Title

Developmental Processes of First Generation Female Ugandan Immigrant Youth: An Examination of Identity Development and Acculturation

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0ph9j2j8

Author

Green, Emily Kennedy

Publication Date

2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Developmental Processes of First Generation Female Ugandan
Immigrant Youth:
An Examination of Identity Development and Acculturation

by

Emily Kennedy Green, BS, RN

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Nursing

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO

Funding Acknowledgment

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family. To me, family means my parents and siblings who have always supported my dreams; the Ugandans who welcomed me into their home in 2007 and changed the course of my future; the women I met in my doctoral program who became a new academic San Francisco family; and the Ugandan community who welcomed my research and inquiry. I entered this program alone, and am completing with an amazingly supportive spouse and two beautiful girls. We became a family during this program and this dissertation is possible because of you.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my academic advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. Susan Kools, who is the type of advisor and professor I aspire to be; she continually conveys encouragement and interest in my research and scholarship. Without her guidance, this dissertation would not have been possible. Many thanks to Dr. Kit Chesla for her confidence and steadfast assurance through this process. Many thanks to Dr. Yewoubdar Beyene for her collaboration and insight.

In addition, I would like to give special thanks to Quinn Grundy, Virginia Blackman, and Angel James as colleagues from the 2010 UCSF doctoral cohort who have become dear friends. We have pushed and pulled each other through this program and I am happy to have experienced this journey with you.

Gene Harkless was an undergraduate professor of mine that first planted the seed of research. She was inspired and inspiring and guided me to my first research project supported by the International Research Opportunity Program at the University of New Hampshire. She encouraged my to pursue an education and career in research and supported all my efforts in achieving this milestone. Her influence is not forgotten and I hope to one day inspire students the way she inspired me.

Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this constructivist grounded theory study was to explore first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and self-development and identify which factors among their social contexts including community, school, family, and peer groups impacted their development.

Background: In many ways, this immigrant group looks very different from other immigrant populations in the US: size of population, recency of immigration, socio-demographic profile, and primary migration channels. The impact of immigration on this growing population's health and development is unclear. Existing literature suggests that the integration and developmental processes for young people and families from East Africa are complicated by family values, interaction styles, and social roles that many times are at very polar ends with those of the US host culture. Insights from these participants were needed to better understand the needs of this population, in order to improve health and development of immigrant adolescents, as they become young adults.

Methods: This qualitative study employed Grounded Theory methods. Over 100 hours of community participatory observation and 28 total interviews with 20 participants were primary data collection strategies. Participants were recruited through purposive, theoretical and snowball sampling and included English speaking females aged 10-25 years, immigrated to the US at the age of 8 years or later, and self-identified as Ugandan. Dimensional analysis, an approach in the generation of grounded theory was used as a primary analytic strategy. In addition to multiple levels of coding, memo-writing was used as an analytic tool to track the developing conceptualizations and decisions. Emerging areas of salience were then be

integrated into future interviews for further development and verification. An explanatory matrix was used to consider which dimension and concept best served as the central action and process. A wider philosophical orientation taken in this study was one that assumed a positive youth development (PYD) approach. Acculturation theory provided a theoretical lens through which to understand the processes young people were experiencing as newcomers to the US as individuals in various social contexts such as within families, peer groups, schools or community settings.

Results: Identity development was chosen as the central perspective of the findings, that is, the dimension with the greatest explanatory power. As immigrants, participants made certain adaptations and adjustments that led to altered developmental paths for these young women including their beliefs about gender, their ethnic and racial identities, and how they balanced and integrated US culture into their existing understandings and cultural awareness. Conditions that impacted these identity development processes include the timing of immigration, Los Angeles and the US as contexts of reception, influential people and social settings primarily including the Ugandan community and school settings, the perceived value of Ugandan cultural maintenance versus the value of adopting certain American traits and habits, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination versus opportunity. Factors across various social contexts including community, school, family, and peer group were identified that impacted this population's identity development, with the domains of wider community influence and school/peer settings as particularly influential.

Conclusions: The findings presented represent an in depth consideration of the unique cultural, linguistic, religious, racial, social, and societal attributes of the female Ugandan immigrant youth population and can therefore be seen as an important step in the direction of developing an understanding of the developmental assets and risk/protective factors that characterize this specific young immigrant population.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Introduction

Adolescence represents a most crucial period for developmental processes including identity formation, role development, interpersonal relationships and the development of health beliefs and behaviors. Immigrant youth are often exposed to new and conflicting norms resulting in unique challenges and opportunities. Racial/ethnic minorities represent a sizable minority in the United States (US) with the US foreign-born population reaching nearly 40 million, or 13 percent of the total population (Gambino, Fitzwater, & Trevalyan, 2014). However, the health status and unique needs of the growing African immigrant populations are relatively unexamined in comparison with other immigrant groups (Shepard, 2008; Siegel et al., 2001). Scholars of immigration have particularly identified the needs of immigrant youth as a priority area for health research (Hyman, 2007; Perreira & Ornelas, 2011; Venters & Gany, 2009). Therefore, this dissertation research sampled adolescent and young adult female Ugandan immigrants.

Focusing on this specific group is important for at least 5 reasons. The first is simply the lack of research about the health of African immigrants to Western countries (Shepard, 2008; Siegel, Horan, & Teferra, 2001), specifically a dearth of research about black African immigrant youth (Rong & Preissle, 1998). Existing literature on African immigrants tends to focus to focus on individual pathologies such as parasitic diseases, HIV, or immunization coverage, and little is known about developmental processes. Second, little is known about specific attributes of the unique cultural groups in the population due to the prolific use of a pan ethnic identity label of "African" which treats all Africans as a homogeneous group. Third, an overview of the issues and unique aspects that this group brings to adolescent research, practice and policy-making is needed. Identifying and understanding the factors

that contribute to the development of immigrant youth are essential to promoting healthy development and thereby increasing healthy behaviors.

Additionally, the normative processes of immigrant and minority adolescents has not been emphasized in developmental science (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) and in the growing African immigrant youth population, it is unclear whether the information on strengths and risk factors currently in practice are applicable. Therefore, a focus on African immigrant youth's developmental processes is a way to challenge mainstream assumptions and expand existing understandings.

Finally, highlighting the experiences of females specifically is important as development is structured by gender (White & Klein, 2008) and previous works utilizing feminist approaches have shown how gender and gender relations shape the immigrant experience (Ajrouch, 2004; DasGupta, 1997; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Menjivar, 2000). It uniquely intersects with other stratifying characteristics, including class, race, nationality, economic status, profession, religion, and age (Ajrouch, 2004; Connell, 1995; Espiritu, 1997). Further, a reason to specifically study females in this population is the United Nations recommendation to protect and support the "girl-child" in research. Young African women in their countries of origin are burdened by social inequities including traditional gender roles and responsibilities, low access to education and economic development, and forms of discrimination and abuse (United Nations Conference on Women, 4AD). The burden of social inequities place girl children at higher risk for poor health and developmental outcomes and it is unclear how immigrant youth navigate in a new host society where gender roles may be defined differently, and where there may be a range and variation of expectations and health beliefs.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore how first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth experience and understand their health and development and what factors among community, school, family, peer groups and the individual affect their health behaviors (nutrition, physical activity, and risk behaviors) and self-development (self-esteem, self-identity, interpersonal relationships). The specific aims of this study of first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth were to:

> 1) explore youth perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and self-development;
>
> 2) describe the resources and barriers to healthy adolescent and young adult development (e.g., adequacy of health information and social and tangible support, acculturation);
>
> 3) develop a theoretical model of factors across social contexts that contribute to self-development and health behaviors.

Positive youth development (PYD) is an increasing area of scholarly inquiry, and this inductive, grounded theory study further explored how various aspects of PYD applied or did not apply to this cultural group. Understanding the developmental assets and risk/protective factors that best characterize a well- adjusted immigrant youth can help to provide a foundation for overall health promotion. Young women are appropriate information sources of this unique knowledge and are ideal candidates to identify critical aspects of health behaviors and self-development, with respect to the experience of immigration and adaptation to life in the US.

Dissertation Overview

This dissertation is the culmination of my University of California, San Francisco (UCSF) doctoral program, which began in September of 2010, and represents five years of scholarly inquiry. My dissertation research was initiated in September 2013 and culminates in three publishable papers. The first paper will present the Literature Review, which reviews literature addressing the developmental processes of first generation East African immigrant youth. The second paper presents the Dimensional analysis matrix used in analysis and goes in depth describing one area of the matrix known as the 'conditions'. Conditions are dimensions or attributes of the phenomenon that by facilitate, block, or shape the actions and/or interactions- the processes of the phenomenon. The paper describes the conditions that impacted the identity development of the participants. The third paper presents another dimension of the matrix- the consequences, or the outcomes of the aforementioned processes. The matrix includes 3 separate consequences, one of which is presented in this third paper. Papers describing the remaining two consequences are also in development as products of this research; however, they are not included in this dissertation. The final section discusses the ways in which this dissertation research addressed the primary aims, limitations of the study, and areas for future research. It contrasts, supports and extends current theoretical understandings and offers practical applications for nursing science.

References

Ajrouch, K. (2004). Gender, race, and symbolic boundaries: Contested spaces of identity

among Arab-American adolescents. *Sociological Perspectives*, 371–391.

Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

DasGupta, M. (1997). What Is Indian about You?' A Gendered, Transnational Approach to

Ethnicity. *Gender & Society*, 572–596.

Espiritu, Y. (1997). *Asian American Women and Men*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gambino, C., Fitzwater, J., & Trevalyan, E. (2014). *The Foreign-Born Population in the

United States: 2008-2012* (No. ACSBR/12-16). Washington DC: U.S.: U.S. Census

Bureau, American Community Survey Reports. Retrieved from

http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/acs/acsbr12-

16.pdf

Garcia Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., &

McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental

Competencies in Minority Children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914.

doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1994). *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration*.

Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hyman, I. (2007). Immigration and health: Reviewing evidence of healthy immigrant effect

in Canada. In M. Doucet, *CERIS Working Paper Series*. Toronto: Joint Center of

Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

Menjivar, C. (2000). *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America*.

Berkeley: University of California Press.

Perreira, K., & Ornelas, I. (2011). The physical and psychological well-being of immigrant children. *Future Child*, *21*(1), 195–218.

Rong, X., & Preissle, J. (1998). *Educating immigrant students: What educators need to know to meet the challenges*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Shepard, R. (2008). *Cultural Adaptation of Somali Refugee Youth*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

Siegel, J., Horan, S., & Teferra, T. (2001). Health and health care status of African-born residents of metropolitan. *Journal of Immigrant Health*, *3*(4), 213–224.

United Nations Conference on Women. *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing*. New York: United Nations.

Venters, H., & Gany, F. (2009). African immigrant health. *Journal of Immigrant & Minority Health*, *13*(2), 333–344. doi:10.1007/s10903-009-9243-x

White, J., & Klein, D. (2008). *Family theories* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Background

A Brief Look at the History of African Immigration to the US

The nearly nonexistent influx of African immigrants to the US between 1865 (legal end of slave trade) and the 1960s is attributed in large part to US immigration restrictions (Gordon, 1998). The expansion of US immigration policy through the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished previous immigration quotas, thereby providing new opportunities for Africans to emigrate (Thomas, 2011). The African immigrant US population has increased more than 40 fold since these policy expansions (Grieco et al., 2012). A reason for increased African immigration that is less often cited is that prior to the 1960s those leaving their country often emigrated to the European colonial power associated with their country of origin. The 1960s marks the decade when many African nations found their independence from colonial powers widening the options of private citizens to emigrate internationally (Kent, 2007).

From 1965 to the early 1980s, African immigrants were primarily urban populations of single men seeking education and jobs (Takougang, 1995), and planning to return to their countries of origin (Takyi, 2002). However, civil unrest and political instability across the African continent in the 1980s resulted in many of these immigrants deciding to stay and utilize the family reunification immigration channel to send for their families (Njue & Retish, 2010). The 1980 Refugee Act expanded entry by recognizing the fear of political persecution as a valid reason to seek asylum. Thus, a great number of Africans sought entry as refugees, leading to a dramatic increase in young immigrants from rural areas from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea (Kiteki, 2011).

Additional immigration policy changes in the 1990s called for a diversification of the US foreign-born population and facilitated the voluntary entry of many African born immigrants (Kent, 2007). The 1995 Diversity Visa Lottery program calls for individuals and families to enter a lottery in their country of origin to obtain a Diversity Visa. This route is a voluntary migration channel that costs a significant amount of money meaning that those eligible must be of a certain socioeconomic status. A recent analysis of both refugee and voluntary migration flows revealed that the Diversity Visa Lottery program is the leading channel for African migration, followed by refugee migration, and family re-unification (Thomas, 2011).

African Immigrant Demographics

The overall African immigrant population in the US is approximately 1.6 million (Gambino, Fitzwater, & Trevalyan, 2014) and 28.9% are East African (Gambino et al., 2014). This population has substantially increased from the year 2000, when the foreign-born population from Africa was 0.7 million (Schmidley, 2001). Over one-third came to live in the US in 2000 or later and over 78% entered in 1990 or later (Grieco et al., 2012), meaning this is a very new immigrant community. Various factors encouraging recent African emigration include political instability and corruption (Gordon, 1998; Takyi, 2002; Thomas, 2011), educational opportunity (Takyi, 2002), deteriorating socioeconomic conditions in Africa (Adepoju, 1991), and lack of African economic development (Djamba & Kimuna, 2012; Gordon, 1998). These various migration determinants uniquely shape this group's experience in the US.

In many ways, this immigrant group looks very different from other immigrant populations in the US: size of population, recency of immigration, socio-demographic

profile, and migration channel. Compared to other foreign-born populations in the US, and consistent with the idea of selective migration, the African born population in the US is highly educated. Over 46% are high school graduates and 41.5% have a bachelor's degree or higher (Gambino et al., 2014). Seventy percent speak English well or fairly well (Gambino et al., 2014; Grieco et al., 2012; McCabe, 2011), and 75% are in the labor force (Grieco et al., 2012). In 2009, Africans also reported higher household incomes than other foreign born populations (Grieco et al., 2012). It is important to note that while this profile looks impressive, it does not represent all African immigrants as the population is made up of both voluntary immigrants and a substantial number of refugees. Refugee populations have very different socio-demographic profiles than their immigrant peers who arrived through voluntary migration channels and may have different strengths and challenges.

Some contest that demographic data that reports figures on African immigrants are gross undercounts due to the ways in which data is collected (Arthur & Katkin, 2006; Beyene, 2000; Venters & Gany, 2011). For example, in Los Angeles Unified School District, 25,973 students reported they are African-born and 72,657 reported Sub-Saharan Africa as their first ancestry (US Census Bureau, 2012). Without further specificity in data collection, it is very difficult to estimate how many young people from any one African country might live in a geographical area. Some demographers and scholars have addressed this by utilizing information such as maternal language reported in school census data (Curry-Stevens, 2013) to allow them greater differentiation in their demographic reporting.

State of the Science

Literature reviewed in this section is drawn from work with East African immigrant populations. The East African region includes twenty United Nations designated territories:

Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mayotte, Mozambique, Reunion, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (United Nations, 2011). Ideally, the most appropriate approach for evaluating the state of the science of East African immigrant youth development is to look at East African developmental literature and then look at how those processes/populations are affected by migration (Friis, Yngve, & Persson, 1998). However, this is not widely done, likely due to the minimal research available in the countries of origin. In fact, adolescence and/or young adulthood in general are predominantly western concepts and adolescence as a lifestage is only beginning to be recognized and receive focused attention. The East African developmental literature base is thin and disparate. Of what is available, it suggests that the developmental processes and experiences of East African youth have some similarities to US-born youth, such as the protective role of schooling and parental connectedness (Mmari, 2011; Nyamukapa et al., 2008; Peltzer, 2009), and some striking differences, such as the prominent role of menarche and circumcision as marking the transition from youth to adulthood (Weeks, 1973), or the impact of female gender on role expectations and opportunities (Osoro, Amundson, & Borgen, 2000; Panel on Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries, 2005). It is reasonable to conclude that when this population emigrates to a Western society, there will be significant social, cognitive, and behavioral transitions to navigate.

While literature on East African immigrants is minimal, the growing population has stimulated research interest in certain areas including acculturation, mental health, and identity development. Acculturation studies on East African immigrants and their development suggests that the acculturation process for young people and families from East

Africa is complicated by family values, interaction styles, and social roles that many times are at very polar ends with those of the US host culture (Mondain & Lardoux, 2012; Scott, 2003; Scuglik & Alarcon, 2005; Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayanan, 2010). For youth, the individualist society of the US collides with the collectivist society common to African countries (Hofstede, 2001) and creates a less clear set of values and worldviews upon which to base their expectations and experiences (Stuart et al., 2010). Subsequently, acculturation stress is found in the contexts of family, school, the wider community and in the individual (Mondain & Lardoux, 2012; Scott, 2003; Stuart et al., 2010).

Mental health is often studied as an outcome of acculturative stress in African immigrant populations. Some studies have affirmed this hypothesis; compared to youth in their country of origin, Ethiopian youth living in Toronto reported higher levels of emotional problems, parent-child dissonance, and more perceived discrimination (Beiser et al., 2012). It has also been postulated that acculturation problems, discrimination, identity crisis and stress may be buffered by the maintenance of traditional collectivist family values and perceived parental support (Oppedal, Roysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005). Overall, the picture of mental health issues in East African youth immigrants is an area ripe for future research.

Studies are increasingly addressing identity development in this immigrant group. For example, as students confront their new status as a racial minority, their racial identity becomes an aspect of their development. Findings in this field are limited and mixed. One study reported students and parents perceived teachers as expecting less from black students (Scott, 2003), while a second study found that teachers favorably compared African students to other racial and ethnic groups within the school, reporting high expectations and describing them as "more respectful," "more prepared to learn," and "more teachable" (Njue

& Retish, 2010). Still a third study reported a low awareness of racism in its sample, which remained unchanged regardless of their length of stay; they instead reported their new racial minority status made their ethnicity more salient (Wambua & Robinson, 2012). Other areas of identity development are emerging in the literature including ethnic identity (Amoah, 2014), religious identity (Basford, Hick, & Bigelow, 2007; Kruizenga, 2010), academic identity (Oikonomidoy, 2007; 2009), and transitioning roles from young person to adult (Mondain & Lardoux, 2012; Wambua & Robinson, 2012). Additionally, few studies have addressed gender specific female issues in African youth.

Of what is available, certain content gaps and methodological flaws are noted in the African literature base. Methodological flaws include the grouping of Africans with other foreign born black populations and with African Americans leaving no opportunity to demarcate diversity and results in country or region specific data being limited, often unavailable, and makes findings difficult to compare (Arthur & Katkin, 2006; Beyene, 2000; Venters & Gany, 2011). Further, there is often a lack of clear differentiation between refugees, asylum seekers, sojourners, voluntary migrants and the children of voluntary migrants. Finally, the use of the previously described pan-ethnic "African" identity overlooks the heterogeneity in ethnic subgroups (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011).

References

Adepoju, A. (1991). South‑North Migration: The African Experience. *International Migration*, *29*, 2.

Amoah, J. (2014). The Identity Question for African Youth: Developing the New While Maintaining the Old. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, *22*(1), 127–133. doi:10.1177/1066480713505068

Arthur, C. M., & Katkin, E. S. (2006). Making a case for the examination of ethnicity of Blacks in United States Health Research. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, *17*(1), 25–36. doi:10.1353/hpu.2006.0017

Basford, L., Hick, S., & Bigelow, M. (2007). *Educating Muslims in an East African US charter high school*. National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education: Columbia University.

Beiser, M., Taa, B., Fenta-Wube, H., Baheretibeb, Y., Pain, C., & Araya, M. (2012). A comparison of levels and predictors of emotional problems among preadolescent Ethiopians in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and Toronto, Canada. *Transcultural Psyciatry*, *49*(5), 651–677.

Beyene, Y. (2000). Potential HIV Risk Behaviors among Ethiopians and Eritreans in the Diaspora: A Bird's-Eye View. *Northeast African Studies*, *7*(2), 119–142.

