; Watson, 1988). In a study by Mori & Gobel (2006), Japanese female English learners reported higher *integrative motivation* and a stronger desire to study a foreign language than their male counterparts. Similarly, Kissau (2006) suggested that gender consistently predicted *integrative motivation* among female SLL in Canada.

A recent report by the C. D. Howe Institute (Richards, 2011) reported a starkly troubling finding. It found that boys do less well academically than girls and that the "male share of the dropout population has continued to rise, with five males now dropping out for every three females" (p. 2).

In regards to immigrants, this report found the statistics to be equally troubling:

In the 2006-7 academic year, the dropout rate among students born outside Canada was 9.8%, compared with 7.0% for Canadian-born students. The dropout rate differs markedly, however, among different ethnic groups. For example, those from East and South Asia have rates considerably below the national average, while Haitians, Portuguese, and Jamaicans have rates well above the average. (p.4)

Findings from the current study showed that males employ an *instrumental motivational orientation* significantly more than females, and that females employ an *integrative motivational orientation* significantly more than males. These findings lend support to the larger section of literature, which suggests males and females are motivated differently and generally use very different *motivational orientations* with implications for their overall attitude and behaviour, including their psychological well-being and adjustment.

5.15.4 Hypothesis 4

As previous studies suggest, do males display lower levels of *acculturation*? To investigate this question, it is hypothesised that males will display lower levels of *acculturation*. Therefore, males will display lower levels of *integrative motivation*.

The role of gender has been largely neglected in existing *acculturation* research. Despite existing *acculturation* research, one area that has been largely neglected has been the role of gender. Research findings about *acculturation* success among females and males are mixed and largely inconclusive. This discrepancy could be related to various methodological issues. Although research has been inconsistent on the nature of *acculturation* among females and males, many researchers have suggested differential acculturative processes are prominent for each (Huang & Uba, 1992; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004). While several studies reported that male

immigrants, including adolescent male immigrants, display a higher level of *acculturation*, other findings contradict these reports and suggest that male immigrants, including adolescent male immigrants, tend to acculturate less successfully than their female counterparts. It is important to note that *acculturation* success or failure is often measured in relation to other outcome variables, such as drug or alcohol use, gambling, academic success, and others.

In a recent study by Arbona and Jimenez (2014), authors looked at ‘acculturative stress’ and academic success among Latino immigrant students in the U.S. and found that females acculturate less successfully than males, as reflected in their academic success and increased manifestation of psychological symptoms.

In another study, Lee and GlenMaye (2014) examined the differential *acculturation* in 246 older Korean immigrant men and women and found that women were significantly less likely than men to acculturate. Killoren and Deutsch (2014) also found significant gender differences in *acculturation*, where male study participants identified more with the host culture compared to the female participants. Furthermore, Suwan (2013) confirmed an interaction of gender and ethnicity variables, finding that Korean women in their study reported higher ‘acculturative stress’ symptoms than Caucasian women and Korean men. The author suggested that the *acculturation* gender effect results could be culture-specific and may not manifest among all immigrant groups.

Bauer, Chen, and Alegria (2012) compared the prevalence of physical symptoms as a function of ‘acculturative stress’ among White, Latino, and Asian-Americans and found that ‘acculturative stress’ was significantly associated with physical symptoms among both Latino and Asian-American male participants, where the most acculturated individuals had the most physical symptoms, hence supporting the ‘healthy immigrant’ effect. In this study, authors reported that Latino and Asian male subjects reported higher numbers of physical symptoms than their female counterparts.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Ghafarian (1987) suggested Iranian men tend to be

more acculturated than Iranian women. Ghafarian also suggested Iranian females tend to suffer from acculturative stress more than Iranian males due to expectations to maintain cultural traditions. This finding supports the notion that acculturating women face a greater challenge upon migration to a new country than men because while adjusting to a new society and going through the acculturation process, they must also navigate the role of being a woman in their new society and maintain the expectations of their old culture.

Others challenge this claim, suggesting that female immigrant youth, particularly those from cultures that restrict women, may identify with Western values that allow women greater freedom. According to Hannassab (1991), acculturated females tend to behave more liberally than their non-acculturated counterparts. Studies have found that female immigrants acculturate more successfully and at a faster rate than male immigrants (Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004). It was determined that although the pace of this process is usually slower for women in many other aspects of life, females tend to acculturate faster when it comes to relinquish their traditional gender roles (Abu-Rabia, 1996, 1997; Ginorio, 1979). For example, in a study by Tohidi (1993), views on attitudes about gender roles and *acculturation* changed more amongst Iranian women than they did amongst Iranian men, possibly because of differences in coping with the stresses associated with the *acculturation* process (Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004). Immigrant females report more positive attitudes toward integration than males.

