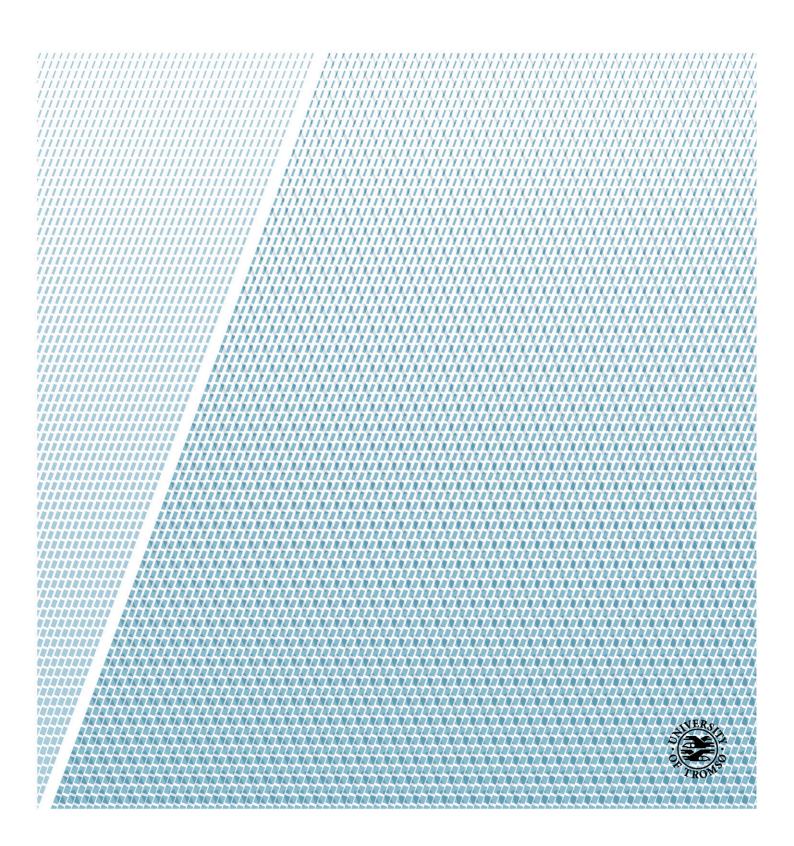UiT
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The Effect of Parents' Integration and Acceptance of the Hosting Culture on Immigrant Adolescents' Dual Identity

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Preface

I am a young Kurdish woman living in Norway. My parents were refugees who immigrated to Norway in 1988, just before I was born. I have two younger sisters and we were all born and raised in Norway. From my own experience, when I was 12-13 years old the two identities emerged. They both got stronger and stronger as I got older. At the end of junior high school, I felt like I was two very different people. I had the Kurdish identity at home and the Norwegian identity at school. During my three years of high school, I chose to live my Kurdish identity at home and at school. But, as I got older I realized that by choosing that identity I fell behind in life; for example, I got more quiet, in a way that led me to not trying to accomplish anything. I got more accepting of every situation and stopped fighting for my own opinions. However, I didn't just get quieter in the Norwegian culture but in the Kurdish culture as well. In the Kurdish culture, we were taught to respect the elders, never talk back to them, not to speak loud in front of them, not to stretch our legs out in their presence, and never sit with our backs to them. However, at the same time we learned to say our opinions. But by choosing only the Kurdish identity I stopped saying my opinions. I got quieter, much more than I needed to. I lost myself. Now I have found something in between, I am a Norwegian Kurd. I have realized that those two cultural identities make me what I am today. They fulfill each other. I am still one person. However, one interesting reason that led me to the research question I will investigate in the present thesis was that none of my sisters had this experience. They always felt like Norwegian Kurds and they never felt the confusion of dealing with these two identities, integrating them into a dual-identity. We all have different personalities. But one thing we have in common is our parents. Maybe, as I am the oldest, my parents just got more integrated during the years and more accepting of the Norwegian culture. Adolescences and the search for identity is a confusing time as it is. Without adding the extra confusion of being a member of two cultures.

Abstract

The purpose of this paper was to investigate the relationships between and predictors of immigrant adolescents' three cultural identities, ethnic identity (i.e., the identity tied to their culture of origin), national identity (i.e., the identity tied to the host culture) and dual identity (i.e., an integrated identity combined by both their ethnic and the host culture). We conducted a study with 97 adolescents with immigrant's background from three different Norwegian high schools. We used a questionnaire containing 58 items made of seven different scales to measure their three identities, and the predictors of the identities. The variables we investigated were the interrelations between the three identities, bicultural identity integration conflict, contact with native Norwegian, social ties to their country of origin, and family integration level. Our result showed that the adolescents identified more with their ethnic identity and a dual identity, than the national identity. Mother´s level of integration is negatively correlated with feeling conflict between the two cultures. Contact with native Norwegian are positively correlated with national identity, however social ties to country of origin is positively correlated to ethnic identity. Also, the more the mother is integrated the more the adolescents identify with Norwegian culture, the more the father is integrated the more they have a dual identity.

Keyword: Identity, cultural, ethnic, dual identity, family integration, social ties, contact, host culture, origin.

Abstrakt

Formålet med dette studiet var å undersøke forholdet mellom og prediktorer av innvandrer ungdoms tre kulturelle identiteter, etnisk identitet (dvs. identiteten knyttet til opprinnelseskulturen), nasjonal identitet (dvs. identiteten knyttet til verts kultur) og dual identitet (dvs. en integrert identitet kombinert av både etnisk og verts kultur). Vi gjennomførte en studie med 97 ungdommer med innvandrerbakgrunn fra tre forskjellige norske videregående skoler. Vi brukte et spørreskjema som inneholder 58 elementer laget av syv forskjellige skalaer for å måle deres tre identiteter, og forutsetningene for identitetene. Variablene vi undersøkte var sammenhengen mellom de tre identitetene, bikulturell identitet integrasjons konflikt, kontakt med innfødte norske, sosiale bånd til deres opprinnelsesland og familiens integrasjonsnivå. Vårt resultat viste at ungdommene identifiserte mer med sin etniske identitet og en dual identitet enn den nasjonale identiteten. Mors integrasjonsnivå er negativt korrelert med å føle konflikt mellom de to kulturer. Kontakt med innfødte norske er positivt korrelert med nasjonal identitet, men sosiale bånd til opprinnelsesland er positivt korrelert med etnisk identitet. Vi fant også, desto mer moren er integrert, desto mer identifiserer ungdommene med norsk kultur, men desto mer far er integrert, desto mer har de en dual identitet.

Søkeord: Identitet, kultur, etnisk, dual identitet, familieintegrasjon, sosiale bånd, kontakt, verts kultur, opprinnelse.

