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CONFLICT, SOLIDARITY, AND ACCULTURATION

ADOLESCENTS' ADAPTATION AND PERCEPTIONS OF
INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS AFTER
IMMIGRATION

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Migration and acculturation cause individual growth and changes in different spheres of adolescents' lives, including family relations. Migration is known to challenge family relations and to mobilize immigrant adolescents to take the dual role of a pioneer of acculturation and a convoy of familial adaptation into a new society. This role is not taken and given without negotiations. For adolescents, the process of acculturation (e.g., learning the language, familiarizing with norms and values of the society, coping with discrimination) overlaps with the developmental phase where adolescents (re)negotiate their identities and relationships with their parents. According to previous research, much of the negotiation takes place along the continuum between autonomy and relatedness. To support the adaptation of immigrant families and adolescents in particular, it is crucial, however, to better understand the ways adolescents perceive their social environment, deal with the changes in intergenerational relations, and act as agents of acculturation and family adaptation. This is also crucial in terms of the potential consequences of adolescent-parent relations for adolescents' adaptation.

This study explores the perceptions of immigrant adolescents of intergenerational relations in their families after migration. It also examines how intergenerational relations are manifested and negotiated in the school context and are associated with the adaptation of adolescents in Finland. The theoretical background of the study combines an ecological perspective on adolescents' development with acculturation psychology, cultural psychology, and youth and family studies. The study includes qualitative and quantitative research methods. The main data used in the study consists of 80 semi-structured interviews of 1.5-generation immigrant adolescents (aged 13 to 18). The Finnish School Health Promotion Study ($N = 2697$) is utilized to analyse the association between perceived intergenerational relations and the adaptation of immigrant adolescents with different immigration and cultural backgrounds in Finland.

The thesis includes four sub-studies of which each illustrates particular characteristics of adolescent-parent relationships after migration from the perspective of adolescents. Study I explores the contexts of immigrant adolescents' autonomy negotiations in intergenerational relations, and examines the multiple positions that adolescents use in their reflections on autonomy after immigration. Study II focuses on adolescents' experiences of gratitude and indebtedness towards parents and asks how these emotions shape intergenerational relations after migration. In Study III, intergenerational negotiations are studied in relation to the school context, focusing on information flows between adolescents, parents, and school personnel. Finally, Study IV examines how the perceptions of adolescents of

their relationships with parents, particularly perceived parental knowledge, are associated with their psychological (i.e., anxiety symptoms) and socio-cultural (i.e., school achievement) adaptation, and whether the effect of perceived parental knowledge on adaptation outcomes depends on their migration backgrounds and social characteristics (i.e., generation status, gender, and family's socioeconomic status).

The findings of the study show how adolescents' experiences of acculturation- and development-related changes are manifested and negotiated within the families and in a larger social context (i.e., school), and how they shape adolescent-parent relationships and the adaptation of adolescents after migration. The study highlights the ambivalent nature of intergenerational relations. It shows the effort and resilience of immigrant adolescents in mastering acculturation and developmental demands. The study results suggest that intergenerational conflicts as such do not necessarily impede adolescents' adaptation but may, on the contrary, support adolescents' and their parents' adaptation in a new society. From the perspective of adolescent-parent relationships, this study proposes improving open communication within families and carefully recommends that immigrant parents, like all parents, even though obviously often thinking of the best for their children, could pay more attention to listening to their children and to perspective taking – that is something their children often master skilfully. The study also sees it as crucial that building a dialogue between school personnel and parents should be encouraged in order to increase parents' agency and knowledge. This contributes to their children's positive development and adaptation.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Muutto uuteen maahan vaikuttaa merkittäväällä tavalla perheenjäsenten välisiin suhteisiin. Maahanmuuttajanuorten rooli voi olla keskeinen perheen sopeutuessa uuteen ympäristöön. Nuoret omaksuvat vanhempiaan nopeammin ympäröivän yhteiskunnan arvoja ja tapoja. Nuorten akkulturaatioprosessi sisältää muun muassa uuden kielen oppimista sekä uuden yhteiskunnan normeihin ja arvoihin tutustumista. Muuton tuomat muutokset tapahtuvat nuorille ikävaiheessa, jossa neuvottelut nuoren identiteetistä ja suhteesta vanhempiin ovat ajankohtaisia kehityspsykologisesta näkökulmasta. Nuoren kotoutuminen ja aikuiseksi kasvamisen tapahtuvat näin ollen limittäin, ja niiden keskiössä ovat usein neuvottelut nuoren autonomiasta suhteessa hänen vanhempiinsa.

Tässä tutkimuksessa selvitetään, millaisia nuorten kokemukset ja neuvottelut sukupolvisuhteissa tapahtuvista muutoksista ovat Suomeen muuton jälkeen. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan myös sitä, millainen yhteys sukupolvisuhteiden laadulla on nuorten kotoutumiselle Suomessa. Tutkimuksen teoreettisessa taustassa yhdistyvät kehitys- ja akkulturaatiopsykologian sekä kulttuurien välisen psykologian ja sosiologisen perhetutkimuksen näkökulmat. Tutkimuksessa käytetään laadullisia ja määrällisiä tutkimusmenetelmiä. Tutkimuksen pääasiallisena aineistona on 13–18-vuotiaiden nuorten haastatteluaineisto ($N = 80$). Lisäksi yhdessä osatutkimuksista hyödynnetään Kouluterveyskyselyssä kerättyä aineistoa ($N = 2697$).

Väitöskirja koostuu neljästä osatutkimuksesta, joista jokainen tarkastelee sukupolvisuhteita muuton jälkeen nuoren näkökulmasta keskittyen neljään eri teemaan. Ensimmäisessä osatutkimuksessa selvitetään, missä konteksteissa ja mistä positioista käsin nuoret neuvottelevat autonomiasta suhteessa vanhempiinsa. Toisessa osatutkimuksessa tutkitaan nuorten vanhempiaan kohtaan kokemaa kiitollisuutta ja kiitollisuudenvelkaa sekä sitä, miten nämä tunteet muovaavat sukupolvisuhteita maahanmuuttajaperheissä muuton jälkeen. Kolmannessa osatutkimuksessa sukupolvineuvotteluita tarkastellaan koulukontekstissa. Tutkimuksessa nuorten, vanhempien ja koulun henkilökunnan välistä kommunikaatiota tarkastellaan tiedonkulun näkökulmasta. Neljäs osatutkimus selvittää, miten nuori-vanhempi suhteen laatu on yhteydessä nuoren psyykkiseen hyvinvointiin ja koulumenestykseen nuorten eri ryhmissä.

Tutkimuksen tulokset havainnollistavat nuorten sukupolvisuhteissa tapahtuvia neuvotteluita kotona ja osana laajempaa yhteiskuntaa, erityisesti osana koulua. Tutkimus osoittaa, miten nuoret neuvottelevat usein keskenään ristiriitaisista tunteista ja toiveista suhteessa vanhempiinsa, ja miten nuorten kokemukset edelleen muovaavat sukupolvisuhteita. Tutkimuksen keskeinen tulos on, että vanhempien tekemällä

muuttopäätöksellä ja nuorten tulkinnoilla muuton syistä on kauaskantoiset vaikutukset nuorten ja heidän vanhempiensa välisiin suhteisiin. Tutkimus myös havainnollistaa, miten ristiriidat sukupolvisuhteissa voivat olla osa avointa kommunikaatiota nuorten ja vanhempien välillä ja osaltaan edistää nuoren myönteistä kehitystä, hyvinvointia ja kotoutumista.

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This thesis is based on the following publications:

I Turjanmaa, E., Alitolppa-Niitamo, A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2017). 1.5-generation adolescents' autonomy negotiations in transnational migrant families. *Migration Letters*, 14(1), 75–87.

II Turjanmaa, E., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2020). Thanks but no thanks? Gratitude and indebtedness within intergenerational relations after immigration. *Family Relations*, 69(1), 63–75. DOI: 10.1111/fare.12401

III Säävälä, M., Turjanmaa, E., & Alitolppa-Niitamo, A. (2017). Immigrant home-school information flows in Finnish comprehensive schools. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, 13(1), 39–52. DOI: 10.1108/IJMHS-10-2015-0040

IV Turjanmaa, E., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. A Comparative Study of Parental Knowledge and Adaptation of Immigrant Youth (Manuscript submitted for publication)

The publications are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals. The original publications (Study I–III) are reprinted with kind permission of the copyright holders.

1 INTRODUCTION

The biggest reason for migration was me. Why [else] would my father give up his good job and leave? The reason was me, and nothing else.

Boy with Iranian background, 16 years of age

For all the good they have done for me, raised me so well and gave me all that freedom. I don't want to disappoint them.

Girl with Indian background, 15 years of age

In this study, I examine intergenerational relations after migration as they are perceived and negotiated by adolescents. Moreover, I examine how immigrant adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational relations are related to their adaptation in Finland. Adolescence is an age phase that is characterized by identity negotiations and pursuits of autonomy in relation to one's parents (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Jugert & Titzmann, 2019; Kagitcibasi, 2013; Steinberg, 2001). After migration, however, these negotiations often become more complex. It is assumed that adolescents adapt the values and norms of the new society more quickly and to a greater extent than their parents, and that these discrepancies inevitably lead to conflicts within the family (Birman, 2006; Kwak, 2003; Telzer, 2010). Some studies have, however, revealed that intergenerational discrepancies are not necessarily related to adolescents' maladjustment (Kwak, 2003; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009) and that migration can even strengthen the relationship between adolescents and parents and increase solidarity between generations (Albertini, Mantovani, & Gasperoni, 2019; Kang & Raffaelli, 2016). Conflicts or no conflicts, negotiations of intergenerational relationships become increasingly important in the transition phase that migration fundamentally represents (Connidis, 2015). In this study, I explore how developmental and acculturative changes are perceived and negotiated in intergenerational relations in adolescence. The study shows how adolescents' ambivalent aims and emotions towards their parents are manifested and managed in intergenerational relations in the immigration context, and how adolescents' perceptions of adolescent-parent relationships are related to their adaptation.

To support immigrant adolescents' adaptation, interaction between adolescents and their parents is crucial. Adolescent-parent relationships change due to migration as the acculturation process brings about psychological and cultural changes (Berry, 1997; Redfield, Linton, &

Herskovits, 1936, 146) in the lives of each family members. These changes are managed and negotiated between adolescents and parents in intergenerational relationships (Connidis, 2015; Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Due to migration, the family's socioeconomic situation and surrounding normative values often change (Kagitcibasi, Ataca, & Diri, 2010). Often, but not necessarily, adolescents adapt to a new sociocultural environment (e.g., values, norms, language) more quickly and to a greater extent than their parents. Consequently, this also often leads to adolescents' roles as a family language broker, helping their parents to adapt and this, in turn, sometimes complicates the roles of adolescents and their parents within the families (Birman & Addae, 2015, 16; Jugert & Titzmann, 2019). Culture brokering may be beneficial for adolescents' development and adaptation, but may also make their lives more stressful (Birman & Addae, 2015, 16).

The notion that intergenerational changes and gaps lead to conflicts and cause maladaptation among immigrant adolescents has been challenged (Ho & Birman, 2010; Kwak, 2003; Phinney, 2010; Telzer, 2010). Recent theoretical frameworks on adaptation have focused on the resilience of adolescent immigrants, emphasizing their capability in coping with family changes and potential difficulties in a new society (Motti-Stefanidi, Berry, Chrysochoou, Sam, & Phinney, 2012). Resilience also relates to coping with the multiple changes in intergenerational relations. How these changes are perceived and contextually negotiated in intergenerational relations in the immigration context has, however, gained only limited attention in psychology (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009; Phinney, 2010). Consequently, there have been increasing demands to examine the complexity of family acculturation using qualitative methods (Chirkov, 2009; Phinney, 2010; Suárez-Orozco & Carhill, 2008, 89; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009) to capture the complexity of the acculturation within families and to illustrate how acculturative and developmental changes manifest themselves in intergenerational relations.

From the beginning of the 21st century, the research on relationships in immigrant families has focused increasingly on interaction between different factors, rather than examining cultural versus structural factors in immigrant family processes and adaptation (Glick, 2010). Scholars have pointed out that it is necessary to study intergenerational relations and adolescents' adaptation in relation to relevant individual, social, and societal level dimensions (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). Adolescents' adaptation takes place at home and in schools, and in the intersections of these social environments. In Finland, immigrant adolescents and immigrant boys in particular experience more bullying at school, are more often without any close friends, report more discussion problems with their parents and have higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to Finnish-born adolescents (Halme et al., 2017). Despite the immigration-related challenges such as learning a new language and coping with discrimination, a large proportion of adolescents

with an immigrant background are, however, performing well in school and have a good perceived health. In some dimensions, depending on the context and the immigrant group studied, immigrant adolescents may even do better than their native-born peers (García Coll et al., 2012).

In order to address these issues, this study utilizes qualitative and quantitative methods to study the perceptions of immigrant adolescents of the intergenerational relations in their families and the association between perceived parental relationships and adolescent adaptation. Intergenerational relationships are understood in this study as encompassing cultural and temporal meanings (Greenfield et al., 2003) as well as contradictions and ambivalence that call for negotiations between adolescents and their parents (Connidis, 2015). Immigrant adolescents who have migrated with their parent/s are viewed as adolescents that despite the high heterogeneity within the group, are assumed to share common experiences of the migration-related consequences within intergenerational relations. This study aims to examine adolescents' negotiations of these changes, adolescents' perceptions of adolescent-parent relationships, and their ramifications for adolescents' adaptation. The study also aims to identify differences in adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational relations and adaptation depending on adolescents' gender, generational status, and immigration backgrounds.

The theoretical perspectives of this study combine developmental psychology, acculturation psychology, and cultural psychology with sociological and psychological research on intergenerational relations in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational relations and adolescents' adaptation after immigration. Overlapping and intertwining developmental and acculturation-related transitions of immigrant adolescents form an important starting point of this study (Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2004; Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016; Sam & Oppedal, 2003). A developmental perspective is also essential when studying minors as the experiences of immigration often differ across different periods of development (Crosnoe & Fuligni, 2012). Paying attention to the age phase of the studied adolescents essentially frames every phase of this study, and it should be emphasized that this study explores the perceptions of intergenerational relations of first- and second-generation immigrant youths between the age of 13 and 18.

Adolescents' development is approached in this study through an ecological framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) that argues that human development is profoundly social, taking place in the interacting ecological environments, such as family and school. Following the writings of Cigdem Kagıtcıbası (2005; 2013), the results of the successful development of adolescents are understood from the perspective of cultural psychology. This means that while expectations of adolescents' autonomy in different dimensions of life are culturally varied, both autonomy and relatedness are considered to be valuable, laying different emphases in different socio-

cultural environments. Moreover, this research utilizes theoretization on family acculturation, the acculturation gap in particular, and aims to explore the ways in which these gaps are negotiated after immigration. In order to understand these negotiations, the study adopts the concept of intergenerational ambivalence (Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Connidis 2015; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998), referring to contradictory aims and emotions that constitute close relationships.

Immigrant adolescents' experiences and perceptions of intergenerational relations are approached in this study through four different themes. First, adolescents' negotiations of autonomy are explored in sub-study I. This study looks at the contexts in which autonomy negotiations become relevant and investigates the multiple points of references (i.e., 'voices') adolescents use in their reflections on their autonomy. The existence of transnational social ties is taken into account in the analysis, which seeks to understand adolescents' reasoning of the proper levels of autonomy in intergenerational relations after immigration.

Sub-study II concerns phenomena that are often mentioned but rarely empirically studied in the literature on intergenerational relations, namely the emotions of indebtedness and gratitude of adolescents towards their parents. The study analyses adolescents' accounts of gratitude and indebtedness and builds an evolving theory of intergenerational gratitude and indebtedness in the immigration context. Adolescents' experiences of ambivalent emotions are illustrated in this study, offering an interpretative framework to better understand adolescents' negotiations in intergenerational relations.

In sub-study III, intergenerational negotiations are analysed in the school environment, focusing on home-school communication. In the analysis, adolescents' perspectives on information sharing between their parents and school personnel are juxtaposed with the views of immigrant parents, teachers, and social workers of the school, thus describing the intergenerational relations as part of the triad. The study examines intergenerational negotiations and adolescents' agency building in this triad and shows how the power imbalance between Finnish institutions (i.e., school) and immigrant parents may increase adolescents' autonomy.

Finally, to better understand the role of intergenerational relations in the adaptation of immigrant adolescents, a comparative analysis of the association of perceived parental relationships and psychological and socio-cultural adaption in first- and second-generation youth is conducted in sub-study IV. While the differences between first- and second-generation adolescents are recognized, the study also seeks to understand how multiple social characteristics and adolescent-reported parental knowledge simultaneously affect adolescents' adaptation.

To conclude, this study explores adolescents' experiences of intergenerational relations after migration. The original contribution of this study is to examine adolescents' perceptions of what happens in adolescent-

parent relations after immigration and how these perceptions relate to adolescents' psychological and emotional well-being, and school adjustment. Without going beyond the traditional models of acculturation, it is impossible to understand the ways in which migration-related changes are negotiated in families, strengthening and challenging the social bonds between immigrant adolescents and their parents, who are often thought of by adolescents, and not only in a positive sense, as "doing everything for me".