Chao, R., & Otsuki-Clutter, M. (2011). Racial and Ethnic Differences: Sociocultural and Contextual Explanations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *21*, 47–60. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00714.x

Curry-Stevens, A. (2013). *The African Immigrant and Refugee Community in Multnomah County: An Unsettling Profile*. Portland, OR: Portland State University.

Djamba, Y., & Kimuna, S. (2012). The Labor Force Participation and Earnings Gap among African Immigrant Women in the U.S.A. *International Migration and Integration*, *13*, 481–501. doi:10.1007/s12134-011-0218-0

Friis, R., Yngve, A., & Persson, V. (1998). Review of social epidemiologic research on migrants' health: findings, methodological cautions, and theoretical perspectives. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, *26*(3), 173–180.

Gambino, C., Fitzwater, J., & Trevalyan, E. (2014). *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2008-2012* (No. ACSBR/12-16). Washington DC: U.S.: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Reports. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/acs/acsbr12-16.pdf

Gordon, A. (1998). The New Diaspora-African Immigration to the United States. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 79–103.

Grieco, E., Acosta, Y., Patricia de la Cruz, G., Gambino, C., Gryn, T., Larsen, L., et al. (2012). *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2010, American Community Surveys Reports*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kent, M. (2007). *Immigration and America's Black Population*. *Population Buletin* (4 ed., Vol. 62, pp. 1–16). Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau.

Kiteki, B. N. (2011). *Acculturation and Psychosocial Adjustment of African Adolescent Refugees in the United States: The Role of Social Support.* Greensboro, NC: The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Kruizenga, T. (2010). Teaching Somali Children: What Perceived Challenges Do Somali Students Face in the Public School System? *International Journal of Education*, *2*(1), 1–17.

McCabe, K. (2011). *African Immigrants in the United States*. Washington D.C: Migration Policy Institute.

Mmari, K. (2011). Exploring the relationship between caregiving and health: perceptions among orphaned and non-orphaned adolescents in Tanzania. *Journal of Adolescence*, *34*(2), 301–309. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2010.05.001

Mondain, N., & Lardoux, S. (2012). Transitions to Adulthood Among First Generation Sub-Saharan African Immigrant Adolescents in Canada: Evidence from a Qualitative Study in Montreal. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. doi:10.1007/s12134-012-0240-x

Njue, J., & Retish, P. (2010). Transitioning: Academic and Social Performance of African Immigrant Students in an American High School. *Urban Education*, *45*(3), 347–370.

Nyamukapa, C., Gregson, S., Lopman, B., Saito, S., Watts, H., Monasch, R., & Jukes, M. (2008). HIV-associated orphanhood and children's psychosocial distress: theoretical framework tested with data from Zimbabwe. *American Journal of Public Health*, *98*(1), 133–141. doi:10.2105/ajph.2007.116038

Oikonomidoy, E. (2007). "I See Myself as a Different Person Who [Has] Acquired a Lot ...": Somali Female Students' Journeys to Belonging. *Intercultural Education*, *18*(1), 15–27.

Oikonomidoy, E. (2009). The Multilayered Character of Newcomers' Academic Identities: Somali Female High-School Students in a US School. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *7*(1), 23–39.

Oppedal, B., Roysamb, E., & Heyerdahl, S. (2005). Ethnic group, acculturation, and psychiatric problems in young immigrants. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry*, *46*(6), 646–660. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00381.x

Osoro, B., Amundson, N., & Borgen, W. (2000). Career decision-making of high school students in Kenya. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, *22*(4), 289–300. doi:10.1023/A:1005661001209

Panel on Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries. (2005). *Growing Up Global: The Changing Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries.* (C. Lloyd). Washington, DC: National Research Council, National Academy Press.

Peltzer, K. (2009). Health behavior and protective factors among school children in four African countries. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *16*(2), 172–180. doi:10.1007/s12529-008-9015-3

Schmidley, D. (2001). Profile of the foreign-born population in the United States: 2000. In *US Census Bureau*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Scott, J. (2003). English Language and Communication: Issues for African and Caribbean Immigrant Youth in Toronto. In P. Anisef & K. Kilbride, *Managing two worlds : the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Scuglik, D., & Alarcon, R. (2005). Growing up whole: Somali children and adolescents in america. *Psychiatry (Edgmont)*, *2*(8), 20–31.

Stuart, J., Ward, C., Jose, P., & Narayanan, P. (2010). Working with and for communities: A collaborative study of harmony and conflict in well-functioning, acculturating families. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *34*(2), 114–126.

Takougang, J. (1995). Recent African immigrants to the United States: A historical perspective. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, *19*, 50–57.

Takyi, B. (2002). The Making of the Second Diaspora: On the Recent African Immigrant Community in the United States of America. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 32–43.

Thomas, K. (2011). What Explains the Increasing Trend in African Emigration to the U.S.? *International Migration Review*, 3–28.

United Nations. (2011). *Standard Country or Area Codes Classifications* (4 ed.). New York, NY: United Nations Statistics Division.

US Census Bureau. (2012). *American Community Survey*. Retrieved from http://Usa.com/school-district-0622710-population-and-races.htm

Venters, H., & Gany, F. (2011). African immigrant health. *Journal of Immigrant & Minority Health*, *13*(2), 333–344. doi:10.1007/s10903-009-9243-x

Wambua, J., & Robinson, C. (2012). Possible Selves and Goal Orientations of East-African Undergraduate Students in the United States. In Z. Bekerman & T. Geisen, *International Handbook of Migration, Minorities and Education* (pp. 479–496). Springer Netherlands.

Weeks, S. (1973). Youth and the Transition to Adult Status: Uganda. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *2*(3), 259–270.

Methodology

Theoretical Underpinnings

Acculturation theory provided a theoretical lens through which to understand the processes young people were experiencing as newcomers to the US as individuals in various social contexts such as within families, peer groups, schools or community settings. John Berry's Acculturation model allows heritage and host characteristics to be measured on two independent axes whose interaction results in four categories, or strategies, of acculturation: assimilation, integration, rejection and marginalization (Berry, 1980; 1997; 2006). Ecological theory offers a different, though complementary lens and makes central the role of context and its impact on development. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory and model were formulated to offer a perspective on the interplay between multi-person systems of interaction, and its subsequent impact on child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; 2006). The model represents how development is a result of the interactions between four components of a developing person: Process, Person, Context and Time (PPCT model). Utilizing the theoretical perspectives of both Berry's Acculturation theory and Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems theory and PPCT model served to underpin a study of the health and development of Ugandan female adolescent immigrants.

A wider philosophical orientation taken in this study was one that assumed a positive youth development (PYD) approach. It is a holistic approach to support young people to realize their full potential that encompasses both the elimination of problems and the acquisition of skills, knowledge and social assets. Unlike traditional individual risk reduction approaches, strengths-based approaches suggest that developmental assets in a youth's environment contribute to successful development (The Search Institute, 2007).

Ethical Approval

The study was approved by the University of California San Francisco Committee on Human Research.

Study Design: Dimensional Analysis

Dimensional analysis, (DA), an approach to the generation of grounded theory, was used to examine how first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth experience and understand their health and development and what factors among community, school, family, peer groups and the individual affect their health behaviors and self-development. The primary purpose of grounded theory is theory development that is grounded in or derived inductively from the data and in the experience of social actors (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory focuses on understanding individual actions and belief systems in context and viewing situations as the self-constructed realities of participants, reflecting its origins in symbolic interactionism (Charmaz, 2000). Grounded Theory, (GT), has evolved since its inception (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and a contemporary conception known as Constructivist GT was used. Constructivist GT specifically, 'assumes the relativism of multiple realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understandings of subjects' meanings' (Charmaz, 2000, p. 510). The consideration of multiple realities and intersecting concepts all with an appreciation of the developmental context is critical to a study that included age, gender, immigration, and various developmental stages. It was therefore an appropriate methodology for use in a study with young people that aimed to understand knowledge, beliefs and behaviors from the individual experience and interaction in multiple social contexts.

Constructivist GT allows for multiple approaches of generating GT, one of which is DA. DA systematically examines social experience by dimensionalizing or breaking down the complexity of a phenomenon into its components or attributes – dimensions—to answer the question "What <u>all</u> is involved here?" It "regrounds" GT with a substantive and methodological paradigm, emphasizing its roots in SI with the use of an explanatory matrix to integrate salient dimensions and their relationships into theory (Kools, McCarthy, Durham, & Robrecht, 1996; Schatzman, 1991). DA was a particularly useful approach as it clearly articulates the analytic process of theory generation (Schatzman, 1991).

Sample

<u>Purposive sampling strategy</u>. The study focused on females because I understand development to be structured by gender (White & Klein, 2008), and therefore appreciates the unique gender specific aspects of development. Further, in acknowledgement that there are many indicators of health disparity and inequity in females in developing countries around the world, the United Nations has encouraged a specific focus on the needs of the girl child (United Nations Conference on Women, 1995). The purposive sample, therefore, was restricted to female youth between 10-25 years of age who immigrated to the US after age 8 years. Recruiting participants who immigrated after age 8 was reasonable because early adolescence is the developmental stage where substantial changes in cognitive development occur (Steinberg, 2005), as well as physical, emotional, and psychological development. Extending the traditional World Health Organization (World Health Organization, 2001) definition of "adolescent" from 10-19 years to include ages 10-25 years was reasonable because 1) this age group encompasses the biological and social transitions historically associated with adolescence (Sawyer et al., 2012), 2) while adolescence is often associated

with teenage years, identity work is increasingly occurring during "emerging adulthood"

years (Arnett, 2000), and 3) due to a variety of reasons, youth in Africa enter school at

varying ages and may participate in traditional adolescent and transitional experiences at later

ages. This population was selected because this age range is capable of recall and can

reconstruct and analyze the immigration experience providing valuable insight on both the

immigration experience and the acculturation process.

Sample characteristics. Participants were recruited through a community group

serving the Ugandan population of greater Los Angeles. Community leaders initially assisted

in recruitment, followed by snowball sampling. Snowball sampling led to the inclusion of

participants from the greater Southern California region. The final sample included English

speaking females aged 16-25 years who immigrated to the US at the age of 8 years or later

and self-identified as Ugandan. Participants had been in the US as long as 11 years and as

little as 6 months. The majority of the participants were students (high school n=6, college

level courses n=9, graduate school n=1), with only 4 women in the general workforce).

Data Collection. A total of 28 interviews with 20 participants and 100 hours of

community observation were the primary data collection strategies. Additionally, participants

were observed during interviews, and field notes were taken on non-verbal cues and

reactions, the physical setting, material elements, and other dynamics of the interview setting.

Observations are a commonly used data collection strategy in qualitative research

methodologies. Field notes were taken and integrated into analytic memos. Memos provided

a place to explore the conceptual connections between codes, categories, and themes (Corbin

& Strauss, 2008). Pseudonyms were assigned for all participants. I engaged in over 100 hours

of participant observation at Ugandan community events, including settings such as church

gatherings, community picnics, community holiday celebrations, and the annual Ugandan North American Association conference that is the annual opportunity for Ugandan diaspora to engage in discussions of current events and issues pertinent to Ugandans living abroad. This year was the second year they hosted special sections for youth and college aged young adults making it an excellent setting for observation and concept verification.

Analysis

Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously, as per the tenets of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Data collected through interviews and observations, along with field notes and memos were analyzed using DA (Kools et al., 1996; Schatzman, 1991) and progressively focused on the significant salient data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Initial interviews were transcribed and coded chunk-by-chunk resulting in open codes. In early analysis, or the data expansion phase of DA, these codes are concerned with description and identification. Questions such as, "What is the situation? What is going on?" were used to code. In addition to coding, memo-writing was used as an analytic tool to track the developing conceptualizations and decisions.

First interviews were compared with second, and with all subsequent transcripts, utilizing the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Continued data collection via theoretical sampling was done to examine, elaborate and saturate the emerging dimensions. These emerging areas of salience were integrated into future interviews for further development and verification. This resulted in a "critical mass" of dimensions (similar to theoretical saturation where there is the lack of emergence of any new information) and the analytic focus shifted from data expansion to data limitation. In later analysis, or the differentiation phase of DA, a matrix was used to consider which dimensions

and concepts had the greatest explanatory power (Schatzman, 1991). All dimensions were given the opportunity to be elevated to the status of the highest order perspective. All other dimensions were then arranged as either context, process or consequence and the full model was evaluated for its ability to explain the phenomenon. The final phase of data integration was selecting the framework or matrix that had the greatest explanatory power (Kools et al., 1996; Schatzman, 1991). Through this iterative process and construction of subsequent levels of dimensionalizing, an understanding of the phenomenon and theoretical integration resulted in an initial grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Kools et al., 1996; Schatzman, 1991). While Grounded Theory asks 'What is the basic social process underling the phenomenon?' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), DA asks the question, "What all is involved here?". DA does not necessarily identify a single basic social process (Kools et al., 1996; Schatzman, 1991), but instead aims to understand a phenomenon in terms of its parts, attributes, interconnections, context, processes and implications (Schatzman, 1991).

Mechanisms to Ensure Rigor

In qualitative work intended for all audiences, it is important to be as transparent and clear as possible in our language, assumptions, and goals throughout design, communication with participants, and reporting (Belgrave, Zablotsky, & Guadagno, 2002). One advantage of utilizing Constructivist GT approaches is the role of the researcher is clear in that it is central, explicit and integral to the product that is produced. DA specifically aims to be transparent and clear by articulating in detail the analytic procedures that lead to theoretical 'emergence' (Schatzman, 1991). These are attributes of the approach that help to establish a level of rigor in the methods. However, standards of rigor are challenging in qualitative research as it requires the incorporation of rigor, subjectivity, positionality and creativity (Johnson,

Roberts, & Worell, 1999). Issues considered for this dissertation include representation, reflexivity and theoretical verification.

Representation and Reflexivity. Representation is central in qualitative research and refers to how we represent our participants. Constructivist GT and DA specifically, present analysis as perspectival, meaning it is socially constructed and is co-created by the researcher and participants (Kools, 2008). Therefore, an assumption of this work is that one can never fully represent another from what is interpreted as their perspective; all "voices" are mediated by the researcher. Effort were made not to reach beyond the data and draw conclusions that were unsubstantiated. Findings are presented as preliminary and evolving. Since it is presented as tentative, further discussion will lead to additional situated tentative knowledges and understandings. Using tentative language as an end product of research may well represent the future of GT as scholars and critics decide what gets published and accepted as 'evidence'.

A second central element of qualitative research is reflexivity, or the relationship a researcher shares with the world he or she is investigating. Clarke (2007) contends that a researcher's history and experience is "intellectual wallpaper", and is beneficial to research as long as it is acknowledged. Also known as researcher positionality, what influences researcher's work is often described in publications as the researcher's experiences (ie. student, faculty, life events), their perspectives (ie. feminist, critical social theorist), their relationship with participants, their shared experiences with participants (ie. similar background, or life event) or their familiarity with the environment (ie. employee at research site). When addressed in publication, this type of information allows readers to judge the possible influence and impact of the researcher on the study process and outcomes (Reeves,

Kuper, & Hodges, 2008).

Reflexivity was addressed by three approaches in this dissertation: contextualizing my interest and experience with the culture of the participants at the time of interview, memo-writing and journaling. At interviews, I initially addressed the fact that I as the PI am not of African descent, but that I have extensive work in the region of interest that allows me a degree of cultural awareness and sensitivity. I offered a brief description of my research interests and my history of working in East Africa in order to establish trust and rapport with the participants. This was intended to facilitate participant disclosure and create a space for participants to share their stories (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2007; Karnieli-Miller, Strier, & Pessach, 2009).

Memos and journaling were additional tools used to address reflexivity. Memos are an ideal space for researchers to address reflexivity, or the relationship he/she shares with the world he or she is investigating, Memos were the primary tool for analytic discussions between the myself and my academic advisor and served to keep analytic dialogue open. A research journal was an additional means of approaching reflexivity- it was a space to track self-exploration, personal responses to study engagement, and differentiating between my clinical and personal experiences and the grounded field data. Acknowledgement of reflexivity in my data based publications is necessary and includes elements such as my position as a doctoral student, as a nurse, as a feminist, as a constructivist, as a female, as having experience in East Africa, etc.

Theoretical Verification. In this research, theoretical verification was the goal as opposed to validation of findings. The processes of peer debriefing and informal member checks worked to establish the trustworthiness of the data (Lincoln, 1985). Peer debriefing

took part in the form of discussions with experts on East African culture, such as female community leaders. Informal member checking was done to clarify emerging dimensions with participants. If meanings were unclear, this was addressed through additional interviews with different participants for elaboration, in repeat interviews for clarification, or through verification with community gatekeepers or content experts; re-engaging participants is a form of member-checking and strengthens the trustworthiness and accuracy of the findings (Karnieli-Miller et al., 2009). A final strategy to enhance theoretical verification was the use of an advisory panel of community adults to check interpretations and theorize.

References

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood. A theory of development from the late teens

through the twenties. *The American Psychologist*, *55*(5), 469–480.

Belgrave, L. L., Zablotsky, D., & Guadagno, M. A. (2002). How do we talk to each other?

Writing qualitative research for quantitative readers. *Qualitative Health Research*, *12*,

1427–1439.

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla, *Acculturation:*

Theory, models, and some new findings (pp. 9–25). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: an*

International Review, *46*(1), 5–68.

Berry, J. W. (2006). Acculturative stress. In P. T. P. Wong & L. C. J. Won, *Handbook of*

multicultural perspectives on stress and coping (pp. 287–298). Dallas, TX: Spring.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *Ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and*

design. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W.

Damon & R. Lerner, *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 1: Theoretical models of*

human development (5 ed., pp. 993–1023). New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. (2006). The bioecological model of human development.

In W. Damon & R. Lerner, *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 1: Theoretical models of*

human development (6 ed., pp. 793–828). New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. Denzin

& Y. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 509–535). Thousand

Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Clark, A., & Friese. (2007). Situational Analysis: Going Beyond Traditional Grounded Theory. In K Charmaz and A Bryant, *Handbook of Grounded Theory* (pp. 694-743). London: Sage.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Dickson-Swift, V., James, E., Kippen, S., & Liamputtong, P. (2007). Doing Sensitive Research: What Challenges Do Qualitative Researchers Face? *Qualitative Research*, *7*(3), 327–353.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Johnson, N., Roberts, M., & Worell, J. (1999). *Beyond Appearance: A New Look at Adolescent Girls*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Karnieli-Miller, O., Strier, R., & Pessach, L. (2009). The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *8*(1), 54–63.

Kools, S. (2008). From heritage to postmodern grounded theorizing: Forty years of grounded theory. In N. Denzin, J. Salvo, & M. Washington, *Studies in Symbolic Interactionism* (Vol. 32, pp. 73–86). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Kools, S., McCarthy, M., Durham, R., & Robrecht, L. (1996). Dimensional analysis: Broadening the conception of grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research*, *6*(3), 312–330.

Lincoln, Y. S. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE.

Reeves, S., Kuper, A., & Hodges, B. D. (2008). Qualitative research methodologies:

ethnography. *British Medical Journal*.

Sawyer, S., Afifi, R., Bearinger, L., Blakemore, S., Dick, B., Ezeh, A., & Patton, G. (2012). Adolescence: a foundation for future health. *Lancet*, *379*(9826), 1630–1640. doi:10.1016/s0140-6736(12)60072-5

Schatzman, L. (1991). Dimensional analysis: Notes on an alternative approach to the grounding of theory in qualitative research. In D. R. Maines, *Social organization and social process*. New York: Aldine DeGruyter.

Steinberg, L. (2005). Cognitive and affective development in adolescence. *Trends in Cognitive Science*, *9*(2), 69–74. doi:10.1016/j.tics.2004.12.005

The Search Institute. (2007). *40 Developmental Assets*. Minneapolis, MN: Search Institute.

United Nations Conference on Women. (1995). *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing*. New York: United Nations.