The Effect of Parents' Integration and Acceptance

of the Hosting Culture on Immigrant Adolescents' Dual Identity

In January 2017, there were 883 751 (Web: statistics Norway) people in Norway that either were immigrants or people born in Norway but with immigrant parents. This is 16.8% of the total population in Norway. The number of individuals with immigrant background has doubled in the last ten years. Ten years back there were 415 318 people in Norway with immigrant background (Web: statistics Norway). Many of these people are living in two different cultures. At home, most of them have their ethnic culture, their parents and families engage them in different cultural activities and traditions. Then at school or work they live in the hosting culture and little by little they integrate in this culture as well (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). In January 2017, there were 506 229 individuals in Norway that had non-western immigrant background (Web: statistics Norway). For the non-western immigrants in Norway, which is 9.6% of the Norwegian population (Web: statistics Norway), integration might be especially difficult. These immigrants might experience integration and building up dual identity as particularly challenging due to their cultural background and that it strongly differs from the Norwegian culture. According to Hirsh & Kang (2016) globalization is an tensions experience for multicultural individuals, in the sense of identification with different groups, roles and values. They experience these behavioral conflicts as anxious and uncertain about which path to use. As the number of people with immigrant background is increasing rapidly, the topic of immigration, integration and dual-identity is becoming a more relevant and important issue.

Many of these individuals are children and adolescents. During adolescence, we search for our identity and experience role confusions (Erikson, 1969 as cited by Kail & Cavanaugh, 2013). In the search for identity we test and experiment with different self until we develop a lasting, integrated sense of self (Erikson, 1969 as cited by Kail & Cavanaugh,

2013). While adolescents go through this experimental time, there are several factors that influence their identity development, like family, peers, and culture. The process of developing one's identity is such an influential process, and it has been argued that adolescents can face a crisis between identity and role confusion (Erikson, 1969 as cited by Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010). This crisis occurs due to the adolescents' desire to try out many possible selves and their need to select one lasting self. This means that adolescence can be a challenging phase. Therefore, it does not seem surprising that previous research has shown that mental illnesses increase in adolescences. For example, research has shown that depressive symptoms are found in 30% of high school's students (Ehrenberg, Cox, & Koopman, 1990; Manz, Junge, & Margraf, 2001). This means that there is a large percentage of adolescents that have prevalence to depressive symptoms. Further, research shows that one factor that adds to the anyway existing challenges of adolescence is migration. Sam & Berry (1995) for example showed that many young Third World immigrants in Norway experience acculturative stress. Also, Ponizovsky, Ritsner & Modai (1999) found that among immigrant adolescents the risk of suicidal thought was highest when they were experiencing family conflict, and relationships problems with parents, hostile peers, difficulties related to language barrier and high psychological distress. These findings tell us that there is a need for investigating the phase of identity development of immigrant adolescents with the goal to gain more information about factors fostering or hindering their development of a health and stable (dual) identity and thus to ensure their well-being. Therefore, in the present work we will investigate what variables effect a healthy identity development in immigrant adolescents. When we look closer at immigrant students in Norway, Oppedal & Røysamb (2004) conducted a study and found that immigrant students had higher prevalence of psychological problems than did the Norwegian students. Research (Dalgard & Thapa, 2007) has shown that when men from non-western countries immigrate to Norway, their social

integration is associated with mental health in positive direction. While this does not occur in the women from non-western countries that immigrate in Norway. However, it is important to note that social integration is related to good mental health. For these reasons, it seems important to focus on variables that affect the identity development of adolescents especially those with migration background that carry an extra burden by building up their identity in the face of two different cultures.

Developing Identities and melting cultures

      Identity. Identity is a reference to the social group which an individual sees himself or herself to be a part of or belong to, for example workers, ethnicity and culture (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). Or, one might say identity is feeling belonging to, and attach meaning to a social group an individual feel belonging to. Individuals have multiple identities because we are members of multiple groups and have multiple roles we play in our lives. For example, an individual can be a worker, parent, sibling as well as possessing cultural identity and ethnic identity. For our research on dual-identity, cultural identity and ethnic identity are the most relevant identities. Both terms will be defined in the following paragraphs. Adolescents is the focus group for this research as in the development of identities, adolescents seems as an influential period in an individual's life (Erikson, 1969 as cited by Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010). While it might be easier to define the different roles, an adolescent must play in his life, for example a sibling or a student. It might be harder to define the different cultural groups they feel they belong to. To get a better understanding we need to define cultural identity and ethnic identity. So, what is the difference between cultural identity and ethnic identity.

      Cultural identity. Cultural identity is an individual's psychological membership in a specific culture (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). Due to the immigration, there are individuals that grow up in multiple cultures. These bicultural individuals have an ability called cultural frame switching (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002), which means they have

multiple cultural systems in their mind and they access the one they need depending on the context they are in. The individuals growing up in two cultures may have two cultural identities, but they only have one ethnic identity. There are only one of these two groups they share ancestral origin with. There is a difference between cultural identity and ethnic identity, same as there is a difference between culture and ethnicity. According to Shiraev and Levy (2013) culture is defined as attitudes, behaviors, and symbols a large group of people share. Usually this set of livings is inherited from one generation to the next. While ethnicity is the cultural heritage, it is when a group of people share a common ancestral origin, language, tradition, and often religion and geographic territory. For example, a young person born to immigrant parents from Pakistan, that individuals cultural identity could be both Norwegian and Pakistani or one of them, but his ethnic identity would be Pakistani.

Ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is the feeling individuals have that they belong to a specific ethnic group (Phinney, 2005 as cited by Kail & Cavanaugh, 2010). This identity occurs in three phases (Phinney, 1989). In the first phase the adolescents don't examine their ethnic identity, the adolescents don't view ethnic identity as an important personal issue. In the second phase, they begin to explore their heritage and learn cultural tradition, then in the third phase they achieve a distinct ethnic identity. For bicultural individuals, it is difficult to identify with both cultures equally at the beginning. However, studies have shown that strong ethnic identity leads to higher self-esteem and better performance at school (Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts & Romero, 1999). While strong identification with the hosting culture seems to lead to lower performance at school and conflict with parents (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). There are some adolescents that shift between one ethnic identity to another during their growth, and just identify themselves as monoracial, these individuals tend to have lower self-esteem (Hitlin, Brown, & Elder, 2006). Compared to the individuals that embrace the bicultural identity, that tend to have high self-esteem. So far, what we have learned from the

studies mentioned above, is that a well-defined ethnic identity is related to higher self-esteem. This means it is not only important to know one's ethnic identity, but also to identity with your ethnic identity.