2 IMMIGRANT YOUTH AND FAMILIES IN FINLAND

Finland has traditionally been a country of emigration from where people have migrated, particularly to Sweden and the United States. However, migration figures of recent decades show that Finnish society has become a destination to more and more migrants. Net migration to Finland has increased from the beginning of the 1990s, affecting significantly cultural and ethnic diversity in the Finnish society, including schools. In 2018, 7.3 per cent of the total population living in Finland had a foreign background, i.e., they had immigrated to Finland or were second generation, both of whose parents or the only known parent had immigrated to Finland (Statistics Finland, 2019a). The peak in the number of asylum seekers in Europe in 2015 also increased significantly the number of asylum seekers in Finland. In 2015, more than 30,000 people sought asylum in Finland as compared with 3,000–4,000 annual applicants in previous years (Finnish Immigration Service, 2019). Until 2015, the two biggest groups immigrating to Finland were for many years Russian and Estonian nationals. In 2017, the top three nationalities immigrating to Finland were Iraqis, Estonian, and Syrians (Ministry of Interior, 2018). Russian, Estonian, Arabic, Somali, and English, in that order, were the five most commonly registered foreign-languages in Finland in 2018 (Statistics Finland, 2019b).

2.1 ADOLESCENT-PARENT RELATIONSHIPS

The family background of adolescents differs to some extent by adolescent's migration status. About every fourth adolescent with immigrant background in Helsinki were living in a single parent family (20% of adolescents with non-migrant background) in 2013. Low income and lower educational level of the parents are more common in immigrant families than among non-immigrant families. In Helsinki, 45% of the minors with migrant background lived in low-income households (income less than 60% of the median income of the entire population), while the corresponding share among non-immigrant children and adolescents was 10% in 2013. Unemployment of the both parents was reported by 15% of first-generation immigrant adolescents (6% in second generation, 3% in entire population). (Ranto, Ahlgren-Leinvuo, Haapamäki, & Högnabba, 2015).

Studies conducted on intergenerational relationships of immigrant families in Finland are in line with the results of international research on immigrant families in the Western contexts. These studies indicate that adolescent-parent relationships in immigrant families are generally close and

supportive, and dating and sexuality are the themes that generally distinguish intergenerational negotiations of immigrant families from adolescent-parent negotiations in non-immigrant families. A study on intergenerational negotiations on immigrant adolescents' romantic relationships showed how both parents and their children are aiming to find a common ground in their negotiations over dating, choice of partner, and pre-marital sexual relations (Peltola, Keskinen, Honkasalo, & Honkatukia, 2017). Interviewed adolescents of the study expressed both the importance of 'free will' and respect for parents. 'Selective revealing' was recognized as a strategy adolescent used when it came to dating – and parents were often aware of this selectivity (ibid.). Interview studies on adolescent-parent relationships have found that 'Finnish' family life is often appearing as somewhat untempting for both immigrant adolescents and immigrant parents. A central role of the family and close family relationships may be considered as more highly valued in immigrant communities compared to 'Finnish families' (Honkasalo, Harinen, & Anttila, 2007, 19). Peltola (2016) found that while immigrant parents often expressed their worries on their 'too Finnish' children, adolescents themselves did not idealize Finnishness or try particularly to be "a Finn". While it has been common for immigrant adolescents to emphasize the good parental relations in the interview studies, also difficulties in adolescent-parent communication have been reported. According to a nationwide survey on adolescents' health and well-being, immigrant adolescents report more discussion problems with their parents compared to Finnish-born adolescents (Halme et al., 2017).

2.2 ADOLESCENTS' ADAPTATION AND SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

The number of children with immigrant background has doubled in Finland over the last ten years (Statistics Finland, 2019a). Ethnic and cultural diversity has grown particularly in Greater Helsinki, where every fourth under school-aged child has a foreign background (every tenth in the whole country) (Statistics Finland, 2019a). Of adolescents aged 10 to 14, 9.2 per cent are first-generation immigrants in the capital region Uusimaa (5.5 per cent in the whole country) and the figures for the share of first-generation immigrants are quite similar in the older age group of 15–19 years (10.0 per cent in Uusimaa, 6.3 per cent in the whole country) (Statistics Finland, 2019c). Also, due to quite recent increases in immigrant figures, the immigrant second generation in Finland is young. While in 2018 the average age of persons with a Finnish background was 44, it was 11 years among second-generation immigrants (Statistics Finland, 2019a).

In Finland, both first-generation immigrants and second-generation youth are falling behind pupils with a non-migrant background in different dimensions of assessment in educational achievement (i.e., mathematical

literacy, reading literacy, scientific literacy) according to the international assessment PISA (Harju-Luukkainen & McElvany, 2018). The results concerning school attainment of adolescents with a migrant background are however dependent on the family's socioeconomic position and parental work status in particular (Harju-Luukkainen & McElvany, 2018; Kilpi-Jakonen, 2012). As concerns school adjustment in Finland, in line with the results from many other Western countries, students with a migrant background have been found to enjoy school more than their native peers (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004). In regard to psychological adaptation, adolescents with an immigrant background have been found to have more anxiety symptoms, and experience more discrimination compared to non-immigrant youth (Halme et al., 2017). A longitudinal study on Vietnamese in Finland has shown how perceived discrimination experiences in childhood have negative long-term effects for adaptation (Kosonen, 2008).

The growing cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity has challenged schools to develop new tools and thinking in order to accommodate all children into the school system and to support their academic and personal development. This demands a lot of support and cooperation with migrant families who often are not familiar with the Finnish schooling system. Also, while the important aim of the Finnish comprehensive school system is to ensure and strengthen equality, school may inadvertently serve as a social arena where the inequalities of society are reproduced (Säävälä, 2012). Finally, it should be noted that in international comparison school choices of Finnish parents are not highly selective, and the majority of the schools and neighbourhoods are doing well, though there has been signs of increasing school segregation in Helsinki (Bernelius & Vaattovaara, 2016). The role of private education in Finland is nevertheless only a minor, and middle-class parents may even prefer to put their children to 'ordinary' schools instead of elite schools (Lobato, Bernelius, & Kosunen, 2018).

3 ACCULTURATION IN ADOLESCENCE

Adaptation of immigrant children refers to both acculturative and normative developmental tasks, such as socio-emotional and school adjustment (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). There would seem to be a scholarly consensus that the successful development of adolescents is in general similarly constructed among immigrant and native-born adolescents. However, immigrant adolescents have to cope with several socio-psychological developmental and acculturation tasks simultaneously (Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2004; Jugert & Titzmann, 2019; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016; Sam & Oppedal, 2003; Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008). The multiple transitions of immigrant adolescents and the various contexts of immigrant adolescents' adaptation are discussed in more detail in this chapter. In addition, the theoretical frameworks used in this study that conceptualize the developmental and adaptation contexts of adolescents are introduced.

3.1 MULTIPLE TRANSITIONS OF IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS

3.1.1 DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF ADOLESCENCE

In developmental psychology, human development is distinguished from the process of socialization (Shirayev & Levy, 2017, 223). Development refers to physical and psychological changes across our lives, whereas socialization refers to a process that aims to make an individual part of the cultural milieu, including values, beliefs, norms, and behaviours (Shirayev & Levy, 2017, 223). These distinct concepts are overlapping, as socialization practices relate to a certain developmental stage or age phase, while human development is influenced by socialization practices. According to developmental psychologists, the universal developmental tasks of children are *relationship formation at birth, knowledge acquisition in early childhood, and the balance of autonomy and relatedness at adolescence* (Greenfield et al., 2003, 462). An important developmental task of adolescence is thus to (re)negotiate relationships, particularly with one's parents (Jugert & Titzmann, 2019).

Cross-cultural psychologists have challenged the idea of universal guidelines for adolescents' development and the nature of favourable changes within intergenerational relations of families with teenagers (Greenfield et al., 2003; Kagitcibasi, 2013). In Western psychology, achieving an appropriate level of independence has been understood as a goal of healthy development, whereas strong dependence on parents has been interpreted as an unsuccessful maturation (Kagitcibasi, 2013). Although

cross-cultural psychologists have recognized and studied interdependent developmental pathways that emphasize the role and desirability of social obligations and responsibilities, the division into two developmental pathways – independent and interdependent – has existed persistently among studies on adolescent development (Greenfield et al., 2003).

During the last few decades, developmental psychology has been criticized as valuing autonomy over relatedness, defining independence in a narrow way, and thus neglecting a culturally varied understanding of adolescents' proper independence (Greenfield et al., 2003; Kagitcibasi, 2005; 2013). Recently, the existence of several cultural contexts in the lives of all children has been increasingly recognized among developmental scientists and there have been attempts to understand child development as part of various cultural expectations, without sharp dichotomies (Goodnow & Lawrence, 2015; Jugert & Titzmann, 2019; Masten, 2014, 16–17, Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). Some of the developmental tasks of adolescence are thus understood as contextual, resulting from different kinds of cultural traditions and, on the other hand, some are the result of globalization (McCormick, Kuo, & Masten, 2011, 125). In this study, adolescents' autonomy and relatedness are understood as coexisting. It is assumed that both autonomy and relatedness are valued in different cultures, although the emphasis and content vary across cultures (Kagitcibasi, 2007; 2013) and situations (Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vihjalmsdottir, 2005).

Developmental tasks are transition phases of a certain age phase. For immigrant adolescents migrating in their early teens, the developmental tasks of adolescence, however, are influenced by acculturation processes. This means that in addition to identity development and negotiations over independence, adolescents have to adapt to a new cultural environment, including a new language, school, and the norms, values, and behaviour codes of the new society as well as often having to cope with discrimination (Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2004; McCormick et al., 2011; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016; Sam & Oppedal, 2003; Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008). In addition, the important transitions from primary school to secondary school and from secondary school to high school or vocational education happen at the same time as the processes of cultural adaptation and development.

3.1.2 ACCULTURATIVE TASKS OF IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS

A classic definition of acculturation defines it as a process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between individuals from different cultural groups (Berry, 1997; Redfield et al., 1936, 149). In a migration context, the concepts of acculturation and adaptation have sometimes been used as synonyms, although adaptation is rather the result of acculturation (Redfield et al., 1936, 152; van de Vijver, 2018). Van de Vijver (2018), moreover, has noted that acculturation also concerns cultural maintenance and is not only about changes towards a new culture.

In psychological research on adolescents' adaptation and acculturation, adaptation is typically divided into psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (Ward, 2001). *Psychological adaptation* means psychological well-being (e.g., life satisfaction, good self-esteem, and a lack of psychological problems such as anxiety and depression), while *socio-cultural adaptation* refers to social skills that are required in a new social environment, including school adjustment (Garcia-Coll et al., 2012; Masten et al., 2006; Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008; Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006; Ward, 2001). Acculturative tasks refer to tasks that are specific to immigrant adolescents, such as learning the beliefs, values, and language of the receiving society (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012, 130). Importantly, adolescents' success in acculturative tasks is manifested in their ability to combine the expectations of at least two different cultures.¹ According to Motti-Stefanidi and colleagues (2012, 131), acculturative and developmental tasks are profoundly intertwined. Acculturative tasks thus relate to both psychological and socio-cultural adaptation in the migration context (see also Jugert & Titzmann, 2019, 5).

There are several contextual differences in adolescents' acculturation process and adaptation outcomes. The complexity in describing any universal rules of a successful adaptation process relates to, for example, the variety of acculturation contexts (Sabatier & Berry, 2008), different periods of development (Crosnoe & Fuligni, 2012), gendered expectations concerning adolescents' autonomy and forms of solidarity within a family (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006), different socioeconomic backgrounds of the family (Ceballos, Maurizi, Suarez, & Aretakis, 2014; Qin, 2008), and the intersectionality of multiple social categories and identities (Bowleg, 2017). When, thus, adolescents try to manage between at least two cultures, psychological and socio-cultural adaptation might require different kinds of skills and coping depending on the adolescent's background and identifications, the characteristics of the receiving society, and the intersections of these factors.

While the stressfulness of multiple changes and migration in particular has dominated the acculturation literature of the past few decades, more recent approaches to adolescent adaptation and development after migration concentrate more on the resilience of immigrant adolescents (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018) and the advantageous characteristics of multicultural environments (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016, 71). Moreover, the acculturation process can be seen as an integral part of adolescents' developmental process. According to Oppedal and Toppelberg (2016, 71), acculturation development includes domains that adolescents regardless of

¹ Goodnow and Lawrence (2015) have noted that various cultural expectations also exist in the lives of non-immigrant adolescents. Culture in this study is understood as virtues that are *expressed in everyday routines, patterns of behaviours, rituals and traditions* (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016, 72). Cultures, or sociocultural environments, although constantly changing through interpersonal interaction (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009), constitute the ways adolescents act, and the roles they take in adolescent-parent relationships (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016, 74).

their migrant background share, namely the changes and conflicts in family and peer relationships, and issues that relate to schoolgoing. Similarly, Birman and Addae (2015, 19) have noted that the acculturation of adolescents is not so much about cultural *change*, but is instead described as development and learning in the context of several cultural environments.

Adolescents' relationships with their parents form an essential context for adolescents' adaptation. Qualitative research has illustrated how immigrant adolescents negotiate, manage, and cope with acculturation-related changes within intergenerational relations (e.g., Buckingham & Brodsky, 2015; Peltola, 2014; Rasmi, Daly, & Chuang, 2014; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Qin, 2009). Similarly, quantitative research pointing out the important role of perceived parental support in adolescents' psychological and school adaptation is wide-ranging (e.g., García Coll et al., 2012; Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Liebkind et al., 2004; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Schachner, van de Vijver, & Noack, 2014; Walsh, Kolobov, & Harel-Fisch, 2018). Additionally, adolescents' strong sense of family obligations (Fuligni & Telzer, 2012; van Geel & Vedder, 2011) and open adolescent-parent communication (Qin, 2008; Steinberg, 2001) support adolescents' school adjustment and psychological well-being. Studies on adolescents' adaptation have also shown how perceived discrimination is closely related to difficulties in the adaptation of immigrants (Kosonen, 2008; Liebkind et al., 2004; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Sabatier & Berry, 2008) and that social relationships support adolescents' adaptation by easing the stress of the acculturation process, including experiences of discrimination (Liebkind et al., 2004; Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Walsh et al., 2018).

Finally, as presented above, the adaptation of immigrant adolescents has been studied mainly from the perspectives of developmental psychology, acculturation psychology, and social psychology (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012, 118). These three sub-fields are distinct but interrelated, and their core ideas have been integrated in recent attempts to conceptualize immigrant adolescents' adaptation. According to Motti-Stefanidi and colleagues (2012, 143), all the three psychology sub-fields emphasize the role of social interactions in the adaptation of immigrant adolescents, including interpersonal relationships and communication at home and in the school environment, as well as between them.

It is important to note that both successful adaptation and the development of adolescents often refer to the same entities (e.g., good relationships, adjustment at school, identity negotiations), and that the ingredients of desirable adaptation are similar for immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). In this study, adolescents' development is understood as including age-related changes in autonomy seeking and identity development and moreover an increasing demand for negotiations in intergenerational relations. Adolescents' adaptation, in turn, refers in this study widely to adolescents' psychological

and socio-cultural adaptation (Ward, 2001) and in sub-study IV more specifically to (the lack of) anxiety symptoms (psychological adaptation) and school achievement (socio-cultural adaptation). Further, in most of the current approaches, the interactive view of adolescents' development and acculturation is prevalent (e.g., García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Jugert & Titzmann, 2019; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). As presented below, this direction of research is best seen in the systemic ecological models of adolescents' development and acculturation.

3.2 ADOLESCENTS' ADAPTATION IN CONTEXT

Several individual-, social-, and societal-level factors influence immigrant adolescents' adaptation. The focus of this study is on intergenerational relationships that form an essential social environment for adolescents' development and adaptation. Recent theoretical frameworks on adolescents' adaptation suggest that relationships within the family interact with other social environments, with individual characteristics, and with the values and norms of the society the migrant family is living in, thus creating quite a complex arena for adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). In these complex systems, however, the significance of family relationships has been emphasized (Berry, 2007, 70; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Phinney & Vedder, 2006). In this chapter, the two theoretical frameworks used in this study are introduced. The first, an ecological framework on adolescents' development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), has greatly influenced the development of the latter, an integrative framework on adolescents' adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). In addition, the role of generational status, gender, migrant background, family's socioeconomic background, and their intersections in the adaptation of adolescents, are discussed.

3.2.1 ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Systemic theories on family emphasize that multiple factors affect the development of children and adolescents, and that these factors interact with each other (Hurme, 2014, 77). Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of human development is applied as a wider theoretical framework on adolescents' development in this study. The theory represents systemic theorizing, proposing that ecological environments have an effect on individual development. In his early writings, Bronfenbrenner describes how these environments (i.e., *microsystems*) are interrelated and thus affect human development in complex ways. This means that, for instance, an adolescent's home and school environment interact and form jointly a specific context for development. The level of interaction of the different microsystems in

Bronfenbrenner's theory is called a *mesosystem*. The *exosystem* refers to indirect environments (i.e., extended family relations), and the *macrosystem* to the wider societal level, including social and cultural values. Although the important role of environments in human development was already widely recognized before Bronfenbrenner's work, he himself criticized behaviour sciences for concentrating on the characteristics of the person rather than on the environmental aspects (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 16). Bronfenbrenner highlighted the need to study development in context and the later development of the model (see Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) emphasized *proximal processes* in the interactive development. Proximal processes refer to interaction in relationships, such as the interaction between adolescent and parent, and the development of this interaction over time in relation to social environments.

The ecological system theory – or bioecological model as Bronfenbrenner himself later called the model (cf. Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) – has been widely applied in studies on children and adolescents. In developmental science, where the aim is to describe and explain (intra-)individual changes across time, the relational view on human development represents a contemporary framework of development in mutual relationships between the individual and the multiple contexts around him or her (Lerner, Lerner, Bowers, & Geldhof, 2015, 607). In studies on immigrant adolescents, Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework has been used, for example, to study how perceived family relations affect adolescents' psychological adaptation (Slonim-Nevo, Mirsky, Rubinstein, & Nauck, 2009), to examine how adolescents' motivational characteristics and social support from parents and peers contribute to college adaptation (Dennis, Phinney, & Chuateco, 2005), and to explore how family dynamics affect the psychological development of Asian American children (Qin, 2008).