White, J., & Klein, D. (2008). *Family theories* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

World Health Organization. (2001). *The second decade: Improving adolescent health and development*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Developmental Processes of First Generation East African Immigrant Youth:

A Review of the Literature

Introduction

Adolescence represents a crucial period for development including identity formation, role development, interpersonal relationships and health beliefs and behaviors. Immigrant youth are often exposed to new and conflicting norms resulting in unique challenges and opportunities for development. Racial and ethnic minorities represent a sizable minority in the United States (US) with the US foreign-born population reaching nearly 40 million, or 13 percent of the total population (Gambino, Fitzwater, & Trevalyan, 2014). However, the health status and unique needs of the growing African immigrant populations are relatively unexamined in comparison with other immigrant groups (Shepard, 2008; Siegel, Horan, & Teferra, 2001). Scholars of immigration have particularly identified the needs of immigrant youth as a priority area for health research (Hyman, 2007; Perreira & Ornelas, 2011; Venters & Gany, 2009). Identifying and understanding the factors that contribute to the development of African immigrant youth allows for the identification of their unique strengths and risks, all of which contribute to fostering resilience, promoting competence, and providing youth with a sense of capability throughout positive development.

Focusing on this specific group is important for at least 3 reasons. First, there is simply a lack of research about the health of African immigrants to Western countries (Shepard, 2008; Siegel et al., 2001). Existing literature tends to focus on individual pathologies such as parasitic diseases, HIV, or immunization coverage, and little is known about developmental processes. Second, an overview of the issues that this unique group brings to adolescent research, practice and policy-making is needed. Understanding the acculturation journey, the resources and barriers in certain social contexts, and developmental strengths and risk factors impacting adolescence can help to provide a

foundation for overall health promotion. And perhaps most importantly, the normative processes of immigrant and minority adolescents has not been emphasized in developmental science (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) nor the existing racial and ethnic inequities in access and care (Hyman, 2004). To challenge mainstream assumptions and expand existing understandings, the purpose of this literature review is to explore the developmental processes of first generation East African immigrant youth.

This review will layout a background of this population and the methods used. Studies under review will then be presented in topical area, followed by critique of the whole body of literature. Limitations of the literature including content gaps and methodological issues will be addressed, concluding with future directions for research.

Current Demographics of the African Immigrant Population

The American Community Survey reports that of the approximately 1.6 million African immigrants living in the US, 28.9% are East African (Gambino et al., 2014) and 10.6% are under the age 18 (Grieco et al., 2012). Information on specifically how many youth are living in any one geographical region is difficult to estimate; many demographers and scholars piece together information, such as maternal language reported in school census data, to estimate how many young people live in a certain area. These methods show the census greatly underreports students of African origin (Curry-Stevens, 2013).

The overall African immigrant population has substantially increased from the year 2000, when the foreign-born population from Africa was 0.7 million (Schmidley, 2001) and over one-third came to live in the United States in 2000 or later; over 78% entered in 1990 or later (Grieco et al., 2012), meaning this is a very new immigrant community in the US. Compared to other foreign-born populations in the US, and consistent with the idea of

selective migration, the African born population in the US is highly educated. Over 46% are high school graduates and 41.5% have a bachelor's degree or higher (Gambino et al., 2014). Seventy percent speak English well or fairly well (Gambino et al., 2014; Grieco et al., 2012; McCabe, 2011), and 75% are in the labor force (Grieco et al., 2012). In 2009, Africans also reported higher household incomes than other foreign born populations (Grieco et al., 2012). However, there is likely a large range of characteristics within this population as these estimates include refugee populations who have very different socio-demographic profiles than their immigrant peers who arrived through voluntary migration channels.

In many ways, this immigrant group looks very different from other immigrant populations in the US in terms of recency of immigration, socio-demographic profile, and migration channel. Various factors encouraging recent African emigration include political instability and corruption in the countries of origin (Gordon, 1998; Takyi, 2002; Thomas, 2011), educational opportunities in the receiving countries (Takyi, 2002), deteriorating socioeconomic conditions in Africa (Adepoju, 1991), and lack of African economic development (Djamba & Kimuna, 2012; Gordon, 1998). These various migration determinants uniquely shape this group's experience in the US.

Methods

Study Selection Criteria

The integrative review allows for diverse methodologies (i.e. experimental and non-experimental research designs) to be included and contribute to expanding our understandings of a phenomenon (Whittemore & Knafl, 2005). EG searched for peer-reviewed, empirical research published since 2000 that addressed developmental processes in first generation, East African immigrant adolescents aged 10-24 years, who immigrated

through voluntary channels. Non-empirical articles including literature reviews, commentaries or theoretical articles were excluded. Only English language articles were included. There were no limits placed on study design or outcomes measured. This review included studies of East African immigrants to western societies including North America, New Zealand/Australia and Scandinavia.

Africa has fifty-five recognized countries and more than one billion people. Amongst these countries, there are differences in culture, ethnicity, race, traditions, economic viability, and socio-cultural factors that have a significant impact on adolescent development. Therefore, to create culturally informed theory, even individual country specificity is insufficient; within each country there are regional differences. However, due to minimal literature and the modest numbers of each cultural and ethnic group in western societies available and willing to participate in research, it is reasonable at this stage to look at core similarities within regional groups based on borders, language origin, current political status and colonial history.

The East African region includes twenty United Nations designated territories: Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mayotte, Mozambique, Reunion, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (United Nations, 2011). Studies were included if they had samples from at least one of these countries. It is important to note that many of the studies identified through the search strategy sampled Somali youth populations. Inclusion of this specific immigrant group may complicate understandings as the findings are reported in terms of Somalis as an ethnic immigrant group, though this group is largely made up of refugees- even if they are not identified as such (Kiteki, 2011). Although young immigrants

and refugees share the newcomer role and experience, their pre-migration and resettlement experiences likely differ markedly. This search excluded articles with a sole focus on the refugee experience. Therefore, studies utilizing Somali-only samples will not be discussed. This search also excluded articles with a sole focus on pathology and individual diseases; healthcare access and utilization studies; and those with African samples where findings could not be differentiated by country or region.

This review will use the term "youth" and will extend the World Health Organization (World Health Organization, 2001) definition of "adolescent" from 10-19 years to include ages 10-24 years. This extended age group is appropriate as it 1) encompasses the biological and social transitions historically associated with adolescence (Sawyer et al., 2012), 2) while adolescence is often associated with teenage years, identity work is increasingly occurring during "emerging adulthood" years (Arnett, 2000) and therefore should be included, and 3) due to a variety of reasons, youth in Africa enter school at varying ages and may participate in traditional adolescent and transitional experiences at later ages. Finally, while efforts are made to integrate developmental literature from and about East Africa, a detailed and thorough examination of the developmental science and literature published in and about East African youth is beyond the scope of this review.

Data sources and searches

Pubmed, PsychInfo, Web of Science, ProjectMuse, and the Social Science Index databases were searched December 18, 2014. The lay press including BBC, allafrica.com, and Google were used to identify grey literature and journals such as *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* and *Journal of Adolescent Health* were hand searched. The reference lists of relevant articles were searched for additional articles. Search terms joined by the

AND operator included 1) adolescent or adolesc*, youth, young person, or young adult*, 2) Africa, East Africa, or specific country name 3) immigrant, foreign born black, or African born, 4) adolescent development, or risk/protective factor, or positive youth development.

Study selection

S.K. advised on all aspects of this integrative review. E.G. conducted the search, screened for relevant articles and abstracts and hand searched reference lists for additional articles. E.G. evaluated the full texts for inclusion and S.K. reviewed discrepancies. Nine articles were deemed eligible for inclusion.

Data collection and synthesis

Data were collected in an author-generated data collection form. Findings were coded and categorized and then grouped thematically. Data were synthesized using the constant comparison method where the data is extracted and compared, grouped and then thematically compared (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Findings within each theme were reported using a narrative approach.

Methodological Rigor

Data collection strategies of the studies reviewed included interviews, focus groups, observations, and cross sectional surveys. The use of standard tools for rating methodological quality based on known threats to validity and reliability for qualitative studies is contested (Dixon-Woods, Shaw, Agarwal, & Smith, 2004; Mays & Pope, 2000). Therefore, due to heterogeneity of study designs, with 66% [n= 6/9] of included studies being qualitative studies, methodological rigor was not assessed, nor used as exclusion criteria. Study design, sampling strategy and sample size are reported in Table 1 to allow readers to view the sources of the data and assess risk of bias in the study findings.

Results

Study characteristics

Nine studies were identified for review (Table 1). One study was published in a journal specific to adolescent research, while all of the others were published in journals of education, social work, minority and intercultural periodicals, and psychiatric/other health journals. Three types of studies were found: 1) Empirical qualitative research using interviews and focus groups (n=6), 2) quantitative cross-sectional survey analyses (n=2), and mixed designs (n=2). East African countries included in at least one study are Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Sudan, and Rwanda. Findings were classified into major themes including the impact of acculturation on various processes and contexts, identity development, and gender specific issues.

Acculturation and its Impact on Development

A main theme and concentration of research on East African youth populations is acculturation, the potential subsequent acculturative stress and its impact in various contexts (family, school, peers, and the larger society). Acculturation refers to a multidimensional process consisting of changes that occur psychologically, socially, individually, and within a group as a result of the confluence of practices, values and identifications of both the heritage culture and the host culture (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010) Immigrants facilitate their own settlement in host societies by adopting, rejecting and/or retaining aspects of their heritage and host cultures to varying degrees. Known as assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization (Berry, 1980), these acculturation styles likely vary according to the circumstances of migration (Schwartz et al., 2010), and the magnitude of difference between the heritage and host culture.

Family Acculturation. Increasingly studies examine acculturation in the broader family system, recognizing that acculturation is a family process with each member potentially at a different point or on his or her own unique acculturation trajectory (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011). In research on East Africans, there is a focus on adolescent-parent relationships, cultural values of families, family interdependence, and intergenerational cultural conflict.

Stuart, Ward, Jose, and Narayanan (2010) point out that intergenerational conflict is a normal part of western developmental processes (developing independence and asserting autonomy), but not a normal part of African developmental processes (where the focus is on interdependence and the group). Therefore, when intergenerational family conflict is seen in East African immigrant families, is it merely a differing pace of acculturation between parent and child, known as dissonant acculturation? Or is it an integration of western developmental processes? These researchers found that normative adolescent-parent conflict issues include media, manners, money, clothing, housework, and antisocial behaviors, while those tied to migration include cultural adjustment, cultural maintenance, change in family dynamics, relationships, education, and links with extended family. However, these issues are likely not mutually exclusive and migration may exacerbate otherwise normative issues.

In fact, a challenge in immigrant youth research is determining which issues are normative issues for youth in a specific culture, and which are due to migration. A study of Ethiopian immigrant youth in Toronto, Canada hoped to tease that out by utilizing a comparison group in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to examine levels and predictors of emotional problems (Beiser et al., 2012). Ethiopian youth living in Toronto reported higher levels of emotional problems, parent-child dissonance, more perceived discrimination, and higher self-

esteem. Interestingly, the list of predictors (poverty, dissonance related to ethnic way of life, perceived prejudice, perceived discrimination, self-esteem) accounted for more variance in Addis Ababa than in the Toronto sample. This indicates that due to the low explanatory power of these variables, additional variables should be included in the future, such as pre-migration context and stresses, the quality of parent–child relationships in Canada, social networks, neighborhood effects, and collectivist family values.

In Africa where a collectivist philosophy generally prevails, obedience to parents and dependence, family loyalty, and obligation are the norms throughout childhood and adolescence and respect for elders is expected. Parents and youth from Ghana, Nigeria and Zambia (Scott, 2003) and Rwanda, Senegal and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013) reported tensions in their family due to the lack of respect for elders that African youth learn from their peers and enact at home. Other tensions reported by youth from Zimbabwe and Uganda in New Zealand included the lack of privacy and trust from parents and conflicts regarding male-female relationships (Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayanan, 2010). Parents felt spatial privacy was a western ideal incongruent with their own cultural ideals and that relationship practices in New Zealand were one of the most significant points of contrast between the traditional ethnic and religious expectations and the wider host societal norms (Stuart et al., 2010).

While certain family dynamics and roles may change and start to become more like those of the host society, one study in Montreal comparing a Canadian control group to a sample from Rwanda, Senegal and the Democratic Republic of Congo reported the Africans had difficulties in identifying what a normal family looks like in Canadian society with the high rates of divorce and blended families (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013). The lack of a clear

family model led to difficulties in understanding the future of their own family model in this new setting. The Canadian youth were more likely to describe their family life as unstable and described independence as their ultimate goal in becoming an adult, whereas the African youth and parents felt their families and roles were based on a collectivist style of upbringing. The African youth understood their family structure to be based on hierarchy between generations and reported parental unions and relationships were of great importance. They reported pressure to get educated and perform well at school, but also highlighted the strength of the parent-child relationship well into young adulthood- a striking difference from the Canadian sample. The nuclear families of the African sample remain closer than the Canadian sample, despite both their individual and family acculturation into the larger host society.

Difficulties in maintaining African values while also working not to jeopardize their children's integration was a major concern of this same sample of parents from Rwanda, Senegal and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013). They worried that they were creating a tense home environment for their children due to their own tasks of integration such as finding a job, a home, managing financial constraints and dealing with disappointments. Youth exposed to the host culture through school and peers may acculturate more quickly than their parents in some regards, such as in their use of language, expressions and idioms further compounding a parent's frustration (Scott, 2003). This is an important reminder of how within a family, individuals have their own acculturation trajectory and the dissonance between family members can have a negative impact.

While the research largely focuses on the tensions and conflicts, one exception is a study that examined the positive aspects of family in acculturation (Stuart et al., 2010). A

community based participatory qualitative research project of harmony and social support in families from Zimbabwe and Uganda in New Zealand found evidence of growth in family communication and mutual support following migration. Despite some tensions, families had a number of areas upon which they agreed, including 1) importance of cultural maintenance, 2) rejection of antisocial behaviors (smoking, drinking and drugs), and 3) the importance of education. Compromise, change, and flexibility were expressed as ways to adjust to new demands on their family.

Acculturation in School and with Peers. School is one of the key institutions structuring the social pathways of adolescence (Crosnoe & Johnson, 2011) and one of the initial exposures to the host society where East African immigrant youth experience certain tensions. Positive findings related to East African students in school include the way students have banded together to be a supportive community for each other (Njue & Retish, 2010) and the involvement of parents and the high value placed on education (Njue & Retish, 2010; Stuart et al., 2010). In an Ethiopian and Somali sample, teachers favorably compared African students to other racial and ethnic groups within the school, reporting high expectations and describing them as "more respectful," "more prepared to learn," and "more teachable" (Njue & Retish, 2010).

Regarding academic performance, a study of Ethiopian and Somali high school students found the African students followed a national performance trend where minority students perform poorly relative to other groups (Njue & Retish, 2010). However, the study also reported that the African-born subset of the African American group performed much higher than other foreign-born subsets of minority groups. Researchers hypothesized this may have been due to fewer English language barriers and higher overall incoming

educational level as immigrants (Njue & Retish, 2010). This suggests the academic potential of this group may be quite high.

A greater focus in the research is on the tensions experienced at school. For example, Bitew & Ferguson (2011) found that African students have a fear of speaking out due to the risk of getting made fun of for their accent and youth reported not participating in class due to their respect for their teacher, whom they saw as an elder (Bitew & Ferguson, 2011). Their cultural assumption was that questioning a teacher would be disrespectful. Others found there is a perception of African students as quiet and passive so as not to draw attention to themselves; youth from Uganda and Zimbabwe reported the difficulties they had learning to use their voice in the classroom (Stuart et al., 2010). Additionally, for a sample from Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia, the perception of peers and low expectations of staff powerfully affected students' self-esteem (Scott, 2003). African youth reported that constantly being misunderstood lowered their self-esteem and eventually led to them keeping silent in an effort to avoid being laughed at in class. Both parents and youth reported they felt the school counselors expected so little of the students academically that students were frequently put in lower level courses and were not encouraged to challenge themselves academically. Parents had to advocate for changes in curriculum or college planning.

A grounded theory study of an Ethiopian immigrant group in Australia reported a wide range of cultural differences that have an impact for youth in school (Bitew & Ferguson, 2011). Teachers felt the impact was greatest for recent arrivals, while parents stressed the greatest negative effects were those related to the cultural differences pertaining to respect for elders and teachers. Tensions for youth resulting from cultural differences that were related to worldview, values, and interpersonal relationships had more of an impact on

acculturation than tensions related to skills, competencies and social behaviors needed to succeed. For example, learning to question a teacher in the school setting challenged the core value of respecting elders, creating more tension than changing dress or eating habits, which many East African youth did in order to assimilate (Bitew & Ferguson, 2011).

Acculturating into an Individualistic Society. All of the tensions discussed above depend on what group and/or place the immigrant youth is trying to penetrate. A culturally diverse school will differ from a homogenous school where the student may be minoritized. In acculturation theory, this is referred to as the *context of reception* (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006)*.* For East African immigrant youth, one aspect of the context of reception is the striking cultural differences in the societal orientation of the US as highly individualistic, meaning the focus is on independence and individual needs. In addition to cultural differences regarding relationships with and treatment of elders, other examples showing the competing societal norms include a sample of Ethiopian immigrant youth who, in comparison to Australian host peers, felt a great deal of responsibility to help family, to send remittances to family remaining in Ethiopia, and to eventually visit Ethiopia- sentiments reflecting their collectivist roots (Bitew & Ferguson, 2011). Consistent with a preference for group action, opinion and dependence, other studies showed East Africans were more likely to rely on friends and family for help with resettlement rather than government services where accessibility and language barriers were issues (Scott, 2003). Others sought help from church groups, guidance counselors, or sports and recreation programs. Youth from Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia all identified the best assistance option to be the creation of a buddy system of newcomer youth with established immigrants (Scott, 2003).

Identity Development

Studies are increasingly addressing identity development in immigrant populations. However, the various dimensions of the construct *identity* (for example, racial, ethnic, gender, religious, sexual) may differ based on cultural and contextual differences and must be imported from the US or other Western literature bases to Africa and African populations with caution. One study in East Africa found support for using the constructs of ethnic identity, although they reported considerable doubt regarding the appropriateness of the measures citing unacceptable internal consistency and factor structures in some of the scales used (L. R. Johnson, Kim, & Johnson-Pynn, 2012). Researchers must be careful to not overlay Western theoretical perspectives on African experiences and instead should strive to look at the issues from an emic perspective (Mamah et al., 2013). In the following studies, adolescent identity development is inclusive of racial, ethnic, and academic identities as well as role development and the transition to adulthood. No research on sexual identity development was located.

Racial and Ethnic Identities. Ethnic identity refers to shared culture (Phinney, 2003) and is not always considered separately from a racial identity. East African youth leave their country of origin with an intact ethnicity, such as Kenyan, Oromo, even African. Upon arriving in a racialized society such as the US, immigrant youth are faced with the task of determining how to classify themselves and may be considering their racial identity for the first time. The transition from being in the majority ethnic and racial groups to becoming an ethnic and racial minority is a challenge that is linked to acculturative stress, conflict, and decreased self-esteem (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

In a study with a sample from Ghana, Nigeria, Zambia and the Caribbean, students and parents perceived teachers and counselors as expecting less from black students, whether

they were African or Caribbean. Students and parents described racial stereotypes such as how the black students were encouraged to take non-academic courses and to focus on sports. Most often the perceived message from guidance counselors was that the student did not have the ability to go very far academically (Scott, 2003). This was described as negatively impacting the students' self-esteem.

Conversely, a sample of Kenyan, Tanzanian and Ugandans college students reported a low awareness of racism in comparison to an African American sample. This remained unchanged regardless of their length of stay; suggesting that their previous status as racial majority and new status as racial minority did not greatly impact their personal awareness of racism. The duration of time in the US at the data collection point may have impacted this finding as this college population was made up of individuals who had been in the US as little as six months. They may not have had sufficient time or exposure to impact their awareness of racism. The sample reported that their new racial minority status made their ethnicity more salient, meaning they were connected to other Africans and to an 'African identity' that included a commitment to academic achievement. Researchers suggest this aspect of their racial and ethnic identities is largely responsible for their academic success compared to African American peers and question whether it will diminish over time as they acculturate thereby placing them at risk academically (Wambua & Robinson, 2012). Therefore, there is a high value placed on cultural maintenance, and recommendations of what schools and social organizations can do to support the cultural identities of Africans was a key implication for Wambua and Robinson (2012). Their sample of Kenyan, Ugandan and Tanzanian young adults stressed the importance of schools providing physical and

psychological spaces to support connectedness to African culture allowing for youth to not "acculturate too much".