In a study about drinking behaviour and *acculturation* among Latino college students in the U.S., Schwartz et al. (2010) found lower *acculturation* success among male participants, while they found *acculturation* success higher among females. In this study females scored higher on alcohol consumption frequency compared to their male counterparts. The authors suggested that these findings are consistent with 'immigrant paradox' theory that suggests "low mortality among immigrants due to, respectively, a possible tendency for sick immigrants to return to their home country before death and a possible tendency for new immigrants to be unusually healthy compared to the rest of

their home-country population” (Markides & Coreil, 1986, p. 256).

In another study, Tong (2013) examined the role of sexual behaviour among Asian immigrants in the U.S. and found that male participants displayed lower *acculturation* success compared to their female counterparts. Raylu & Oei (2009) identified the absence of gender predictors of *acculturation* success or failure as a gap in the research. Amaro, Whitaker, Coffman, and Heeren (1990) examined the relationship between higher ‘acculturative stress’ and drug use among Hispanic youth and confirmed this connection across several variables, including male gender and *acculturation* success.

Evidence from the current study demonstrates that males show significantly lower levels of *acculturation* while female participants evince higher levels of *acculturation*. This finding further confirms that *acculturation* is significantly determined by gender. This effect poses significant implications for individuals’ psychological well-being and academic success, which was also demonstrated by the C. D. Howe Institute (Richards, 2011).

5.15.5 Hypothesis 5

Do males engage in risky behaviours due to lower levels of *acculturation* and higher levels of *instrumental motivation*? To investigate this question, it was hypothesised that males will display higher levels of risky behaviours such as drug use, alcohol use, and gambling behaviour. Therefore, due to the assumptions listed above, data may show that males will predominantly engage in risky behaviours due to lower levels of *acculturation* and higher levels of *instrumental motivation*.

The literature demonstrates that *acculturation* can be very stressful (e.g., Berry et al., 1991; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004). The process of *acculturation* involves a re-orientation of thinking, feeling, and communicating (Brown, 1994), which can overwhelm the person going through this

process. Stress arising from the process of *acculturation* has been associated with various adverse consequences, including problem alcohol and drug use and problem gambling (Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004).

The relationship between problem behaviour and *acculturation* could be tied into the discussion around the links between gender and *acculturation*, although the basic relationship between gender and 'acculturative stress' is still being debated among researchers. Kim, Ziedonis, and Chen (2007) reviewed literature on the relationship between *acculturation* success and the inclination to engage in risky behaviours, and demonstrated that positive connections with the new culture increased positive behaviours among immigrants. For example, the more success Chinese-American males had with the acculturation process, the less likely they were to smoke (Kim et al., 2007).

Findings of the present study further confirm this claim that *acculturation* success is positively associated with more positive attitudes and behaviours towards the host culture among immigrants.

Selkirk, Quayle, and Rothwell (2014), who systematically reviewed 24 qualitative and quantitative studies, found the female gender was associated with more favourable attitudes towards the host culture and positive behaviour, while the male gender was found to be associated more with risky behaviours. However, Arbona and Jimenez (2014) demonstrated that "both being a woman and a first-generation college student were uniquely associated to higher levels of minority status stress.... [W]omen reported higher levels of academic stress than men" (p.126).

Male international university and college students are at a greater risk than females for problem gambling. Almost 10% of international male students fell into the problem gambler category. This finding is consistent with the general gambling literature as it relates to gender (e.g., Abbott, Volberg, & Ronnberg, 2004). Significant gender

differences were also found by Killoren and Deutsch (2014) in regards to sexual behaviour, with males being at greater risk than females.

The present study supports these gender effects and demonstrates that immigrant males are more prone to risky behaviours compared to their female counterparts.

The increase in alcohol use among male Latino immigrants in the U.S. is a well-documented phenomenon (Lara et al., 2005). *Acculturation*, and particularly 'acculturative stress', has consistently been associated with increased alcohol and drug use among Latino men (Mills & Caetano, 2012; Padilla & Borrero, 2006). Saigí et al. (2014) found a similar result among immigrants in Spain.

In a four-year prospective study of Asian-American students by Murray et al. (2014), the majority of students reported increased alcohol consumption over the study period, however this change was mainly predicted by change in *acculturation* for females, meaning the more they acculturated the more they consumed alcohol.

Associations among acculturative processes, general alcohol consumption, and negative drinking consequences differed across genders. The most significant findings were that for men, U.S. cultural practices were associated with general alcohol consumption and negative drinking consequences (Schwartz et al., 2010).

Pallav, Herzog, Sun, Rohrbach, and Sussman (2013) reported higher substance use among females and argued that this might be mediated through poorer self-control and affiliation with substance-using peers than *acculturation*.

The result of the present study partially supports some of the claims in the literature. It found males are more at risk for illicit drugs, while females to be more at risk for alcohol consumption.

Researchers found high prevalence rates of problem gambling among immigrant youth,

particularly male immigrant youth (Derevensky, 2005; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004; Zangeneh et al., 2010). Petry et al. (2003) found similar findings among South East Asian immigrant males.