In the context of this study, intergenerational relationships are understood as an essential ecological context of immigrant adolescents that together with other ecological contexts constitute adolescents' development and adaptation. This study concentrates on the level of microsystem in its analyses on the nature and role of intergenerational relations after migration. Negotiations in intergenerational relations, however, take place in all developmental contexts, i.e., at the micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystem level. Adolescent-parent relationships interact with other social relationships (mesosystem), are influenced by wider, indirect social environments (exosystem), and are structured and negotiated within societal structures (Connidis, 2015). Societal power relations and different forms of capital are thus inevitably present in the interpersonal negotiations that take place in different social arenas, including schools (Bourdieu, 1984; Connidis, 2015). Mesosystem and power relations are explicitly represented, particularly in sub-study III, where the communication between two microsystems, namely home and school, is examined from the perspectives of adolescents, parents, and school personnel. The exosystem level is an integral part of the analysis

particularly in sub-study I, which analyses adolescents' autonomy negotiations in transnational family contexts.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological framework has been influential in shaping theoretical frameworks on immigrant adolescents' adaptation. As immigrant adolescents' development is intertwined with acculturation (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018), recent theoretical frameworks utilize theories from multiple fields. The integrative framework, conceptualizing the multiple levels of adolescent adaptation, is next introduced.

3.2.2 INTEGRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Motti-Stefanidi and colleagues (2012, see also Motti-Stefanidi, 2018) have developed an integrative framework of adolescent positive adaptation that is used as a general framework for adolescent adaptation in this study. Adolescents' positive adaptation refers to adolescents' success in handling age-related developmental tasks (e.g., connecting with peers, success at school, obeying the laws) (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017). The concept of resilience relates closely to positive adaptation. In psychological terms, resilience means that an individual is functioning and developing well despite risk or adversity (Masten, 2014, 9). Importantly, as Motti-Stefanidi and Masten (2017, 21) note, 'success' in developmental tasks means that adolescents are doing well enough.

The integrative framework is built on theories from different sub-fields of psychology (i.e., developmental psychology, acculturation psychology, social psychology) and it is constituted of three levels of context and analysis. Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework, described above, has influenced the formulation of the different levels of context in the integrative framework. The *individual level* refers to intra-individual characteristics (e.g., personality, motivation), *interaction level* includes the social contexts in which adolescents negotiate and make sense of their adaptation with other people, and the *societal level* refers to, for instance, cultural values and beliefs (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012, 144). All three levels are understood as interacting with each other, creating an interactive, multifaceted space for adolescents' adaptation. The levels are constituted from a different field-specific understanding of the levels and are understood as representing both the contexts of development and adaptation, and the levels of analysis.²

As researchers have pointed out, the level of interaction is currently recognized as the most crucial level of analysis in each subfield of the

² While in developmental psychology, the contexts of development are often divided into micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystemic contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), in social psychology the division has been made based on the levels of analysis, i.e. intraindividual, interindividual, interactional, and societal levels of analysis (see Doise, 1980).

framework (i.e., developmental psychology, acculturation psychology, social psychology) (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012, 143). Family and school are considered the most important contexts of adolescents' adaptation (Motti-Stefanidi & Masten, 2017, 29). Following the idea of an ecological framework (1979), the integrative framework also understands that different interpersonal relationships interact with each other. Thus, intergenerational relationships are negotiated in relation to other social spheres along with individual-level characteristics and societal-level ideologies.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework has been criticized that it does not really describe what kind of interaction between adolescent and parent is actually beneficial for adolescents' development (Hurme, 2014, 79). In the context of migration, during the last two decades, sub-fields of psychology have produced a wide range of studies showing the features of adolescent-parent relationships that are beneficial for adolescents' development (discussed further in chapter 3). The integrative framework, however, pays less attention to the intersectionality of adolescents' social categories, including gender, age, socioeconomic status, immigrant generation, and immigration background. These jointly affecting positions create obstacles and possibilities for intergenerational negotiations and alter these relationships. Of these, generational status, an important factor of this study, is next introduced in more detail.

3.2.3 IMMIGRANT GENERATIONS

Length of stay and age at arrival crucially shape the experiences, identities, educational outcomes, and the whole acculturation process of immigrant adolescents and their parents (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Kwak, 2003; Rumbaut, 2004; García Coll et al., 2012; Corak, 2012; Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). The individual and cultural level changes often stand out clearly in generational comparisons (Rumbaut, 2004). Generational shifts in, for example, language use, religious practices, ethnic identities, educational level, and position in the labour market illustrate how adaptation to a new cultural environment occurs over time (Portes & Rumbaut, 2014). A common division between immigrant generations is the division between first and second generation. *First-generation immigrants* refer to those who have experienced migration, while *second generation* are those who were born in a new country to migrant parents. It is important to note that the term 'second-generation immigrant' is misleading in that the definition of second generation encompasses children of immigrant parents, who themselves are not immigrants (Rumbaut, 2004).

First-generation immigrant children and adolescents may be further grouped into three groups based on their age at arrival (Rumbaut, 2004). In this study, I follow a classic division introduced by the sociologist Rubén Rumbaut (2004). In his more detailed division of immigrant generations, those who arrive below school age (0–5 years old) represent the 1.75

generation. Their adaptation experiences are close to second-generation immigrants as they start their school in a new country and often do not have many memories from their country of origin before migration (Rumbaut, 2004). The *1.5 generation*, in turn, refers to those who arrive in middle childhood or pre-teens (6–12 years old), and who have first-hand experiences of their country of emigration and have most likely started their schooling there (Rumbaut, 2004; Bartley & Spooney, 2008). Lastly, those arriving in late adolescence (13–17 years old) form the *1.25 generation* whose experiences and adaptation often have more in common with the first-generation adults than with other ‘decimal’ generations. The participants of the main data of this study (interview data used in sub-studies I-III) represent the 1.5 generation. Growing up between at least two cultures shapes the negotiations of adolescents’ autonomy and identity between adolescents and their parents (Kwak, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Phinney et al., 2006; Rasmi et al., 2014). In-betweennesses in identity development may characterize particularly the adaptation process of the 1.5 generation whose socialization originated in their parents’ country of origin (Bartley & Spooney, 2008).³

Examining generational differences in immigrant adolescents’ adaptation has resulted in surprising findings, particularly in the U.S.: First-generation immigrants of some immigrant groups show better results in mental health and are outperforming at school compared to second-generation youth (Garcia-Coll et al., 2012; Sam et al., 2008; Strohmeier & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2008; van Geel & Vedder, 2011). Empirical evidence supporting the existence of the immigrant paradox has been quite convincing in the U.S., although the results supporting the paradox vary depending on the group and adaptation dimensions used in the studies (García Coll et al., 2012).⁴ In Europe, there is some evidence of the existence of the immigrant paradox in the domain of socio-cultural adaptation, concerning academic attitudes in particular, but not in terms of psychological adaptation (Dimitrova et al., 2016; García Coll et al., 2012; Liebkind, 2004; Mood et al., 2016; Sam et al., 2008). Generational status together with other social categories, such as age, gender, and immigration background or ethnicity, jointly constitute adolescents’ experiences of intergenerational relations and their role in adolescent adaptation. Intersectionality, referring to these overlapping

³ It should be noted that a division based on immigrant generation is a general level division including wide diversity of experiences, identities and adaptation processes within each generation. The meaningfulness of the concept of *immigrant generation* in explaining the adaptation process can be criticized from the perspectives of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007). The concept also neglects the fact that migration is often temporary or cyclical and does not take place in a person’s life only once. The concept of generational status is tied to the country of birth and is thus not able to capture the diversity of individual migration histories and diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds, not to mention identifications with different groups (Crul & Schneider, 2010; Vertovec, 2007).

⁴ In research on the immigrant paradox, the focus may also be, for instance, in the comparisons between children of immigrants (i.e., first and second generation) and third generations, between second generation and third+ generation, or between ‘less acculturated’ and ‘more acculturated’ adolescents (Garcia-Coll et al., 2012, 160).

categories and their connection to societal power structures, is briefly discussed in the next section.

3.2.4 INTERSECTIONALITY

As described above, several individual and social level characteristics interact and jointly affect adolescents' adaptation. While intersectionality is a widely used concept and analytic tool among feminist and sociology scholars in the field of migration studies, predominantly quantitative psychological research on the adaptation of immigrants often concentrates on individual characteristics, such as race/ethnicity, gender or socio-economic status, or the potential interconnectedness between these characteristics without exploring intersectional differences between multiple social categories (Bauer, 2014; Bowleg, 2008; Cole, 2009).

Studies on immigrant adaptation particularly in the field of health psychology are, however, increasingly acknowledging how structural level inequalities may create differences in health outcomes between ethnic groups (Rask, 2018; Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012). Psychological studies have evidenced that perceived discrimination creates health disparities between the majority population and ethnic minorities (Rask, 2018) and significantly affects immigrant adolescents' adaptation outcomes (e.g., Liebkind et al., 2004; Walsh et al., 2018). Intersectional positions shape adolescents' experiences and intersectional research may reveal intersecting power structures that affect these experiences. For example, experiences of immigrant adolescents with a Thai or Chinese background cannot be fully understood if the intersections of other social categories or identities, such as gender and socioeconomic background, are not simultaneously acknowledged (cf. Bowleg, 2017, 509).

In the qualitative part of this study (sub-studies I–III), adolescents' agency in intergenerational relations is understood as contextualized by multiple social categories, such as gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic background, and their intersections (Connidis, 2015). It is acknowledged that there may be important differences in how, for example gender and ethnicity/immigration background jointly associate with adolescents' experiences of intergenerational relations. Similarly, parents' background, such as immigration and socioeconomic background affect the practices in childrearing and communication at home and in relation to school (Bæk, 2010; Ceballo et al., 2014). In the quantitative studies, it is important to distinguish between additive effects and additive analytic approaches, as in the latter, social categories are understood as independent and mutually exclusive. In the case of sub-study IV, interaction effects are studied along with main effects in order to allow social categories to interact.

4 INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AFTER IMMIGRATION

While intergenerational conflict and solidarity in immigrant families have been extensively studied, the concept of ambivalence – even though it is a widely used concept in sociological studies on intergenerational relationships (Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Girardin et al., 2018; Connidis, 2015; Peltola et al., 2017; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998) – has gained less attention. The predominantly quantitative studies on intergenerational relations in immigrant families have often been unable to describe how ambivalence of interpersonal relationships occurs and is negotiated along with the acculturation process (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). In this chapter, I will present the conflict and solidarity framework on intergenerational relations and discuss how the concept of ambivalence, and a starting point according to which intergenerational relations are constantly negotiated, can inform the research on family acculturation.

4.1 CONFLICT AND SOLIDARITY

Two perspectives have been common in psychological and sociological studies on intergenerational relations in the United States and Europe in the 20th century: conflict and solidarity frameworks (Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997; Steinberg, 2001). Interpersonal conflict between adolescents and their parents has dominated the studies on intergenerational relations particularly in the migration context (Glick, 2010; Kwak, 2003; Telzer, 2010), although there is also a growing body of research concerning intergenerational solidarity and mutual support in immigrant families (Albertini et al., 2019; Fuligni & Telzer, 2012).

The desirability and typicality of intergenerational conflict in adolescence have been criticized during the late 1960s and early 1970s, as studies have shown that while conflicts are common in some families of teenagers, the vast majority of adolescents in the United States reports having “happy and pleasant relationships with their parents” (Steinberg, 2001, 4). The generalizability of the findings obtained among mainstream White American families has also been questioned (Hernández, Nguyen, Casanova, Suárez-Orozco, & Saetermoe, 2013). In acculturation psychology, it has been noted that cultural and psychological changes in family members take various forms, magnitude and rapidity (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde, 1978). This discrepancy between adolescents’ and their parents’ acculturation process is called an *acculturation gap* (Birman, 2006; Birman & Trickett, 2001). An acculturation gap refers most

often to findings according to which adolescents' adaptation to a new culture is faster than that of their parents, as children often learn the new language and are able to better participate in the life of the new society than their parents, particularly after starting schooling (Birman, 2006; Birman & Trickett, 2001). However, different kinds of acculturation gaps also exist. For example, adolescents may be 'less adjusted' than their parents at the level of ethnic identities or behaviour (Birman, 2006; Birman & Trickett, 2001; Telzer, 2010).

Due to acculturation differences between adolescents and their parents, intergenerational conflicts in recent immigrant families may differ from intergenerational conflicts in mainstream families (for a review, see Lui, 2018). While conflicts in adolescent-parent relationships typically concern disagreements over everyday issues, intergenerational conflicts in immigrant families may entail deeper contradictions between values that regulate interaction between adolescents and their parents (Lui, 2018; Phinney & Vedder, 2006). From the developmental perspective, intergenerational contradictions in immigrant families may thus continue to exist after adolescents' teenage years to a larger extent compared to mainstream families, in which some of the conflicts between adolescents and parents may be resolved along with adolescents' normative maturation (Lui, 2018).

The acculturation gap-distress theory states that acculturation mismatch between adolescents and their parents leads to greater intergenerational conflicts and that these conflicts, in turn, contribute to maladjustment of the adolescents (e.g., Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008). Although the theory has gained substantial support, the debate continues whether and what kinds of conflicts and disagreements in adolescent-parent relations eventually relate to adolescents' maladaptation (Kwak, 2003; Lui, 2018; Steinberg, 2001; Telzer, 2010).

A vast amount of research has been conducted on acculturation strategies (i.e., how much people maintain their heritage culture vs. how much they adopt to the dominant culture) that family members prefer and how these strategies relate to how well they adapt (Berry, 2007, 74-75). Measuring different acculturation strategies and rates of acculturation (e.g., language use, media use, values) among immigrant parents and adolescents, and examining how this 'mismatch' relates to adolescents' adaptation, has been a common approach to studying the acculturation gap in psychological studies (Birman, 2006; Kwak, 2003; Phinney & Vedder, 2006; Telzer, 2010). In Germany, it was found that perceived parental acculturation expectations and parents' personal school involvement were among the strongest predictors of psychological and sociocultural school adaptation of second- and third-generation secondary school students (Schachner et al., 2014). Parental acculturation orientation was related to adolescents' own orientation, showing generational transmission of orientation preferences. In line with previous research, adolescents' mainstream orientation (concerning, for example, language use and valued traditions at home) was

positively related to both psychological and sociocultural adjustment, whereas ethnic orientation was positively associated with psychological adaptation only (*ibid.*). Another study found that an intergenerational gap in Vietnamese identity affected family cohesion and satisfaction in Vietnamese immigrant families in the U.S. but gaps in language competence and behavioural acculturation had no such effect (Ho & Birman, 2010). It seems evident that there are some dimensions in the acculturation gap that will more likely lead to difficulties in adolescent-parent relationships and adolescents' poorer adaptation.

Recent studies on adolescent-parent acculturation discrepancies in immigrant families have emphasized the contextuality of intergenerational conflicts (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Telzer, 2010; Titzmann & Sonnenberg, 2016). In a review article on acculturation gaps, it was found that the relationship between gaps and adolescents' maladjustment gained support particularly among the acculturation gaps in which adolescents have fewer levels of orientation towards their heritage culture compared to their parents (Telzer, 2010). Titzmann and Sonnenberg (2016), in turn, found that there was a similar level of conflict within immigrant and non-immigrant families, but the conflict was pronounced in immigrant families whose adolescents and mothers disagreed on intercultural contacts with native peers. It has been noted that gaps in adolescents' and their parents' acculturation process may lead to conflicts in some domains (and not in others), resulting in family changes in some aspects of intergenerational relations (Birman, 2006; Kagitcibasi, 2007, 323). There are also studies suggesting that dissonant acculturation does not lead to intergenerational conflicts that would be detrimental for adolescents (Kwak, 2003; Lui, 2018; Telzer, 2010). From the developmental perspective, acculturation gaps may harm but also improve adolescents' development through intergenerational negotiations by enhancing adolescents' skills, for example, in communication (Jugert & Titzmann, 2019, 7; Titzmann, 2012).

A large body of research has shown that potentially conflicting situations in immigrant families do not often lead to situations where adolescents perceive their relationship with their parent/s as tense or violated. On the contrary, migration as such may increase solidarity and mutual support between generations (Baykara-Krumme & Fokkema, 2019; Fuligni & Telzer, 2012; Jugert & Titzmann, 2019; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Titzmann, 2012). In sociology, the concept of solidarity has been applied to understand the nature of intergenerational relations. In the traditional solidarity framework, solidarity is understood as something that holds families together. The whole framework has been argued to be developed to answer concerns about how families, and nuclear families in particular, manage the various societal changes of the 20th century (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998).

In Europe, filial responsibility and family obligations are generally considered to be more highly valued in immigrant families compared to the

population without a recent migration background (Albertini et al., 2019). The most prominent explanation for this has been that many immigrants arrive from the countries emphasizing more collectivistic values and offering little or no public support for elderly people (Albertini et al., 2019). According to Berry (2007, 79), it is family obligations that are typically contested in intergenerational relations of immigrant families. Adolescents' values emphasizing respect and/or obligation towards parents have been found to promote adolescents' psychological well-being (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) and to protect intergenerational relations from conflicts (Ceballo et al., 2014). Immigrant adolescents' perceptions of parental support and understanding have been found to relate to fewer behavioural problems, less stress symptoms, and higher self-esteem and life satisfaction among adolescents (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Adolescents themselves may also feel that they are responsible for mitigating intergenerational conflicts and maintaining emotional stability within the family (Titzmann, 2012).

Psychological research on intergenerational solidarity and mutual support in adolescent-parent dyads after migration has also emphasized adolescents' contributions to family adaptation (e.g., Fuligni & Telzer, 2012; Titzmann, 2012). As the acculturation gap between generations most often means that adolescents adopt the language, norms and expectations of the new society more quickly than their parents, adolescents tend to help their parents in various ways after migration (e.g., by translating, interpreting cultural differences, contributing to family businesses, taking care of the communication between parents and school) (Fuligni & Telzer, 2012). This role reversal may be pronounced when the acculturation gap between adolescents and their parents is particularly large (Titzmann, 2012).