In this thesis when we use the term ethnic identity, we refer to the identity that immigrants share their ancestral heritage, their identity of origin. The cultural identity they, or their parents were born in. The second term we will use is national identity, and in this thesis, we are referring to their identification to the host culture. Or in other words, their host cultural identity, their Norwegian cultural identity. This usage of the term national identity has been used in the same matter in several other research as well (Gong, 2007; Martiny, Froehlich, Kay, & Mok, 2017; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). An example for the participants in this thesis would be, if an individual was born in Pakistan or born to Pakistani parents, their ethnic culture would be Pakistani and their national culture would be Norwegian.

Integrating identities in different cultures

Dual-identity. Dual identity is when an individual can identify with both cultures they live in, their ethnic culture and the hosting culture (Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013). They possess both cultural identities however how they interplay, whether they cooperate or are two identities that emerge when presented with different stimuli is dependent on each bicultural individual. What often occurs among people growing up between two different cultures, is that they develop an identity that combines their ethnic and their national identity and thus form a so called dual-identity (Simon et al., 2013).

A study conducted by Simon and Ruhs (2008) in Germany among people with Turkish immigration background found that dual-identification with both the German and the Turkish culture was related to politicization in a positive direction. This dual-identification is dual identity. Integrating these two identities can be an additional challenge for adolescence in their

search for identity. In this present research, we want to look at factors that play part in the development of dual-identity. This research aim to look at adolescents identification with their ethnic and host culture, and reasons behind the identifications.

Many Westers European societies are ethnically and culturally diverse these days, due to immigration in the second half of the 20th century (Leszczensky, 2013). Interest in the concept of the dual identity has also increased in psychology (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016), the research has grown in the several fields. Intergroup relations, acculturation studies and in political action research and according to these fields, dual identity is beneficial to immigrants (Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016). There is still little research done on dual-identity, but previous research on identity has showed that both parents and peers have an influence on identity (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009). Parents have a great impact on ethnic identity, factors like traditions, language, customs and peers enhance adolescent's ethnic identity (Phinney, et al., 2001). Research has shown that when students have a clear ethnic identity they have better chances to do well at school (Robert et. al. 1999). However, these same adolescents go to school or work every day, they grow up with the hosting cultures traditions, language, customs and peers. They get the same amount of both cultures. So, they ask themselves: what is my ethnic/cultural identity? This can lead to the dual-identity. They often have one identity at home and another one at school.

An individual with dual cultural identity is a bicultural individual. Bicultural identity is when a person form his own identity, which is composed by both cultures. What we have learned so far is as we mentioned earlier there are several factors that influence our integration, identity, cultural identities, and the combination of our cultural identities. Mok and Morris (2012) showed that bicultural identity integration is a psychological state that can be influenced by context. One might say that dual-identity and bicultural identity is same, and in this paper, we will mostly use the term dual-identity. As, we feel this is the best term for the topic in

discussion.

Melting cultural identities. Sam & Berry (1995) defined terms in their paper of how a multicultural individual can melt their ethnic culture and their hosting culture together. Or simply not melt them together at all. Acculturation they defined as the behavioral and psychological changes that occur when individuals contact with people from different cultures. Sam and Berry (1995) have developed a model with four clusters in which one can assign immigrants based on how stronger their ethnic and national identity is developed. When immigrants chose to only identify with the host culture and cut all ties to their ethnic culture they defined it as assimilation. Marginalization is when an individual reject both their ethnic and the hosting culture. Separation is when an individual is involved with their ethnic culture and have no or little interaction with the host culture. Lastly integration is defined as a strong involvement and identification with both cultures. One might say that these terms are the way to describe bicultural identity, a bicultural individual can choose to melt the cultures together through assimilation, marginalization, separation, or integration. Thus, developing a bicultural identity by using integration one might say that this is dual-identity. Although we did not investigate the way adolescents integrate their dual-identity, whether they assimilate, marginalize, separate or integrate. It is important to know that there are different ways for bicultural individuals to structure their two cultural identities. Fleischmann & Verkuyten (2016) conducted two studies among immigrants in The Netherlands and found that dual identification is related significantly to happiness in contrast to identification with only one culture. Also, according to Phinney et al. (2001) study, dual-identity or integrated identity is related to higher levels of overall well-being than are the other identity categories.

Dual identity is an important subject due to the globalization. We all have seen how the number of people living in multi cultures is increasing. With the refugee crisis that goes on now the importance of the subject (dual identity) is increasing. As mentioned earlier in this paper,

there are many factors that play they part in developing a dual identity and how to construct it. As adolescents spend most of their time with peers and family, it is possible to think that most of all are parents and friends are influential. However, the focus should not only be on who or what that influence dual identity, also how to make both the cultural identities to emerge in each other.

As mentioned earlier, we do not focus on how the individuals structure the two cultural identities in this study. However, we wish to research on the different variables that would have an impact on the development of dual-identity. The focus of this thesis is to investigate adolescents immigrants living in Norway and their feeling of belonging (aka. identification) in the different cultures, bicultural identity integration, contact with native Norwegian, social ties to their country of origin and family´s level of integration.

Identity and the factors that play part

      The feeling of belonging as a factor. When discussing identity, belonging is an important term. Because when we ask about one's identity, people immediately would start a thought process in their mind about which group they belong to. According to Eide & Mekenon (2007) and Østby (2010), as cited by Salole (2013), for bicultural children answering the question of belonging, origin and home can be equally complex. The question about belonging is often a confirmation on being on the ''inside'' rather than automatically being placed at the ''outside'' (Oppedal, Jensen, Brobakke Seglem & Haukeland, 2011 as cited by Salole, 2013). It is often related to what the adolescents defines as being Norwegian and feeling Norwegian. However, it is not necessarily a place the adolescents feel belonging to (Ellingsrud & Lørum, 2003; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Salole, 2013). Sometimes they feel like a foreigner in both the host country as well as their country of origin (Polock & Van Reken, 2001; Bell, 1997; Smith, 1996; McCluskey, 1994 as cited by Salole, 2013).

Previous research by Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016) on identification with the host

culture and ethnic culture has shown that identification with ethnic and host culture is positively correlated to dual-identity. However, identification with host culture (national identity) was stronger correlated with dual-identity, than ethnic identity. In our research, we want to see which culture the adolescents feel identification and belonging with, their ethnic identity, their national identity (which will be the Norwegian culture) or a dual identity. How these three identities correlate. Martiny et al. (2017) conducted studies with Turkish migrant students in Germany. They found that the more the students identified with the Turkish identity, the less they identified with the German. But the more they felt they were German-Turkish, the more they identified with the German culture. These results are similar as the results from Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016), therefor we predict that immigrant adolescents in Norway will show that the more they identify with their ethnic culture, the less they will identify with the Norwegian. However, we also predict a stronger positive correlation between national identification and dual identity, than between ethnic identification and dual-identity.