In the current study, Iranian immigrant adolescent males presented significantly more high-risk behaviours than their female counterparts in relation to substance use. Specifically, males reported more frequent alcohol consumption than females. Males and females also differed in terms of their reported frequencies of heavy drinking, with males reporting more frequent episodes of heavy drinking than females. Males reported significantly more frequent use of illicit drugs in the preceding year than did the females. Finally, the result of the current study showed that the frequency of gambling behaviours and problem gambling-related scores, as measured by the South Oaks Gambling Screen – Revised Adolescent (SOGS-RA), were more pronounced for male participants than their female counterparts.

5.16 SUMMARY OF STUDY FINDINGS

5.16.1 Acculturation and gender differences

Findings about *acculturation* success or failure and gender are mixed and largely inconclusive. While some studies reported higher success of *acculturation* among females, other studies reported contradictory results and claim that males acculturate faster and more successfully than their female counterparts. The result of the current study supports the latter claim and reports that Iranian adolescent male immigrants who participated in the study exhibited significantly lower levels of *acculturation* than did females.

Given lower *acculturation* success among adolescent males, males are at a higher risk of various undesirable psychological (anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem), behavioural (illicit drugs, alcohol, and/or gambling as an escape and faulty coping

mechanisms) and educational (lower academic achievement or school dropout) consequences.

5.16.2 Motivation and gender differences

While the existing empirical knowledge on gender differences and *motivational orientation* lack definitive evidence, some of the studies in the *acculturation* and Second Language Learning (see Gardner et al., 2004 for a review) literature suggest that females tend to generally employ an *integrative motivational orientation* more often than males do, while males often resort to *instrumental motivational orientations* more than females. As discussed earlier, some studies within the SSL literature found associations between *integrative* motivation and academic success (see Gardner et al., 2004, for a review). Other researchers found associations between *instrumental* motivation with lower academic success and higher problematic behaviour (e.g., Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004). A recent report by the C. D. Howe Institute (Richards, 2011) reported a troubling finding of higher rates of school dropout and academic failure among male student immigrants.

The result of the current study offers some support to this debate. The current study found that Iranian male adolescent immigrants used an *instrumental motivational orientation* significantly more than the females did and exhibited higher behavioural problems such as illicit drug use, alcoholic drinking behaviour, and gambling. Females on the other hand, used an *integrative motivational orientation* significantly more than males and reported less problematic behaviour.

Given these stark findings and what is known in the SLL literature, an *instrumental motivational orientation* among male immigrant adolescent boys will put them at a higher risk for psychological decline, behavioural problems, and academic failure compared to their female counterparts. This would require schools to revise some of their curriculum, teaching practices, and policies to address the gender gap and help adolescent male immigrants to acquire an *integrative motivational orientation* that would

enable them to adjust more successfully and excel academically.

5.16.3 Acculturation and problem behaviour

Some of the current empirical evidence suggests that behavioural problems are common among individuals who poorly acculturate (Park, Anastas, Shibusawa, & Nguyen, 2014; Raylu & Oei, 2004). However, others reject the argument that the *acculturation* process is negatively related to problematic behavioural consequences (e.g., Alva 1995; Ebin, Sneed, Morisky, Rutherford-Borus, Magnusson & Malotte, 2001). The result of the current study supports the former claims and demonstrates that higher levels of acculturation were significantly negatively associated with frequencies of alcohol consumption, heavy drinking, and illicit substance use. In addition, a significant negative correlation was obtained with frequency of gambling activities.

Given that higher levels of *acculturation* are associated with reported psychological well-being and adjustment, it is recommended that educators and policy makers focus on enhancing the level of integration among immigrants by developing curricula that take into account the differential *motivational orientations* and how they are associated with *acculturation* success.

5.16.4 Motivation and problem behaviour

Findings from the motivational literature consistently suggest that an *integrative motivation orientation* is associated with positive outcomes, including academic success and psychological well-being, while an *instrumental motivational orientation* is significantly positively correlated with lower academic success and increased risky behaviours (e.g., Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Zangeneh, Nouroozifar, & Kantini, 2004; see chapter 2 for further discussions). This suggestion is further confirmed by the current study. Subjects who scored higher on *instrumental motivational orientation* also reported higher levels of alcohol consumption (Chinese Family Life Services of Metro Toronto, 1998; Derevensky, 2005; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Splevins, Mireskandari, Clayton,

& Blaszczynski, 2010; Zangeneh, Sadeghi, & Sharp, 2004; Zangeneh et al., 2010), illicit drug use (Chinese Family Life Services of Metro Toronto, 1998; Derevensky, 2005; Raylu & Oei, 2004; Zangeneh et al., 2004; , Zangeneh et al., 2010), and gambling activity, while those who scored higher for *integrative motivational orientation* also reported lower levels of risky behaviours, including alcohol consumption and gambling activities.

Given that *instrumental* motivation is found to be positively correlated with lower academic success and increased risk behaviours, it is suggested that educators should take into account how *motivational orientation* affects an individual's academic and psychological well-being outcomes and to explore practices and policies that would promote an individual's adjustment and success.