Migration may increase adolescents' responsibilities and sense of obligation due to the instrumental needs of parents. An important migration-related source for adolescents' willingness and motivation to contribute to family adaptation has been found to relate to their perceptions of parental sacrifice due to migration (Ceballo et al., 2014; Kang & Larson, 2014; Kang & Raffaelli, 2016; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). According to Kang and Raffaelli (2016), a sense of indebtedness may affect adolescents' behaviour towards their parents in at least three ways: it promotes intergenerational assistance, adolescents' high achievement motivation in order to pay back their parents, and the desire to maintain harmonious relationships. Adolescents' feelings of gratitude and indebtedness resulting from perspective taking may thus prevent intergenerational relations from conflicts (Kang & Raffaelli, 2016; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

To conclude, recent research on the role of intergenerational conflicts in immigrant families as well as on the relationship between the acculturation gap and adolescents' well-being is controversial (Fernández-Reino & González-Ferrer, 2019; Glick, 2010; Rasmi et al., 2014; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009; Telzer, 2010). Current conceptualizations on intergenerational

relationships have emphasized the existence of both solidarity and conflict in family relationships (Connidis, 2015; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; McMullen & Connidis, 2002) and used the concept of ambivalence to describe these contradictions. Scholars have noted that ambivalence should also be better incorporated into studies on family acculturation (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Ambivalence and intergenerational negotiations relating to these contradictory emotions, behaviour and aims in intergenerational relations, are introduced in next two chapters.

4.2 AMBIVALENCE

Intergenerational ambivalence illustrating the co-existence of conflict and solidarity as well as individual's contradictory expectations within intergenerational relations has been increasingly acknowledged and conceptualized in sociological studies on intergenerational relations over the last two decades (Connidis, 2015; Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998;). According to Connidis (2015), psychological ambivalence refers to simultaneous positive and negative emotions and contradictory behaviours in intergenerational relationships. Sociological ambivalence, in turn, suggests that intergenerational relations are socially structured and intergenerational negotiations are affected by the power relations within society (*ibid.*). Ambivalence studied in the migration context bridges micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis. That is to say, studying the contradictions in intergenerational relationships after migration can reveal the associations with cultural-level expectations and with institutional settings (*cf.* Connidis, 2015).

The concept of ambivalence goes beyond conflict-or-solidarity thinking concerning family relationships, suggesting that family ties are always filled with contradictory expectations, feelings and aims (Connidis, 2015; Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). In this study, ambivalence is understood as an unavoidable part of intergenerational relations. It is assumed that ambivalent feelings towards parents are increased due to developmental and acculturative changes. Moreover, relationships between adolescents and parents are understood as constructed in the interaction of individual agency and social institutions, such as school (Connidis, 2015). Individuals are thus exercising their agency in intergenerational relations that set both boundaries and possibilities for their agency (Connidis, 2015). As described above, the concept of ambivalence illustrates how family relations are not either harmonious or harmful, but are ambivalent in nature (Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Connidis, 2015; Kuczynski et al., 2011; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). The concept of ambivalence can help to better understand the emotional complexity and contradictory expectations within intergenerational relations after migration (Connidis, 2015; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009).

While conflict and solidarity approaches in studying intergenerational relations of immigrant families have gained abundant attention in the field of acculturation psychology, the concept of ambivalence has been rarely utilized. Contradictory feelings towards parents after immigration are, however, often mentioned also in the psychologically oriented research on intergenerational relations in immigrant families. Also, the relational perspective on family acculturation has emphasized the contradictory nature of intergenerational relations (Kuczynski et al., 2011). The social relational theory views socialization process as bidirectional and emphasizes that a process of family change is evident due to ambivalence and contradictions in intergenerational relationships (ibid.). In adolescence, a typical contradiction exists between adolescents' autonomy and relatedness (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Kwak, 2003; Steinberg, 2001). Ambivalence between autonomy and relatedness is also a core tension of intergenerational relations in the qualitative sub-studies of this study (sub-study I–III).

Although ambivalence can be considered an inevitable part of close relationships, ambivalent *feelings* are not necessary in these relationships (Connidis, 2015). Ambivalent feelings do, however, often exist in adolescent-parent relationships. Transitions, such as migration, can alter the balance in relationships and make ambivalent feelings more evident (Connidis 2015; Lewis, 2008). Adolescents' negotiations over these contradictions take place in intergenerational relations (Connidis, 2015; Girardin et al., 2018).

4.3 NEGOTIATIONS

[..] acculturative processes among individuals in both real and developmental time (micro- and macro-levels) are constitutive of culture. From this perspective, culture represents a set of symbolic processes carried out through social dialog; it represents symbolic collective meaning making that occurs between people in their everyday interactions [..]

Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009, 153

Migration is a transition that makes contradictory emotions, actions, and situations more visible, calling for negotiations over ambivalence in intergenerational relations (Connidis, 2015). Ambivalence in family relationships is often studied from the perspective of negotiations, i.e., how the ambivalence is managed and aimed to be resolved (ibid.). In immigrant families, adolescents negotiate ambivalence in intergenerational relations in the context of developmental and acculturative changes. It has been widely recognized that immigrant adolescents are skilful in combining elements of several cultures around them and negotiating over their autonomy and identities in different contexts (Kuczynski, Navara, & Boiger, 2011, 185; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). Taking this into

consideration, it is surprising how small an amount of psychological research has been conducted on immigrant adolescents' negotiations in intergenerational relations (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009).

The field of acculturation psychology has been criticized for being unable to answer how immigrants actually combine two or more cultures in their lives (Mesquita, De Leersnyder, & Alba, 2017) and for lacking the perspectives that would expand our understanding of the *process* of acculturation (Chirkov, 2009; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). While cultural psychologists have addressed the importance of socio-cultural contexts in shaping immigrant adolescents' experiences of acculturative changes (Mesquita et al., 2017), micro-level analyses of the interpersonal negotiations of acculturative changes have remained scarce (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). By studying intergenerational negotiations (sub-study I–III), this study aims to fill this gap.

There are some studies that have investigated how adolescents negotiate over ambivalence in intergenerational relations in the context of acculturation. In a qualitative study on adolescents' experiences of intergenerational and ethnocultural identity conflicts among youths with Arab backgrounds, Rasmi and colleagues (2016) found that acculturation gaps between emerging adults and their parents occurred when adolescents were more oriented to Canadian culture and society and parents emphasized Arab culture. Acculturation gaps were related to perceived conflicts and adolescent-parent relationships were found to modify the experiences of these conflicts: While strong relationships helped conflict negotiations within intergenerational relationships, weak relationships intensified the conflicts (Rasmi, Chuang, & Hennig, 2016). Beyond the adolescent-parent dyads, it has also been found that when intergenerational negotiations on cultural expectations are troublesome, adolescents may seek support from siblings, consequently strengthening the relationships between the siblings (Frounfelker, Assefa, Smith, Hussein, & Betancourt, 2017). In another study, it was found that adolescents adopted two forms of behaviour to avoid conflict. In addition to acquiescence to parents' demands and expectations, adolescents concealed information from their parents in order to diminish conflicts (Rasmi et al., 2014; see also sub-study III).

While intergenerational negotiations are bidirectional, developmental psychologists have noted that parental surveillance and prying do not necessarily have a favourable effect on adolescents' communication or behaviour if adolescents do not establish a confidential relationship with their parents and are unwilling to tell parents about their lives (Stattin & Kerr, 2000). In adolescence, it is thus increased adolescent disclosure that creates open communication between adolescents and their parents (Kejsers, Branje, VanderValk, & Meeus, 2010; Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Consequently, it is important that adolescents feel they may be heard by their parent/s. Finally, from the perspective of adaptation, it is important to note that when acculturative and developmental changes are manifested in intergenerational

relations through negotiations, these negotiations including conflict solving can be considered a family adaptation par excellence (Buckingham & Brodsky, 2015; Kuczynski et al., 2011).

5 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM, DATA, AND METHODS

In this study, how immigrant adolescents perceive and negotiate developmental and acculturative changes in intergenerational relations after migration is examined. The role of adolescent-parent relationships in the adaptation of immigrant adolescents in the Finnish context is also explored. The study uses quantitative and qualitative data collected from first- and second-generation adolescents in order to examine adolescents' experiences and perceptions of intergenerational relations. Qualitative analysis is conducted in order to describe and explore negotiations that take place in intergenerational relations (Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Quantitative analysis, in turn, is added to carry out a comparative study on the supportive role of intergenerational relations on adaptation of adolescents in immigrant families. In addition, interviews with immigrant parents and school personnel are utilized in sub-study III.

5.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overall aim of this study is to examine how immigrant adolescents perceive and negotiate developmental and acculturative changes in intergenerational relations, and whether perceived adolescent-parent relationships are related to adolescents' adaptation. The perspective of the study is mainly that of adolescents. Adolescents' perspective on acculturative and developmental changes in intergenerational relations are approached through four themes, including 1) autonomy negotiations, 2) emotions of gratitude and indebtedness, 3) information sharing between home and school, and 4) perceived parental knowledge. The four themes are chosen to answer the overall research question of how adolescents perceive and negotiate intergenerational relations and adjust after migration.

In the first sub-study, the focus is on adolescents' autonomy negotiations. In the migration context, there is an increased demand to negotiate over adolescents' autonomy. In previous research, the tension between autonomy and relatedness has been considered the key tension in intergenerational relations in adolescence in general and after migration in particular. Sub-study I examines the contexts in which adolescents' autonomy is negotiated and the multiple voices adolescents utilize in their negotiations. Sub-study I seeks to answer the following research question:

- 1) How do immigrant adolescents negotiate their autonomy within intergenerational relations in a transnational family context?

The second sub-study focuses on the emotions of gratitude and indebtedness that are often mentioned in the literature on intergenerational relations in immigrant families, but have been rarely empirically studied. The subject of the second sub-study was chosen based on the initial analyses of the interview data and was thus inductively developed from the data. In order to explore how gratitude and indebtedness towards parents are related to intergenerational negotiations and adolescents' adaptation, it was asked:

- 2) How are the emotions of gratitude and indebtedness manifested in intergenerational relations after migration?

The examination of intergenerational negotiations was expanded in the third sub-study to the school context. The interactions of three microlevels (i.e., adolescent-parents relationship, adolescent-school relationship, school-parents relationship) were studied to understand how adolescents negotiate their autonomy and relationships in an institutional context. In sub-study III, interview data of immigrant parents and school personnel were added to the analysis that focused on information flows between school and immigrant homes. Acknowledging the imbalanced power positions between the triad, it was examined:

- 3) How do immigrant adolescents, parents, and school manage information sharing between home and school?

In the fourth sub-study, intergenerational relations were operationalized as parental knowledge, referring to the quality of adolescent-parent communication as perceived by adolescents. While the first three sub-studies explored the experiences of only first-generation immigrant adolescents, the perceptions of the second generation are included in the comparative sub-study IV. The role of perceived parental knowledge on adolescents' adaptation is studied accounting for the complexity and intersectionality characterizing migrant status and experiences:

- 4) What is the association between perceived parental knowledge and psychological (i.e., anxiety) and socio-cultural (i.e., school achievement) adaptation among immigrant adolescents in Finland and to what extent does this relationship depend on their immigration background, immigrant generation, gender, and family's socioeconomic status?

5.2 DATA

Three of the four sub-studies (I–III) analyse the large interview data of immigrant adolescents ($N = 80$) collected in the Helsinki metropolitan area mainly in 2012. In addition, interview data of school personnel ($N = 34$) and immigrant parents ($N = 13$) are analysed together with the adolescent interview data mentioned above in sub-study III. The School Health Promotion survey data collected in 2013 is utilized in sub-study IV. These data will be described in more detail below. The aims, data and methods of each sub-study are also presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *Aims, data and methods of the four sub-studies.*

Sub-study	Data	Method
SUB-STUDY I: Immigrant adolescents' autonomy negotiations in transnational family contexts	Semi-structured interviews of immigrant adolescents ($N = 80$)	Content analysis, multivoicedness (QUALITATIVE)
SUB-STUDY II: Immigrant adolescents' experiences of gratitude and indebtedness towards parents	Semi-structured interviews of immigrant adolescents ($N = 80$)	Grounded theory (QUALITATIVE)
SUB-STUDY III: Immigrant home-school information sharing in Finnish comprehensive schools	Semi-structured interviews ($N = 81$ immigrant adolescents, ⁵ $N = 13$ immigrant parents) 4 Focus group interviews and 5 individual interviews (total of $N = 34$ representatives of school personnel)	Directed content analysis (QUALITATIVE)
SUB-STUDY IV: A comparative study of parental knowledge and adaptation of immigrant youth	Finnish School Health Promotion survey ($N = 2697$)	One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and a univariate analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) (QUANTITATIVE)

⁵ The interview data of immigrant adolescents consist of 81 adolescents in the first sub-study and 80 adolescents in the second and third sub-studies of the thesis. This is due to exclusion of one informant after the analyses and publishing of the first article. The interviewee excluded from the interview data had Finnish-born parents. Although the criteria of migrating to Finland within eight years was fulfilled, the experiences of this teenager were considered to be different from the others with immigrant adolescents and were thus not included in the further analyses.

5.2.1 THEMATIC INTERVIEWS

The main data of this study consisted of 80 semi-structured thematic interviews of immigrant adolescents. This large number of interviews was conducted in order to capture the wide heterogeneity of immigrant adolescents with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds in Finland. The variety of different neighbourhoods and schools in terms of, for example, ethnic composition and families' socio-economic background, was taken into account by collecting data in different municipalities and schools in the metropolitan area of Helsinki. The interviews were carried out in primary and lower second comprehensive schools in Espoo, Helsinki, and Vantaa in 2012. The semi-structured interviews concerned immigrant adolescents' experiences and perceptions of intergenerational relations after migration (see Appendix).⁶ The broader themes of the interviews were (1) the emigration process (e.g., "Are you aware of the reasons of your family's migration?", "What kind of memories do you retain from your country of origin?"), (2), family structure & family background (e.g., "Do you live with the same persons as you did before the migration?", "If you think about your family's everyday life now and before migration, how has it changed?"), (3) family relations (e.g., "Can you talk to your parents about difficult things in your life?", "Do your parents have difficulties in understanding what your life is like in Finland?"), (4) school (e.g., "Do your parents follow your education?", "Are your parents able to help you with your homework?"), and (5) future perspectives (e.g., "What are your goals for the future?", "Are there currently any things in your life that worry you?"). The interview protocol included the main themes that were introduced in the same order to all participants of the study. Asking more specific questions was flexible and the aim of the interviews was to establish a relaxed atmosphere and avoid an examination-like encounter. The author of this thesis did 78 of the interviews, whereas three of the interviews were conducted by a senior colleague, Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo from the Family Federation of Finland.

The interviewed adolescents were recruited from schools via student advisors ($n = 68$) and via snowball sampling ($n = 12$). Following the ethical guidelines of the cities' educational departments, adolescents under 15 years of age provided their parents' permission to participate in the study. The interviewed adolescents received two cinema tickets for their participation in the study. The interviews were conducted mainly at schools (a few interviews

⁶ The interview data was collected as part of the larger Academy of Finland funded (Grant No. 134 918) project *Etnokids* (<https://thl.fi/en/web/thlfi-en/research-and-expertwork/population-studies/migrant-health-and-wellbeing-study-maamu-/etnokids>). The Etnokids Study (2010–2013) was a research consortium of the Finnish National Institute for Health and Welfare and the Family Federation of Finland. The interview scheme used in the interviews was designed by Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo and Minna Säävälä from the Family Federation of Finland and modified to a small extent when conducting the interviews.

were conducted in a public library or in a park close to the school) and they lasted from 20 to 90 ($M = 37$) minutes. Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Atlas.ti and SPSS 24 were used to help the analysis process of the data.

The interviewed adolescents came altogether from 26 schools. The youngest were in the 6th grade and the oldest ones in senior high school. The majority of the interviewed adolescents (86%) attended junior high school. At the time of the interview, the interviewees (aged 13 to 18, $M = 15$ years, 44% girls) had lived less than eight years ($M = 4.5$ years) in Finland. The interviewees had migrated to Finland in their early teens (age of migration $M = 10.4$ years) and thus represented the so-called 1.5 generation immigrants. They had migrated to Finland with their nuclear family or with some members of their nuclear family, including at least one parent. In a few families, one of the parents had lived longer, often several years, in the country of origin before the family was reunited in Finland. About two thirds (65%) of adolescents lived in two-parent households and about one third of these families included a new spouse of either the mother or the father of the adolescent. Both biological parents of all interviewed adolescents were born outside Finland. One in four (24%) of the adolescents did not keep in touch with one of their biological parents. Most of them ($n = 14$) reported that one of their parents had died.

The adolescents' country of birth represented 20 different countries and most of them had migrated to Finland from their and their parents' country of birth. Adolescents represented the biggest migrant groups in Finland. About one third ($n = 23$) of the adolescents came from Europe or former Soviet countries, mainly from Estonia or Russia. One participant had been born in the United States. About one third of the participants ($n = 29$) had been born in Africa, mainly in Somalia. In addition, 9 of the participants were from Southern Asian countries, and 18 from the Middle East. About two thirds of the participants came from countries that could then be and are still considered insecure and unstable (e.g., Iraq, Somalia). Of the adolescents from these countries, many have a refugee status, but the refugee background was not explicitly discussed in the interviews unless the interviewee did not bring it up. Adolescents spoke 19 different languages as their mother tongue and could express themselves (from the interviewer's point of view and in their own accounts) fairly or very well in Finnish. Most of the interviews were conducted in Finnish, while three of the interviews were held in English.