Academic Identity. Assimilation into the educational system of a new country has been found to be a challenge for African immigrant youth (Teranishi, Suarez-Orozco, & Suarez-Orozco, 2011). A central aspect of the academic identity of African youth was the high value placed on education by parents and youth alike (Curry-Stevens, 2013; Hersi, 2011; Njue & Retish, 2010; Stuart et al., 2010; Wambua & Robinson, 2012). Many African parents arrive highly educated and are very involved in their children's education (Curry-Stevens, 2013; Hersi, 2011; Njue & Retish, 2010). Additionally, compared to other immigrant groups, African immigrants have been found to have fewer English language barriers (Njue & Retish, 2010) which has contributed to the resiliency of immigrant students (Hersi, 2011). Further, a supportive school context has positively impacted immigrant students' academic achievement (Hersi, 2011).

East African refugees however, often experience education disruption or come from countries where education was not available to all female youth. These opposing academic profiles have complicated the development of an academic identity for young East Africans. Peers and teachers may not have had an understanding of the circumstances of immigration (Curry-Stevens, 2013; Scott, 2003) and therefore, may have had incorrect expectations of the immigrant students. For example, difficulties and tensions arose when students who speak English in their native country were placed in English Language Learning programs and were considered non-English speakers due to vocabulary, dialect or accent (Scott, 2003).

Academic identity was also impacted by academic placement. Concerns have been reported regarding how placement was based on age and not on ability or placement test

scores (Curry-Stevens, 2013; Scott, 2003). This can result in students being placed in grades where they are covering content they have already learned, or the opposite end of the spectrum where the African students are grossly under prepared for the curriculum. Some communities and school districts have addressed the latter situation by suggesting interventions such as a year of support where students are in an academic environment that is individualized (Curry-Stevens, 2013; Hersi, 2011), adding African staff, counselors, and teachers, which provided cultural perspectives in the education of African students (Curry-Stevens, 2013), and development of their own English Language Learning department with a bilingual course load, test prep, tutoring, mentoring, and internships (Njue & Retish, 2010).

Role Development: Transition to Adulthood. The events and transitions that symbolize the entry into adulthood vary across cultural groups, and some work has looked at how these transitions and the role of adult is defined by East African youth. A study of Rwandan, Senegalese, and youth from the Democratic Republic of Congo found differences between the way these African youth and a Canadian comparison group defined what becoming an adult meant to them (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013). Reflecting their collectivist values, African youth, particularly males, identified adulthood as containing the obligations of reciprocity to family in their home countries, manifested in the responsibility to succeed in their studies, get a good job, and send remittances. These ideas of adulthood as shaped by responsibility and obligation differed drastically from Canadian youth whose definition of adulthood was based on establishing independence from the family, specifically from their parents. All participants felt that becoming an adult was not about age, but certain experiences and situations of taking responsibility. Both groups emphasized finances; African youth felt they had to make money and provide for others, while Canadian youth felt

they had to earn and take care of themselves (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013).

Again, these findings might look very different for youth who immigrate at younger ages together with their family. Many youth emigrate later in adolescence to obtain a US education, but with a goal of returning to their home country. These motivations and the timing of immigration likely impact their perceptions of their role as an adult. In fact, a study of college-aged youth from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda found that length of stay *did* influence their role perceptions, academic goal orientations, and 'potential future selves' (expectations for what they would become in the future and what they were afraid of becoming). Students who had been in the US longer reported more balanced views of their potential future selves (Wambua & Robinson, 2012).

Gender

Studies utilize gender as a variable to tease out issues and tensions that may differ based on gender. Wambua & Robinson (2012) found that gender did not influence college age students' goal orientations and future expectations. Mondain and Lardoux reported that generational conflicts differed by gender with behavior and performance at school being primary sources of conflict for young African men, whereas freedom to go out with friends and style of dress were the primary sources of conflict for young women (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013). These African youth also described closer relationships with their female parent and described their fathers as the severe and authoritative parent, whereas Canadian youth ascribed the disciplinarian profile to their mothers.

Gender-specific tensions were addressed in Bitew and Ferguson's examination of cultural differences between Ethiopian and Australian young people (2011). Ethiopian students described the Australian females provocative style of dressing as distracting in

school; parents echoed this sentiment stating their dislike of the clothes of female Australian youth. A gender-based conflict described by teachers was the problem in socialization between boys and girls (Bitew & Ferguson, 2011). They found the restricted gender stereotypes of Ethiopia influenced the young people's social roles at school with members of the opposite sex, specifically the way Ethiopian boys treated both Ethiopian and Australian girls and their inability to find boundaries in their relationships. The researchers hypothesized that the competing gender structures of the home environment and school environment likely created confusing norms for the immigrant youth.

Both parents and youth age 12-18 from Uganda and Zimbabwe identified tensions related to romantic and sexual relationships (Stuart et al., 2010). While the cultural impact of gender on sexual behavior and development is not well understood, the parents in this sample reported their rules regarding dating were meant to protect their cultural values and their child's wellbeing. However, the young people in the study felt the rules were enforced because their parents did not trust them. This was more of a problem for females than males and young people reported the lack of trust and ability to date and have relationships resulted in isolation from peers and a disconnect from parents. Female participants reported they hid relationships for fear of being chastised.

Discussion

Acculturation

The acculturation strategy known as 'integration' (Berry, 1980; 2005), 'enculturation' (Weinreich, 2009), or 'segmented assimilation' (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996) refers to the adoption of some host culture elements and the maintenance of others from their heritage culture. East African youth seem to be practicing this acculturation strategy with certain

aspects such as learning to speak out in the school setting while retaining reputations as respectful and high achieving students. The degree to which students acculturate and what promotes a greater level of acculturation may be related to pre-migration contexts and stresses, the quality of parent–child relationships, social networks, neighborhood effects, and collectivist family values. Further, cultural differences related to worldview, values, and interpersonal relationships had more of an impact on acculturation than tensions related to skills, competencies and social behaviors needed to succeed. Gaining an understanding of what elements of their culture are part of their 'surface structure' (dress, ethnic labels) compared to their 'deeper structure' (values, beliefs, norms) (Resnick, 2000) will make known to those interacting with these populations what adaptations may be culturally appropriate and acceptable in different social contexts. The cultural differences associated with instrumental issues such as language learning, dress and diet may be less problematic than the more complex cultural aspects of worldview, values and interpersonal relationships. Helping students to address conflicts related to their 'deeper structure' may be a positive way to approach conflicts related to cultural differences.

Family and cultural values that youth associate with their parents, grandparents, and heritage culture are referred to as 'traditional values.' Most studies report the differences between these values and those of the host society create conflicts between generations and between home environments and other social contexts such as school. Familial conflict can be due to timing as well. Dissonant acculturation between a young person and their parents is experienced by many immigrant groups; intergenerational cultural conflict is not true for African immigrant youth alone (Fuligni, 1998; Lee, Su, & Yoshida, 2005). A central concept discussed across this literature is how the collectivist worldview affects many aspects of the

lives of African youth and their values. Hofstede's cultural value index reports on the degree of individualism a society maintains, that is, whether people's self image is defined as "we" or "I" (Hofstede, 2001). East Africa is considered a collectivist society where commitment and loyalty is to the 'group' (family, extended family, or other). This is quite different than an individualist society where the focus is on independence and individual needs. The US has one of the highest individualistic society scores (Hofstede, 2001), creating a host environment that confronts East African youth with a potentially conflicting space in which their developmental processes take place following migration. For youth, these two philosophies collide and create a less clear set of values and worldviews upon which to base their expectations and experiences. Understanding how adolescent developmental processes are impacted by this worldview is essential.

Studies reviewed suggest traditional values and family support may function as a protective factor for East African youth, such as the emphasis on education and the rejection of antisocial behaviors such as alcohol use and drugs. It is unclear how family and other cultural values may serve as protective factors and whether this is true for all ethnic subgroups and how it changes over time as young people and families integrate into Western Society.

Identity Development

The initial literature search returned limited results in the areas of identity development (ethnic, racial, religious, sexual and gender), self concept (self-esteem and sense of future self), impact of family structure and role change, and contextual factors in different social contexts that are risk and/or protective factors for identity development.

Concepts of racial and ethnic identity that were captured in the literature include perceived racial discrimination, awareness of racism, and perceptions of ethnicity. East African immigrant youth are transitioning from a majority to a minority racial and ethnic (and possibly religious) status and their awareness of racism and/or perceived discrimination and how each affects their developmental processes must be examined. It is important to consider how these factors vary with other contextual variables such as, age at arrival, gender, pre-migration experiences and expectations, and the nature of the environment/neighborhood they resettled in as each of these aspects likely affects perceived discrimination and awareness of racism differently. For example, Wambua and Robinson's finding that recently arrived East African college students have a low awareness of racism is consistent with research finding that awareness of racism is incorporated into development of racial ethnic identity by early-mid adolescence (Quintana & Segura-Herrera, 2003), which suggests that studying younger adolescents might illuminate the complexities of the changes to a racial ethnic identity in different ways than studying college aged students.

East African youth have specific challenges in both their ethnic identity formation as young Africans now balancing their heritage culture and host culture, and in understanding how others perceive their race and ethnicity. A young person may self identify by country, tribe or clan and yet, in the US, they often fall under the larger umbrella category of 'African American' or 'black'. This racial identity was largely found to have a negative association, while their ethnic identity provoked positive stereotypes such as being a hard worker, valuing education, and being respectful- a finding confirmed in adult East African samples (Boise et al., 2013; Guenther & Pendaz, 2011) and Caribbean born black immigrants (Benson, 2006; Waters, 1994).

East African students have certain resources that positively impact their school experience. Unlike other immigrant groups, the African born population in the US is highly educated, reports placing a very high value on education, and has fewer English language barriers. However, they face unique challenges in formulating their academic identity in the face of the misunderstandings and stereotypes that others have about African American students, African students, and refugee students. East African students must navigate these conflicting academic profiles and establish themselves as students. It may be especially important for immigrant youth to establish a positive academic identity in middle and early high school to ensure successful entrance and completion of post secondary education (Fuligni & Witkow, 2004). Providing accurate placecments and supports, especially in the first year, may be key to maintaining long term acadmic success.

East African youth may have different experiences and stresses that they associate with the age range known as emerging adulthood and the transition to adulthood. Familial obligations and financial responsibilities are a central concern. As those who were raised in a collectivist culture and immigrated as children and young adolescents transition into adulthood, emerging adulthood will continue to be an area to address. The incorporation of two important factors will impact this area of study particularly: 'Length of stay' and 'age at arrival' are both critical factors to include in immigrant youth studies and studies of developmental processes. These were seldom examined in the studies reviewed.

As increasing numbers of East African youth immigrants arrive during the critical period of identity development, studying the intersection of identity development with variables such as gender, perceived discrimination, and age at arrival, together with important socio-demographic characteristics such as social class will yield valuable

information for understanding the acculturation trajectory for these youth. This type of work is progressively growing in the international community, although it is suggested from intercontinental European studies that while the structure of identity development is similar across countries, identity processes differ such as societal expectations, timing of certain role transitions (Schwartz, 2012). Outside of Western Europe, an Israeli research group may provide a model for future research through their extensive and growing body of work on identity and family functioning of Ethiopian and former Soviet Union youth (A. Mana, Orr, & Mana, 2009; Romi & Simcha, 2009).

Gender

As issues tied to gender and gender roles impact youth in school, at home, and with peers, it is crucial to examine how this might affect East African immigrant youth in their role development, sense of self and sexual behaviors. This is relevant for both males and females. Gender role conflict is also seen as it pertains to the parents of African immigrant youth as family structures change as parents face challenges in transferring credentials (Curry-Stevens, 2013) and mothers who were previously homemakers may now be in the workforce (Djamba & Kimuna, 2012). Gender-based analysis and examination of the intersection of gender and identity and acculturation will help clarify such issues and processes (Salehi, 2010).

Other gender specific findings from studies <u>in</u> East Africa that may shape the attitudes and views of young immigrant women include exposure to intimate partner violence at a prevalence ranging from 25-48% (Roman & Frantz, 2013), and experience with rape as a common occurrence with forced sexual initiation rates as high as 40% in Kenyan females aged 12-24 (Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003) and 29% in Tanzanian females aged 12-19 (Krug,

Dahlberg, & Mercy, 2002).

Implications for Research

Substantive Gaps and Recommendations. Mental health is often studied as an outcome in African immigrant populations due to the potential for acculturative stress. Acculturative stress directly results from the acculturative process, resulting in stress behaviors such as anxiety, depression, marginalization, alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptoms, and identity confusion (Crow, 2012). Majid's explanation of African immigrants vulnerability to certain mental illness lies in the exposure to the stress of migration, culture change, racial prejudice, and discrimination (1992). Unfortunately, the majority of studies found sampled primarily adult (Fenta, Hyman, & Noh, 2004; Hofstede, 2001; Kibour, 2001), or Somali populations (Hofstede, 2001; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Oppedal, Roysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005; Scuglik & Alarcon, 2005). Further studies outside the Somali culture will help to confirm the hypotheses that are forming regarding the protective cultural aspects (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Oppedal et al., 2005) and will start to expose specific factors that may be relevant to other East African populations. Overall, the picture of mental health issues in East African immigrants is unclear. It is a dynamic issue that intersects with acculturation, varying social contexts, gender, generation, and potentially many other variables. Additionally, an examination of the cultural relevance of mental health constructs, terms and diagnoses that are used in these studies is needed to ensure the validity of the findings (L. R. Johnson et al., 2012; Mamah et al., 2013).

An additional area for further research is the study of peer group interactions within the social context of school. School is a logical place to study this population and while there are some studies on education and school environment, the majority of these studies utilize

Somali populations only. Further, while the general immigrant literature provides wide evidence of an immigrant health effect or advantage (Hyman, 2001; Singh & Miller, 2004; Stephen, Foote, Hendershot, & Schoenborn, 1994), it is unclear if this advantage persists over time (Hyman, 2001; 2007; Singh & Miller, 2004; Singh & Siahpush, 2001; Stephen et al., 1994; Uretsky & Mathiesen, 2007), and in immigrant *youth* studies, findings related to a health advantage are inconsistent and often conflicting (Hyman, 2001; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). In African *adult* populations, multiple studies have suggested that African immigrants have a health advantage in comparison to other immigrant groups and US born black adults (Elo & Culhane, 2010; Hamilton & Hummer, 2011). Further research in this area for African youth is needed.

Finally, it is unclear what the impact and role of globalization is on the current generation of youth immigrants. The influence of Western cultures, technology and media in the countries of origin is vastly different for youth today than previous immigrant generations and varies from country to country (Blum, 2007). In the US today, it is increasingly easy to use an app to communicate globally free of charge, place international phone calls, or obtain culturally desirable cooking ingredients. How this impacts or affects the acculturation and developmental processes of this population of youth immigrants needs further exploration.

Methodological Gaps and Recommendations. Methodological issues in the literature base include the grouping of Africans with other foreign born black populations and with African Americans by utilizing the non-specific demographic categories leaves no opportunity to demarcate diversity and results in country or region specific data being limited, often unavailable, and makes findings difficult to interpret and compare (C. Arthur & Katkin, 2006; J. Arthur, 2000; Beyene, 2000; Curry-Stevens, 2013; Venters et al., 2011). A

further issue is the inconsistent use (or lack thereof) of terms such as refugee, involuntary immigrant, and voluntary immigrant. It is important to recognize that of the literature reviewed, many are reporting on findings of ethnic groups that may in fact be refugees and that label or variable is not accounted for in analyses. Lastly, in terms of recruitment, Africans are frequently recruited through the use of registries identifying "African" names or from "African neighborhoods" (Beiser et al., 2012; Siegel et al., 2001), which may result in missed participants.

Approaches to studies of East African youth are evolving in important ways. Adolescent health research is transitioning from traditional individual risk reduction and deficit-based models to those emphasizing the broader developmental needs of youth (Catalano et al., 2012; Pittman, 1993). Studies of immigrant populations need to follow suit as typically, acculturation has been conceptualized in a stress-dysfunction paradigm. There is a need for exploring both protective and risk factors and how they interact with various cultural contexts; research within a positive youth framework will make known factors that are unique to these populations, instead of examining only factors and theoretical concepts that have been identified in the host country (Mmari & Blum, 2009; Mmari & Sabherwal, 2013).

Additionally, the inclusion of families as a unit for analysis would benefit research with East African populations. As noted, some studies in this review did use additional perspectives such as those of parents, teachers, and community members to increase understandings (Bitew & Ferguson, 2011; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Stuart et al., 2010), but only one (Stuart et al., 2010) explicitly examined familial processes of acculturation. Studies involving families as the unit of analysis are necessary given the

collective family structure that is central to many African cultures. The protective aspects of this structure as well as the tensions and conflicts it creates could be made clear through the study of family units. Also, with increasing numbers of Africans qualifying to sponsor other family members, the family re-unification route is the fastest growing immigration channel (Thomas, 2011). As more intact families and more extended family members arrive, it may become possible through inclusion of families in research to understand the impact of collectivist family structure on youth and developmental processes.

Limitations

Overall, there is very limited literature that discusses the developmental processes of first generation East African immigrant youth. The primary use of cross sectional quantitative studies, and qualitative studies that interview participants only once, or conduct fieldwork over a brief period shows the literature is in the initial stages of its own development. The majority of the research reported on small purposive samples. All of the quantitative studies described the scales and measures as validated for cross-cultural use in general. However, the appropriateness of their use with *this* cultural population was also questioned (Wambua & Robinson, 2012). With some exceptions (Beiser et al., 2012; Bitew & Ferguson, 2011; Stuart et al., 2010; Wambua & Robinson, 2012), the majority did not identify a theoretical framework or underpinnings. Similarly, most did not address researcher reflexivity, although much of the research is cross-cultural and would benefit from a discussion of the researcher's place in the work; exceptions include Bitew and Ferguson (2011). The qualitative studies were not as clear in their methodology as the quantitative studies. Authors of qualitative studies identified thematic analysis (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013; Scott, 2003), and grounded theory (Bitew & Ferguson, 2011; Stuart et al., 2010) as

methods of analysis, although often the entire methodology was referred to vaguely as qualitative or interpretive. In general there was a lack of methodological description with minimal details of analysis (Curry-Stevens, 2013; Hersi, 2011; Njue & Retish, 2010) and sampling/eligibility (Mondain & Lardoux, 2013). Finally, due to heterogeneity of study designs with a large percentage (two-thirds) qualitative, traditional tools for measuring methodological quality were not appropriate. Therefore, the findings are based on studies with varying methodological rigor. However, reviews of qualitative studies rarely use methodological quality as exclusion criteria (Atkins et al., 2008).

Conclusion

The African immigrant US population has increased more than 40 fold since 1960 (McCabe, 2011). However, the health status and unique needs of the African populations are relatively unexamined in comparison with other immigrant groups (Shepard, 2008; Siegel et al., 2001). This review makes clear that there is much to be learned about the intersection of adolescent developmental processes and various contextual factors of migration and East African immigrant youth. Moving forward, it is essential to address the methodological flaws discussed above and transition from epidemiological studies with one data collection timepoint, to more rigorous methods with multiple data collection timepoints and validated instruments and scales in order to identify culturally appropriate factors at play in adolescent development. Rigorous, qualitative research with well-articulated methods is needed to capture the nuances and provide rich descriptions of the complex phenomena in this field of research. Utilizing positive youth development frameworks and the inclusion of families in research may help to make known the unique strengths and challenges of this immigrant group that contribute to healthy development across social contexts.

References

Adepoju, A. (1991). South‑North Migration: The African Experience. *International Migration*, *29*, 2.

Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood. A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *The American Psychologist*, *55*(5), 469–480.

Arthur, C., & Katkin, E. (2006). Making a case for the examination of ethnicity of Blacks in United States Health Research. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, *17*(1), 25–36. doi:10.1353/hpu.2006.0017

Arthur, J. (2000). *Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diasporas in the US*. Westport: Praeger.

Atkins, S., Lewin, S., Smith, H., Engel, M., Fretheim, A., & Volmink, J. (2008). Conducting a meta-ethnography of qualitative literature: Lessons learnt. *Bmc Medical Research Methodology*, *8*. doi:10.1186/1471-2288-8-21

Beiser, M., Taa, B., Fenta-Wube, H., Baheretibeb, Y., Pain, C., & Araya, M. (2012). A comparison of levels and predictors of emotional problems among preadolescent Ethiopians in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and Toronto, Canada, *49*(5), 651–677.