Bicultural identity integration. Veronica Benet-Martinez and Jana Haritatos are two of the few people who have done research on bicultural identity. In their research (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) on bicultural identity integration they did studies on Chinese American. They have discovered that the older individuals were when they came to USA the more cultural distance they perceived between their own culture and the hosting culture. They also discovered that cultural distance is predicted by low openness, low bicultural competence, living in a culturally isolated environment and having linguistic difficulties. They also found that having neurotic dispositions predict cultural conflict.

Bicultural identity integration is the way bicultural individuals organize and integrate their two cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Whether they let one cultural identity dominate the other or if they let both the identities cooperate and create a stable cultural identity combined by both. High bicultural competence is when individual is strong and equally

involved with, and comfortable in both cultures. Low bicultural competence is when individuals are more involved in one of the two cultures or having low levels involvements with both cultures. As we mentioned earlier, individuals that have high bicultural competence performs better at school and have higher self-esteem, rather than individuals with low bicultural competence (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). There is a need for research on this topic, to predict what factors predict adolescents to feel conflict between the two cultures. Perhaps family, contact with natives of the host culture or social ties has an impact. In this study, we predict that parents' level of integration will be negatively correlated with the adolescents feeling of conflict between the two culture. Which means, we predict that the less the parents are integrated, the more conflict the adolescents will feel. We are thinking if the parents are better integrated and accepting of the host culture, the adolescents immigrants will not see the host culture as negative. Since previous research has shown that children´s perception of parents 'attitude towards cultural change, can affect the way the children chose to integrate (Sam, 1995).

Contact with members of the host culture. According to social identity theory, individual's behavior reflects the individual's larger societal groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986 as cited by Padilla & Perez, 2003). In other words, individuals internal structure and process are influenced by societal groups, like cultures, perhaps the host culture an individual lives in. This means that if individuals with immigrant background maintain a stable contact with natives from a host culture, perhaps this contact will have an impact on their development of identity. Social identity theory claims that individuals think, feel and act as member of collective groups, like a culture (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Therefore, an immigrant who sees himself as negatively characterized because of maybe his darker skin color, or his accent when he speaks the host language (Padilla & Perez, 2003) may be less willing to acculturate regardless of if he is culturally competent in the host culture.

Previous research by Bochner, Hutnik and Furnham (1985) as cited by Waard & Rana-Deuba (2000) has reported that foreign students in UK only maintain 17% of the friendships with the individuals of the host culture. Fontaine (1986) as cited by Ward & Rana-Deuba (2000) has argued that friendships with co-national individuals is easier in the short run. However, friendship with individuals of the host culture is more rewarding overall. It can also be more an advantage in the sense of adapting in the new culture.

There is a strong need for more research on the topic to see if there is any correlation between contact with natives of the host culture and the immigrants three identities. Previous research by Agirdag, Houtte & Avermaet (2011) has shown that for immigrants to have contact with individuals from the host society will increase their national identity, their identification with the host culture. These results are the same as the results from Schulz & Lesczensky (2016). When they investigated the topic, they found that having contact with members of the host culture had a positive effect on national identification, however it is also important not to experience rejection and discrimination from the host culture. Another study conducted in Germany among Turkish immigrant student found that immigrant students report higher level of ethnic identity than dual identity (Martiny et al. 2017). They also found that the immigrant students had higher level of dual identity than of national identity. These results on the relationships between the three identities are quite interesting. They also found that there was a positive correlation between contact with the German natives and the student's national identity.

Based on these researches mentioned above, we predict that immigrant adolescents will show stronger identification with national identity and dual-identity when they have contact with native Norwegian. It would seem natural for immigrant adolescents to identify with the Norwegian culture if they have regular contact with native Norwegian and of they are part of their social group.

Social ties. In this thesis when we refer to the term social ties, we refer to social connections or relations immigrant individuals might have to their country of origin. This can be family, relatives or friends, and continues visit to their loved ones in their country of origin. Some adolescents may feel belonging, not to a specific place, but rather where family and friends are (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009; Lørum & Ellingsrud, 2003 as cited by Salole, 2013). Or they may feel belonging to the places they relate to the lifestyle or mentality (Salole, 2006; Eriksen, 2013 as cited by Salole, 2013). So, if adolescents immigrate to Norway and still has friends, family and share the mentality with their country of origin, they may show less enthusiasm to integrate and identify with the Norwegian culture.

According to Verkuyten & Yildiz (2007) ethnicity and religion as a group provide individuals with a positive identity, feeling of certainty, and belongingness and inclusion. They also provide them with a cultural worldview and meaningfulness, therefore ethnicity and religion are among the most important identity groups (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). As mentioned earlier one usually share same religion with their ethnic group (Shiraev and Levy, 2013). This can also be a basis for preventing from integrating and identifying with the host culture. In our research, we predict that strong social ties to country of origin will increase ethnic identity, however, we predict it will decrease national and dual-identity. When people immigrant to other countries, they usually have social ties to their country of origin. Some leave family members behind, others have perhaps grandparents in their country of origin. Or some may keep the mentality and lifestyle to their home country alive in the host country. Some might not have any social ties at all with their country of origin, while others may have very close ties. But we argue that if adolescents have social ties to their country of origin, they will have stronger identification with their ethnic identity, and if they don't have social ties to their country of origin they will identify stronger with their national identity.

Family as a factor. Previous research has shown that how children perceive their parents' attitudes to cultural change, can influence acculturation among immigrant children (Sam, 1995). Thus, there is reason to believe parents can affect immigrant adolescents dual-identity. The effect of the level of the parent's integration on dual-identity among immigrant adolescents is a subject to be investigated. However, adolescents have better chances to establish a well-defined identity if parents give them the freedom to explore while finding themselves, rather than if they are pushed in one direction (Luyckx et. al., 2007; Smits et al., 2010 as cited by Kail & Cavanaugh, 2013). Also, friends influence their search because they give the adolescents the feeling of security while they explore different alternatives (Meeus, Oossterwegel & Vollebergh, 2002 as cited by Kail & Cavanaugh, 2013). This is very important when it comes to dual identity because adolescents with immigrant background form their cultural identities according to their association with friends and family. Since identity is the feeling of belonging to a group, family and friends influence identity. Also, previous research has proven that social support can be a protective factor against life stressors in immigrant (Mankowski and Wyer, 1997 as cited by Cho & Haslam, 2010). Result from a study by Ward & Rana-Deuba (2000) showed that home connections has a dominant and significant influence on cultural identity, also that home culture connections functioned efficiently as social support. This was also true for the host culture, but more significantly for the home culture. This indicates that family is important variable in the development of adolescents dual-identity, both as an effecting factor and as social support. For these reasons, our research aims to investigate the parents level of integration, and it´s impact on dual identity. We are making our prediction based on previous research shown that children look for their parent's reaction on acculturation (Sam, 1995). Also, another research by Verkuyten (2002) established that immigrant children perceive the host culture as less positive when parents attitude were less positive towards the host culture. This study was conducted in the Netherlands among Dutch and Turkish children

(Verkuyten, 2002). They also found that the Turkish children obeyed their parents more, and that the parents attitude also were related to the children´s evaluation of their ethnic identity. These results show that immigrant parents perception and attitude toward both the ethnic and the host culture effect the children´s perception and identification of both culture. The more the immigrant parents have a positive attitude towards the host culture the more the children identify with national identity. The more the parents have a positive attitude towards their ethnic identity, the more the children identify with their ethnic identity. We predict that the more the parents are integrated, the more the children will have a national identity and dual-identity. However, the less the parents are integrated the stronger their ethnic identity will be.