In addition to the adolescent interview data (used in sub-studies I–III), three interview data sets were utilized in sub-study III. These were (1) individual and focus group interviews of the school welfare staff (four group interviews and five individual interviews, a total of $n = 24$ participants including nurses, social workers, psychologists, special education teachers and a headmaster), (2) individual interviews of native language teachers ($n = 10$), and (3) individual interviews of immigrant parents ($n = 13$; Kurdish,

Russian and Somali speakers). These three data sets were collected in 2010–2012 by Minna Säävälä, the first author of sub-study III, and by two research assistants in Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa in the metropolitan area of Helsinki (for more details on data collection and the interview procedure, see Säävälä, 2012; sub-study III).

5.2.2 SCHOOL HEALTH PROMOTION SURVEY

Finnish School Health Promotion data is a survey data that is collected every second year in comprehensive schools, upper secondary schools, and vocational education institutions in Finland. The survey comprises a complete sample of the age group. The data is collected by the National Institute for Health and Welfare by conducting classroom-administered questionnaires at schools under the supervision of the teacher. The study is anonymous, and participation is voluntary. The data used in this study has been collected in 2013. In this year the immigrant background of the adolescents was asked in the School Health Promotion study for the first time, providing possibilities for large-scale comparisons between (first generation) immigrants, second generation adolescents, and other youth. The questionnaire can be found online at https://thl.fi/attachments/kouluterveyskysely/Lomakkeet/ktlomake2013_perus.pdf.

Altogether 99,478 adolescents participated in the study in comprehensive schools. The data used in this study (sub-study IV) is limited to 8th and 9th graders both of whose parents were born abroad and who had stayed more than one year in Finland ($N = 2697$; 45 % girls). In sub-study IV, participants were grouped based on their and/or their parents' country of origin. Thus, adolescents who reported "other country" as their/their parents' country of origin were excluded from the analysis. About half of the adolescents represent first-generation immigrants ($n = 1345$; $n = 1352$ second generation).

Most (46%) of the participants or their parents had been born in Eastern European countries, mainly in Estonia or Russia, and about one third (28%) had a refugee background in Somalia or Iraq.⁷ Nine per cent of the participants had Asian background in China or Thailand, and 17 per cent in Western Europe, particularly in Sweden. These groups represent the largest immigrant groups in Finland. The number of single parent households was high, especially among the first-generation immigrant adolescents' families in which almost half (46%) of the households were single parent households. Parental education level distributed similarly among first- and second-generation adolescents: about half of the adolescents' reported that their parents did not have higher education and about a quarter reported that both

⁷ For the sake of simplicity, those whose/ whose parents' country of origin was a typical refugee-sending country were referred to as 'refugees'.

of their parents had a higher level of education. Almost half of the participants reported that at least one of their parents was unemployed (47% of the first generation, 40% of the second generation). The mean age of the adolescents was 15.6 years ($SD = 0.9$ years).

5.3 METHODS

Quantitative and qualitative research methodology are sometimes seen as ontologically and practically incompatible. The distinction between quantitative and qualitative research paradigms can be linked to, for example, ontology, epistemology, rhetoric, generalizations and causal relationships (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). While quantitative methods are used to measure the objective content of the phenomenon, the constructs measured in social sciences often differ significantly from the natural sciences and are difficult to measure with totally reliable scores (*ibid.*). Qualitative research may expand the quantitative knowledge on phenomena and help researchers to understand and describe the experiences that are difficult to capture in the measures (Power, Velez, Qadafi, & Tennant, 2018; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009).

This study combines qualitative and quantitative methods in order to increase the ecological validity of the research and to reach nuanced evidence to interpret immigrant adolescents' perceptions and negotiations in intergenerational relations after migration (Power et al., 2018). Each of the four sub-studies contain their own research questions and methodology. Quantitative and qualitative approaches are not mixed within a single sub-study. The qualitative research design takes place in the three sub-studies (Sub-studies I–III) that are based on the interview data, whereas quantitative methods are used in the comparative study (Sub-study IV) that utilizes the Finnish School Health Promotion survey data.

The methods used in qualitative studies include content analysis, directed content analysis, analysis of multivoicedness, and grounded theory. The interpretation of the data can be called *emphatic interpretation* as opposed to *suspicious interpretation* (Willig, 2017, 279). Emphatic interpretations focus on identifying the meaning within the text and aim to reach a deeper understanding of what is being said. Although emphatic interpretations provide more 'straightforward' interpretations of the interview data compared to suspicious interpretation, which seeks to identify hidden meanings behind the 'surface' of the text, empathic interpretation, however, inevitably adds something to what is being said (Willig, 2017, 278). It also includes making connections between concepts and developing patterns (*ibid.*). Sub-study IV, in turn, involves both hypothesis testing and exploratory parts, thus aiming to measure specific constructs and their relationships in different groups of adolescents with a migrant background.

The analyses of the study have been conducted using Atlas.ti software for qualitative data analysis, and SPSS 24 for the quantitative analyses.

5.3.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS AND DIRECTED CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis (sub-study I) and directed content analysis (sub-study III) were used in the analysis of the interview data. Qualitative content analysis refers to the subjective interpretation of the content of the data through systematic classification and coding, following the identification of wider categories and patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Content-based analysis of the interview data forms an initial reading and analysis of the rich data that is accompanied by other methods and further analyses in each sub-study. In sub-study III, however, the study is based on directed content analysis alone.

Content analysis can be divided into three distinct approaches to interpret the data: conventional, summative, and directive (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Conventional analysis is used to describe a phenomenon studied by creating categories and exploring their mutual and hierarchical relationships. Including inductive category development that is grounded in the data, this kind of approach is close to the grounded theory approach (*ibid.*). Summative analysis is based on identifying and quantifying the content of the data. Directed content analysis is informed by the existing research on a phenomenon. Previous research thus guides the focus of the analysis and directs the research questions. In sub-study III, based on Säävälä's (2012) previous study on home-school information sharing in Finnish comprehensive schools, *information flow* was identified as a key category framing the communication between adolescents, migrant parents, and school personnel.

5.3.2 MULTIVOICEDNESS

The concept of *multivoicedness* was used in sub-study I to analyse the positions adolescents take when they negotiate their autonomy in intergenerational relations in a transnational context. In the analysis of multivoicedness, the Self is understood as multivoiced and reflected in relation to Others (Aveling, Gillespie, & Cornish, 2015). The multivoiced self and the interaction between different voices were analysed using three analytical concepts: voices of the self (I-positions), voices of the other, and interacting voices. In the analysis, the focus was on the positions that adolescents took when they pondered issues related to their autonomy. These positions could be, for example, adolescents themselves as young people or as a member of their ethnic group. In addition, third person references were taken into account. These could include, for example, accounts on

interviewees' parents' opinions on the proper autonomy of adolescents at a certain age.

Multivoicedness is a particularly useful tool in the analysis of autonomy negotiations in the migration context as it may capture the variety of views related to adolescents' autonomy in intergenerational relations of immigrant families. By emphasizing the dialogical and socially related nature of the self, the concept of multivoicedness also converges on the classical social psychological theory of social identity (*social identity theory*) according to which the groups that we feel we belong to form our selves (*social identity*, I as a member of a group) together with our *personal identity* (I as an individual) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

5.3.3 GROUNDED THEORY

Data analysis of the interview data in sub-study II was conducted using the grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The theoretical background behind the grounded theory method is derived from pragmatism and symbolic interactionism and thus emphasizes the changing nature of the phenomena in different conditions (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Grounded theory was adopted in sub-study II in order to recognize the essential elements that relate to immigrant adolescents' experiences of intergenerational relations some years after migration and to further generate a theory based on the relationships between categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). After the initial analyses, the analysis of sub-study II was directed to the emotions of gratitude and indebtedness.

The coding process is an important part of the grounded theory approach, as the evolving theory of the studied social phenomena is developed along with the coding process. In Strauss and Corbin's (1990) approach to data coding, it is important to make constant comparisons between the concepts and categories throughout the research process. Concepts refer to the conceptualizations of the data that serve as the potential indicators of phenomena, while categories are formed from concepts that represent the same phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The coding process includes three phases that guide the analysis in sub-study II. The first phase of the analysis is called *open coding*, where the phenomenon-relevant talk (in this case, immigrant adolescents' accounts in the interview data) is conceptually labelled. In *axial coding*, the relationships between concepts and categories as well as the key concepts around each (sub)category are identified. Finally, the categories and their relationships illustrating the evolving theory are further developed in *selective coding*. The coding process in grounded theory includes both inductive and deductive thinking as the observations based on the data are compared with the existing theories and hypotheses of the relationships between the concepts and categories that are imposed particularly in the axial coding phase (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

Finally, the important parts of the grounded theory method are writing theoretical memos and reaching theoretical saturation in the processes of data collection and data analysis. Memo-writing includes, for example, clarifying the content of the categories and rationalizing the relationships between categories. These kinds of reflections were written down along with the research process. Taking notes and keeping a research diary were important parts of the research process as a whole. It was not possible to reach theoretical saturation in sub-study II because of the use of previously collected data. As the data consisted of 80 semi-structured interviews, each analysis category was, however, considered to reach a saturation point during the analysis process (see sub-study II).

5.3.4 STATISTICAL METHODS

In sub-study IV, the role of parental knowledge in the adaptation of different sub-groups of adolescents with a migrant background was examined by using statistical methods. Relationships between parental knowledge and the two adaptation indicators of the study (i.e., anxiety and school achievement) were examined using Pearson correlation coefficients. Independent samples *t*-tests were conducted to explore the gender and generational differences in parental knowledge. The differences between the four sub-samples of the data (i.e., Asians, Eastern Europeans, refugees, Westerners) were analysed in one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and interpreted in post hoc tests (Tukey's HSD).

A univariate analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with multiple factors was used to test the main effects and interaction effects of gender and parental knowledge, of generational status and parental knowledge, and of parental employment/education and parental knowledge on anxiety and school achievement. In order to explore three-way interaction effects, the above-mentioned main effects and two-way interaction effects were tested in the four sub-samples (i.e., Asians, Eastern Europeans, refugees, Westerners) separately. The same results of the three-way interaction analyses were obtained in the ANCOVA model, including three-way interaction effects (gender x parental knowledge x immigration background, and generational status x parental knowledge x immigration background). Interaction effects were interpreted by using interaction plots and examining mean level differences between groups. Bonferroni correction was used to decrease a risk of a type I error (i.e., rejecting a null hypothesis when it is true) in the case of multiple significance tests. In addition to main variables, adolescents' age and several relevant variables indicating the family's socioeconomic background were controlled for in the analyses. These included parental employment status, parental educational level, and family composition (single parent households vs other).

5.4 RESEARCH ETHICS

Respecting the autonomy of research subjects, avoiding harm, and protection of privacy at every stage of the research process form the core of the ethical principles in social and behavioural sciences (ALLEA, 2017). Research concerning minors should take into account the vulnerability, equal rights, and the developmental stage of the children or adolescents. Another important aspect of specific vulnerability of the study participants in this study relates to adolescents' and their family's migrant background. Immigrant adolescents and parents may have insufficient knowledge of Finnish, socioeconomic disadvantage, and particularly among families with refugee background there may be traumatic pre-migration- and migration-related experiences, suggesting that there are several reasons for vulnerability in immigrant families. First-generation immigrant adolescents and second-generation youth thus potentially represent several minority positions and the power differentials present in most studies may be particularly evident when a researcher from a majority population is interviewing immigrant participants (Hernández et al., 2013), as has been the case in this study.

The interview data used in this study was collected as part of a larger research project called *Etnokids* (2010–2013) in the Family Federation of Finland. The ethical approval for the data collection in school was obtained from the municipal educational authorities in Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo. The School Health Promotion survey data used in this study was collected by the Finnish National Institute for Health and Welfare in 2013. A School Health Promotion survey is conducted every second year in Finnish comprehensive school and is evaluated by the National Institute for Health and Welfare working group on ethics.

Following the guidelines of the National Advisory Board on Research Ethics, the voluntary participation in the interviews was emphasized to study participants and their parents beforehand in the form of written information about the study (a short introduction of the study aims and background was available in English, Finnish, Russian, Somali, and Sorani) and orally as part of the interview. Written consents were collected from the adolescents and in the case of the minors under the age of 15 also from the guardians. Also, in the case of the survey, parents were informed of the study beforehand.

It is important for social research to be aware of the societal power relations at every stage of the research (Hernandez et al., 2013). It is the aim of this study that the research agenda, data collection, storage of data and publication of the results are carried out in respectful ways. In the research results every attempt has been made to take into account the historical, social, and cultural contexts of different migrant groups and to avoid generalizations. However, as the research deals with cultural- and migration-related aspects, discussion of cultural differences has been part of the

research and these interpretations have been sought to be well-founded in line with the data and with previous research.

Avoiding mental harm was an important starting point in the interviews of adolescents. Ethical dilemmas often arise along with the research process. As an interviewer, I often chose not to ask further questions about the issues from which interviewees felt clearly uncomfortable. Usually this meant just following the outline of the interview questions. For example, in the beginning of one interview with a young boy who had arrived in Finland just two years ago from a war area, he told that he had lost some close family members just before arriving. As he seemed very uneasy about telling me what had happened, I decided to just briefly discuss with him about school and his future plans, and not at all about his parental relationships (the author's position in a research process is discussed further in section 6.2). Although discussing about difficult issues within families was welcomed in the interviews, I was trying to avoid interviews turning out as a therapeutic session because I do not have the professional skills that would have been required for that. Also, the key themes of the interviews did not concern the pre-migration experiences.

The protection of study subjects' privacy is protected by the Constitution of Finland. Privacy protection of the study participants has been carefully considered at every phase of the research. Only a minimum amount of personal information was gathered in the interview data collection and the contact details of the participants have been destroyed after they were no longer needed (adolescents who participated in interviews received the contact details of the interviewer). The recorded and transcribed interviews have been carefully stored and analysed only in safe environments. Publishing of results utilizing interview data has been done so that the anonymity of the participants is ensured. Survey data has been collected, stored, analysed and reported in a manner that prevents the identification of individual respondents. The information is stored at the National Institute for Health and Welfare.

Finally, evaluating the benefits of the study is an important part of the research ethics. The aim of this study is to inform schools, youth centres and other recreation places, social services, and other institutions working with adolescents – immigrant adolescents in particular – about their potential struggles in intergenerational relations, balancing efforts of different expectations and identities, and the ways of solving and negotiating conflicts with their parents. In addition, this study aims to reach school personnel and other actors dealing with immigrant adolescents in order to increase the awareness of school personnel of the vulnerable position of immigrant parents and the importance of putting time and effort into building a dialogue between schools, hobby groups, and immigrant homes. The benefits of the study relate to these societal instances and their practices and policies. The benefits can be also seen in the possibilities of increasing a self-understanding among immigrant adolescents and their parents.

6 RESULTS

6.1 SUB-STUDY I: ADOLESCENTS' NEGOTIATIONS OF AUTONOMY

In sub-study I, adolescents' negotiations of autonomy in relation to their parents were examined taking into account the transnational family ties of immigrant families. The wider family networks were included in the analysis in order to conduct a comprehensive analysis of adolescents' autonomy negotiations in the context of different coexisting and sometimes contradicting cultural understandings of adolescents' proper independence (Phinney et al., 2006). While there exist cultural and family level differences in what is deemed an ideal content and suitable age phase of gaining certain levels of autonomy, both autonomy and relatedness are considered to be valuable in different cultures (Kagitcibasi, 2013).

In the content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) of an interview data ($N = 80$), four categories framing adolescents' autonomy negotiations in relation to their parents were identified. These were *family circumstances*, *parental authority*, *peer relations* and *cultural continuity*. The four categories were further analysed following the classification of multivoicedness (Aveling et al., 2015). The results emphasized the importance of day-to-day interaction and contacts in adolescents' autonomy negotiations. Autonomy in relations with one's parents was reflected in relation to peers in Finland, and in relation to other migrant youth, and particularly in relation to youth from the same country/area of origin. The voices of the adolescents' wider ethnocultural community were, however, present in adolescents' ponderings on independence seeking and their willingness to maintain their parents' culture/s of origin.

Adolescents' autonomy was commonly discussed in the context of restrictions of autonomy on which adolescents took stances. The situation of the family was often framed as something that hindered adolescents from seeking the desired level of independence, as they often had to help their parents more than they considered their non-immigrant peers were doing. This was, however, not only negatively seen but also valued by the adolescents. Most of the interviewed adolescents of this study considered that supporting their parents was something that could be taken for granted. Family obligations were sometimes explained by cultural ideals, but often also by the difficult circumstances of their parents, such as the workload of a single mother. Adolescents mentioned that family circumstances also sometimes gave them too much independence and forced them to act as an independent agent.

While it was common to emphasize one's right to make independent decisions, willingness to expand autonomous decision-making was not very common among the interviewed adolescents. Rather, in the data, it was often important to state that decisions concerning both daily life and adolescents' future plans were discussed and negotiated in concert with one's parent/s. The unity of the family was also outlined by drawing boundaries between parents and their new spouses in their right to take part in intergenerational negotiations on adolescents' autonomy. Biological parents' authority was often viewed as justified, while the role of other adults in trying to influence or rule over adolescents' autonomy was questioned. The roles of the extended family and transnational ties were rather symbolic in the intergenerational negotiations of autonomy within the categories of family circumstances and parental authority. For adolescents, transnational ties served as a wider cultural framework (of 'ethnic community') for reflecting on their parents' views on adolescents' autonomy.

Group-level differences and the transnational context were evident in adolescents' autonomy negotiations when they were discussed in relation to peer relations and cultural continuity. Adolescents' autonomy was then reflected from the I-positions that represented one's ethno-national group (i.e., I-as-Iraqi, I-as-Chinese) particularly among adolescents with non-Western backgrounds. Ambivalence concerning the autonomy expectations of one's parents and adolescents' own desires was common, and the gendered expectations of proper behaviour and parental future expectations were discussed among adolescents. From adolescents' perspective, contradictions between adolescents and their parents were not often due to lack of intergenerational negotiations and adolescent disclosure. Instead, some adolescents considered their parents incapable of seeing the number of concessions their children had already made and the difficulties adolescents faced in their attempts to balance different cultural expectations in their lives. Consequently, adolescents were not only compliant but also challenged their parents if the generational gap between adolescents' and their parents' expectations of proper autonomy grew too wide.