Benson, J. (2006). Exploring the Racial Identities of Black Immigrants in the United States. *Sociological Forum*, *21*, 219–247.

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla, *Acculturation: Theory, models, and some new findings* (pp. 9–25). Boulder, CO: Westview Pr.

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*, 697–712.

Beyene, Y. (2000). Potential HIV Risk Behaviors among Ethiopians and Eritreans in the

Diaspora: A Bird's-Eye View. *Northeast African Studies*, *7*(2), 119–142.

Bitew, G., & Ferguson, P. (2011). The Ethiopian Adolescent and the Effect of Cultural Difference on Immigrant Students' Learning. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, *5*(1), 1–16.

Blum, R. (2007). Youth in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *41*, 230–238.

Boise, L., Tuepker, A., Gipson, T., Vigmenon, Y., Soule, I., & Onadeko, S. (2013). African refugee and immigrant health needs: report from a community-based house meeting project. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships : Research, Education, and Action*, *7*(4), 369–378. doi:10.1353/cpr.2013.0045

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In W. Damon & R. Lerner, *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 1: Theoretical models of human development* (6 ed., pp. 793–828). New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Catalano, R. F., Fagan, A. A., Gavin, L. E., Greenberg, M. T., Irwin, C. E. J., Ross, D. A., & Shek, D. T. L. (2012). Adolescent Health 3 Worldwide application of prevention science in adolescent health. *Lancet*, *379*(9826), 1653–1664. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60238-4

Chao, R., & Otsuki-Clutter, M. (2011). Racial and Ethnic Differences: Sociocultural and Contextual Explanations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *21*, 47–60. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00714.x

Crosnoe, R., & Johnson, M. K. (2011). Research on adolescence in the twenty-first century. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *37*(1), 439–460. doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150008

Crow, K. (2012). Acculturative Stress. In S. Loue & M. Sajatovic, *Encyclopedia of Immigrant Health* (pp. 153–154). USA: Springer Science+Business Media.

Curry-Stevens, A. (2013). *The African Immigrant and Refugee Community in Multnomah County: An Unsettling Profile*. Portland, OR: Portland State University.

Dixon-Woods, M., Shaw, R. L., Agarwal, S., & Smith, J. A. (2004). The problem of appraising qualitative research. *Quality & Safety in Health Care*, *13*(3), 223–225. doi:10.1136/qhc.13.3.223

Djamba, Y., & Kimuna, S. (2012). The Labor Force Participation and Earnings Gap among African Immigrant Women in the U.S.A. *International Migration and Integration*, *13*, 481–501. doi:10.1007/s12134-011-0218-0

Elo, I. T., & Culhane, J. F. (2010). Variations in Health and Health Behaviors by Nativity Among Pregnant Black Women in Philadelphia. *American Journal of Public Health*, *100*(11), 2185–2192. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2009.174755

Fenta, H., Hyman, I., & Noh, S. (2004). Determinants of depression among Ethiopian immigrants and refugees in Toronto. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, *192*(5), 363–372.

Fuligni, A. J. (1998). Authority, autonomy, and parent-adolescent conflict and cohesion: a study of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, Filipino, and European backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, *34*(4), 782–792.

Fuligni, A. J., & Witkow, M. (2004). The Postsecondary Educational Progress of Youth From Immigrant Families. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *14*(2), 159–183. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2004.01402002.x

Gambino, C., Fitzwater, J., & Trevalyan, E. (2014). *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2008-2012* (No. ACSBR/12-16). Washington DC: U.S.: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Reports. Retrieved from

http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/acs/acsbr12-16.pdf

Garcia Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in Minority Children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Gordon, A. (1998). The New Diaspora-African Immigration to the United States. *Journal of Third World Studies*, *15*(1), 79–103.

Grieco, E., Acosta, Y., Patricia de la Cruz, G., Gambino, C., Gryn, T., Larsen, L., et al. (2012). *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2010, American Community Surveys Reports*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.

Guenther, K. M., & Pendaz, S. (2011). The Impact of Intersecting Dimensions of Inequality and Identity on the Racial Status of Eastern African Immigrants. *Sociological Forum*, *26*(1). doi:10.1111/j.1573-7861.2010.01226.x

Hamilton, T. G., & Hummer, R. A. (2011). Immigration and the health of U.S. black adults: Does country of origin matter? *Social Science & Medicine*, *73*(10), 1551–1560. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.07.026

Hersi, A. A. (2011). Immigration and resiliency: unpacking the experiences of high school students from Cape Verde and Ethiopia. *Intercultural Education*, *22*(3), 189–202.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Hyman, I. (2001). Immigration and health. In *Health Policy Working Paper Series*. Canada:

Health Canada.

Hyman, I. (2004). Setting the stage: reviewing current knowledge on the health of Canadian immigrants: what is the evidence and where are the gaps? *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, *95*(3), I4–8.

Hyman, I. (2007). Immigration and health: Reviewing evidence of healthy immigrant effect in Canada. In M. Doucet, *CERIS Working Paper Series*. Toronto: Joint Center of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

Jejeebhoy, S., & Bott, S. (2003). Non-consensual sexual experiences of young people: A review of evidence from developing countries. In *Regional Working Paper Series*. New Delhi, India: Population Council.

Johnson, L. R., Kim, E. H., & Johnson-Pynn, J. S. (2012). Ethnic identity, self-efficacy, and intercultural attitudes in East African and US youth. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *27*(2), 256–289.

Kibour, Y. (2001). Ethiopian immigrants' racial identity attitudes and depression symptomatology: An exploratory study. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *7*, 47–58. doi:10.1037//1099-9809.7.1.47

Kiteki, B. N. (2011, May 1). *Acculturation and Psychosocial Adjustment of African Adolescent Refugees in the United States: The Role of Social Support*. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, NC.

Krug, E., Dahlberg, L., & Mercy, L. (2002). *World report on violence and health*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization.

Lee, R., Su, J., & Yoshida, E. (2005). Coping with intergenerational family conflict among Asian American college student. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *52*(3), 389–399.

Liebkind, K., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000). Acculturation and Psychological Well-Being among Immigrant Adolescents in Finland A Comparative Study of Adolescents From Different Cultural Backgrounds. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *15*, 446–469. doi:10.1177/0743558400154002

Mamah, D., Striley, C. W., Ndetei, D. M., Mbwayo, A. W., Mutiso, V. N., Khasakhala, L. I., & Cottler, L. B. (2013). Knowledge of psychiatric terms and concepts among Kenyan youth: analysis of focus group discussions. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *50*(4), 515–531. doi:10.1177/1363461513499809

Mana, A., Orr, E., & Mana, Y. (2009). Social representations, social identity, and inter-group acculturation theories: An integrative model of adolescent immigrant identity construction. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *149*(4), 450–473.

Mays, N., & Pope, C. (2000). Assessing quality in qualitative research. *British Medical Journal*, *320*, 50–52.

McCabe, K. (2011). *African Immigrants in the United States*. Washington D.C: Migration Policy Institute.

Mmari, K., & Blum, R. (2009). Risk and protective factors that affect adolescent reproductive health in developing countries: a structured literature review. *Global Public Health*, *4*(4), 350–366. doi:10.1080/17441690701664418

Mmari, K., & Sabherwal, S. (2013). A Review of Risk and Protective Factors for Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health in Developing Countries: An Update. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *53*(5), 562–572. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2013.07.018

Mondain, N., & Lardoux, S. (2013). Transitions to Adulthood Among First Generation Sub-Saharan African Immigrant Adolescents in Canada: Evidence from a Qualitative Study

in Montreal. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *14*(2), 307–326. doi:10.1007/s12134-012-0240-x

Njue, J., & Retish, P. (2010). Transitioning: Academic and social performance of African immigrant students in an American high school. *Urban Education*, *45*, 347.

Oppedal, B., Roysamb, E., & Heyerdahl, S. (2005). Ethnic group, acculturation, and psychiatric problems in young immigrants. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry*, *46*(6), 646–660. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00381.x

Perreira, K., & Ornelas, I. (2011). The physical and psychological well-being of immigrant children. *Future Child*, *21*(1), 195–218.

Phinney, J. S. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marín, *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 63–82). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Pittman, K. J. (1993). *Youth Development and Resiliency Research*. Washington, DC: Center for Youth Development and Policy Research.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (1996). *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2006). *Immigrant America: a portrait* (3rd ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Quintana, S., & Segura-Herrera, T. (2003). Developmental transformations of self and identity in the context of oppression. *Self and Identity*, *2*, 269–285.

Resnick, M. D. (2000). Resilience and protective factors in the lives of adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *27*(1), 1–2.

Roman, N., & Frantz, J. (2013). The prevalence of intimate partner violence in the family: a

systematic review of the implications for adolescents in Africa. *Family Practice*, *30*(3), 256–265. doi:10.1093/fampra/cms084

Romi, S., & Simcha, G. (2009). Ego identity and perceived family functioning: comparing at-risk native-born and immigrant Ethiopian adolescents in Israel. *Adolescence*, *44*(176), 869–890.

Salehi, R. (2010). Intersection of health, immigration, and youth: a systematic literature review. *Journal of Immigrants and Minority Health*, *12*(5), 788–797. doi:10.1007/s10903-009-9247-6

Sawyer, S. M., Afifi, R. A., Bearinger, L. H., Blakemore, S.-J., Dick, B., Ezeh, A. C., & Patton, G. C. (n.d.). Adolescence: a foundation for future health. *The Lancet*, *379*(9826), 1630–1640. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60072-5

Schmidley, D. (2001). Profile of the foreign-born population in the United States: 2000. In *US Census Bureau*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Schwartz, S. J. (2012). *Identity Around the World*. John Wiley & Sons.

Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., Zamboanga, B. L., & Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation: implications for theory and research. *The American Psychologist*, *65*(4), 237–251. doi:10.1037/a0019330

Scott, J. (2003). English Language and Communication: Issues for African and Caribbean Immigrant Youth in Toronto. In P. Anisef & K. M. Kilbride, *Managing two worlds : the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Scuglik, D., & Alarcon, R. (2005). Growing up whole: Somali children and adolescents in america. *Psychiatry (Edgmont)*, *2*(8), 20–31.

Shepard, R. (2008). *Cultural Adaptation of Somali Refugee Youth*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

Siegel, J., Horan, S., & Teferra, T. (2001). Health and health care status of African-born residents of metropolitan. *Journal of Immigrant Health*, *3*(4), 213–224.

Singh, G. K., & Miller, B. A. (2004). Health, life expectancy, and mortality patterns among immigrant populations in the United States. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, *95*(3), 14–21.

Singh, G. K., & Siahpush, M. (2001). All-cause and cause-specific mortality of immigrants and native born in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, *91*(3), 392–399.

Stephen, E. H., Foote, K., Hendershot, G. E., & Schoenborn, C. A. (1994). Health of the foreign-born population: United States, 1989-90. *Advance Data*, (241), 1–12.

Stevens, G., & Vollebergh, W. (2008). Mental health in migrant children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, and Allied Disciplines*, *49*(3), 276–294. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01848.x

Stuart, J., Ward, C., Jose, P. E., & Narayanan, P. (2010). Working with and for communities: A collaborative study of harmony and conflict in well-functioning, acculturating families. *Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *34*(2), 114–126.

Takyi, B. (2002). The Making of the Second Diaspora: On the Recent African Immigrant Community in the United States of America. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, *26*(1), 32–43.

Teranishi, R. T., Suarez-Orozco, M., & Suarez-Orozco, C. (2011). Immigrants in community colleges. *Future of Children*, *21*, 18.

Thomas, K. (2011). What Explains the Increasing Trend in African Emigration to the U.S.?
International Migration Review, *45*(1), 3–28.

United Nations. (2011). *Standard Country or Area Codes Classifications* (4 ed.). New York,
NY: United Nations Statistics Division.

Uretsky, M. C., & Mathiesen, S. G. (2007). The effects of years lived in the United States on
the general health status of California's foreign-born populations. *Journal of Immigrant
& Minority Health*, *9*(2), 125–136. doi:10.1007/s10903-006-9017-7

Venters, H., & Gany, F. (2009). African immigrant health. *Journal of Immigrant & Minority
Health*, *13*(2), 333–344. doi:10.1007/s10903-009-9243-x

Venters, H., Adekugbe, O., Massaquoi, J., Nadeau, C., Saul, J., & Gany, F. (2011). Mental
health concerns among African immigrants. *Journal of Immigrant & Minority Health*,
13(4), 795–797. doi:10.1007/s10903-010-9357-1

Wambua, J., & Robinson, C. (2012). Possible Selves and Goal Orientations of East-African
Undergraduate Students in the United States. In Z. Bekerman & T. Geisen, *International
Handbook of Migration, Minorities and Education* (pp. 479–496). Springer Netherlands.

Waters, M. C. (1994). Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-generation Black Immigrants in
New York City. *International Migration Review*, *28*, 795–820.

Weinreich, P. (2009). "Enculturation," not 'acculturation': Conceptualising and assessing
identity processes in migrant communities. *International Journal of Intercultural
Relations*, *33*, 124–139.

Whittemore, R., & Knafl, K. (2005). The integrative review: updated methodology. *Journal
of Advanced Nursing*, *52*(5), 546–553. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.2005.03621.x

World Health Organization. (2001). *The second decade: Improving adolescent health and*

development. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Table 1. Literature

Author, Year, Country	Population Studied	Design	N	Sampling	Topic
Beiser, Taa, Fenta-Wube, Baheretibeb, Pain, Araya, 2012, Canada & Ethiopia	Ethiopian boys and girls ages 11- 13 years living in Toronto, and a matched sample in Addis Ababa	Cross Sectional	N= 64 youth in Canada N= 175 youth in Ethiopia	Convenience-snowball sampling. Canadian list compiled from Ethiopian organizations and telephone directory. Participants asked to nominate a relative and friend in Addis Ababa.	Extent to which intergenerational conflict, prejudice, and discrimination are mental health challenges unique to countries of resettlement
Bitew & Ferguson, 2011, Australia	Ethiopian Secondary students, teachers and parents	Grounded Theory	N=36	Purposive snowball sampling for students/parents, Random selection for teachers	Extent to which elements of students' previous cultural background affect perceptions of school experiences
Curry-Stevens, 2013, USA	African population of Multnomah County, OR including 45 % East Africans: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe	CBPR, Mixed Methods (Focus groups, Cross sectional survey, census data review)	Total N not provided. Four focus groups total, 77 surveys	Purposive sample, located through community leaders	Explore lived realities of African population, offers African-specific policy recommendations re: education
Hersi, 2012, USA	Ethiopian High School Student	Case Study	N = 1	Convenience sample	Individual & social factors contributing to resiliency & academic achievement

Mondain & Lardoux, 2012, Canada	Phase 1: Youth & parents, community workers from African associations, educational organizations & health services. Phase 2: Rwandan, Senegalese, Congan, Canadian youth 18-29	Qualitative research (Focus groups & Interviews)	Phase 1: 24 Focus groups, 11 interviews N=16 interviews	Purposive sample, located through community organizations and school board	Experience transitioning to adulthood
Njue & Retish, 2010, USA	Ethiopian and Somalian high school students	Mixed Methods (District data review, interviews, observations)	N=25 Total N=6 Interviews	Purposive sample, located by teacher identification, community contacts	Academic performance and social school experiences
Scott, 2000, Canada	Caribbean, Ghanian, Nigerian and Zambian youth aged 16-24 and parents	Qualitative research (Focus groups)	Total N not provided. Six focus groups total	Purposive sample, located through four social service agencies	Gaps in social programs for youth with chronic unemployment due to communication language skills and other integration barriers
Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayanan, 2010, New Zealand	Adolescents and parents from Asia, Africa (Zimbabwe and Uganda) and Middle East	CBPR, Grounded Theory	N=39, including 11 African parents & 8 adolescents	Purposive sample, located through research assistant's personal networks	Parent-adolescent conflict, harmony, cohesion and social support in families
Wambua & Robinson, 2012, USA	Young people from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda ages 19-30	Cross Sectional	N=175	Convenience sample, located through bulletin board announcement	Relationship among possible future selves and academic goal orientations and how does the relationship vary by racial-ethnic identity and gender

Young Ugandan Immigrant Females:

Conditions that Impact the Process of Identity Development

Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this constructivist grounded theory study was to explore first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and self-development and identify which factors among their social contexts including community, school, family, and peer groups impacted their development. This paper describes conditions that impacted their acculturation and identity development.

Background: The impact of immigration on this population's health is unclear. Existing literature suggests that the acculturation and integration processes for young people and families from East Africa are complicated by family values, interaction styles, and social roles that many times are at polar opposites with those of the US host culture. Insights from these participants were needed to better understand the needs of this population, in order to improve health and development of immigrant adolescents as they become young adults.

Methods: This qualitative study employed Grounded Theory methods. Over 100 hours of community participatory observation and 28 total interviews with 20 participants were primary data collection strategies. Participants were recruited through purposive, theoretical and snowball sampling in a community group serving the Ugandan population of greater Los Angeles. Participants included English speaking females aged 10-25 years, immigrated to the US at the age of 8 years or later, and self-identified as Ugandan. Dimensional analysis, an approach to the generation of grounded theory was used as a primary analytic strategy. In addition to multiple levels of coding, memo-writing was used as an analytic tool to track the developing conceptualizations and decisions and emerging areas of salience were then be

integrated into future interviews for further development and verification. An explanatory matrix was used to consider which dimension and concept best served as the central action and process.

Results: Identity development was chosen as the central perspective of the findings, that is, the dimension with the greatest explanatory power. These adaptations and adjustments led to an altered developmental path for these young women including their beliefs about gender, their ethnic and racial identities, and how they balanced and integrated US culture into their existing understandings and cultural awareness. Conditions that impacted the identity development process include the timing of immigration, Los Angeles and the US as contexts of reception, influential people and social settings primarily including the Ugandan community and school settings, the perceived value of Ugandan cultural maintenance versus the value of adopting certain American traits, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination versus opportunity.

Conclusions: The findings presented represent an in depth consideration of the unique cultural, linguistic, religious, racial, social, and societal attributes of the female Ugandan immigrant youth population and can therefore be seen as an important step in the direction of developing an understanding the developmental assets and risk/protective factors that characterize this specific young immigrant population.

Introduction

Scholars of immigration have identified the needs of immigrant youth as a priority area for health research (Hyman, 2007; Perreira & Ornelas, 2011; Venters & Gany, 2009). Understanding the developmental assets and risk and protective factors that best characterize a well-adjusted immigrant youth can help to provide a foundation for overall health promotion and a successful future. Doing so from an ecological perspective that considers various social settings creates a space for contextual features and their interactions to be explored. This paper presents a component of a larger constructivist grounded theory study that utilized dimensional analysis to explore first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and self-development and identified which factors among their social contexts including their community, school, family, and peer groups that impacted their development. This study used sensitizing concepts from acculturation theory to understand the processes young people are experiencing as newcomers in the United States (US). This paper describes conditions that impacted their acculturation and identity development.

Background

The impact of immigration on the health of African immigrant youth is unclear. Research in other immigrant groups shows that over time in the US, overall health status declines (Hummer, Powers, Pullum, Gossman, & Frisbie, 2007; Landale, Oropesa, & Gorman, 2000). In immigrant youth studies, findings related to a health advantage or decline are inconsistent and often conflicting (Hyman, 2001; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). Breslau et al. (2009) found that in a mixed immigrant sample including an African subgroup, those immigrating before the age of 13 years were more likely to develop American health habits

and see health decline. Therefore, adolescent years may be particularly formidable in the development of future health behaviors.

This study focuses on young women aged 10-25 from the East African country, Uganda. Of the approximately 1.6 million African immigrants living in the US, 28.9% are East African (Gambino, Fitzwater, & Trevalyan, 2014). Los Angeles was the setting for this research as the US metropolitan area with the fourth largest concentration of African immigrants estimated at 68,000 (Gambino et al., 2014); there are no data available on how many of these are young people.