5.16.5 Gender and problem behaviour

Results in the research literature about the association of gender and problem behaviour are contradictory. While some researchers suggest that problem behaviour is more prevalent among male immigrants (Petry et al., 2003), others report higher problem behaviours, including substance use, among females (e.g., Pallav et al., 2013). The result of the current study supports the former claim and demonstrates that male participants in the study reported significantly more related risky behaviours than females.

Given that immigrant adolescent boys are at a greater risk of developing problem behaviours that will eventually translate into higher school dropout rates and psychological problems, strategies to keep them in school longer by teaching positive coping mechanisms and providing more opportunities to engage in the host community are recommended.

5.16.6 Contribution to theory building

Some scholars have critically examined the operationalisation of *acculturation* in research (e.g., Berry, 2001, 1998; De La Rosa, 2002; Magana et al., 1996; Negy & Woods, 1992). Many researchers have measured *acculturation* on a single dimension (e.g., low to high *acculturation*) using demographic indices such as birthplace, generation, or language use and preference as proxy measures of *acculturation* (Negy & Woods, 1992). However, as Berry notes, *acculturation* entails a “multilinear process in which people change on more than one dimension” (1998, p.6). Further, Betancourt and Lopez (1993) recommended that direct and specific measures of culturally relevant dimensions be used so that the relationship between *culture* and psychological processes could be better understood. Several investigators have also noted that *acculturation* is a complex construct which may be measured by language, but is influenced by other factors, such as cultural similarities between the immigrant group and the host society (Lovato, et. al. 1994; Sodowsky, Lai, & Plake, 1991).

In short, conceptualising and assessing *acculturation* along a single cultural dimension tends to be limited in terms of its utility, as it does not account for other important cultural factors such as ethnic and cultural identity, ethnic behaviours, social relationships, and cultural values.

5.17 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The current study is among the first to examine the interrelationships among drug and alcohol use or misuse, problem gambling, *acculturation* success or ‘acculturative stress’, and *motivational orientation* among Iranian adolescent immigrants. To understand the predictors of success or failure among adolescent youth, replication of the current study is necessary. Suggestions for future research include:

1. A replication of the current study with other ethnic youth groups in Canada.
2. One of the major limitations of this study was its sample size. A replication of this

study with a larger sample size would help to produce a significant statistical effect.

3. A replication of the current study with a comparative cross-cultural design, which allows us to collect the similar data and examine these constructs and their interrelationship across different cultures.
4. A replication of the current study utilising additional validated psychometric measurements on *motivational orientation*.
5. A replication of the current study with an additional measurement that specifically focuses on coping skills. This would help to measure if they rate higher on *emotion-focused* coping strategies or *problem-focused* coping strategies and how they relate to *motivational orientation* and *acculturation* success.
6. A replication of the current study with a longitudinal research design for better testing of complex causal models.
7. A replication of the current study with refugee populations who share or may share a similar *acculturation* experience.
8. It is important to underscore the role of a positive learning milieu that promotes the capacity to adjust teaching and learning conditions to meet the needs of immigrant males. To that end, it is important to understand how educators, administrators, and policy makers contribute to building capacity to promote positive learning experiences at school.
9. Educators are encouraged to identify and consider educational practices that contribute to positive learning outcomes that are informed by research, while being mindful of the fact that gender-specific educational strategies are still in their infancy.

10. Research to help identify practices that address educational achievement among immigrant adolescent males. These practices may include specific curriculum instruction, teacher skill building, considering student learning strategies, homework design, and educational practices at home. To test and validate these practices among immigrant adolescents, specifically males, we need to construct a metric instrument that is able to measure educational achievement outcomes.

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Appendix A: Research Ethics Board Approval

FILE COPY



Centre
for Addiction and
Mental Health
Centre de
toxicomanie et
de santé mentale

Centre for Addiction
and Mental Health
33 Russell Street
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5S 2S1
Tel: 416.535.8501

PROTOCOL REFERENCE #51/2002

September 16, 2002

Nigel Turner, PhD
Scientist,
Social, Policy & Prevention Research Dept.
Centre for Addiction and Mental Health - ARF site
33 Russell Street
Toronto, ON M5S 2S1

Masood Zangeneh, BSc., MEd (Candidate)
Social, Policy & Prevention Research Dept.
CAMH - ARF site
33 Russell Street
Toronto, ON M5S 2S1

Centre de toxicomanie
et de santé mentale
33, rue Russell
Toronto (Ontario)
Canada M5S 2S1
Tél. : 416.535.8501

www.camh.net

Dear Dr. Turner and Mr. Zangeneh:

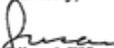
Re: Research protocol #51/2002 entitled, "Gender differentiated motivational style and its interaction with acculturation process: Their role in second language learning and mental health maladjustment, especially problem gambling, among Iranian immigrant youth in Toronto" by Masood Zangeneh and Nigel Turner