6.2 SUB-STUDY II: GRATITUDE AND INDEBTEDNESS TOWARDS PARENTS

Sub-study II focused on the emotions of gratitude and indebtedness in intergenerational relations after migration. A sense of indebtedness is a negative emotion following from the obligatory feeling to repay another, while gratitude entails a pleasant emotional state and leads to acts that are considered positive, such as a desire to help and a desire to be close to the benefactor (Greenberg, 1980; Watkins, Scheer, Ovnicek, & Kolts, 2006). The study showed how these social emotions experienced by the adolescents

shape intergenerational relations and adolescent-parent communication in immigrant families. Although often mentioned emotions in the research literature on intergenerational relations in immigrant families, empirical studies on gratitude and indebtedness are scarce.

The study based on the 80 semi-structured interviews of immigrant adolescents analysed with the guidance of the grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The interview protocol did not include any direct questions on gratitude and indebtedness, but the themes of gratitude and indebtedness were noticed as being repeated during the initial analysis on the interview data and explored further. Forty-five of the interviewed adolescents spoke spontaneously about gratitude and/or indebtedness in relation to their parents. About half of the participants in every ethnocultural group (i.e., Africa, Middle East, Western, former Soviet Union) discussed gratitude or indebtedness and all but one adolescent in the Southern Asian group touched upon these themes in the interview. In the analysis of the selected interview data ($N = 45$), three categories illustrating immigrant adolescents' reflections on gratitude and/or indebtedness towards their parents were identified: *migration decision*, *intergenerational contract* and *affection*. Both gratitude and indebtedness were manifested interrelated in all these three categories but also as distinct accounts that either supported (gratefulness) or impeded (indebtedness) intergenerational relations.

The category of *migration decision* was the most common category in which gratitude and indebtedness were discussed by the immigrant adolescents. Adolescents' recognized and empathized with their parents' migration-related sacrifices and admired the persistence of their migrant parents. Adolescents also framed their parents' migration decision as something they did not ask for and something that they felt anxious about. The category of *intergenerational contract* was related to parents' expectations of the rights and responsibilities across generations. The expectations of the parents were often gendered and dependent on the family's country of origin and cultural/religious background. Moreover, the intersections of the age phase, gender and cultural background affected parents' expectations concerning, for instance, adolescents' financial responsibilities and autonomy. Finally, the category of *affection* revealed another emotional ambivalence of the intergenerational relationship, in which love and annoyance were related to adolescents' accounts on gratitude and indebtedness towards their parents. The category of affection was only weakly connected to the migration context and also illustrated the age-dependent development, including contradictory feelings towards parents. Following the guidelines of the grounded theory approach, the analysis was further developed as an evolving theory of gratitude and indebtedness in intergenerational relations in the Finnish migration context.

The findings of the study show how the ambivalence of gratitude and indebtedness occurs within intergenerational relations of immigrant families. The ambivalence of intergenerational relations in and outside the migration

context has been widely identified and described by family scholars. The findings of this study expand the understanding of how gratitude and indebtedness often jointly frame intergenerational negotiations in immigrant families. Based on the diverse interview data of immigrant adolescents with various backgrounds, the study also shows how gratitude and indebtedness are not characteristics only of the intergenerational relations of families with an Asian background as has often been the case in previous studies on gratitude and indebtedness in intergenerational relations (e.g., Kang & Raffaelli, 2016; Naito, Wangwan, & Tani, 2005).

6.3 SUB-STUDY III: ADOLESCENTS AS THE MODERATORS OF HOME-SCHOOL INFORMATION SHARING

Intergenerational relations are negotiated in various ecological contexts that are mutually interacting and create specific adaptation contexts for adolescents (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012). For teenagers, school is an essential ecological context that includes several adults with different professional backgrounds (i.e., teachers, nurses, social workers, psychologists). In sub-study III, adolescent-parent-school personnel relationships were examined in a school context from the perspective of information sharing. The study utilized Minna Säävälä's (2012) previous work on home-school interaction and continued the previously conducted analysis on communication between school personnel and immigrant parents by adding adolescents' ($N = 80$) perspective to perspectives of school personnel ($N = 34$) and immigrant parents ($N = 13$). Information flows were identified as a central theme in the study and were further analysed from the perspectives of the three actors (i.e., adolescents, immigrant parents, and school personnel, including nurses, social workers, psychologists, special education teachers, language teachers (of Kurdish, Filipino, Polish, Russian, Somali, Thai and Turkish), and a headmaster).

Previous research has shown that home-school information sharing strengthens adolescents' and their parents' resources in a new society and supports adolescents' adaptation. School also has an important role in diminishing inequalities related to pupils' socio-economic backgrounds and structural inequalities in the society. Although immigrant parents often have high expectations concerning their children's school achievement and try to do their best to support their children's schooling, the interaction between immigrant parents and school personnel is often less intense than among other families (Crozier & Davies, 2007; Säävälä, 2012).

The study illustrated how home-school interaction is not a dyad between immigrant parents and school personnel but a triad that includes the

students. In the analysis of the information sharing between the three actors, school was understood as a social arena in which various forms of capital and power are contested (Bourdieu, 1984). The findings showed how immigrant adolescents often had a significant role in information sharing due to their parents' lack of skills in Finnish and their uncertainty about how the Finnish school system works. The power imbalance and culturally varying expectations concerning the teacher's educational role (independent vs. partnership with parents) reduced immigrant parents' willingness to interact with school personnel. The members of school personnel, in turn, were often incapable of seeing that the passive mode of immigrant parents' communication might be due to their limited knowledge of Finnish and the Finnish school system. To immigrant adolescents, parents' low willingness or ability to communicate with school left more room for maneuver. Generally, adolescents appreciated the communication efforts between school and their parents. However, adolescents' possibilities to control the home-school information became attractive when there were conflicts or difficulties at home and/or at school. Expanding autonomy and protecting parents from disappointments and worries were among the main reasons behind the adolescents' gatekeeper role.

All in all, it was sometimes difficult for the Finnish-born school personnel to recognize their authority and power position in relation to immigrant parents. These power structures became visible particularly in times of difficulties in communicating between school and immigrant homes. The study concludes that when home-school interaction is seen as a triad, adolescents often hold a role as moderator. On the one hand, adolescents may help their parents by, for example, taking care of the internet-based communication platform Wilma by themselves, but on the other hand immigrant youth are also able to hamper the communication between school and home by selecting the information they share with their parents (cf. Rasmi et al., 2014).

6.4 SUB-STUDY IV: THE ROLE OF PARENTAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE ADAPTATION OF FIRST- AND SECOND-GENERATION ADOLESCENTS

This study explored the effect of adolescent-reported parental knowledge (understood as adolescent disclosure) in the adaptation of first-generation immigrant adolescents and second-generation youth. The gendered and socioeconomic differences in the relationship between parental knowledge and adaptation outcomes were also explored. In this quantitative study, the complexity of adolescents' adaptation was recognized by exploring the joint effects of parental knowledge, gender, immigrant generation, family's

socioeconomic background, and immigration background on two adaptation outcomes of adolescents: anxiety and school achievement. As the phenomenon of the immigrant paradox has been identified in previous studies on first and second immigrant generation's adaptation, one important aim of the study was also to explore how parental knowledge may contribute to the occurrence of the immigrant paradox in different immigration groups in the Finnish context.

The study utilized the Finnish School Health Promotion survey data collected in 2013 by the National Institute of Health and Welfare. The study analyzed a sample of 8- and 9-graders whose parents were born abroad (i.e., first-generation immigrants who have migrated themselves and second-generation adolescents, who were born in Finland but whose parents were born abroad) and who had stayed more than one year in Finland ($N = 2697$, M age = 15.6 years). The immigration background of the adolescents was defined by categorizing adolescents in the four groups by their and/or their parents' country of origin. The four groups were Asians, Eastern Europeans, refugees, and Westerners.

Following the previous research on immigrant adolescents' psychological and sociocultural school adaptation, it was hypothesized that high parental knowledge is positively associated with higher school grades and negatively associated with anxiety symptoms. Girls were expected to report higher school achievement and more anxiety symptoms compared to boys. The hypotheses concerning the immigrant paradox were formulated based on previous research on health paradox and school achievement of first- and second-generation youth in Europe. It was expected that second-generation youth would perform better in school and have fewer anxiety symptoms compared to first-generation immigrant adolescents. In other words, the immigrant paradox was not expected to occur at the level of the whole sample. The analyses on the role of parental knowledge in the occurrence of the immigrant paradox in different immigration groups were exploratory.

The hypotheses of the study were partly confirmed. Expectedly, there were negative associations between parental knowledge and anxiety symptoms, whereas the relationship between parental knowledge and school grades was positive. The hypotheses concerning the gendered differences were also confirmed as girls reported better grades and more anxiety symptoms compared to boys. In the whole sample, no instances of the immigrant paradox were found. In line with expectations, first-generation immigrants had a higher level of anxiety than second-generation adolescents. Contrary to expectations, there were no generational differences in school grades. Generational differences in four sub-samples (i.e., Asians, Eastern Europeans, refugees, and Westerners) showed that while there were no differences in school grades between any of these four groups, differences in the anxiety levels of first- and second-generation immigrants were found (only) in the refugee sample (the first generation reported higher levels of anxiety symptoms compared to the second generation).

The results of the study showed that the role of parental knowledge in adolescents' adaptation varies depending on adolescents' gender, generational status, and immigration background. In general, parental knowledge was related to better school grades and less anxiety both among first- and second-generation immigrants. However, the results revealed that the effects of high parental knowledge on adaptation outcomes had a stronger effect for girls compared to boys and did not have any effect on first-generation refugees' school grades. First-generation refugee adolescents with low levels of parental knowledge had higher school grades than second-generation adolescents with a refugee background and low parental knowledge. The immigrant paradox in education was thus detected among adolescents from the most vulnerable group, i.e., the first-generation refugee adolescents reporting low parental knowledge.

The findings of the study suggest that adolescent-reported parental knowledge supports adolescents' adaptation regardless of their immigration background. The study also points out the particularly resilient immigrant group, i.e., first-generation refugees. The results are in line with previous research suggesting that immigrants with a refugee background often share a strong desire to succeed academically in order to pay their parents back (Ceballos et al., 2014; García Coll & Szalacha, 2004) as well as to improve their position in society (Salikutluk, 2016). The findings concerning the insignificant role of parental knowledge among first-generation refugees may also be interpreted through the different expectations and functions of adolescent disclosure. Cultural variation may exist in how much adolescent disclosure is expected in the families (Sabatier & Berry, 2008) and adolescents' nondisclosure may also serve as an adaptation strategy and a way to increase one's autonomy (cf. Yau, 2016).

6.5 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The results of the study show how immigrant adolescents negotiate over often conflicting desires of autonomy and loyalty that characterize intergenerational relations. In the analysis of adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational relations after migration, the contexts and resources of adolescents' autonomy negotiations are identified. Emotions of gratitude and indebtedness are found to offer a relevant framework to better understand intergenerational negotiations from adolescents' perspective. Adolescents' selective information sharing in a triadic communication between adolescents, immigrant parents, and school personnel illustrates the nature of adolescent-parent communication in the school context. While adolescent-parent communication and adolescents' strategies in intergenerational negotiations are contextually varied, adolescent disclosure is found to

generally relate to adolescents' better psychological and school adaptation both in first- and second-generation immigrants.

In previous research, the overlapping transitions of immigrant adolescents have been related to their vulnerable position and poorer well-being. The recent discourse on immigrant adolescents and their adaptation, however, also emphasizes the resilience of immigrant adolescents, who are capable and resourceful at coping with the challenges related to the acculturation process and to changes in their families (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Motti-Stefanidi, 2018). This study shows how adolescents are the agents of migration and adaptation including their own well-being and that of their families. Moreover, the study shows the contextuality and intersectionality of adaptation paths, speaking for the complexity of human development when intertwined with migration. The study argues that this complexity is not only lived by immigrant adolescents but also in schools, where it should be properly acknowledged and dealt with. The results of this study also show how immigrant parents' lack of knowledge, particularly concerning school, allows adolescents to take independent roles in the school environment. Power structures of intergenerational relations in immigrant families thus become particularly visible in the context of school, where adolescents are often able to dominate and select the information school personnel and immigrant parents share.

One important finding of the study is that parents' migration decision forms an essential background for intergenerational negotiations after migration. Adolescents often perceive their future as a key influencer behind family's migration decision and their attempts to take their responsibility and follow the expectations of parents does not always happen without conflicts between adolescents and their parents. The narrative according to which parents have gone through difficult struggles in their past and sacrificed a lot for their children was commonly used among adolescents and was also often used when promoting adolescents' motivation to achieve success (cf. Kang & Larson, 2014). This finding originates from the qualitative analyses (sub-studies I–III) but is also in line with the finding concerning the immigrant paradox in school achievement, specifically among first-generation refugee adolescents who, forcibly migrated from insecure and unstable countries and areas, are probably most likely to perceive their parents' past and current difficulties.

The results of this study suggest that open adolescent-parent communication benefits adolescents' adaptation. The results, however, also pointed out that open communication was not a necessary prerequisite for better adaptation, and that some dimensions of adaptation (e.g., psychological well-being) could benefit more from open adolescent-parent relations than other dimensions (e.g., school achievement). In some contexts, adolescents' disclosure could sometimes serve as a good strategy for avoiding intergenerational conflicts (cf. Rasmi et al., 2014) and for increasing personal autonomy (Chase, 2010; Yau, 2016; sub-study III) and could support

adolescents' adaptation as such. It is thus difficult to say what kinds of characteristics of adolescent-parent relationships could simultaneously serve as promoters of adaptation in different aspects of adaptation. Also, the ambivalent nature of intergenerational relations means that there are constantly elements that both support and challenge family relationships. The results of the study are reflected further in the following discussion chapter.

7 DISCUSSION

In this study, it was examined how adolescents perceive and negotiate developmental and acculturative changes in intergenerational relations and how perceived adolescent-parent relationships relate to adolescents' adaptation. Although acculturative changes in adolescence and the ambivalence of intergenerational relations have been widely studied in the fields of acculturation psychology and sociology, respectively, previous studies on intergenerational relations in migrant families have rarely combined these two perspectives. In this chapter, the findings and the main contributions of the study are further explained and elaborated. Some reflections on conducting the research as well as the limitations of the study are also discussed. Finally, ideas for future studies and some practical implications of the study are presented.

7.1 REFLECTIONS ON THE MAIN FINDINGS

Acculturation psychology has been criticized for its poor usage of other related disciplines (Chirkov, 2009; van de Vijver, 2018). Recent models on adaptation and development of immigrant adolescents (cf. Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012) utilize theoretization from several sub-fields of psychology, and are multifaceted, recognizing that several personal, social, and societal characteristics affect adolescents' adaptation. The predominance of quantitative methods and individual-level analyses have sometimes resulted in a static depiction of acculturation in families (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009) and been unable to examine how the process of acculturation is manifested in daily interaction (Chirkov, 2009). Even though the (over-) simplicity of the models of acculturation has been identified widely among scholars, acculturation continues to be studied by relying on these models (van de Vijver, 2018).

By utilizing a broad interview data and a nationally representative survey data, the current study analysed immigrant adolescents' perceptions of adolescent-parent relationships and investigated how these perceptions relate to adolescents' adaptation when adaptation is understood widely as good emotional and psychological well-being, and adjustment at school. The study combined the theoretical perspectives of developmental, cultural, and acculturation psychology to psychological and sociological research on intergenerational relationships. Studying intergenerational relations in real-life contexts (vs. analysing responses to hypothetical vignettes) and understanding intergenerational relations as ambivalent and contextually (re)constructed (Connidis, 2015; Connidis & McMullen, 2002; Tardif-

Williams & Fisher, 2009) enabled me to investigate how acculturative changes are managed in adolescent-parent relationships. In addition, some connections between immigrant adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational relations and adolescent adaptation have been drawn.

This study contributes to research on acculturation and adaptation particularly in three ways. First, it contextualizes adolescents' autonomy negotiations after migration. In a predominantly quantitative research area, the study illustrates how intergenerational ambivalence and the co-existence of conflicting desires, emotions, and identities affect intergenerational communication. Second, it shows how adolescents' engagement in their parents' migration decision influences intergenerational negotiations after migration. The study builds an interpretative framework to better understand adolescents' negotiations in intergenerational relations. Third, the study shows the complexity and intersectionality of adolescents' adaptation and thus calls for the use of multiple methods and their further development in the field of acculturation psychology.

The results of the study illustrate how adolescents try to find a balance between their desires for autonomy and their willingness to support and help their parents. In the negotiations of this core ambivalence of adolescence (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Kwak, 2003; Steinberg, 2001), the 'voices' of peers with different backgrounds (migrant vs. nonmigrant, insider vs. outsider of one's own ethnic group), family, and the wider ethnic community are utilized and coordinated contextually by adolescents. By using transnational ties as the references in autonomy negotiations, adolescents are increasingly acknowledging their parents' perspectives in parent-adolescent negotiations. Local interpretations of the transnational context have been identified as important for the identity negotiations of second-generation youth (Haikkola, 2011). In her study on transnational networks, Haikkola (2011) found that adolescents in immigrant families are not repeating their parents' transnational practices but use the transnational context in order to build positive identities within Finnish society. According to my study, autonomy negotiations of immigrant adolescents may be constructed in a similar vein. Autonomy in intergenerational relations is negotiated locally but interpreted and reasoned also in terms of transnational ties. From the perspective of acculturation, it is particularly heritage cultural maintenance that is negotiated in the context of transnational ties.