The present research

The purpose of this study is to conduct research among immigrant students to see how they will report their feeling of belonging to three identity groups: their national identity that is their identification with the Norwegian culture; their dual-identity that is their identification with both their ethnic culture and the Norwegian culture (hosting culture) and their ethnic identity that is their identification with their ethnic group. We have a total of five hypotheses for this research. The work on this paper has the research by Martiny et al. (2017) as a basis for the research questions. Our first hypothesis is that the more the immigrant adolescents identify with their ethnic culture, the less they will identify with the national culture. However, the more they have a dual identity, the more they will identify with the national identity. The second hypothesis is that the more conflict the immigrant adolescents feel between the two cultures, the less they will have a dual-identity. The third hypothesis is that the more contact the immigrant adolescents have with native Norwegian, the more they will identify with the Norwegian culture and have a dual identity. The fourth hypothesis is that the more social ties the immigrant adolescents have with their country of origin, the stronger they will identify with their ethnic identity. Lastly our main hypothesis is the following, adolescents, and young adults

with migration background living in Norway will report a stronger identification with an integration of both cultures (i.e., dual-identity), the more their parents/families are integrated in and are accepting the host society's (i.e., Norwegian) cultures.

Methods

Participants and Design

The sample were high school students with immigrant background between the age of 15-23 years, with the mean of age $M = 17.67$, $SD = 1.54$. There were 97 students that participated, 42 male students and 54 female students (1 missing). The participants were from ten different classes from three different schools in the area of Oslo. The students from the first high school were students that had been in Norway for such a short amount of time that they had extra classes learning the Norwegian language. The students from the second high school studied health care studies. Lastly the students from the third high school studied psychology. We used a within-participants design that means that all participants answered all measures.

Procedure

We used a questionnaire, which a university student handed out to the students at the three different high schools during their classes. She first handed out two questionnaires to each of the participants. One was the questionnaire for the students with immigrant background. The second was for the native Norwegians. The one for students with immigrant background was put on the participant's right side and the questionnaire for the native Norwegian participants was put on the left side. She then asked the students with immigrant background to pick up the questionnaire on the right side and the native Norwegians students to pick up the one on the left side. Then she read the instruction from a manuscript that contained how the questionnaire was set up and how to fill the empty spaces. The instruction gave them information about how the questionnaire was build up and they were given the

definition of culture and ethnicity. She read the consent form out loud. Which said that the purpose of the study was to investigate dual-identity, family integration and group belonging. It also contained information about the questionnaire, that it would take 15-20 minutes to answer. Also, it informed that it was voluntarily whether they wanted to participate or not, that they could withdraw their participation at any time without giving a reason. They were also informed that their participation would be anonymous and that after their sign the consent form the student would collect these separately, therefor nobody would know what they answered.

The student asked them to sign the consent form if they wished to participate. Then they were asked not to talk to each other and to answer spontaneously and honestly. Lastly, they were informed that they would receive a small chocolate bar at the end. The questionnaire contained seven different scales. These scales measured the participants' feeling of belonging to groups, contact with native Norwegian, bicultural identity integration, their intercultural relations, family relations and family integrations. The questionnaire was in Norwegian.

Material

Questionnaire. The first questions were to investigate the relationship between the participant's single identity based on their ethnicity, their dual-identity and their single Norwegian identity (Martiny et al. 2017). They were asked to answer how much they felt like being Norwegian, then both (i.e., Norwegian- their ethnicity), and then just their ethnicity. The options were from very little to very much (1= very little, 5= very much). For the rest for the scales they were given statements to read. For each statement, they were to answer how much they agreed with the statements, from totally disagree to totally agree (1= totally disagree, 5= totally agree).

Bicultural identity integration. To measure the participants' bicultural identity integration, we used the Bicultural identity integration scale version 1, BIIS-1(Benet-Martinez

& Haritatos, 2005). This was an 8-item scale. Two example of the items are ´´I feel part of a combined culture.´´ and ´´I feel like someone moving between two cultures´´. From the 8 items, we chose the 3 that are directly related to conflict to analyse. One example is ´´ I am conflicted between the Norwegian and _____ ways of doing things`` and they were also supposed to fill in their ethnicity in the empty place before they answer. The Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was $\alpha =.72$ for this scale.

Contact with Norwegians. Then we used a 3-item scale to measure their contact with native Norwegian (Martiny et al. 2017). They items were like this; ´´It is important to me to have contact with Norwegians´´and ´´I have a lot of contact with Norwegians´´. The Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was $\alpha = .76$ for this scale.

Social ties. We used three items to measure their social ties to their homeland and Norway (Martiny et al. 2017). Two examples of these are ´´I got several relatives in my country of origin´´ and ´´When I travel to my country of origin I visit relatives´´. The Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was $\alpha = .56$ for this scale.

Intercultural relations. We also measured their intercultural relations by using a 6-item scale. For this we had three items from the Riverside acculturation stress inventory, RASI (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). But we only used the three items from the scale that were about the intercultural relations, this is originally a 15-item scale. An example of the items is ´´I feel that my particular culture/ethnic practices have caused conflict in my relationships´´. The other 3 items were modified from orthogonal culture identification scale (Oetting, Swaim & Chiarella, 1998). This scale is originally a 6-item scale and the questions are asked differently. However, we only used three items which we had to adjust to our questionnaire and group of targets. An example is ´´Mostly my family live by the Norwegian culture´´. The Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was $\alpha = .15$ for this scale, which was really low. Because of the low internal consistency this scale was not used in the following analysis

Family integration and family relations. To measure the level of integration of the family and the relation to the family, we developed three scales with 4-items to measure their family´s integration and 6-items to measure their relation to the family. These scales were all similar. However, one scale measured participant's mother's integration and their relation to their mother. Two examples are ´´In my opinion, my mother is integrated in the Norwegian society´´ and ´´I feel like I can talk to my mother about any problems I have´´ The scale that measured the mother's integration was a 4-item scale where 1 was excluded because it lowered the internal consistency. The item said; ´´If I chose to live by the _____ culture, my mother supports me´´. The participants were supposed to fill in their ethnicity in the empty place. Excluding this item, the Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was $\alpha = .77$ for this scale. Also, for the 6-items to measure the relation to mother the Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was $\alpha = .17$. Two items needed to be recoded as they said the opposite of the rest of the items.