Acculturation theory served as a conceptual underpinning for this study of the health and development of young female Ugandan immigrants. While grounded theory does not use a theoretical framework per se to test relationships between variables, extant theory may be used to inform or sensitize one to a particular social interaction or experience (Bowen, 2006). Sensitizing concepts call attention to certain features and suggest "directions along which to look" (Blumer, 1954, p.7). Acculturation refers to, "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p.149-150). For immigrant youth, acculturation shapes and frames their developmental experience in many ways. Group level acculturation includes physical changes such as new housing or urbanization, biological changes such as different nutritional options, political and economic changes, and cultural changes such as social relationships, values, language, religion, and education (Berry, 1992). Evaluating psychological acculturation entails an examination of an individual's values, attitudes, abilities, and motives (Berry, 1992) or practices, values, and cultural identifiers (Schwartz,

Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010).

A robust body of literature examines acculturation strategies used, outcomes of acculturation, and whether the strategies used affect the outcomes (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). The majority of acculturation literature has focused on adult immigrants, though it is unclear whether findings are applicable to youth (Aronowitz, 1984). In the last 15 years, there is growing application of acculturation theories in youth research (Berry et al., 2006; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Fuligni, 2001; Ghuman, 2003; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Wang, Schwartz, & Zamboanga, 2010).

Existing literature suggests that the acculturation process for young people and families from East Africa is complicated by family values, interaction styles, and social roles that many times are at very polar ends with those of the US host culture (Mondain & Lardoux, 2012; Scott, 2003; Scuglik & Alarcon, 2005; Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayan, 2010). For youth, the individualist society of the US collides with the collectivist society common to African countries (Hofstede, 2001) and creates a less clear set of values and worldviews upon which to base their expectations and experiences (Stuart et al., 2010). In East African youth, acculturative stress, with concomitant mental health problems (Crow, 2012), is found in the contexts of family, school, the wider community and in the individual (Mondain & Lardoux, 2012; Scott, 2003; Stuart et al., 2010). It has also been postulated that acculturation problems, discrimination, identity crisis and stress may be buffered by the maintenance of traditional collectivist family values and perceived parental support (Oppedal, Roysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005).

Studies are increasingly addressing acculturation and identity development in this immigrant group with research in the area of racial and ethnic identities (Amoah, 2014; Scott,

2003; Wambua & Robinson, 2012), religious identity (Basford, Hick, & Bigelow, 2007; Kruizenga, 2010), academic identity (Njue & Retish, 2010; Oikonomidoy, 2007; 2009), and transitioning roles from adolescent to adult (Mondain & Lardoux, 2012; Wambua & Robinson, 2012). Additionally, few studies have addressed gender specific female issues in African youth.

Acculturation and identity development in immigrant youth have typically been conceptualized in a stress-dysfunction paradigm (Oppedal et al., 2005). There is a need for exploring both protective *and* risk factors, and the multitude of contextual factors that interact and impact Ugandan youth. Grounded theory is a particularly useful method for examining concepts that have been under-studied or studied from a singular theoretical perspective (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). As a methodology, it is useful for deriving understandings directly from the data and emphasizes the importance of participants' own versions of reality and the meaning of those experiences. Grounded theory creates a space for new conceptualizations and can lead to greater understandings of their perspectives and the meanings they construct- all of which provides a context for understanding their actions and behaviors.

Methods

Study Design: Dimensional Analysis

The purpose of grounded theory (GT) is theory development that is grounded in or derived inductively from the data and in the experience of social actors (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Dimensional analysis, an approach to the generation of grounded theory, systematically examines social experience by dimensionalizing or breaking down the complexity of a phenomenon into its components or attributes – dimensions—to answer the

question "What <u>all</u> is involved here?" It "regrounds" GT with a substantive and

methodological paradigm, emphasizing its roots in symbolic interactionism with the use of

an explanatory matrix to integrate salient dimensions and their relationships into theory

(Kools, McCarthy, Durham, & Robrecht, 1996; Schatzman, 1991).

Sample

Recruitment and Sampling. The study focused on females because I understand

development to be uniquely structured by gender (White & Klein, 2008). Thus, the purposive

sample was female youth, 10-25 years of age who immigrated to the US after age 8.

Recruiting participants who immigrated after age 8 was reasonable because early

adolescence is the developmental stage where substantial changes in cognitive, physical,

emotional, and psychological development occur (Steinberg, 2005). Including ages 10-25

years encompasses the biological and social transitions historically associated with

adolescence and emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Sawyer et al., 2012).

Sample Characteristics. Participants were recruited through a community group

serving the Ugandan population of greater Los Angeles. Community leaders assisted in

recruitment, followed by snowball sampling. The final sample included English speaking

females aged 16-25 years who self-identified as Ugandan. Participants had been in the US 6

months to 11 years. The majority were students (high school n=6, college n=9, graduate

school n=1), with only 4 women in the general workforce).

Data Collection. Over 100 hours of community participant observation and 28 total

interviews with 20 participants were primary data collection strategies. I engaged in

observations and informal discussion at Ugandan community events, including church

gatherings, community picnics, holiday celebrations, and the annual Ugandan North

American Association conference that is the annual opportunity for Ugandan diaspora to discuss current events and issues pertinent to Ugandans living abroad. There were special sections for youth making it an excellent setting for observation and concept verification. Field notes were taken and integrated into analytic memos.

Analysis

Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Data collected through interviews and observations, along with field notes and memos were analyzed using dimensional analysis (Kools et al., 1996). Initial interviews were transcribed and open coded. In this data expansion phase of dimensional analysis, these codes are concerned with description and identification. In addition to coding, memo-writing was used as an analytic tool to explore the conceptual connections between codes, categories, and themes and track the developing conceptualizations and decisions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Continued data collection via theoretical sampling was done to examine, elaborate and saturate the emerging dimensions. These emerging areas of salience were integrated into future interviews for further development and verification. This resulted in a critical mass of dimensions and the analytic focus shifted from data expansion to data limitation and an explanatory matrix was used. All dimensions were given the opportunity to be elevated to the perspective used to organize the others in an explanatory model, as context, condition, process, or consequence. *Context* refers to the situation or environment in which the dimensions are embedded; *conditions* impact the process by facilitating, blocking, or shaping the actions and/or interactions- the *processes* of the phenomenon; the *consequences* are the outcomes of the processes (Schatzman, 1991). The full model was evaluated for its ability to

explain the phenomenon. The final phase of data integration is selecting the matrix with the greatest explanatory power (Kools et al., 1996; Schatzman, 1991)(see Table 1).

Mechanisms to Ensure Rigor

Dimensional analysis specifically aims to be transparent by articulating in detail the analytic procedures that lead to theoretical 'emergence' (Schatzman, 1991). These are attributes of the approach that help to establish rigor in the methods. In addition, this research considered theoretical verification, representation, and reflexivity. The processes of peer debriefing and informal member checks established the trustworthiness of the data, clarifying emerging dimensions with participants and community leaders.

Representation of participants is central in qualitative research. Constructivist GT and DA specifically, present analysis as perspectival, meaning it is socially co-constructed by the researcher and participants (Kools, 2008). Therefore, an assumption of this work is that one can never fully represent another from what is interpreted as their perspective; all "voices" are mediated by the researcher. Addressing reflexivity, or the relationship a researcher shares with the world he or she is investigating, allows readers to judge the possible influence and impact of the researcher on the study process and outcomes (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). Reflexivity was addressed by memo-writing, journaling, and contextualizing my interest and experience with the culture of the participants at the time of interview. My reflexivity includes my positionality as doctoral student, nurse, feminist, constructivist, white American female, having experience in East Africa, etc.

Findings

The Process of Identity Development

This study aimed to explore youth perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and

development in the context of immigration. Through interviews and observations,

participants identified several processes related to their development including their identity

development, self-awareness and self-development. All of these processes were understood

by the participants in reference to how they occurred in the US as opposed to how it would

have been had they not emigrated. While several dimensions and processes were evaluated in

the explanatory matrix as the central perspective, the dimension with the greatest explanatory

power was the process of identity development. The immigration experience resulted in

several adjustments and adaptations (or lack thereof) made by the Ugandan immigrant

participants. These adaptations and adjustments led to an altered developmental path for

these young women including their beliefs about gender, their ethnic and racial identities,

and how they balanced and integrated US culture into their existing understandings and

cultural awareness. Their experiences were embedded in a specific time and place in history

that includes several contextual features that impacted their experience and subsequent

development including international and US specific discourses on immigration, race, gender

and their intersections; the purpose of their immigration; demographic characteristics

including family structure; and their normative cultural understandings. These contextual

characteristics set the stage for these young people to engage in a developmental process.

This paper focuses on the process of identity development experienced by the young women

and will be interpreted through an analysis of the conditions that facilitated or blocked that

process. Conditions that impacted the process include the timing of immigration, the context

of reception, influential people and social settings, the perceived value of Ugandan cultural

maintenance versus the value of adopting certain American traits, and experiences of

prejudice and discrimination versus opportunity (Table 1). The consequences of identity

development will be described elsewhere.

Table 1. Dimensional Analysis Matrix

Context:	Conditions: (facilitate/block that process)	Process: (Actions/ interactions)	Consequence: (Outcomes)
• Acculturation • Immigrant, race, gender discourses and their intersections • Purpose of immigration • Sample characteristics • Cultural norms • Family structure	• Developmental timing of immigration • Context of reception • Perceived value of Ugandan cultural maintenance vs American trait adoption • Domains of influence • Experiences of prejudice and discrimination vs opportunity	• Identity Develop-ment	• Biculturalism/ • integrated identity • Ethnic and racial identities • Altered understandings of gender roles and expectations

Conditions Impacting Identity Development

Timing of Immigration. Timing of immigration is defined as the age and stage at which young women immigrated. This is inclusive of their cognitive development and their life stage at immigration and interview. This condition informed their expectations, their perceptions of their engagement with US culture and its importance, and opportunities for contact with the US culture.

Participants felt that the timing of immigration was crucial to how well they adapted to life in the US. Participants who immigrated later in their youth (after secondary school or after University) expressed that they benefited from having been in Uganda longer as it grounded them further in their Ugandan culture. They saw those who had immigrated younger as being more in line with second-generation immigrants who were "Americanized". This referred to largely negative qualities including adopting what they considered to be inappropriate styles of dress, lack of respect for elders, and too great a focus on independence.

Participants described a desirable balance between being old enough to be connected to Ugandan culture and their "roots" and young enough to enter the schooling system and benefit from the opportunities it offers in higher education, networking, and socializing. Participants who did not attend high school in the US felt they had a more difficult time learning the college system and accessing resources. They felt some of their challenges could have been mediated by time in the K-12 academic system.

Many felt that immigrating at too young an age put girls at risk for "losing themselves" because as Maria, age 17, explained, young immigrants " 'tend to be more naïve' and when they see something, it's like, 'Oh, that's good, I want that' and 'I want to be like them.' And then…they tend to change a lot". Participants understood identity and self to be fluid at younger ages, whereas immigrating at an older age (16) meant for Maria that "I had the values and they were with me. So it's like you can't take them out of me". Other participants echoed this concept of themselves as fluid or fixed at some point; most identified this as happening around age 12-13 years, but some felt it was much older around age 21. Immigrating at an earlier age meant young women were more influenced by the American culture and were likely to assimilate more completely creating challenging dynamics within families and the wider community. The participants who arrived earlier in adolescence described feeling disconnected from the Ugandan community. One 19 year-old participant who immigrated at age nine said,

> For me it's tough because I got here younger. So I was being raised in one culture, but growing up in another. I had grown up to love and live with the American culture and know the American culture more than I knew the Ugandan culture itself…within the Ugandan community it's really hard 'cause, there, I'm seen as an outsider. I'm seen as American rather than Ugandan. So on their part it's hard to accept somebody like me who's a peer because they don't think I understand the culture, which maybe I don't to the extent that they do.

Further, early adolescence is the time in Uganda when most young people transition from living at home to a boarding school. For Ugandan youth, this transition represents more than just age or changing schools. It is a time when Ugandan youth mature, gain independence, and are responsible for themselves outside their parent's home. One participant explained that for "people who come before they're in Secondary school [high school] that's seen as like- those are still children".

Other timing influences included how much time the participants had been in the US and developmental stage, including the role participants play in their family (one participant came pregnant, some came as children to parents, others came and arrived into extended family networks but were quite independent). Also of importance was where the participant was in terms of schooling and employment when they arrived and at the time of interview. Participants who were students described high levels of interaction with American culture, whereas those who stayed at home as caretakers or were looking for work described the isolation and lack of opportunity to learn about the US. A 22 year old woman who immigrated last year said,

> The thing about me – I keep myself at home and I do hair- mostly I'm used by Ugandans, you know? So I can't say [about interaction with Americans], because I've not yet had any experience.

The varying degree of interaction with American culture impacted the ways in which participants came to understand what American culture is, how their Ugandan culture is similar and dissimilar, and ways to integrate or balance the two.

Context of Reception. The *context of reception* is what acculturation theory refers to as the group and/or place the immigrant is penetrating upon arrival (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). Three features of the context of reception for this sample shaped their integration

experiences and include specific ways Africa and Africans are represented and perceived in the West, particularities of the Los Angeles area as a geographical region, and distinct aspects of the US as a host country.

The participants all recognized the way certain rhetoric, language and narratives dominate the way Africa and Africans are represented in and by the West. They described how media portrays the continent through a lens of suffering and depicts its countries as undeveloped, poverty-stricken, and ravaged by war and conflict, with typical representations including young men holding AK47s, a bare breasted tribal woman, and naked dead bodies. They commented on how school-aged peers asked if they lived in huts, or if they saw lions walking down the street. They described the US media as portraying Africans as "backward, like we don't have any technology or we don't go to school".

While initially these responses were hurtful and confusing to some, with time in the US, participants learned to accept these types of statements with humor and expressed a need to educate Americans about their country of origin. Participants cited these experiences of misunderstanding as influential in how their pride in Africa and Uganda developed and how they became committed to being 'advocates' of Africa and making a difference in this perception by being an example of a successful African. The stereotype of Africans held by the Americans set the stage for participants' developmental process by giving them a particular ideal to live up to and/or challenge.

Specificities of the geographical area of the study, the greater Los Angeles (LA) area, impacted the young women's developmental experiences. LA has many ethnic enclaves, including a strong Ugandan community that offers a place and a network for recent and established immigrants. As Connie, age 17 remembered when she first arrived,

> Ugandans kept coming in like, 'Oh, we just heard you guys moved in.' And it was like, they were so friendly. They told me, 'Oh, there is other [Ugandan] kids.' So I was like, 'Okay, so I'm not on my own out here.'

One participant noted the difference between immigrating to an area with an established cultural community and moving somewhere with "no one from home," like the city where she now attends college.

Finally, it is important to note certain advantages participants associated with the US as a context of reception for Ugandan young people including the lack of a language barrier (Uganda's national language is English) and the general perception of African immigrants as hard workers compared to other immigrant groups. Participants repeatedly mentioned how they were able to "fit in" better since they already knew English though they did report difficulties with people not understanding a term they used or their accent. As language can be a central element of acculturation, it is important to note the unique role it plays for these Ugandan youth.

Influences: People, Social Settings, and the Media. Community elders including their parents and social settings including the Ugandan community and the school setting were instrumental in how these young people acclimated and integrated to life in the US. The media also played an influential role in young people's expectations and understandings of the US and their perception of what their friends and family back home expect from them as immigrants. Most participants had lived in Uganda's urban capital that had access to television, movies and internet and the majority acknowledged that their expectations of the US were based on what they saw in various media-- the US as a "perfect world", a place where people had big homes, succeeded, and a land of plenty. As one 17 year-old remembered, "you imagine things you see in movies- so beautiful! You're gonna find these

things falling in the grass". This impacted their adjustment to US life as they attempted to merge their expectations with the reality they found when they arrived which often included cramped temporary living spaces, difficulties with employment, and difficulties adjusting in school. Participants described strained communications with family and friends at home who didn't believe their descriptions of how America "actually is" or understand their inability to send remittances.

All participants described the Ugandan community as a powerful force in shaping their initial immigrant experiences as most were living in geographical proximity to and interacting with the established Ugandan community. Many attended the same churches and participated in the cultural events organized by the Ugandan community. This community served as a welcoming committee, a place to get information, and a resource for understanding American policies and procedures. Young people identified the Ugandan community as a resource for activities such as learning about colleges and how to apply for scholarships. They described how the local Ugandan community hosts church based and community wide events such as picnics and movie nights to provide a place for Ugandan youth to spend time together. While these events seem to be better attended by the younger members, the majority of the participants acknowledged that it is there as a resource and opportunity. The community was described as a place to engage in Ugandan culture: to eat Ugandan cuisine, to participate in holiday traditions, and to speak Luganda, (a common language to many Ugandans from the capital city).

Perhaps more influential than its role as a resource, young people perceived the community elders as having certain expectations. Participants described the importance to the wider community of doing well in school and going to college. A 16 year old expressed the

importance of being perceived in a positive light by community elders and how their

guidance was paramount:

> Some [Ugandan] people…they know how to guide me to the right path, like if
> they see you…like, 'cause everyone in that community is like your family. So like
> if they see you like doing something wrong, then they'll tell you, "Oh, you should
> do this. And of course, you do it.

Older participants felt the community was more influential when they first arrived and were

younger and that its dominance waned as time went on. As participants developed

relationships outside the community (guidance counselors, colleagues, friends), their

dependence on the community lessened. However, one of the older participants explained

this as a consequence of growing up and that she can say as a 25 year old that she has "come

back" to the community after having pulled away during her late teen years and early 20s.

She described her younger peers as not valuing the community and what it has to offer.

Therefore, in this sample, the community's role in the developmental process is one of

support that works as an extended network for better or worse and provides a place for youth

to come and go throughout young adulthood- much like family.

For those immigrating under age 18, school was a social setting that was highly

influential to their development. School was described largely as a positive experience with

involvement in clubs and sports teams and doing well in academic classes. Even when asked

about typically stressful middle school teasing, participants admitted to being teased and that

it was hurtful- but it was also couched as normative. As one participant said, "everyone gets

teased for something- being an immigrant was my 'thing' ".

Influential school experiences were predominantly associated with academic

placement. Most participants described themselves as academically focused, high achieving,

and hard working. There was high value placed on these traits. Many recalled how they were

initially placed into classes that were far too easy academically and how for some this was an opportunity to shine and feel confident. For others it became a struggle to prove they already knew the material and be properly placed in a higher level. Still others were happy to stay in a class where it was academically unchallenging if it meant avoiding awkward social situations such as starting over in new classes with no friends or moving to classes with students of a different age. As one participant explained:

> "The whole point of them [her parents] trying to keep me at the same level was, 'You know, if we take you in an advanced level, you're gonna feel strange. You're gonna be around older kids who are doing older things, and you're just gonna be confused and we don't want you to get lost in that. And so you'd rather stay with your age mates and be really great at what you're doing'.

This emphasis their parents put on ensuring positive socialization influenced how these young women integrated into the school setting and interacted with peers. Participants felt this way of approaching academic placement positively benefited them in the long run as they received high scores, got opportunities to tutor peers and make friends, and got excellent grades that they depended on when applying to college.

Perceived Value of Ugandan Cultural Maintenance versus Adopting American Traits. Another condition that impacted identity development was the way participants balanced and integrated their Ugandan culture with the US culture. Participants' own internal desires to maintain Ugandan cultural values were balanced with external influences and encouragement of the larger community and their parents. Participants were in overwhelming agreement regarding the importance of "holding on to culture" and not "getting lost". Young women see young immigrants as being at risk for losing their cultural roots. When asked what their one piece of advice would be for a young Ugandan woman immigrating to the US, participants answered:

>I would really ask the young people that come to not lose their roots, because most of them lose their roots and lose their language and lose their culture; they lose everything that makes them Ugandan.

As many positive qualities are associated with their Ugandan identity (being respectful, raised well, educated, committed to family and community), young women understood cultural maintenance to be very important and beneficial for their future. It is something they wanted to pass on to their children.

Participants balanced their Ugandan culture with the new American culture they were experiencing. One participant said, "I have some Ugandan things that I like to keep. Then some of them which I don't. And I grew up picking up behaviors from here, too. It's like a mixture." Across the sample, certain Ugandan traits were repeatedly listed in the "Ugandan things I like to keep" category and included religion and respect for God, sense of respect for elders, manners, conservative style of dress, importance of retaining native languages and a value for education. American traits that participants identified as being desirable were a consciousness about health and exercising, being assertive, independent, and seeing women as equal to men.