We are writing to advise you that the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health Research Ethics Board has granted approval to the above-named research study for a period of **one year from the date of this letter**. *If the study is expected to continue beyond the expiry date, you are responsible for ensuring the study receives re-approval by submitting the CAMH REB "Annual Renewal of Ethics Approval" form on or before August 1, 2003.*

The Research Information and Consent Form (Appendix 4) *revised August 29, 2002* has been approved and is attached. **Subjects should receive a copy of their consent form.** As well, the CAMH REB has approved the advertisement *revised June 3, 2002* for the above-named protocol. A copy of the advertisement is attached to this letter (Appendix 3). **Please contact the Public Affairs Department at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health prior to using any advertisement.**

During the course of the research, any significant deviations from the approved protocol (**that is, any deviation which would lead to an increase in risk or a decrease in benefit to human subjects**) and/or any unanticipated developments within the research should be brought to the attention of the Research Ethics Office. *Best wishes for the successful completion of your project.*

Yours sincerely,


Susan Pilon, MHSc
Manager, Research Ethics Office, CAMH

Encl.

cc: P. Darby J. Simpson P. Garfinkel F. Vaccarino A. Arifuzzaman

* Investigators are reminded that should they leave CAMH, they are required to inform the Research Ethics Board of the status of any on-going research. If a study is to be closed or transferred to another facility, the REB must be informed and any advertisements must be discontinued.

*Better understanding, prevention and care
Mieux comprendre - prévenir - soigner*

Addiction Research Foundation
Fondation de la recherche
sur la toxicomanie

Clack Institute
of Psychiatry
Institut psychiatrique Clack

Dowwood Institute
Institut Dowwood

Queen Street Mental
Health Centre
Centre de santé mentale
de la rue Queen

A World Health Organization
Centre of Excellence
(Un Centre d'excellence de
l'Organisation mondiale
de la santé)

Affiliated with the
University of Toronto
Affilié à l'Université
de Toronto

Appendix B: Recruitment Flyer

Participants Needed!+

Have You Ever Been Interested In Participating In A Research Study? An Opportunity Is Now Available In Your Local Area!

The purpose of this study is to determine whether motivational styles (both instrumental and integrative), acculturation and gender are correlated with risky behaviors such as alcohol and drug use and problem gambling among Iranian youth who have immigrated to Toronto. This is done by examining the role of individual motivation for learning and adopting the host language and culture and to evaluate the impact of motivation on coping style of the individual. Should you choose to participate, you will be asked to complete a survey that is 30 minutes in duration.

COMPENSATION will be provided for your involvement in this study!!!

What Are We Looking For?

- STUDENTS BETWEEN 16-19 YEARS OF AGE
- RECENTLY OR PREVIOUSLY IMMIGRATED TO CANADA
- FROM THE IRANIAN COMMUNITY

FOR FURTHER DETAILS PLEASE CONTACT

MASOOD ZANGENEH+
Centre for Addiction and Mental Health
33 Russell Street, Toronto
T: 416.535-8501 | E: masood.zangeneh@camh.ca



Appendix C: Screening Questions

Are you Iranian?

Were you born in Iran?

When did you move to Canada?

Are you between the ages 16-19?

Have you taken English since you have moved to Canada/are you currently taking English?

Appendix D: Recruitment Letter

[insert date]

Title of Study: Gender Differentiated Motivational orientation and its Interaction with the Acculturation Process.

Principal Investigator: Masood Zangeneh, researcher at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health and a doctoral candidate at the University of South Africa.

I, Masood Zangeneh, invite you to participate in a research project entitled Gender Differentiated Motivational orientation and its Interaction with the Acculturation Process.

The purpose of this study is to determine whether motivational orientations (instrumental and integrative), acculturation and gender are correlated with perilous behaviors such as alcohol, drug use and problem gambling among Iranian youth that have immigrated to Toronto. Integrative motivation is particularly associated with individuals who immigrate to a new country and want to learn the language of the country. Integrative motivation focuses on an individual's personal identification with the surrounding community for social communication purposes. In contrast, instrumental motivation focuses on an individual's desire to learn a new language for the purpose of personal achievement, such as obtaining a career and high paying salary. Integrative motivation is seemingly correlated to a higher success rate of learners in comparison to instrumental motivation. Although, previous research has provided insight into these relationships, more rigorous studies are necessary to identify which factor has a stronger predicting value relative to the risky behavior. Results from the study will be utilized by program planners and health professionals to identify intervention opportunities and establish health priorities that address the needs of Iranian children at risk of, or youth presently engaged in, problematic behaviours. Should you choose to participate, you will be asked to **complete a survey**.

The expected duration **of participation is 45 minutes**.

Research benefit: Understanding the dynamics of immigration and how it is related to other factors such as acculturation stress and motivational orientation will be a major step forward in our understanding of mental health adjustment or maladjustment among Iranian youth. This knowledge will offer educators a guideline to develop curriculum that could address the differential motivation and acculturation process among newly arrived youth, including Iranian youth. This in turn could facilitate immigrant youth's acculturation transition, including Iranian youth. Such efforts could translate into early school drop-out prevention, exercise of effective coping skills among immigrant youth, and avoidance of risky behaviour.