Almost without exception, adolescents interviewed in this study considered their own future to be the most important reason behind their parent's or parents' decision to move to Finland. This is remarkable considering that about one third of the interviewed adolescents came from Iraq or Somalia, i.e., countries with very insecure situations. Previous studies have found that even though parents might be physically and mentally absent after migration because they have to make a living for their families by doing long hours and may thus have difficulties in contributing to their children's lives (Fernández-Reino & González-Ferrer, 2019; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-

Orozco, 2001), parents' choices are nevertheless often framed as the best solution for the children by both immigrant parents and their children (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; see also sub-study II). In this study, however, parents' difficulties in finding any job without sufficient language skills was a more commonly mentioned problem concerning parents than their long hours at work.

There may be several reasons behind adolescents' tendency to emphasize themselves as a reason for migration. First, parents are often willing to move forward after the difficulties in the country or countries of origin and underline the future prospects and future possibilities for their children in a new environment (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, 87). Second, as stated above, adolescents' lives *are* often an important factor behind the family's migration decision. In this study, this became evident in many ways. Besides the fact that education in Finland is considered to be of high quality and is free of charge, other factors related to adolescents' quality of life influence the family's migration decision. For example, Russian parents may appreciate the possibility of avoiding their son's compulsory military service in the Russian armed forces. Finally, while different reasons for migration often intertwine, what is most likely shown and explicated to adolescents, is their possibilities in a new society.

The parents' migration decision was a particularly important context of adolescents' sense of gratitude and indebtedness studied in sub-study II. The conceptual framework of gratitude and indebtedness developed in the study, offers a framework to interpret intergenerational negotiations and adolescent-parent relationships from the adolescents' point of view. It has been suggested that a sense of indebtedness has protected intergenerational relations from conflicts among Korean-American families (Kang & Raffaelli, 2016). In the light of the results of sub-study II, it seems that negative emotions concerning indebtedness may also cause conflict in intergenerational relations. Feelings of gratitude and indebtedness also work as concurrently illustrating adolescents' ambivalent feelings towards their parents after immigration (see sub-study II). Ceballo and colleagues (2014) found that parents' stories about their difficulties before and during the migration process were an important component that affected adolescents' motivation to perform well in school among low-income Latino families in the northeastern United States (see also Qin, 2008). A sense of gratitude and indebtedness may also partly explain the findings concerning the insignificant role of parental knowledge in the school achievement of first-generation refugee adolescents (sub-study IV). It may be that gratitude and indebtedness protect intergenerational relations from conflicts particularly in families with low parental resources.

Immigrant adolescents grow up and participate in various interacting sociocultural environments (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and an increase in cultural competence is pronouncedly important for their development (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). While gaining cultural competence supports

adolescents' development and adaptation, the varying pace of language acquisition and other cultural competencies among family members often results in adolescents' increased autonomy and responsibilities within their families. Adolescents' contribution to family adaptation has been increasingly noticed in recent research on family acculturation (e.g., Fuligni & Telzer, 2012; Jugert & Titzmann, 2019; Titzmann, 2012). In his comparative study on emotional and instrumental parentification (i.e., adolescents taking parental roles) among German and former Soviet Union mother-adolescent dyads, Titzmann (2012) found that instrumental parentification supported adolescents' adaptation by increasing self-efficacy, whereas emotional parentification was associated with higher exhaustion among immigrant adolescents. In other words, immigrant adolescents who emotionally support their families and hold a mediator's role between various cultural expectations, are certainly resourceful (cf. Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016), but are also at risk of exhaustion.

The results of this study show that while many of the adolescents' expressed a willingness to obey their parents and stated that they did not have a strong desire for independent decision-making, adolescents often manoeuvred home-school communication and chose not to disclose information about their schooling or their personal lives to their parents. Adolescents' selective disclosure may serve as a strategy to maximize their agency (cf. Chase, 2010; Yau, 2016). Rasmi (2014) has called this 'deceitful obliging' in which both adolescents and parents get at least close to what they want (see also Peltola et al., 2017). It can, however, be questioned whether adolescents who start to hide significant amounts of information from their parents end up in the long run living double lives. Moreover, some of the potential conflicts might not be endlessly postponed. Adolescent-reported parental knowledge was found to relate to adolescents' better adaptation outcomes (i.e., lower anxiety levels and better school grades) in both first- and second-generation immigrants. Parental knowledge stems from adolescent disclosure, but it is impossible to evaluate the selectivity of adolescent disclosure in the context of the survey-based results of this study. In any case, there is some evidence that it is adolescent secrecy that may lead to adolescents' maladjustment rather than their level of disclosure (Frijns, Keijsers, Branje, & Meeus, 2010).

An important aspect concerning adolescent disclosure is the fact that self-disclosure tends to build intimacy in close relationships. Scholars have noted that acculturation gaps may lead to emotional alienation (Titzmann & Sonnenberg, 2016). Qin (2008) has noted that this can be the case particularly among families with a working-class background, as parents with a middle-class background may have more time and resources to build their relationships with their children and put effort into adolescent-parent communication in a new socio-cultural environment. A study conducted in Spain found that adolescents in immigrant families did not perceive more conflicts than adolescents in non-immigrant families. However, they more

often felt emotionally distant with their mothers than adolescents in non-immigrant families (Fernández-Reino & González-Ferrer, 2019). Similar experiences were sometimes brought up in the interviews of this study when interviewees stated that they no longer felt that close to their parent or parents. Often the adolescents were unable to trace the reason for this development but thought that it might have something to do with their age phase, or with the fact that their parents did not grow up in Finland.

Adolescents' autonomy seeking is not necessarily inconsistent with the demands of family obligations and intergenerational solidarity. However, in contradictory situations, adolescents' perspective taking, their emotions of gratitude towards parents who are often considered to have sacrificed a lot for the migration, and responsibility for the well-being of the family in a new country, protected intergenerational relations from conflicts. While this pattern may describe the intergenerational negotiations of most immigrant adolescents in this study, it is important to note that there were also cases in which adolescents stated that they did not care about their parents demands to obey them or they had openly challenged their parents despite the risk of giving rise to serious conflicts. The role of emotions has been argued to be neglected in acculturation research (Mesquita et al., 2017), even though 'resolving' ambivalent tendencies in intergenerational relations is often also an emotional act. Moreover, as immigrant parents have sometimes been argued to invest in instrumental support and give less emphasis to emotional support (Qin, 2008; Villiger, Wanderler, & Niggli, 2014), it is particularly important to pay attention to immigrant adolescents' emotional well-being.

A refugee background is obviously something that may alter intergenerational relations in a different way than families with a voluntary migrant background. In this study, adolescents with a refugee background did differ from other groups of adolescents in the first generation (see sub-study IV) regarding their school achievement, which did not depend on the level of perceived parental knowledge. The resilience of these adolescents may rise from difficult family histories or relate to culturally varying expectations concerning adolescent disclosure (Sabatier & Berry, 2008). As mentioned above, it is, however, likely that first-generation refugees also have a strong desire to compensate for their parents' past struggles (Ceballo et al., 2014) and to improve their position in society (Salitkutluk, 2016). It is essential to ask why the immigrant paradox occurs among the members of the group that can be considered to be the most vulnerable. Further research is also needed on what constitutes resilience, particularly among adolescents with a refugee background.

When interpersonal relationships are considered to be constantly (re)negotiated and when these relationships are studied with cross-sectional data, as has been the case in this study, it is difficult to say if some certain aspects in family relationships eventually lead to poorer adaptation of immigrant adolescents. Based on the four sub-studies of this thesis, it can however be concluded that open communication and parents' awareness of

their children's efforts to find a balance between different cultural expectations relates to adolescents' well-being and supports school adjustment. Roughly speaking, adolescents often stated that they understood their parents' viewpoints and opinions well but did not perceive their parents as trying hard enough to understand their children's situation in-between different socio-cultural environments and varying expectations. A similar kind of pattern has been found in previous studies on intergenerational relations in immigrant families (e.g., Kwak, 2003; Peltola, 2016). Acculturation in adolescence is an integral part of development (Birman & Addae, 2015; Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). In order to support adolescents' positive development, their capacity and possibilities to resolve intergenerational conflicts in the context of migration should be supported. As Lüscher and Pillemer (1998) have pointed out, conflicts between ambivalent tendencies are at the heart of psychosocial theories of development, and 'resolving' these conflicts – in adolescence, mainly the conflict between autonomy and relatedness – leads to development.

An assumption of universality following from the supposed objectivity and generalizability of the social sciences often presents white, middle-class perspectives on culture and interpersonal relationships (Hernández et al., 2013). Also, psychological research on family relations has been justly criticized for using Western definitions and understandings of family life in research on intergenerational relations (Kagitcibasi, 2006; Rasmi, 2014). In addition to different behavioural ideals of, for example, autonomy and relatedness within different cultures, the research conducted in the field of social neuroscience has shown that there are also cultural and contextual differences on how rewarding adolescents feel that the assistance of their family is (Telzer, Masten, Berkman, Lieberman, & Fuligni, 2010). Although it is important to recognize common experiences of adolescents with an immigrant background, there is no reason to underestimate various cultural differences that intersect with social categories such as gender and socioeconomic background, and that often create deeply emotional practices within intergenerational relations.

There are several important themes concerning intergenerational negotiations that have not been discussed in this study, including religion, gendered restrictions concerning some girls, family composition, and pre-migration experiences and networks in Finland. Rasmi and colleagues (2016), for example, have noted that the strong religious faith of some adolescents may mitigate the experience of acculturation gaps. Regarding the migration context, the adolescents interviewed for this study often pointed out that changes in family relationships (e.g., parents' divorce or the death of a parent) had preceded migration. Recent comparative research has shown that the differences in intergenerational solidarity between migrants living in different countries in Europe are often larger than the differences between immigrant and non-immigrant families within individual European countries

(Albertini et al., 2019). Societal systems are thus intertwined with intergenerational practices and on a more local level acculturation also happens differently according to different neighbourhoods and the school contexts (Birman & Addae, 2015, 18). Finally, there are age-related differences in what kinds of cultural competencies and autonomy are required from children and adolescents in interaction, including intergenerational relationships and the school environment (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016). The timing of the migration affects the ways that children are able to identify with the cultural orientations and ideals of their parents. A study of Korean and Vietnamese immigrant families in the U.S. found that older children expressed more solidarity towards their parents compared to their younger siblings (Pyke, 2005). This was also evident in the talk of the interviewed adolescents of my study, as some of them explicitly stated that their 'Finnishness' and ability to understand their parents differed from their sibling or siblings because they were older or younger than their sibling/s at the time of migration.

7.2 REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Power asymmetry is evident in the interviews of adolescents with an immigrant background, as the interviews were mainly conducted in school buildings and were carried out by an adult representing the majority group of the surrounding society. Several issues, such as age, socioeconomic background, gender, and ethnicity affect the power distance between interviewee and interviewer. Power is constructed and negotiated in an interview situation, but it was quite clear at least at the beginning of the interviews of this study, that I held an authority position in relation to my interviewees. I found it important to stress at the beginning of the interviews that the interview had nothing to do with school or their teachers. Instead, I emphasized that school was often chosen for the place to conduct interviews for practical reasons. Breaking the set-up where I posed the questions and adolescents seemingly tried their best to answer '*correctly*' to these inquiries was sometimes difficult. Keeping questions at a very concrete level and giving concrete examples sometimes helped when starting to talk about adolescents' relationships with their parents.

The main theme of the interviews – relationships with one's parents – was not the easiest one for the adolescents. Many of the adolescents did not want in any way to criticize their parents to me, although more critical stances were often taken in the latter parts of the interviews. Besides the fact that many of the adolescents probably considered that it would be tactless to talk in a negative way about their family to a stranger, adolescents may begin to act as a representative of their ethnic group or immigrants in a more general fashion. Consequently, their talk may turn to assessing assumed cultural differences between, for example, Finland and the adolescents'

country of origin (Pietilä, 2010, 415). This was sometimes evident in the statements of the adolescents of this study. However, as sub-study I shows, the reference points were versatile and it was common to also comment on cultural generalizations by saying, for example, “*usually* in our culture...”, or “*not everyone* in our culture acts like this, but...”. Moreover, it was difficult especially for some of the younger participants to even describe the characteristics or personality of their parent/s. Age and developmental phase are related to how adolescents see their parents. Among the first questions concerning the interviewee’s parents, I often asked adolescents to describe their mother and/or father briefly. “Mother is mother”, one of the interviewed adolescents answered, and was left at a loss how else she could describe her.

The age range of 13 to 18 was quite big in terms of the developmental phase of the adolescents interviewed in this study. There was obviously, nevertheless, a lot of individual variation about which aspects were relevant to the young people in intergenerational relations. Age is associated with the ways adolescents reason intergenerational conflicts (Phinney et al., 2005) and experience migration (Crosnoe & Fuligni, 2012). Both adolescents’ age and their length of stay also positioned them differently in relation to the interviewer. While an interview with an 18-year-old who had stayed seven years in Finland felt in many ways like an equal discussion on intergenerational relations, it was particularly common for the youngest participants and those who had arrived in Finland more recently to mainly praise their parents. These differences in adolescents’ accounts illustrate the role of the maturation process. Adolescents who have lived longer in Finland have also possibly adopted more the ways in which family relationships are talked about among adolescents in Finland. They also, obviously, had a better knowledge of Finnish compared to their more recently migrated peers. Almost all of the interviews were conducted in Finnish, which was the first language of the interviewee, and the second, third, or fourth language of the interviewed adolescents. Although language choices created one more power imbalance between interviewer and interviewees, I myself did not consider language a major limitation or obstacle for the adolescents to express themselves. The interviewees could also note if there was something they found difficult to express in Finnish or if they had not found an equivalent term or saying in Finnish to describe something.

I as a researcher have interpreted the results from my own cultural framework, which has also shaped the interview dialogues. Researchers inevitably bring their own attitudes, understandings, positions, and feelings to the research process (King, Horrocks, & Brooks, 2019, 28). There might also be substantial differences in how adolescents would have talked about intergenerational relations for an interviewer with a migrant background, or for an interviewer with a similar ethnic background. The results might also be somewhat different if the interviews had been conducted in the adolescents’ home.

There are both pros and cons in conducting research as ‘an outsider’. In her interview study, Peltola (2016) noted that the talk of the family members of ethnic minorities often sought to distinguish itself from the problem-centred discourses of immigrant families in Finnish society. For the representative of the mainstream society, it may thus become important to portray one’s family as ‘a respectable family’ (ibid.). Adolescents in my study recognized the stereotypes concerning family life that were related to their ethnic/national background and often commented on these to me. Representing one’s family as a decent one was common. Adolescents, however, also criticized their parents in a way that might have been more difficult when speaking to someone who represented their own ethnic or cultural group. Finally, there are several other social categories that intersect and characterize the ways family relationships are portrayed (Connidis & McMullen, 2002). In this sense, there is a unique mixture of interviewee-interviewer positions in every interview, including their gender, sexuality, socioeconomic background, family history, and so on.

7.3 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The results of this study stem from interview data mainly collected in 2012, and from a survey data collected in 2013. The findings thus illustrate adolescents’ perceptions of intergenerational relations, school grades, and levels of anxiety before 2015, when the societal climate in Finland intensified due to an unusual number of asylum seekers arriving in Finland. Also, in 2015, an anti-immigration populist party (the Finns Party) gained remarkable support in the Finnish parliamentary elections, reflecting and further polarizing attitudes towards immigration in Finland (Lönnqvist, Mannerström, & Leikas, 2019). A tightened societal atmosphere has consequences for the different social contexts of adolescents, and particularly those with ethnic minority backgrounds, including school and leisure time activities and may also influence the dynamics of intergenerational relations. It is thus likely that some of the adolescents’ experiences might have changed in a direction in which family-centred accounts are emphasized due to more insecure and even hostile social environments.

In this study, some interpretations on the different perceptions and negotiations that depend on the adolescents’ ethnic, cultural or immigration background have been made. The impact of these cultural and historical factors on intergenerational relations is obviously complex and could have been analysed in more detail in this study, particularly if the study had concentrated on one or two ethno-cultural minorities. In the scope of this study, it has not been possible to go into different historical, social, and political aspects of each migrant group in detail. For example, when it comes to immigrants with a Russian background, there have been small waves of

Russian immigration to Finland in the 20th century during the Russian Revolution (1917) and the Second World War (1939–1945), and between 1990 and 2016 when over 30,000 repatriates with Ingrian Finnish roots migrated to Finland mainly from Russia. The migration histories of the Russians as well as the closeness and past wars between Russia and Finland have strongly affected the ways people with a Russian background have been welcomed to Finland at different times. The situation of different immigrant groups, for example immigrants with an Iraqi background, who have encountered hostile attitudes in Finnish society particularly after 2015 when a larger number of asylum seekers arrived in Finland, is completely different. In adolescents' own ponderings on their relationships toward their parents, a wider societal, political, or historical context was rarely mentioned.

The study has given a small emphasis to a gendered perspective on intergenerational relations. In sub-study IV, it was found that the effect of adolescent-reported parental knowledge is slightly stronger for girls' adaptation compared to boys' adaptation. This sub-study, however, also lacks a gendered perspective concerning parents. Girls in particular have been found to prefer to talk to their mothers (Ahmad, Smetana, & Klimstra, 2015), and this was also noticeable, although not analysed in detail, in the interview data of this study. It has been stated that immigrant girls compared to immigrant boys experience more stress related to difficulties in family relationships and family losses (for a review, see Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Girls are also often suggested to be more controlled by their parents compared to boys and thus have an increased need to negotiate their autonomy (ibid.). Gendered patterns of intergenerational relations after migration are contextual and depend also on other social characteristics of the adolescents. For example, a qualitative study examining immigrant adolescents' narratives of their lives after immigration showed that gendered differences in the descriptions of family relationships and autonomy became visible in the narratives of less adaptive adolescents (Walsh & Shulman, 2006). While young women having difficulties in their daily life expressed a lack of close relationships and connection, young men emphasized their inability to master their life and a lack of autonomy (ibid.). A gendered analysis of autonomy negotiations, indebtedness, gratitude, and adolescents' role in home-school communication in this study could have illustrated in more detail the expectations of Finnish society and immigrant parents, and the inevitably partly gendered negotiation strategies immigrant adolescents have after migration in relation to their parents.