For some, the issue of balancing the two cultures was not one that was self- driven, but was dictated by parents. One 19-year old participant described how Ugandan parents take the stance of: "I get it you're growing up in one country, but you will be raised like a Ugandan". Many of the frictions reported between the young people and their parents were based in this tension. One participant described how her family expected daily communication and wanted to be included in all of her decision-making while she was away at college. Her solution was to call often and provide brief updates but not solicit advice. She felt this was a balance between her family's need to be involved in her life and her own

desire to be independent. For her, the degree of family involvement that was typical of

Ugandan culture was not an aspect of Ugandan culture that she wanted to keep- though she

respected her family's needs and was willing to accommodate.

Other ways community elders and parents encouraged the maintenance of Ugandan

cultural values and traditions was by encouraging attendance at various Ugandan events,

cooking Ugandan cuisine, speaking native languages, and making clear their disapproval of

certain "American" behaviors. As one participant described:

> Being in Uganda it's like, you have to be respectful, you have to be this, that. And
> when we came here, it's like the kids act different. So, you know, you're picking up
> behaviors and they're [parents and elders] like, "No, you're not supposed to do that."
> You know, like, "Well, why can't I?" Like, "Can I go over here?" "No." It's hard.

For these young women, the issue of cultural maintenance was one of self-discovery

as they matured and realized what aspects of their culture were unique, which aspects did

positive work for them and how their cultural roots were important to them and their future

offspring. It was also an area of tension as parents and the community exercised influence

and made their preferences known. Overall, this sample did not describe extensive conflicts

with parents and elders, though they did feel their elders wanted them to "stay more

Ugandan". In this study, conflict between the generations was noted when youth expected

more freedom, privacy, and independence. However, parents also played a supportive

mediating role between youth and grandparents or elders when the disconnect was even

greater. For the women in this study, other unanticipated barriers to development included

loneliness, isolation, inter-generational conflict, and financial stresses.

Experiences of Prejudice and Discrimination versus Opportunity. Young women

described learning about race, class and gender. Participants reported that while they knew

what race and racism were before immigrating, they did not know the extent to which skin

color continues to play a role in US society and did not expect to find race as a central element of their lives. School-aged participants reported a very quick initiation as they attended schools with varying degrees of racial diversity including predominantly white and Hispanic students with a smaller population of African American students. One participant described attending a private "all white" middle school followed by a more diverse high school; African American students would " always tell me, 'You know, you're speaking white', 'trying to seem white' or 'act white', things like that". For this young woman, things she did in middle school to try to fit in such as adjust her accent or style of dress were associated with "white" culture by African American students in her high school. She expressed her confusion as a teenager at this type of criticism as she felt she was just adjusting to her environment and race was irrelevant. Other participants described experiences of being mistaken for an African American and experiencing discrimination because of that association. For example, one participant described social alienation in school by students of other races because peers assumed she was African American.

> In my high school, like – if you were from Africa, they don't know you're from Africa. They think you're Black. A lot of Vietnamese kids, they'll be like, 'Oh, we cannot be with you. You are African-American!' Because their parent told them 'Oh, don't be with any African-American kids. They're bad, and they don't pay attention in school.' People try to distance themselves. From us, too, because they think we are Black. But we're actually African.

For these young women, it was the first time being a racial minority and being grouped by skin color. Participants described their desire not to be grouped with African Americans because they saw African Americans as a separate cultural group and did not understand why they would be grouped together solely because of skin color. Further, they understood many negative stereotypes are often associated with black students such as being low achievers or less motivated. These stereotypes led participants to distance themselves

from African Americans, both in social interactions and in labels reflecting group membership. For these young women, experiences with race and racism were often complicated by their understandings of African Americans and the dominant discourse in the US portraying African Americans in a negative light.

Participants also had experiences of prejudice and discrimination based on their immigrant status. They described challenges such as being denied jobs because they felt the interviewer did not value their Ugandan work or school experience. One participant said, "[Ugandan education] means something, but you're not gonna compete with the other person who has a certificate, actually, from here". Participants also described learning about the social ladder where different immigrant groups rank in terms of social perception. They described other immigrant groups such as various Central American immigrants as having significant obstacles because they had a language barrier, whereas they felt it was advantageous to identify as African since they were largely perceived as an educated, legal and English-speaking immigrant group. Their understandings of class in the US and its importance shaped the way they perceived themselves in relation to peers and other immigrant groups. It influenced how they defined themselves and their developing perceptions of others. One young woman also described how these experiences with racism and classism shaped her development and focus as a student. She believed that education was the most important thing for young Ugandan women because:

> Being uneducated and also an immigrant, also someone of color, are three things that don't- that aren't really going in your favor in the US. And so you wanna at least be on the same level in a sense as everyone else. And one thing that can help you at least- I mean, I don't think you'll ever really get to be on the same playing field as, say, like a white person. But, at the same time, you can always try. The closer you are, the better. And I feel like you can do that with an education.

This young woman understood race and class to be intertwined with her future prospects and saw education as the only area in which she can exercise control and influence. She cannot change her race or immigrant status so she has taken control over the one area that she can alter- her education. She sees this as a way to have power over her future.

A final area that influenced participants' identity development was the way in which they came to understand how gender functions in the US. For many, by virtue of being in the US and learning US-based gender norms, they were able to more clearly see the gender norms in Uganda. One woman described how her cultural upbringing could take over at certain times and guided her actions:

> I think about things. There are times I would serve people unconsciously or like do things unconsciously. Like I would go to parties and serve men. Just because I was raised that way. But now I'm like… 'You have legs. There's nothing wrong with you. You're not sick. You can get up and get your own plate.'

These women understood their Ugandan upbringing as one that engrained certain gendered behaviors. Time in the US and experiences with women and greater society led to altered understandings and expectations. In the Ugandan context, participants understood gender as a fundamental descriptor that limited opportunity. In the US context, participants described the female role as "open", "free", and "unrestricted".

Many participants felt that immigration to the US changed certain role expectations for women such as the traditional custom of kneeling to elders. She described how moving to the US let her be a different kind of woman than she would have been in Uganda.

> I think being in America, I can stand up on my own and I can be independent and I can um, defend myself. In Uganda…women can't even talk back to their husband because it's disrespect or whatever, and that you need to kneel down and say hello. I've grown up here; I will not kneel for anybody. To me, that's a sign of oppression. So I think growing up here, it definitely makes my life a lot easier and better and way different as a female.

As the young women spent more time in the US, they realized the opportunity afforded them in terms of how their gender impacts their future opportunities and sense of self. As they confronted experiences of race, class and gender, they were able to adapt, adjust and develop their own beliefs and understandings. The conditions described above including the timing of immigration, the 'context of reception', influential people and social settings, the perceived value of selective Ugandan cultural maintenance, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination all acted as levers, as change agents in their developmental processes. These agents helped to sculpt participants' identity development by creating beliefs about what was advantageous, beneficial, superior, and accepted. The outcomes of the developmental process for this sample were 3 specific consequences including their gender identity, their ethnic and racial identity, and their bicultural identity or how they balanced and integrated US culture into their existing cultural understandings, discussed elsewhere.

Discussion

This sample was made up of older female Ugandan adolescents and young adults predominantly from the capital city of Uganda and came from families with moderate to high levels of resources. Participants immigrated either with their immediate family or to join parents or extended family already established in the US. The majority of the participants utilized the US diversity visa as a migration channel. The participants had been in the US 6 months to 11 years. This group is representative of young people that have experienced emigrating from Uganda to the greater Los Angeles area. However, their experiences are not representative of younger adolescents, those who emigrated to other parts of the US, non-English speaking Ugandans, or refugees. Although this study has only begun to explore the perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward development, the findings will be discussed in terms

of their unique conceptualizations as well as fit with existing theory. Additionally,

implications for practical applications and further research are suggested.

Theoretical Significance

This study examined first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth perceptions,

beliefs and attitudes toward health and self-development and identified which factors among

their social contexts including their community, school, family, and peer groups that they

identified as impacting their development. I included the sensitizing concepts in my lines of

inquiry that reflected theoretical ideas from the literature on acculturation including context

of reception, cultural maintenance, and acculturation strategies including biculturalism. Here

I discuss whether, or how far, the findings fit with extant theory.

As youth research has focused on the interaction between development and the young

person's environment, this study's examination of various social contexts and their impact on

this phenomenon is congruent with a classic ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Study findings highlighted specifically the influence of the wider community and school

contexts, while also shedding new light on certain individual level factors. A popular

acculturation theorist, John Berry, identified individual level moderating and mediating

variables existing prior to and during acculturation (Table 2).

Table 2. Individual Factors Impacting Acculturation

Factors Existing Prior to Acculturation	Factors Existing During Acculturation
Age, gender, education, status in home country, motivations and reasons for migration, expectations, dissimilarity between cultures including language, religion, personal factors such as locus of control, self-efficacy and intro/extraversion	Phase or length of time in acculturation process, acculturation strategies used, coping styles, social support, societal attitudes and experiences of prejudice and discrimination (Berry, 1997)

Many of the factors he identified were present for the sample in this study. A major finding

of this study was the influence and impact of family members, family structure, and role in

the family. As Berry did not study young people exclusively, it may explain the omission of family structure and circumstance as a salient factor existing both prior to and during acculturation. Additional new information found in this study includes the impact of globalization in terms of exposure to western ideals and media prior to immigration and not only education, but their specific grade in school (primary vs secondary). An important new finding that impacted Ugandan young people in the US was the degree of diversity in the school setting and perceived future opportunities.

Acculturation theory evaluates the impact of these factors and often seeks to identify specific strategies or ways of acculturating. The acculturation strategy known as 'integration' (Berry, 1980; 2005), refers to the adoption of some host culture elements and the maintenance of others from the heritage culture. Ugandan youth seem to be practicing this integrative acculturation strategy by striving to balance and integrate heritage cultural maintenance and the adoption of dominant cultural norms. Some participants described "two cultures becoming one", while others said, "it's not a balance or anything. It's just there". There does not appear to be one way of integrating and balancing the two. Other theorists have highlighted the need to diversify the typical four acculturation categories including integration, assimilation, rejection and marginalization that are proposed by popular bidirectional approaches. Specifically, LaFromboise et al. (1993) expanded the *integration*, or *bicultural*, category and identified five different kinds of biculturalism (assimilation, acculturation, alternation, multiculturalism, and fusion).

Additionally, acculturation theory has been largely based on the notion that non-dominant individuals and groups (immigrants) have a choice in their participation in acculturative processes. This may not be the case for all adolescents, and certainly not for all

immigrants who are not always free to pursue the acculturation strategy they prefer (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Participants described both their own motivations for maintaining their heritage culture and adopting US culture, but they were also highly influenced by the adults in their lives. Further, Schwartz (2010) proposed an expanded multidimensional model that calls for acculturation to be considered a higher order construct with six distinct components including the cultural practices, values and identifications of both the heritage and host culture. The model allows for the acculturation process to occur at different paces in each domain and recognizes that they are independent, though related (Schwartz et al., 2010). This may be a more appropriate model for use in adolescent studies as it allows for the unique pacing of development in different domains- which is more consistent with developmental science that acknowledges growth may proceed at different rates in various developmental areas within an individual young person (Feldman, 2011).

A final theoretical consideration is how the dissimilarity between the heritage (Ugandan) and host (US) culture impacts adjustment and subsequent development (Berry, 1997). Participants explicitly noted the importance of how language, class, race, dress, academic settings, and religion function in both places. Further, whereas East Africa is considered a collectivist society where commitment and loyalty is to the 'group' (family, extended family, or other), the US is a highly individualistic society (Hofstede, 2001), creating a host environment that confronted these Ugandan youth with a potentially conflicting space in which their developmental processes take place following migration.

Practical Application

Certain measures are appropriate for service providers, program development, and policy development. For those working directly with Ugandan immigrant youth, these

findings may help in understanding the processes and challenges that these youth are experiencing. In particular, new conceptualizations include the importance of family and wider Ugandan community related to development and academic motivation, the dissimilarity between Ugandan and US cultures related to gender and race, and the potential for stress regarding intergenerational conflicts, experiences of discrimination, and difficulties in obtaining jobs and verifying previous employment and education. Providers in education and counseling, community leaders, and parents may all benefit from knowing that these women are predominantly using an integrative approach to acculturation that involves evaluating, learning, and trying on various blends and balances of the two cultures. It has been shown that this integrative approach can lead people to more satisfactory and successful transitions to adulthood (Berry et al., 2006). Therefore, policies and programs should be developed and supported that simulate tight knit communities and social support networks similar to that of their home country in order to both limit cultural loss and allow ethnic identities and ways of living to thrive. Simultaneously, these young people should be encouraged to participate in mainstream society so that they do not experience isolation or alienation. This study highlights how this may be particularly important for Ugandans who immigrate after high school and miss out on the built in opportunity for socialization and resource gathering that schooling provides.

Additionally, educational curricula and policies should be developed that celebrate diversity and inclusion. A critical finding in this study revealed that discrimination will likely be experienced by this population in some form, and these young people need to be aware of its negative effects, given space to discuss their experiences, and learn coping mechanisms

and positive behaviors. Certainly, public policy should work toward a general culture of diversity and equality in order for discrimination to decrease.

Lastly, findings from this study suggest that the structures and presence of the Ugandan community is highly influential for this group. Therefore, organizations and programs seeking to reach this population should work together with the wider community to access this group of young people. Information pertaining to college, financial aid and scholarships may be especially beneficial. Further, understanding the difference between collectivistic and individualistic cultures would afford providers and those involved with this population the needed knowledge in providing care and information for these immigrant youth in a culturally acceptable and appropriate form.

Implications for Future Research

To create culturally informed theory, research should continue to resist treating Africans as a homogeneous group that creates an inexact depiction of the ethnic subgroups and should instead use (culturally or regionally similar) populations- at minimum offering a specific sample description beyond the pan ethnic label "African". Research should continue to explore both protective and risk factors and how they interact with various social contexts; research within a positive youth framework will make known factors that are unique to these populations as the normative processes of immigrant and minority adolescents has not been emphasized in developmental science (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). In the growing African immigrant youth population, it is unclear whether the information on strengths and risk factors currently in practice are applicable. While risk and protective factors were discussed, this study did not highlight specific risk behaviors or include any participants that endured major conflict and rebellion. This could be due to fear of disclosure which prolonged

engagement with the community can address. Further research should aim to purposively gather information on conflict, stress, and negative behaviors and experiences to fully understand the breadth of development.

A critical aspect that impacted acculturation for this sample was not only their age at immigration and interview, but also their developmental stage and cognitive development. Therefore, an important next step for research in this population is the inclusion of specific age ranges that may require sampling for younger adolescents as it has been noted by participants that immigrants who arrive as young adolescents, or the "1.5 generation" (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001) have very different acculturation experiences from other adolescents or adults (Schwartz, Pantin, Sullivan, Prado, & Szapocznik, 2006). Additionally, in publications researchers should be sure to designate the recency of immigration and avoid limited intervals (such as describing sample by "less than or greater than 5 years"). The rapid development occurring in adolescence and young adulthood calls for greater specificity.

Forthcoming research should aim to know as much as possible regarding a vast majority of the factors associated with the society of origin such as status and expectations (Berry, 1997) and should seek to gather a deeper understanding of the moderating and mediating factors impacting acculturation as acculturation pace and options are largely variable and impacted by these personal and circumstantial characteristics (Padilla & Perez, 2003; Steiner, 2009). In all domains, it is imperative to utilize existing terminology to the extent possible and account for its origins and heritage (Rudmin, 2003) in an effort to reduce the conceptual heterogeneity in the field of acculturation theory.

Finally, this study draws attention to the inevitable experiences these young people have and will experience as racial minorities. Additionally, there is a growing body of

research documenting the misconceptions and stereotypes held by Africans and African Americans and the resulting conflicts (Darboe, 2006; Traore, 2003; 2006). Therefore, future research should help black immigrant youth to understand that their negative perceptions of African Americans may not be true and are in fact fed by institutional racism. It will be important for them to understand racism as it will ultimately impact them too, regardless of whether they try to distance themselves from it. Future research should incorporate an anti-oppressive and social justice perspective (Ngo, 2008) and examine how social stigma (Padilla & Perez, 2003) and perceived discrimination and experiences of discrimination (Rudmin, 2009) impact acculturation.

Conclusion

This paper described conditions that impacted identity development in the context of acculturation for Ugandan young people who were newcomers in the US. These included the timing of immigration, the context of reception, influential people and social settings, the perceived value of Ugandan cultural maintenance versus the value of adopting certain American traits, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination versus opportunity. These influenced their identity development and led to alterations in their beliefs about gender, development of their ethnic and racial identity, and how they balanced and integrated US culture into their existing understandings. This study captured not the mean experience of immigrant youth, but starts to describe the range and variation of factors across social contexts affecting development. Awareness of and open dialogue about these factors can serve to build a knowledge base of this growing population for those working and living with this population and bolster future policies and programs with culturally competent, developmentally appropriate, feasible, and effective interventions.

References

Amoah, J. (2014). The Identity Question for African Youth: Developing the New While Maintaining the Old. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, *22*(1), 127–133. doi:10.1177/1066480713505068

Arnett, J. (2000). Emerging Adulthood: A Theory of Development From the Late Teens Through the Twenties. *American Psychologist*, *55*(5), 469–480. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.55.5.469

Aronowitz, M. (1984). The social and emotional adjustment of immigrant children: A review of literature. *International Migration Review*, *18*, 237–257.

Basford, L., Hick, S., & Bigelow, M. (2007). *Educating Muslims in an East African US charter high school*. National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education: Columbia University.

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla, *Acculturation: Theory, models, and some new findings* (pp. 9–25). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Berry, J. W. (1992). Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society. *International Migration*, *30*, 69–85. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.1992.tb00776.x

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: an International Review*, *46*(1), 5–68.

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*, 697–712.

Berry, J. W., & Sabatier, C. (2010). Acculturation, discrimination, and adaptation among second generation immi- grant youth in Montreal and Paris. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *34*, 191–207.

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: an International Review*, *55*(3), 303–332.

Blumer, H. (1954). What is Wrong with Social Theory. *American Sociological Review*, 3–10.

Bowen, G. (2006). Grounded Theory and Sensitizing Concepts. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1–9. Retrieved from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_3/pdf/bowen.pdf

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *Ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Crow, K. (2012). Acculturative Stress. In S. Loue & M. Sajatovic, *Encyclopedia of Immigrant Health* (pp. 153–154). USA: Springer Science+Business Media. doi:10.1007/978-1-4419-5659-0

Darboe, F. (2006). Africans and African Americans: Conflicts, Stereotypes and Grudges. *PSU McNair Scholars Online Journal*, *2*(1). doi:10.15760/mcnair.2006.48

Feldman, R. (2011). *Development across the life span* (6 ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Fuligni, A. (2001). A comparative longitudinal approach to acculturation among children from immigrant families. *Harvard Educational Review*, *71*, 566–578.

Gambino, C., Fitzwater, J., & Trevalyan, E. (2014). *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2008-2012* (No. ACSBR/12-16). Washington DC: U.S.: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Reports. Retrieved from

http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/acs/acsbr12-16.pdf

Garcia Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., Garcia, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in Minority Children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x

Ghuman, P. (2003). *Double loyalties: South Asian adolescents in the west*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hummer, R. A., Powers, D. A., Pullum, S. G., Gossman, G. L., & Frisbie, W. P. (2007). Paradox found (again): infant mortality among the Mexican-origin population in the United States. *Demography*, *44*(3), 441–457.

Hyman, I. (2001). Immigration and health. In *Health Policy Working Paper Series*. Canada: Health Canada.

Hyman, I. (2007). Immigration and health: Reviewing evidence of healthy immigrant effect in Canada. In M. Doucet, *CERIS Working Paper Series*. Toronto: Joint Center of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

Kools, S. (2008). From heritage to postmodern grounded theorizing: Forty years of grounded theory. In N. Denzin, J. Salvo, & M. Washington, *Studies in Symbolic Interactionism* (Vol. 32, pp. 73–86). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Kools, S., McCarthy, M., Durham, R., & Robrecht, L. (1996). Dimensional analysis: Broadening the conception of grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research*, *6*(3), 312–

330.