This research project is approved by the Research Ethics Board at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health.

If you have any pertinent questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Susan Pilon, REB Chair (susan_pilon@humber.ca, 416-525-8501)

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me (see below for contact information).

Thank you,

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of fluid, overlapping strokes that form the name 'Masood Zangeneh'.

Masood Zangeneh

416-843-1262

masood.zangeneh@gmail.com/masood_zangeneh@camh.net

Appendix E: Informed Consent to Participate in Research

Information to Consider Before Taking Part in This Research Study

REB Study # 51/2002

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Research studies include only people who choose to take part. This document is called an informed consent form. Please read this information carefully and take your time making your decision. Ask the researcher to discuss this consent form with you; please ask him to explain any words or information you do not clearly understand. We encourage you to talk with your family and friends before you decide to take part in this research study. The nature of the study, risks, benefits, and other important information about the study are listed below.

Participant Consent

The person who is in charge of this research study is Masood Zangeneh. Masood Zangeneh is the Principal Investigator.

The research will be conducted at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health.

This research study is funded by the University of Guelph-Humber.

Title of the Study

Gender Differentiated Motivational orientation and its Interaction with the Acculturation Process.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine whether motivational orientations (instrumental and integrative), acculturation and gender are correlated with perilous behaviors such as alcohol, drug use and problem gambling among Iranian youth who

have immigrated to Toronto. Integrative motivation is particularly associated with individuals who immigrate to a new country and want to learn the language of the country. Instrumental motivation focuses on an individual's personal identification with the surrounding community for social communication purposes. In contrast, instrumental motivation focuses on an individual's desire to learn a new language for the purpose of personal achievement, such as obtaining a career and high paying salary. Integrative motivation is seemingly correlated with a higher success rate of learners in comparison to instrumental motivation. Although previous research has provided insight into these relationships, more rigorous studies are necessary to identify which factor has a stronger predicting value relative to the risky behavior. Results from the study will be utilized by program planners and health professionals to identify intervention opportunities and establish health priorities that address the needs of Iranian children at risk of or youth presently engaged in problematic behaviors. Should you choose to participate, you will be asked to **complete a survey**.

Should you take part in this study?

- This form tells you about this research study. After reading through this form and having the research explained to you by someone conducting this research, you can decide if you want to take part in it.
- You may have questions this form does not answer. If you do have questions, feel free to ask the Principle Investigator or the person explaining the study, as you go along.
- Take your time to think about the information that is being provided to you.

What will happen during this study?

Participants will begin with the Attitude questionnaire after reading the information sheet, and the questionnaire contains 8 questions. The questionnaire contains items about the two motivational orientations: Instrumental (e.g., I want to continue my academic studies in Canada), and Integrative (e.g., I tend to imitate English language

speakers). The second part of this survey includes the Acculturation questionnaire that contains 13 questions. This tool consists of questions that address the following issues: friendship, marriage, children, names, language, cultural activity, newspaper readership, T.V. watching, association with members of a culture, living in a particular community, and studying the history or literature of a cultural group. These items are addressed in relation to assimilation and integration as two main styles of acculturation. An example of an assimilation question is, "Because I live in Canada, I think it is a waste of time to learn about Iranian history, literature, and art;" and an example of an integration question is, "It is equally important for me to have access to both Iranian and Canadian TV and newspapers." This scale is used as a measure of self-report behaviour by participants regarding their associations with Iranian and Canadian societies. The third part of this survey includes the Drugs & Alcohol questionnaire that contains 2 questions. These questions are used to screen for alcohol and drug abuse problems. Finally, the last part of this survey includes the Gambling questionnaire that contains 10 questions (if you say yes to one question or to none of them, this means you have no problem gambling; if you say yes to 2-3 questions, this means you are at risk of problem gambling; if you say yes to 4 or more questions, this means you have a gambling problem). It is important that each participant reads each question and component carefully. The time required for participation is 45 minutes or less.

Total Number of Participants

About 308 individuals will take part in this study at the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health.

Potential

Participants may experience minimal discomfort when exploring their history of drug, alcohol and/or gambling behavior or answering questions related to their culture and acculturation (cultural learning process). If you feel that any of these questions might make you uncomfortable, please feel free to talk to our support counselor. If at any

Risks/Discomforts

point you feel extremely uncomfortable answering a question, please do not hesitate to skip the question.

Benefits

By participating in the project, you may gain insight into your own attitudes and behaviors around cultural learning, substance use and gambling.

Moreover, you may become more familiar with your motivational orientation. As well, your participation may further allow for learning about the process of acculturation and a better understanding of your ethnic identity.

Finally, you may take great satisfaction knowing that you are contributing to a knowledge base and that other individuals in similar situations may benefit from this research and your contributions.