The other scale measured their father´s integration and their relation to their father. Two examples are ´´If I chose to live by the Norwegian culture, my father supports me´´ and ´´I feel close to my father´´. This scale was exactly like the mother integration scale. The scale measured the father's integrations and it was a 4-item scale as in the mother's integration scale the one item was excluded. The Cronbach´s alpha ($\alpha = .74$) for this scale was high. As was the Cronbach´s alpha ($\alpha = .89$) for the 6-items to measure the relation with father. Again, two items were recoded.

And the third scale measured their sibling integration and their relation to their siblings. Two examples are ´´In my opinion, my siblings respect the Norwegian culture´´ and ´´I feel my siblings respect my opinion´´. This scale was also exactly like the mother integration scale and the father integration scale, again the same item was excluded. The Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was $\alpha = .71$ for the sibling's integration items. The Cronbach´s alpha coefficient was also high ($\alpha = .71$) for the relation to sibling items. For these items two

items were again recoded.

Demographic questions. At the end of the questionnaire they were given demographic questions; age, gender, education. They were also asked how long they have been in Norway, which language they speak at home, where the participants and their mom and that were born. Also, they were asked where they were planning to do after they finished schools. For this question, they had three alternative answers; stay in Norway, move to my home country and I don´t know. Finally, they were given three questions to see how understandable our questionnaire was. They were asked how well they speak their native language, how good they speak Norwegian and how well they understood the questionnaire. They gave their answer from very bad to very good (1= very bad, 5= very good). This questionnaire of eight scales, made a total of 58 items. All items were supposed to be answered using a five-point scale, ranging from 1= totally disagree and 5= totally agree.

Results

Levels and Interrelations of the Identities. The participants reported marginally significant higher identification with ethnic culture (M = 3.90, SD = 1.30) than with both cultures (M = 3.56, SD = 1.31), $t(90)$ = -1.87, p = .065. Further, their levels of identification with their ethnic origin was significantly higher than their identification with the Norwegian culture (M = 3.03 SD = 1.40), $t(89)$ = -3.53, $p < .001$. They also reported higher identification with both cultures (M = 3.56, SD = 1.31) than the Norwegian culture (M = 3.02, SD = 1.38), $t(92)$ = -3.25, p = .002.

When correlating the three identities with each other the result showed as following; the more the adolescent immigrants identified as Norwegians, the less they identify with their ethnic origin, $r(90)$ = -.44, $p < .000$. The adolescents' Norwegian and their dual identity were correlated positively, $r(93)$ = .27, p = .009. However, there were no significant relationship between their ethnic identity and dual-identity $r(91)$ = .11, p = .294.

Bicultural identity integration. When correlating the bicultural identity integration scale with the three identities, there were no significant correlation. The result when correlating with feeling like Norwegian was $r(93) = .044$, $p = .677$, when correlating with feeling a dual-identity was $r(94) = .111$, $p = .289$. Lastly when correlating with feeling ethnical was $r(91) = -.02$, $p = .864$. This means that how much conflict the participants feel between the two cultures is not related to any of the identities

Then we looked at the correlation between the bicultural identity integration scale and the mother´s integration and the father's integration. The correlation was significant for both. For the mother integration was a negative correlation $r(89) = -.35$, $p < .001$, which means that the less the mother is integrated, the more conflict the children feel between the two cultures. The results also showed that for the father integration the correlation was also negative $r(78) = -.23$, $p = .039$, this means that the less the father is integrated the more conflict the adolescents feel.

Next, we used a linear regression to test the relationship between both mother's level of integration and father´s level of integration on bicultural conflict, while controlling for the level of the other parent´s integration. We standardized both integration scales. In the regression the dependent variable is bicultural conflict, the complete regression model was significant, $F(2,74) = 8.06$, $p < .001$. The regression coefficient for mother´s integration showed a significant relation to participants' bicultural conflict, $ß = -.49$, $p < .001$. This indicates that the less the mother is integrated, the more the adolescents feel conflict between the two cultures, even when controlling for the father's level of integration. However, the regression coefficient for father´s integration did not show a significant relation to participants' bicultural conflict, $p = .874$. According to the results the mother´s integration on the children´s perceived conflict is stronger than the father´s influence.

Contact with native Norwegian. We correlated contact with native Norwegian with each of the three identities and the result showed that there was a significant correlation with all three identities. There was a positive correlation between having contact with native Norwegians and ´´feeling Norwegian´´ $r(94) = .50$, $p < .001$. This means that the more the adolescents have contact with native Norwegians, the more they identify with the Norwegian culture. There was also a positive correlation between having contact with native Norwegian and feeling a dual-identity $r(95) = .37$, $p < .001$. Which means that again the more the adolescents have contact with native Norwegian the more they feel a dual-identity, they identify with both their ethnic culture and the Norwegian culture. However, there was also a significant correlation between having contact with native Norwegian and identifying with their ethnicity, but the correlation was negative $r(92) = -.28$, $p = .007$. This means that the more the adolescents have contact with native Norwegian, the less they identify with their ethnic culture.

Social ties. Then we looked at correlation between social ties to their country of origin with each of the three identities. Here the results showed a negative correlation between social ties to their country of origin and ´´feeling Norwegian´´ $r(93) = -.23$, $p = .029$. This tells us that the more the adolescents have social ties with their country of origin, the less they identify with the Norwegian culture. Further, there was a positive correlation between social ties and feeling like their ethnicity $r(91) = .22$, $p = .034$. Which means that the stronger the social ties were to their country of origin the more they identify with their ethnic culture. However, there was no significant correlation between feeling dual-identity and having social ties to their country of origin $r(94) = .06$, $p = .570$.

Family integration and the three identities. When correlating the mother integration with each of the three identities, the results showed that there was a significant correlation between mothers integration and identifying with the Norwegian culture $r(87) = .29$, $p = .006$.

Which means the more the mother is integrated the more the adolescents identifies with the Norwegian culture. However, as you can see in table 1 there were no significant correlations between mother integration and identifying with their ethnic identity and a dual identity (identifying with both Norwegian and their ethnic culture).

When correlation father´s integration with the three identities, the results showed only a significant correlation between father´s integration and dual-identity (identifying with both their ethnic culture and the Norwegian culture) $r(77) = .26, p = .024$. Which indicated that the more the father is integrated, the more the adolescents identify with both cultures (their ethnic culture and the Norwegian culture) hence dual-identity. Father´s integration did not correlate with the two other identity identification.