As a large proportion of the participants did not live with both their parents, analyses of this study cover two-parent families, and single-parent households including both mothers and fathers, and in some cases also stepmothers or stepfathers. The variety of the family compositions, ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds of this study means that a profound examination of more group-specific perceptions and negotiations is a task for future research. Moreover, the interview data represent a wide

range of adolescents living in the Helsinki metropolitan area. Some of the adolescents went to schools with a high level of ethnic diversity whereas some of them were among the few pupils with an ethnic minority and/or migrant background in their school. Adolescents' perceptions of intergenerational relations present the views of these adolescents, and represent local conditions at a general level in the Helsinki metropolitan area. Generalizations may not be drawn based on the interview data, but the results of the study and the evolving theory presented in sub-study III may help to elaborate future research.

As the Finnish School Health Promotion Study is a complete sample of the age cohort in Finland, the results concerning the role of parental knowledge in the adaptation of first- and second-generation immigrants can be considered to represent the views of the immigrant population of that age in Finland. In 2013, only five of the 320 municipalities of that time in Finland declined to take part in this survey in comprehensive schools and upper secondary schools (Luopa et al., 2014, 10). However, the findings of sub-study IV have to be looked at carefully for three particular reasons. First, the four sub-samples (i.e., Asians, Eastern Europeans, refugees, Westerners) examined in the study were not equal in size, and it was thus more likely that the interaction effects turned out to be statistically significant in the largest sub-samples (i.e., Eastern Europeans and refugees). Second, the construct of parental knowledge was measured by using only three items, and the reliability of the measure was not ideal particularly among samples with Eastern Europeans and Westerners. Third, there may be classroom level variables (e.g., a share of adolescents with an immigrant background) that have an impact on adolescent-parent communication. A multilevel approach to the School Health Promotion survey was, however, not possible to conduct due to lack of classroom-specific information in the data. These limitations have been acknowledged and further discussed in the result and discussion sections of sub-study IV.

One important limitation of this study is that both the interview data used in sub-studies I–III and the survey data utilized in sub-study IV are cross-sectional data, and thus the development of intergenerational relations in terms of important negotiations and the role of adolescent-parent relationships in adolescents' adaptation cannot be captured in this study. Also, causal associations between parental knowledge and adaptation outcomes cannot be shown. Thus, interpretations of the findings are based on previous studies and theorizations on the subject.

It is important to note that the data used in the sub-studies have not been collected in order to answer the specific research questions posed in this study. Instead, there has been a wider research purpose behind the data collection of both the interview data sets and the survey data. Survey data which includes multiple measures on parental knowledge and adolescent-parent communication, as well as interview data concentrating on the

specific research questions of this study, could increase the validity of this study.

By using both qualitative and quantitative methods this study sought to gain a comprehensive understanding of how intergenerational relations are perceived by adolescents, how these perceptions relate to adolescents' adaptation, and how developmental and acculturative changes are negotiated in adolescence in the Finnish context. Having examined only the perceptions of immigrant adolescents and second-generation immigrants, it remains, however, unclear how these negotiations differ between immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents. The role of parental knowledge, gratitude and indebtedness, home-school communication and autonomy negotiations among non-immigrant adolescents could thus be included in future studies in order to define more closely the migration-specificity of these findings. Moreover, to understand family-level adaptation, it is important to understand the acculturative changes of each family member. In this study, the focus has been on adolescents' perceptions of developmental and acculturative changes in intergenerational relations and the experiences of immigrant parents were reflected only in relation to home-school communication in the school context (sub-study III). In addition to intergenerational dyads, psychological studies on family acculturation could include wider family networks and negotiations that take place at the meso level of families (cf. Girardin et al., 2018; Pyke, 2005).

Future research could also be conducted on how negotiations in intergenerational relations are manifested at different age phases and in the specific context of migration. As was speculated in sub-study II, parents' migration decisions may be differently questioned among adolescents with a refugee background compared to adolescents whose family has migrated to Finland voluntarily. An important finding of this study was that parents' migration decision and adolescents' interpretations of the reasons behind this decision significantly affect immigrant teenagers' negotiations of their autonomy and identities in intergenerational relations. It is noteworthy that in this study most of the interviewed adolescents from, for example, Somalia and Iraq (i.e., from currently insecure and politically unstable countries), identified their own future prospects as the most important reason behind the family's migration decision. In the quantitative part of this study (sub-study IV), immigrant adolescents with a refugee background stood out from other groups of adolescents in the sense that their disclosure to their parents was not related to adolescents' school achievement unlike in other groups. Future studies could further examine intergenerational relations in families with a refugee background and how adolescents' resilience, family relationships as well as perceived and structural discrimination are interconnected and related to the adaptation of these adolescents. Group-specific negotiation strategies could also be examined (cf. Rasmi et al., 2014).

All in all, future psychological studies on family acculturation could better utilize sociopsychological studies on discrimination and sociological family

studies in order to better understand how ambivalence and social structures shape negotiations in intergenerational relations and affect adolescents' adaptation. Although recent frameworks on adolescent adaptation (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012) recognize the importance of the societal level in adolescents' adaptation, the resilience and vulnerability of immigrant youth could be reflected more in relation to discrimination and structural inequalities within societies. Moreover, future studies should develop ways to include an intersectional approach to quantitative research on adolescents' adaptation.

Finally, migration-related processes that shape intergenerational relations from adolescents' perspective could be better acknowledged in future research on the immigrant paradox. Family processes are often seen to originate from parents. While parents' perspectives including high educational aspirations, parental monitoring, and social support are understood as family-level factors explaining the paradoxical findings on immigrant adolescents' adaptation (García Coll et al., 2012), adolescents' perspective taking, and sense of personal responsibility for their parents' migration decision also contribute significantly to good adolescent-parent relationships and adolescents' adaptation outcomes after migration.

7.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

To understand how immigrant adolescents adapt to a new society, it is essential to understand their growth in the context of intergenerational relationships. Adolescents' perceptions of their parents' daily life, struggles, homesickness, worries, opportunities, and success do have an impact on intergenerational negotiations and the acculturation process of adolescents. Teenagers are mature enough to understand the adaptation difficulties of their parents and reflect these perceptions in relation to their own development, acculturative changes, and other occurring changes in their lives. Intergenerational negotiations over autonomy show how acculturative changes are dealt with by adolescents. Negotiations also describe acculturation in process. While predominantly quantitative research on acculturation has shown that there are links between acculturative changes and certain individual- and group-level variables, and that these acculturative changes relate also to adaptation, it has struggled to describe how the acculturation and intertwined development of adolescents takes place in intergenerational relations. The findings of this study illustrate how adolescents' development along with acculturative changes are managed by adolescents.

Intergenerational gaps are a reality in every society regardless of the family's migrant background. Adolescents' sense of responsibility in managing these gaps may, however, be pronounced in immigrant families. This can be viewed both as a sign of resilience and as a risk for adolescents'

well-being. The emotional side of acculturation and intergenerational relations have gained only a little attention in psychological research. Paying attention to ambivalence and providing emotional support for adolescents' negotiations of autonomy, identity, and family relations, could help the situation of those adolescents who feel ill at ease and lack emotional resilience. Every youngster asks, "Who am I?", but the limitations placed on personal growth are sometimes harder for adolescents with an immigrant background. "Who am I allowed to be?" is another question immigrant adolescents are often forced to ask in relation to their parents and in relation to society. In the same way as in many other European countries, the borders of 'Finnishness' are often strict and it may be difficult for immigrant adolescents to find ways to combine ethnic and mainstream culture. Or rather, they can often find the ways to do it, but these ways may be rejected by mainstream society and sometimes also by their parents.

It is somehow unfair to point to the responsibility of immigrant parents to better support adolescents' identity building in a situation where they are often doing their best to provide their children with adequate skills to succeed in a new society and at the same time keep them connected to their heritage culture. This study shows how the ambivalent emotions and aims within intergenerational relations result in adolescents taking different positions in intergenerational relations. The coexistence of autonomy seeking and attachment to family, gratitude and indebtedness, independence and dependence shown in this study indicate that it is possible to simultaneously maintain the ethnic culture of one's parents and to disagree and challenge it (cf. Phinney, 2010). It may thus be that parents are sometimes unnecessarily worried about the developmental trajectories of their children.

Throughout this study I have stated that adolescent-parent conflicts cannot only be seen as problematic but that they can even improve family adaptation. The presented findings also encourage adolescents and parents to engage in open communication. Intergenerational negotiations may be seen as a relationship building that eases ambivalence in intergenerational relations, but openly shared thoughts may also contain a risk. What happens if these negotiations are unsuccessful in the sense that disagreements between adolescents and their parents continue to grow and conflicts start to harm intergenerational relations? It seems evident that some of the conflicts and gaps between adolescents and their parents are more detrimental than others. In particularly difficult situations from the perspective of adolescents' adaptation (e.g., when it comes to choosing a future spouse or having interethnic friendships that parents do not encourage), it is impossible to judge whether it is more important to maintain functioning relationships at home or violate them in order to be able to make independent decisions. The 'results' of these negotiations may be evaluated only afterwards. In any case, failing to recognize the ambivalence within intergenerational relations of immigrant families hinders the possibilities of supporting adolescents'

adaptation and improving adaptation on the level of family relationships (cf. Connidis, 2015).

Immigrant adolescents and immigrant families are often seen in the media and in academic research either as particularly vulnerable or as extremely resilient. In real life, both of these perspectives exist in the lives of adolescents and their families. There may be conflicts and special moments of joy, but unless something special is going on in a family, family relationships may appear to adolescents to be ordinary, taken for granted, or difficult to reflect on, as was sometimes the case in this study. Power relations and parental authority in intergenerational relations are contextually constructed and the acculturation gap often works in adolescents' favour by increasing their agency. While this is often welcomed by the adolescents, it may, however, also be an unfavourable development that increases adolescents' stress.

Finally, praising the resourcefulness of adolescents who are often in difficult and disadvantaged situations – and this is when resilience is developed – may hide the societal structures that are discriminating against ethnic minorities. The adolescents in this study are approaching the age where educational and professional choices are to be made. There should be a strong orientation in the Finnish municipalities, schools, and working places to work for anti-discriminatory and anti-racist practices. This is essential in the name of equality, but also in terms of the adolescents' adaptation after the teenage years.

7.5 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Some recommendations to improve adolescent-parent relationships and adolescents' adaptation after immigration can be drawn from the results of this study. As intergenerational relations form an important developmental context for adolescents, it is necessary to ask how these social relations could better support adolescents' development, which is intertwined with acculturation and is surrounded by a variety of cultural expectations. At the family level, enhancing open dialogue between adolescents and their parents could support adolescents in their negotiations of autonomy and identity building, which are key developmental tasks in teenager years. As Birman and Addae (2015) have noted, it is important that immigrant parents are empowered to learn about their adolescents' daily life, including schooling, in order to build a better mutual understanding and dialogue between adolescents and their parents. The findings of this study fully support this notion of adults' responsibility to recognize and familiarize themselves with the surroundings of their children's lives. This may be particularly important among immigrant parents in order to also ease their stress and worries about their 'too acculturated' adolescents.

The results of this study suggest that the awareness of school personnel of the power imbalances that shape the communication between immigrant homes and schools, could help to develop communication practices and improve further home-school information sharing between immigrant parents and school. Investing time and effort in building better communication between schools and immigrant parents can have a broad impact on building a mutual understanding between parents and school personnel, adolescents and school personnel, adolescents and parents, and thus supporting adolescents' development. The study encourages school personnel to recognize obstacles in information flows and to build trust and communication directly, and not only via adolescents, with immigrant parents. Arranging parental peer groups meetings at schools for immigrant parents is one way to improve immigrant parents' school involvement. Peer groups allow parents to share their experiences of parenting and home-school communication in the Finnish context and may support trust building between immigrant parents and school personnel.

Rasmi and colleagues (2014) have noticed in their study on intergenerational conflict management among Arab youth in Canada that choosing a university major was among the main issues causing conflicts in intergenerational relations, and that parents usually prefer business studies, engineering or other 'hard sciences' rather than social sciences or art studies. The same pattern is noticeable among immigrant adolescents in Finland. According to the adolescents interviewed in this study, the most commonly recommended and desired profession that parents wanted for their children was to become a doctor. Informing parents about different Finnish educational paths, their requirements, and the Finnish labour market could help immigrant parents to better understand firstly the demands of high school and university education in Finland, including Finnish language skills, and secondly, to be better aware of the possibilities of alternative career paths. Increasing parents' awareness of different academic pathways but also the future prospects concerning vocational education and polytechnic degrees, could support adolescents in finding a suitable education line that satisfies both parents and their children. At this point, it is important to note that the stereotypical assumptions of gender, ethnicity and culture, as well as the expectations of suitable career plans 'for immigrants' have been recognized to affect the study counselling of adolescents with a migrant background (Kurki, Brunila, & Lahelma, 2019). My point here is not to underestimate the aims and potential of any adolescents, but to improve the conditions in which immigrant adolescents can make individual choices – in unison with their parents.

Parents' expectations and adolescents' interpretations of their parents' expectations are important aspects concerning adolescents' life after immigration. There is extensive evidence showing that immigrant adolescents are sometimes trying to fulfil the expectations of their parents regardless of the negative consequences for their psychological and

emotional well-being (Qin, 2008) and without their parents being able to provide much practical support to them in a society that is unfamiliar to them (Villiger et al., 2014). Parents, school personnel and other professionals working with adolescents with an immigrant background should be aware of the potential negative consequences of immigrant adolescents' high achievement aims. Recognizing how emotions of gratitude and indebtedness may contribute to adolescents' achievement motivation may help parents and school personnel to understand how adolescents' high aims are constructed.

As stated above, the practical implications of this study seek to support immigrant parents and practitioners, particularly in schools. What could, in turn, be done on the youth side to avoid developments in which intergenerational conflicts start to harm adolescent-parent relationships and adolescents' adaptation? 'Keep up the good work' could obviously be one of the recommendations. On the policy level, Finnish institutions are supporting multiculturalism and adolescents' ability to maintain and strengthen their cultural heritage and identity, including mother tongue/home language learning at schools. Adolescents could, however, be more supported in their coping with different expectations, and questions concerning identity building in adolescence could be explicitly discussed at schools. Adolescents should be supported at home and in school in their attempts to find their ways to combine their cultural heritage with the surrounding culture or cultures.

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APPENDIX

The interview scheme by themes. Not all the questions were posed to all interviewees. Also, the order of the questions varied between the individual interviews.

Background questions and introduction of the research

- Who are your family members?
- With whom do you live?
- How long have you been in Finland?
- How well do you know Finnish?
- Which languages do you use at home?

(1) Migration

- From where have you moved to Finland?
- Where were your parents born?
- Are you aware of the reasons for your family's migration?
- Who made the decision to emigrate?
- Was your opinion asked, how were you and/or your siblings informed?
- What kind of memories do you retain of your country of origin? What about the migration process?
- What were your first impressions of Finland? What was the most difficult thing in the beginning? Was there something that helped you in the beginning?
- How did you perceive your parents' integration process? What has been difficult for them? What has helped them (if facing difficulties)?
- How well do your parents know Finnish/Swedish?
- Has the migration decision been a good decision for your family? Why? What about for yourself? Why?

(2) Family

- Do you live with the same persons as you did before migrating?
- Where do your family members live?
- Are you in contact with your family members? In what way?
- If you think about your family's everyday life now and before migration, how has it changed?
- What did your parents do for a living in your country of origin?
- What do your parents do for a living now?
- What has changed after migration? What is new? Are there things that were part of your life before migration but not anymore?
- Have the relations in your family changed because of migration (between you and your parents, between your mother and father, between you and your siblings)? In what way?

(3) **Parenting**

- Describe your mother/ father in two words.
- Has migration changed your mother/father?
- What kind of things do you and your parents do together?
- When and in what situations do you ask for your parents' advice?
- Can your parents support you in things you wish them to?
- Have you encountered situations in which you wished your parents could have supported you more?
- Can you talk to your parents about difficult things in your life?
- Are there things you wouldn't share with your parents?
- Are there things in your relationship with your parents you wish were different?
- If you didn't ask for advice from your parents, who you would turn to?
- Parents often have worries. What are the things that worry your parents the most?
- How would you describe the way your parents have raised you? Has this changed after migration? If so, how? Would you raise your own children in the same way?
- What things, if any, do you disagree about with your parents?
- What do your parents expect from you?
- Do your parents have difficulties in understanding what your life is like in Finland?
- How is your youth different from that of your parents?

(4) **School**

- Has the school personnel contacted your parents? If so, when and why did this happen?
- Have your parents contacted your school? If so, when and why?
- Do your parents use Wilma [electronic student administration program]?
- In your opinion, how much should school personnel and parents be in contact with each other?
- Do your parents understand your school activities and how the Finnish school system works?
- Do you tell your parents about your education? If something unpleasant happens, do you tell about it at home?
- Do your parents follow your education?
- Are your parents able to help you with your homework?

(5) **Future**

- What are your goals for the future?
- Do you have a dream profession?
- Do you have a role model/someone you admire?
- Whose opinions do you value?
- Where do you see yourself living when you grow up?
- Are you satisfied with your current life?

Discussion

- What is important to you?
- Are there currently any things in your life that worry you?
- What worries you about the future?
- Are you satisfied with how you and your family have managed your life in Finland after migration? What are the good things? What would you like to see improve in the future?