Confidentiality

You will be assigned a code number, which will protect your identity. All data will be kept in secured files, in accordance with the standards of the University, Federal regulations, and the Canadian Psychological Association. All identifying information will be removed from questionnaires as soon as your participation is complete. No one will be able to know which are your questionnaire responses. Finally, remember that it is not individual person's responses that interest us; we are studying the usefulness of the tests in question for people in general.

Participation and Withdrawal

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary. You are free to skip specific questions and continue participating at no penalty. You may stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. In the event that you withdraw from the study (even if you regret participating after you have completed this study and have left the research site), all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible, and you will still be eligible to receive the promised pay for agreeing

to be in the project.

Compensation

You will receive a \$5 gift certificate.

Rights of Research Participants

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health Research Ethics Board.

How Do I Withdraw Permission to Use My Information after I have left the research site?

You can revoke this form at any time by sending a letter clearly stating that you wish to withdraw your authorization to use of your survey answers in the research. If you revoke your permission, you will no longer be a participant in this research study.

To revoke this form, please write to:

Principal Investigator Masood Zangeneh

For REB Study # 51/2002

Mailing Address:

Centre for Addiction and Mental Health

33 Russell Street

Toronto, Ontario

M5S

2S1,

Canada

Opportunities to be Informed of Results

In all likelihood, the results will be fully available around _____TBD_____ (date).

Preliminary results will be available earlier. If you wish to be told the results of this research, please contact:

Principal Investigator: Masood Zangeneh Phone: (416) 843-1262.

Contact Information

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact:

Research Ethics Board Chair Susan Pilon

susan_pilon.@camh.net

416-535-8501

If you have any questions/concerns about the research, please contact Masood Zangeneh at masood_zangeneh@camh.net or masood.zangeneh@gmail.com

Signature of Research Participant

I have read the information provided for the research study as described. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature

Date

Guardian's signature

Date

Witness

Date

Appendix F: Online Questionnaire

Motivation

INST1: I studied/am studying English so that I would/will be able to go to College/University.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

INST2: I studied/am studying English so that I would/will be able to get a good job.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

INST3: I studied/am studying English so that I would/will be able to continue my high school studies.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

Score:

INTE1: I studied/am studying English so that I would/will be able to understand people who speak English.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

INTE2: I studied/am studying English so that I would/will be able to make English-speaking friends.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

INTE3: I studied/am studying English so that I will fit in with people who speak English.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

INTE4: I tend to imitate people who speak English.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

INTE5: I studied/am studying English because I like English-speaking people.

Strongly disagree__ Disagree__ Agree__ Strongly agree__

Score:

ACCULTURATION:

(The cultural change of an individual or group that is in the process of adapting to or learning attributes from another culture. An example of this, which pertains to the current study, is an Iranian immigrant adapting to the Canadian culture and customs.)

Please read each question carefully and choose ONE of the available options that reflect your personal experiences and feelings MOST ACCURATELY.

A lot or very much: 4

Mostly: 3

A few or sometimes: 2

Not at all: 1

1. I have Iranian friends.	1	2	3	4
2. I participate in Iranian cultural and religious events.	1	2	3	4
3. I have Canadian friends.	1	2	3	4
4. I participate in Canadian customs and cultural events.	1	2	3	4
5. I read Canadian newspapers.	1	2	3	4
6. I read Iranian newspapers.	1	2	3	4
7. I watch Iranian TV.	1	2	3	4
8. I watch Canadian TV.	1	2	3	4
9. I read Iranian history, literature, and poetry.	1	2	3	4
10. I read Canadian history, literature, and poetry.	1	2	3	4
11. I have modified the way I dress, eat, and entertain since I came to Canada.	1	2	3	4
12. Ever since I came to Canada I have tried to improve my English.	1	2	3	4
13. Since I came to Canada I read and write more in the Iranian language because I am worried about losing my original language.	1	2	3	4

Drugs, Alcohol

1. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you drink ALCOHOL — liquor (rum, whiskey, etc.), wine, beer, coolers?

- 01 Drank only at special events (for example, Christmas or at weddings)
- 02 Had a sip of alcohol to see what it's like
- 03 Once a month or less often
- 04 2 or 3 times a month
- 05 Once a week
- 06 2 or 3 times a week
- 07 4 or 5 times a week
- 08 Almost every day – 6 or 7 times a week
- 09 Drank, but not in the last 12 months
- 10 Never drunk alcohol in lifetime

2. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use CANNABIS (also known as marijuana, "weed", "grass", "pot", hashish, "hash", hash oil, etc.)?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what cannabis is

3. In the **LAST 12 MONTHS**, how often did you use **BARBITURATES** (such as Seconal, also known as "barbs", "rainbows", etc.) WITHOUT A PRESCRIPTION or without a doctor telling you to take them?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used non-medically, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used non-medically in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what barbiturates are

4. In the **LAST 12 MONTHS**, how often did you use **BARBITURATES WITH A PRESCRIPTION** (such as Seconal, Amytal), or because a doctor told you to take them?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Use medically, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used medically in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what barbiturates are