Correlating the sibling´s integration with the three identities showed that there is a correlation between both sibling´s integration and identifying with the Norwegian culture $r(77) = .41, p < .000$. Sibling´s integration and dual-identity, identifying with both ethnic culture and Norwegian culture $r(77) = .39, p < .001$. This means that the more integrated the siblings are the more the adolescents identify with the Norwegian culture and experience a dual-identity. However, sibling´s integration did not correlate with identify only with ethnic culture.

Next, we used a linear regression to test the relationship between mother's level of integration on the identities, while controlling for the level of father's integration. We standardized both integration scales. When in the regression the dependent variable is ´´feeling Norwegian´´, the complete regression model was not significant, $F(2,72) = 2.37, p = .101$. However, the regression coefficient for mother´s integration showed a marginally significant relation to participants' Norwegian identity, $\beta = .34, p = .067$.

Table 1

Correlation between the three identities, and family integration.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	M	SD
1. NI	-	.270**	-.447**	.294**	.124	.405**	3.01	1.37
2. DI	.270**	-	.111	.137	.257*	387**	3.52	1.32
3. EI	-.447**	.111	-	-.064	.082	-.148	3.91	1.29
4. MIS	.294**	.137	-.064	-	.572**	.642**	3.81	.98
5. FIS	.124	.257*	.082	.572**	-	.496**	3.75	1.04
6. SIS	.405**	.387**	-.148	.642**	.496**	-	4.39	.78

Note. Correlation between family's integration and the three identities are presented above. NI = Feeling Norwegian identity, DI= Feeling dual-identity, EI =Feeling ethnic identity, MIS = Mother Integrated Scale, FIS = Father Integrated Scale and SIS = Siblings Integrated Scale. *p = .002 and **p < .001.

This indicates that the more the mother is integrated, the more the adolescents feel Norwegian, even when controlling for the father's level of integration. Next, we tested whether this was particularly true for girls by adding the main effect and the interaction between gender and mother's integration into the regression. Neither the main effect nor the interaction was significant, $p \geq .421$, indicating that boys and girls did not differ in the influence their mothers' level of integration had on them feeling Norwegian.

Then, we used a linear regression the same way to the test the relationship between father's level of integration on all three identities, while controlling for the mother's level of integration. When the dependent variable is ´´feeling like Norwegian – ethnicity´´, identification with the Norwegian culture again the complete regression model was not significant $F(2,73) = 2.53$, $p = .086$. However, the regression coefficient for father's integration showed a significant relation to participant's ethnic identity $ß = .34$, $p = .070$. This also indicates that the result from the correlation is reliable, which says that the more the father is integrated, the more the adolescents feel a dual-identity identification with both

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culture. We then wanted to see if this was particularly true for boys or girls by adding the main effect and the interaction between gender and father integration into the regression. Again, neither the main effect nor the interaction was significant, $p \geq .260$. This indicates that for gender it does not differ in the influence of the fathers' level of integration had on the participant's feeling a dual-identity. However, in regression when dependent variable is ´´feeling like ethnicity´´, identification with their ethnic culture. There is no relation with any of the parent´s integrations, all $p = .274$.

Discussion

Ethnic, national and dual identity

When investigating the levels and interrelations of the identities, our participants reported similar results as the previous studies by Martiny and colleagues (2017). Immigrant adolescents identified significantly higher with their ethnic group than with the Norwegian culture (i.e., the host culture). Further, results showed that the more the immigrant adolescents identified with their ethnic culture, the less they identified with the national culture. The stronger their dual identity, the more they identified with the national identity. All these relationships between the three identities replicated the work by Martiny and colleagues (2017). This indicates that the participants did not perceive their ethnic identity and national identity to be compatible. Since the results showed that the more they identified with ethnic culture, the less they identified with their national identity. However, students perceived their national identity and dual identity as compatible. This means that the more they felt a dual-identity, the more Norwegian they felt. This indicates that ethnic identity is stronger than national identity, however, this might be because some of the students had only been in Norway in such a short period of time. They had not yet had the chance to develop and explore their national identity. Perhaps the longer an immigrant is the host culture, the more they will identify with the host culture. This is a topic that needs more research.

Surprisingly, we did not find a significant correlation between ethnic identity and dual identity. This is in contrast with earlier work. For example, Martiny and colleagues (2017) found a negative correlation between ethnic identity and dual identity and Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016) found a positive correlation between ethnic identity and dual identity. As the previous research I just mentioned has been contradicting in regards of the correlation between ethnic and dual identity. Our result was also a surprising new outcome, there is a need for more studies to analyze this topic. The explanation for this result can also be the fact that we had some students that had spent very short period of time in Norway, for example a year. In this short period of time maybe they still hadn´t explored a dual identity or a national identity. Then they would not have been ready to define their bicultural identity. We need more empirical results to support for the robustness of these findings.

As the adolescents live in a multicultural environment, we can from these results conclude that immigrant adolescents are affected by both cultures they live in. There seems to be a motivation to explore their national identity as well as their ethnic identity. Matschke and Fehr (2015) found that social identification with incompatible groups is dependent on internal motivation to be member of a group (IMG), high IMG is also positively correlated with their well-being. Thus, when immigrants come to a new country, if their IMG is high, they will not be effected by the incompatibility between their ethnic identity and their new national identity. Their well-being will also remain intact.

Cultural identities, conflict and parents influence

Earlier in the paper, we predicted that the less the parents are integrated, the more conflict the adolescents will fell between the two cultures. Our hypothesis was that the more conflict the immigrant adolescents feel between the two cultures, the less they will have a dual-identity. In Martiny and colleagues (2017), the authors argued it there is a need for more research to investigate the relation between conflict and identities. In our results, we did not

find any significant correlation between feeling conflict between ethnic and host culture, and any of the three identities. However, we did find negative correlation between mother´s integration level and conflict between the two cultures. Our results showed that the less the mother is integrated the more conflict the immigrant adolescents' experience between their ethnic and host culture. Our hypothesis was not supported by the results. However, our prediction for the relation between parent's integration level and conflict between cultures was supported in regards of the mother. There was no significant correlation between fathers' level of integration and conflict between cultures. There may be several reasons for why we got these results. Our results indicate that mothers have greater impact on their children´s identity development. Therefor also they show an influence on the conflict the adolescents feel between their two cultures. Our results also implies that the adolescents do not let the incompatibility between their ethnic and host culture influence their identities. Therefor there was no significant correlation between conflict and the three identities. Of course, we need more empirical studies to support the results we found.

Cultural identities, and contact with natives of the host culture

Looking at the relation between contact with native Norwegians and the three identity our hypothesis was that the more contact the immigrant adolescents have with native Norwegian, the more they will identify with the Norwegian culture and have a dual identity. The results provide support for this prediction. They also showed that the more the immigrant adolescents had contact with native Norwegians, the less they identified with their ethnic culture. These outcomes are the same as previous studies (Martiny et al., 2017). In our contact measure, we refer to having native Norwegian friends, the amount of contact, being in continuous contact with them and spending time with them. Also, enjoying the contact. The results imply that immigrant adolescents have contact with the host culture, probably they have peers and friend they spend a great amount of time with. Native Norwegian friends

influence adolescent immigrants' national identity in a positive direction, while they influence ethnic identity in a negative direction. Adolescents usually spend a significant amount of time outside of their home. They spend that time with friends and peers. These findings give the implication that the feeling of belonging to a group, like a friend group, strengthens their national identity if they keep more contact with them. Also, that the adolescents understand the society they live in. Our results provide more evidence for the role contact plays in the integration of immigrants, as earlier research has shown that identification with host culture is rewarding in the long run (Fontaine, 1986 as cited by Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000). As the adolescents are living in the host culture, one can claim that there is a need for integrating in the host culture. Also, social identity theory says that individuals do get influenced by cultures (Tajfel & Turner, 1986 as cited by Padilla & Perez, 2003). Given the fact that immigrant adolescents spends a great amount of time in the host culture (during school, sport etc.), getting a social group they stay connected to seems inevitable. Therefore, starting to integrate and developing a national identity and dual-identity might be very natural.

Cultural identities and social ties

There is a saying about love ones that says ´´Distance make the heart grow fonder´´, however there is also another saying that says ´´out of sight, out of mind´´. These sayings are usually used in terms of loved ones. But, let us adopt the saying ´´out of sight, out of mind´´ when talking about social ties to ethnic culture. Will less connections to country of origin make one forget about their ethnicity? Our hypothesis is that the more social ties the immigrant adolescents have with their country of origin, the more they will identify with their ethnic identity. The results showed that this was in fact true for our participants. The more the immigrant adolescents reported social ties with their country of origin, the more they identify with their ethnic culture. At the same time, the more social ties they had, the less they identify with the host country. Further, for this variable there were no significant correlation between

feeling dual identity and having social ties to their country of origin. The results indicate that social ties to country of origin prevent individual's from integrate in the host culture. Since the adolescents do not live in their country of origin, having social ties to country of origin enhances their ethnic identity. However, it decreases their national identity. This can be explained by that having social ties give the adolescents a more sense of belonging to their country of origin rather than the host culture. Also, the interesting results were that social ties to country of origin does not have significant correlation with dual identity, however, contact with native Norwegian have significant positive correlation to dual identity. This strengthens the finding that ethnic identity it stronger, and it implies that because the ethnic identity is stronger even with more contact with native Norwegian the adolescents still preserve their ethnic identity. However, having more social ties to country of origin, or unilateral ties to ethnic culture not only decrease the national identity but also prevents it. Although this needs to be studied more thoroughly to find the cause and reason behind it. It seems that we can maybe adopt the saying, ´´out of sight, out of mind´´, when we talk about social ties. Two of the statements were ´´I travel to my country of origin on a regular basis (at least once a year) ´´, and the other was ´´when traveling to my country of origin I visit relatives´´. According to results, when participants scored low on these statements, their identification was stronger with the host culture.

Cultural identities and family integration

The results we got from investigating family´s level of integration with the three identities were interesting. Our hypothesis was that immigrant adolescents living in Norway would report a stronger identification with an integration of both cultures (i.e., dual-identity), their culture of origin and the Norwegian culture, the more their parents are integrated in and are accepting the host society's (i.e., Norwegian) cultures. Our results indicates that the more the mother is integrated the more the adolescents identify with Norwegian culture, and the

more the father is integrated the more adolescents identify with a dual identity. The integration of each parent only significantly correlated with one of the identities, those mentioned above. But there were no significant correlations with the other identities. Mother and father have different effect on the two identities. These results imply that when the mothers integrate, they show a more bias to the host culture rather than their ethnic culture. While when the fathers integrate, they show more attachment and ties to their ethnic culture. This is very interesting findings however, we need more research on this topic. This means that our hypothesis was only partly true. It was true for the father, however not for the mother. Previous study has shown that mothers' ethnic enculturation attitude can influence ethnic affirmation, and fathers' influence host enculturation in a pragmatic sense (Sabatier, 2008). This tells us that parents have an influence, though how they influence and in what direction is not consistent.

Limitations

Our results contribute to the research investigating the role of immigrants' identities on their level of integration. However, there are some limitation we need to mention. First, we should interpret the results from all the variables cautiously. Since this study was a correlation study, the causal direction of the effects cannot be determined.

Second, the participants were the adolescents and we asked them to report the level of integration of their parents. This might be a problem because how they perceive their parents to be integrated might be influenced by their attitudes and beliefs. For further studies, we suggest to include a parents' questionnaire in which the variables related to the parents could be directly assessed from the parents.

Another important limitation was we did not ask about religion. Previous research has shown that religion is just as important if not more, than ethnicity (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). We should also have asked about their religion to see whether this has an effect. Also,

researchers should see if there is a correlation between ethnic identity and religion. Perhaps the ethnic identity was so strong in our results, because of the religion they often share with their ethnic culture.

We should also have investigated whether discrimination was a variable that could better explain the contact with native Norwegian and social ties, and these variables correlated with the three identities. Because an immigrant experiencing discrimination will be less willing to integrate (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Then perhaps experiencing discrimination would decrease contact with native Norwegian and increase the will to maintain social ties to country of origin. Also, maybe the amount of contact and social ties will have less impact on the development of the three identities if we had discrimination as a variable.

Conclusion

The findings of the present research add important knowledge to the question concerning the relationships between adolescent immigrants' different identities and their predictors. For immigrant adolescents developing and integrating their ethnic and host culture are challenging. In line with earlier research, the present research found that adolescent immigrants in Norway report a higher identification with their ethnic culture, than with the host culture and dual identity. Conflict between their ethnic and host culture did not have an influence on the three identities. However, mothers' level of integration does have an effect. The less the mother is integrated the more conflict the adolescents feel between the two cultures. Contact with native Norwegian is positively related to national identity and dual identity. However, social ties to country of origin is positively related to ethnic identity and negatively related to national identity. For our main hypothesis, we found different results for each parent. The more the mother is integrated, the more the adolescents identify with the Norwegian culture, the more the father is integrated the more the adolescents identify with both cultures. We conclude that it is important to study adolescent immigrants´ different

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identities, also the variables that has influence. Because integrated dual identity contributes to individuals´ well-being, high self-esteem and better school performance. Therefore, we see it as important to research the influential variables, to better understand the individuals and to help them in their development of a healthy integrated dual identity.

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