5. In the **LAST 12 MONTHS**, how often did you use **HEROIN** (also known as "H", "junk", "smack", etc.)?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times

- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what heroin is

6. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use METHAMPHETAMINES or "speed"?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what "speed" is

7. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use STIMULANTS other than cocaine (such as diet pills, also known as "uppers", "bennies", "dexies", etc.) WITHOUT A PRESCRIPTION or without a doctor telling you to take them?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used non-medically, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used non-medically in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what stimulants are

8. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use STIMULANTS WITH A PRESCRIPTION or because a doctor told you to take them?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times

- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Use medically, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used medically in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what stimulants are

9. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use TRANQUILLIZERS (such as Valium, Librium, also known as "tranqs", "downers", etc.) WITHOUT A PRESCRIPTION or without a doctor telling you to take them?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used non-medically, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used non-medically in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what tranquilizers are

10. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use TRANQUILLIZERS WITH A PRESCRIPTION or because a doctor told you to take them?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used medically, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used medically in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what tranquilizers are

11. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use LSD or "acid"?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months

- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what LSD is

12. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use the drug PCP (also known as "angel dust", "dust", "horse tranquilizer", etc.)?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what PCP is

13. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use HALLUCINOGENS, OTHER THAN LSD OR PCP (such as Mescaline and Psilocybin, also known as "magic mushrooms", "mesc", etc.)?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what hallucinogens are

14. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use COCAINE (also known as "coke", "snow", "snort", "blow", etc.)?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times

- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what cocaine is

15. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use cocaine in the form of "CRACK"?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what "crack" is

16. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use MDMA OR "ECSTASY"?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what "ecstasy" is

17. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use OXYCONTIN (also known as "oxy", "OC")?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times

- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what OxyContin is

18. In the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often did you use ADRENOCROMES (also known as "wagon wheels")?

- 1 1 or 2 times
- 2 3 to 5 times
- 3 6 to 9 times
- 4 10 to 19 times
- 5 20 to 39 times
- 6 40 or more times
- 7 Used, but not in the last 12 months
- 8 Never used in lifetime
- 9 Don't know what adrenochromes are

19. During the LAST 4 WEEKS how often did you drink alcohol (liquor, wine, beer, or coolers)?

- 1 Once or twice
- 2 Once or twice each week
- 3 3 or 4 times each week
- 4 5 or 6 times each week
- 5 Once each day
- 6 More than once each day
- 7 Did not drink alcohol in the last 4 weeks
- 8 Don't drink alcohol

20a. How many times in the LAST 4 WEEKS have you had FIVE OR MORE DRINKS of alcohol on the SAME OCCASION?

- 1 Once
- 2 2 times

- 3 3 times
- 4 4 times
- 5 5 or more times
- 6 Did not drink alcohol in the last 4 weeks
- 7 Did not have five or more drinks of alcohol on the same occasion in the last 4 weeks
- 8 Don't drink alcohol

20b. How often do you have five or more drinks on one occasion?

- 1 Never
- 2 Less than once a month
- 3 About once a month
- 4 About once a week
- 5 Daily or almost daily
- 6 Don't drink alcohol

21. How many of your CLOSEST friends use marijuana or hashish?

- 1 None of my friends
- 2 Some of my friends
- 3 About half of my friends
- 4 Most of my friends
- 5 All of my friends

22a. Have you ever ridden in a car driven by someone (including yourself) who was high or had been using alcohol or other drugs?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

22b. Do you ever use alcohol or other drugs to relax, feel better about yourself, or fit in?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

22c. Do you ever use alcohol or other drugs while you are by yourself (alone)?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

22d. Do you ever forget things you did while using alcohol or other drugs?

1 Yes

2 No

22e. Do your family or friends ever tell you that you should cut down on your drinking or other drug use?

1 Yes

2 No

22f. Have you ever gotten into trouble while you were using alcohol or other drugs??

1 Yes

2 No

Gambling

1. Have you ever gambled or bet in the past or present? If the answer is “no”, please skip the gambling section

1: Yes 2: No

2. When you were betting, have you ever told others you were winning money when you weren't?

1: Yes 2: No

3. Have you ever gambled more than you had planned to?

1: Yes 2: No

4. Has anyone criticized your betting, or told you that you had a gambling problem whether you thought it true or not?

1: Yes 2: No

5. Have you ever felt bad about the amount of money you bet, or about what happens when you bet money?

1: Yes 2: No

6. Have you ever felt like you would like to stop betting, but didn't think you could?

1: Yes 2: No

7. Have you ever hidden from family or friends any betting slips, money that you won, or any signs of gambling?

1: Yes 2: No

8. Have you had money arguments with family or friends that centered on gambling?

1: Yes 2: No

9. Have you borrowed money to bet and not paid it back?

1: Yes 2: No

10. Have you ever skipped or been absent from school due to betting activities?

1: Yes 2: No

11. Have you borrowed money or stolen something in order to bet or to cover gambling activities?

1: Yes 2: No