Kruizenga, T. (2010). Teaching Somali Children: What Perceived Challenges Do Somali

   Students Face in the Public School System? *International Journal of Education*, *2*(1), 1–

   17.

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H.L.K., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of

   biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114*, 395–412.

Landale, N., Oropesa, S., & Gorman, B. (2000). Migration and infant death: Assimilation or

   selective migration among Puerto Ricans? *American Sociological Review*, 888–909.

Mondain, N., & Lardoux, S. (2012). Transitions to Adulthood Among First Generation Sub-

   Saharan African Immigrant Adolescents in Canada: Evidence from a Qualitative Study

   in Montreal. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. doi:10.1007/s12134-

   012-0240-x

Ngo, V. H. (2008). A critical examination of acculturation theories. *Critical Social Work*,

   9(1).

Njue, J., & Retish, P. (2010). Transitioning: Academic and Social Performance of African

   Immigrant Students in an American High School. *Urban Education*, *45*(3), 347–370.

Oikonomidoy, E. (2007). "I See Myself as a Different Person Who [Has] Acquired a Lot ...":

   Somali Female Students' Journeys to Belonging. *Intercultural Education*, *18*(1), 15–27.

Oikonomidoy, E. (2009). The Multilayered Character of Newcomers' Academic Identities:

   Somali Female High-School Students in a US School. *Globalisation, Societies and

   Education*, *7*(1), 23–39.

Oppedal, B., Roysamb, E., & Heyerdahl, S. (2005). Ethnic group, acculturation, and

   psychiatric problems in young immigrants. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry*,

46(6), 646–660. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00381.x

Padilla, A. M., & Perez, W. (2003). Acculturation, Social Identity, and Social Cognition: A New Perspective. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *25*(1), 35–55. doi:10.1177/0739986303251694

Perreira, K., & Ornelas, I. (2011). The physical and psychological well-being of immigrant children. *Future Child*, *21*(1), 195–218.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2006). *Immigrant America: A portrait* (3rd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. (1936). Memorandum for the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, *38*, 149–152.

Reeves, S., Kuper, A., & Hodges, B. D. (2008). Qualitative research methodologies: ethnography. *British Medical Journal*.

Rudmin, F. W. (2003). Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. *Review of General Psychology*, *7*, 3–37. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.7.3.250

Rudmin, F. W. (2009). Constructs, measurements and models of acculturation and acculturative stress. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *33*, 106–123. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.12.001

Rumbaut, R., & Portes, A. (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Sawyer, S. M., Afifi, R. A., Bearinger, L. H., Blakemore, S.-J., Dick, B., Ezeh, A. C., & Patton, G. C. (2012). Adolescence: a foundation for future health. *The Lancet*, *379*(9826), 1630–1640. doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60072-5

Schatzman, L. (1991). Dimensional analysis: Notes on an alternative approach to the grounding of theory in qualitative research. In D. R. Maines, *Social organization and social process*. New York: Aldine DeGruyter.

Schwartz, S., Pantin, H., Sullivan, S., Prado, G., & Szapocznik, J. (2006). Nativity and years in the receiving culture as markers of acculturation in ethnic enclaves. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 345–353. doi:10.1177/0022022106286928

Schwartz, S., Unger, J., Zamboanga, B., & Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation: implications for theory and research. *American Psychologist*, *65*(4), 237–251. doi:10.1037/a0019330

Scott, J. (2003). English Language and Communication: Issues for African and Caribbean Immigrant Youth in Toronto. In P. Anisef & K. Kilbride, *Managing two worlds : the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Scuglik, D., & Alarcon, R. (2005). Growing up whole: Somali children and adolescents in america. *Psychiatry (Edgmont)*, *2*(8), 20–31.

Steinberg, L. (2005). Cognitive and affective development in adolescence. *Trends in Cognitive Science*, *9*(2), 69–74.

Steiner, N. (2009). *International migration and citizenship today*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Stevens, G., & Vollebergh, W. (2008). Mental health in migrant children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, and Allied Disciplines*, *49*(3), 276–294. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01848.x

Stuart, J., Ward, C., Jose, P., & Narayan, V. (2010). Working with and for communities: A collaborative study of harmony and conflict in well-functioning, acculturating families.

International Journal of Intercultural Relations, *34*(2), 114–126.

Traore, R. (2003). African students in America: Reconstructing new meanings of African American in urban education. *Intercultural Education*, *14*(3), 243–254.

Traore, R. (2006). Voices of African students in America: "We're not from the jungle. *Multicultural Perspectives*, *8*(2), 29–34.

Venters, H., & Gany, F. (2009). African immigrant health. *Journal of Immigrant & Minority Health*, *13*(2), 333–344. doi:10.1007/s10903-009-9243-x

Wambua, J., & Robinson, C. (2012). Possible Selves and Goal Orientations of East-African Undergraduate Students in the United States. In Z. Bekerman & T. Geisen, *International Handbook of Migration, Minorities and Education* (pp. 479–496). Springer Netherlands.

Wang, S., Schwartz, S., & Zamboanga, B. (2010). Acculturative Stress Among Cuban American College Students: Exploring the Mediating Pathways Between Acculturation and Psychosocial Functioning. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *40*, 2862–2887. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2010.00684.x

White, J., & Klein, D. (2008). *Family theories* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Claiming or Resisting Group Membership in Young Ugandan Women Immigrants

to the United States:

Differentiation between Racial and Ethnic Identities

Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this constructivist grounded theory study was to explore first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and self-development and identify which factors among social contexts including their community, school, family, and peer groups impacted their development. This paper describes their racial and ethnic identity developmental processes.

Methods: Dimensional analysis, an approach to the generation of grounded theory was used as a primary analytic strategy. Primary data collection strategies were interviews and observations. An explanatory matrix was used to consider which dimension and concept best served as the central action and process.

Results: Participants mobilized language around pride in their country of origin and what they "are". Interestingly, what they "aren't" pervaded these descriptions. Participants activated stereotypes and beliefs of Africans and African Americans as racial and ethnic groups to define themselves, their ethnic label choices, and their group membership. Participants reflected on their racial and ethnic identity in terms of how it impacted their social status and opportunities, and described various ways of embodying and/or rejecting racial and ethnic identities. Factors across various social contexts including community, school, family, and peer group were identified that impacted the transitions in this population's identity development.

Conclusions: Racial and ethnic identity development was impacted by the understandings, choices, and tensions surrounding identity, identity labeling, and the challenging dynamics of racial and ethnic stereotypes. Awareness of and open dialogue of these factors can serve to bolster future promotion and prevention programs with culturally competent, developmentally appropriate, feasible, and effective interventions.

Introduction

What does it mean to be Ugandan? What does it mean to be African? What does it mean to be African American? As a young Ugandan woman immigrates to the United States (US) and navigates the developmental process of identity formation in her new host country, she is challenged with the task of anwering these dynamic questions. She must navigate the transition from a member of the majority and dominant culture to a member of multiple intersecting minority groups. Initial experiences as a young black African immigrant woman in the US are enmeshed in the complex racial structures in the US today.

Regardless of origin (Africa, Caribbean, or other), black immigrants are tasked with learning about the existing racial hierarchy and working to seek out their own position (Amoah, 2014). While in their native country they may have been accustomed to grouping by tribe or religion, in the US, they experience race and racial categorization as a master status-determining trait. As assimilation of immigrant groups has typically been understood in terms of their physical and cultural degree of closeness to blackness or whiteness, black immigrants are grouped with US-born black Americans (referred to as African American from here forward). Because African Americans in the US have been chronically marginalized and associated with a culture of poverty, association with this group is often equated with downward mobility (Alba & Nee, 1997; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Benson, 2006; Guenther & Pendaz, 2011; Okonofua, 2013). As such, research has shown that black immigrants actively avoid group membership with African Americans (Arthur, 2000; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Duany & Jorge, 1998; Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000; Okonofua, 2013; Rodriguez, 2000). This is the context that young Ugandan female

immigrants confront when they arrive and begin the task of understanding what their racial and ethnic identity is, and what it means in the US.

For young adult immigrants, this occurs simultaneously with other crucial developmental processes including role development, interpersonal relationships, future planning, and the development of health beliefs and behaviors. Immigrant youth are often exposed to new and conflicting norms regarding these aspects of development resulting in unique challenges and opportunities. This paper examines how first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth in the greater Los Angeles area experienced and understood their racial and ethnic identity development. It represents a component of a larger constructivist grounded theory study that explored their acculturation process and identity development, and what factors across social contexts of community, school, family, and peer groups affected their developmental processes (reported elsewhere). As identity formation ultimately results from the interaction between the self and the context (Erikson, 1968), this paper looks at the impact of factors in these different social contexts. Identifying and understanding the factors that contribute to their identity development is essential to promoting healthy development and thereby increasing healthy behaviors. Examining how young Ugandan females develop their identity as immigrants in a racialized society such as the US contextualizes their subsequent actions and beliefs and provides a more complete depiction of this growing immigrant group.

Background

The majority of the work done the on the racialization process of black immigrants has focused on Caribbean populations (for examples see (Benson, 2006; Joseph, Watson, Wang, Case, & Hunter, 2013; Rogers, 2001; Thompson

& Bauer, 2003; Waters, 1999). While generally informative, it is important to note that due to geography, colonial history, culture, and economics they may have different orientations towards race and experiences of racism. In fact, Benson (2006) urges researchers to consider pre-migratory conditions and understandings of race and racism when examining immigrant racial identification processes.

While studies addressing race and identity in African immigrant groups are increasing, few have focused on adolescent and youth samples despite the fact that identity development is a major task of adolescence and young adulthood (Erikson, 1968). Some works have described the role race and ethnicity have played in young East African's experiences at school- though the findings are mixed. One study reported East African students and parents perceived teachers as expecting less from black students, regardless of country of origin (Scott, 2003), while a second study found that teachers favorably compared African students to other racial and ethnic groups within the school, reporting high expectations and describing them as "more respectful" and "more prepared to learn" (Njue & Retish, 2010). Still a third study reported a general low awareness of race and racism in its college aged sample from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (Wambua & Robinson, 2012). An additional study outside the school context with a mixed sample of East African adults and young people aged 14 and above described participants' experiences with racism and discrimination. Participants described how their skin color resulted in health care providers assuming they were US born black, of lower socioeconomic status and therefore feeling treated as less deserving of medical care (Boise et al., 2013). Overall, conventional developmental science has not emphasized the normative processes of immigrant and minority adolescents (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996), or

the existing racial and ethnic inequities in access and care (Hyman, 2004). Therefore, a focus on African immigrant youth's developmental processes is a way to challenge mainstream assumptions and expand existing understandings.

The self-development experienced by the young women in the sample can be defined as meaning how these women saw their own race and ethnicity as part of their identity and how this identity impacted others' perceptions of them, their own perception of self, and their future opportunities. Ethnicity is a social construct that impacts personal identity and group social relations (Ford & Kelly, 2005) and develops in childhood and consolidates in adolescence (Erikson, 1968). Ethnic identity is defined as "an individual's identification with a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves or others, to have a common origin and share segments of a common culture and participate in shared activities" (Yinger, 1976, p. 200), while racial identity refers to "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1993, p. 3). Contextual pieces that frame this study include relevant discourses such as national conversations regarding immigration, historical and current conflicts related to skin color and racial discrimination, stereotypes of minority youth in the US, media influences, and the rapid and varying cognitive development of young people. It is against this background that the young women in this study explored their understandings of their racial and ethnic identities.

Methods

The study was approved by the University of California, San Francisco Committee on Human Research. For participants under age 18, consent was obtained

from a parent and assent was obtained from the youth participant.

Study Design

Using a Constructivist Grounded Theory design (Charmaz, 2006), I aimed to elicit participants' definitions of terms and situations to better understand their assumptions and implied meanings of their health and development, the factors across social contexts of community, school, family, and peer groups that affect their developmental processes, and their perceived resources and barriers to development. This research was approached within a postmodern, constructivist paradigm; as such, the assumption of this work is that the understandings and representations are co-created between and amongst the researcher and participants. Dimensional analysis, an approach to the generation of grounded theory (Schatzman, 1991), was used to systematically examine social experience by breaking down the complexity of a phenomenon into its components or attributes – dimensions—to answer the question "What <u>all</u> is involved here?"

Population, Setting and Sample

This study focused on young women from the East African country, Uganda. Of the approximately 1.6 million African immigrants living in the US, 28.9% are East African (Gambino, Fitzwater, & Trevalyan, 2014). Los Angeles was the setting for this research as the US metropolitan area with the fourth largest concentration of African immigrants estimated at 68,000 (Gambino et al., 2014). This study specifically sampled Ugandans to address a major methodological flaw in the African immigrant literature that typically utilizes a general sample of Africans, thereby neglecting regional differences in culture, ethnicity, race, traditions, language, religion, economic viability, colonial history

and socio-cultural factors.

I purposively and theoretically sampled female youth between 10-25 years of age who immigrated to the US after age 8 years as participants were capable of recall and could reconstruct the immigration experience. Participants were recruited through a community group serving the Ugandan population of greater Los Angeles. Community leaders initially assisted in recruitment, followed by snowball sampling.

Data Collection

A total of 28 interviews with 20 participants, informal discussion with participants and community members, and 100 hours of participant observation in the community were the primary data collection strategies. Field notes were taken and integrated into analytic memos. Community observation hours included settings such as church gatherings, community picnics, community holiday celebrations, and the annual Ugandan North American Association conference, attended by Ugandan families, entrepreneurs, politicians and other interested members of the Ugandan diaspora.

Analysis

Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In later analysis, or the differentiation phase of dimensional analysis, a matrix was used to consider which dimensions and concepts had the greatest explanatory power (Schatzman, 1991). Through this iterative process and construction of subsequent levels of dimensionalizing, theorizing about racial and ethnic identity development was made possible (Charmaz, 2006; Kools, McCarthy, Durham, & Robrecht, 1996; Schatzman, 1991). In this research, verification was the goal as opposed to validation of findings (Lincoln, 1985). The processes of peer debriefing and informal member checks worked to

establish the trustworthiness of the data (Lincoln, 1985). Memos and journaling were tools used to address reflexivity. As the primary analyst, I have many positions from which I approached this work: I am a nurse, a constructivist, a female, and I have experience living and working in East Africa.

Findings

The final sample included 20 English speaking females aged 16-25 years who immigrated to the US at the age of 8 years or later and self-identified as Ugandan. Participants had been in the US as long as 11 years and as little as 6 months. The majority of the participants were students (high school n=6, college level courses n=9, graduate school n=1), with only 4 women in the general workforce. I describe how participants' acculturative process was impacted by and enmeshed in the US racial hierarchy and experienced through social interactions with their family, the larger community, and the media. Participants offered a perspective on what it means to be "African" and at times, the strongest definition of self was noted by explaining exactly who she was not- an "African American". Their conceptualizations reflected their understanding of status distinctions between the two groups and how their ethnic African identity was a point of privilege in the US social hierarchy. Participants created distance from their racial identity (black/African American) by prioritizing their ethnic identity (Ugandan or African). This analysis explores how participants developed understandings of how race and ethnicity function in the US and how it impacted their emerging identities.

Claiming or Resisting Group Identities in the Process of Identity Formation

The young women in this sample described stark differences between 'back home' and the US. Uganda was remembered as a place where family was central and

plentiful, school was difficult and teachers strict, children were obedient and unquestioning, where God was a main element of daily life, and the Ugandan traditional culture was learned and passed down by parents, aunts, uncles, and other adults in their community. They described arriving here with one strong sense of family, community, and culture, and were confronted with divergences in and outside of home that they then needed to grapple with. This resulted in a process of acculturation that allowed and led them to choose, reject, and shape aspects of themselves that they perceived as beneficial. They did this amidst a social landscape that placed them at risk for discrimination and prejudice based on their skin color- a social landscape they had no control over.

Defining 'Africans' and 'African Americans'

Blumer (1958) stated, "To characterize another racial group is, by opposition, to define one's own group" (p. 3). Participants utilized racially charged language and stereotypes of both Africans and African Americans to define themselves and their identity label choices. All participants mobilized language of pride in their country of origin and what they "are" as Africans. Interestingly, what they "aren't" pervaded these descriptions. Tina, a 25 year old who had immigrated the year before described how an "African" could be identified and contrasted this portrayal with ways to identify African-Americans:

> We are very cultured. If you see an African, they are very quiet; but Black Americans, they are a little louder- even when they're speaking. Us? We are very reserved. We want to do things in a very calm way. Even when you're angry, you're not really going to shout 'cause you've been taught not to. Even the way we dress, you've been taught, anything that is so much above the knee is too indecent. So you're going to know [an African American] maybe by the way they wear the pants, you know, too low. In our country that's looked at as someone who is not brought up well, someone who's going on the wrong path.

Tina saw the way people dress, talk and carry themselves as indicative of their potential to thrive and go on the 'right' path. She linked language and dress to quality of upbringing and future opportunities. In this description she showed her understanding of how she was taught to be a certain way and how those behaviors and manners would lead to achievement. The goal of achievement and success was a central element for the young women in this study. Tina arrived to the US as a young adult and described the pressures she put on herself and felt from her family to succeed once she arrived. Many participants described the immense obligation to 'do well' and 'be something' and 'make everyone back home proud'. Tina understood her perceptions of the comportment of African Americans to be incongruent with her goals.

Hellen, a 22-year-old college student, also acknowledged the stereotypes about African Americans and identified the media and her parents as sources of her understandings. She described differences between the groups and explained what was at stake for her should she identify too closely with this group:

> There is a lot of negativity associated with the African American culture. I guess as Africans we have a stereotype of what we seen in the movies. African Americans are always in fights. I think it's mainly because we don't understand the whole concept: Why would you come to the land of milk and honey [the US], and not utilize opportunities. Cause I can tell that my parents put that mentality in me, that you are in the land of milk and honey, ignore what the African Americans say, because they have their own battles that you never understand, and if you try to side with them, or you know be corrupted by their views, then you lose your vision.

Hellen's concern of "losing your vision" reflects what many participants described as a un-wavering dedication and commitment to education, employment, self-betterment, and success. For these women, the purpose of immigrating was tied to education, financial security and a better future. If they failed to achieve this, these

women felt they had wasted the opportunities their parents provided. The conceptualization of the US as the "land of milk and honey" was what parents instill both in Uganda and in the US. She described how her parents taught her that association with African Americans, or adopting their 'views' would deter her from realizing her goals. She acknowledged that this was partially based on media-driven stereotypes; though it was also seeded in a deeper perception of African Americans as a group that does not 'utilize opportunities'.

Other participants identified certain negative properties associated with African Americans including acting loud, rowdy, disrespectful, always trouble, looking "wrong", being in gangs, less educated, and lacking motivation. These characteristics were exclusively negative unlike the largely positive traits the participants described as reflecting what an "African" person is including being an individual who is highly educated and values further education, is approachable, respectful, well-mannered, focused on the family and community, religious, seeks out opportunities, and takes initiative. These stark stereotypes of the two groups guided participant decisions and shaped how these young people embodied or rejected certain characteristics. One college-aged participant explained how she chose friends in her high school, saying, " 'I don't want to be with black people. Those ones are always trouble.' So I wanted to go hang out with different people." Jennifer, a high school student who arrived in grade school, described that she chose friends who also had strict parents, were also self-driven, and disciplined because, "they can understand me". Interestingly, these were Ugandan friends, other immigrants, or friends who shared her Christian faith. She described how stereotypes of African Americans influenced her personal choices:

Mostly when people think of a black person, it's someone who's like so loud, they don't have any respect for others. So I try to be different from that. I think you have to be respectful. You have to influence others to do their best. You have to guide others in the right path. You have to guide yourself to be successful.

Jennifer was committed to "being different" from African Americans for herself and in the eyes of her family and the larger community. Reflective of the collective/group-centered nature of Ugandans, she explained how her parents and church community engrained in her what many participants described as the obligation to the greater good of the community as an essential quality of a Ugandan. She saw being a positive influence to others and 'guiding herself to success' as qualities of a Ugandan, as "different" from African Americans. Overall, she attributed her morals, her respect for elders, her sense of appropriate dress and her commitment to her future to the Ugandan culture. She credited her parents with ensuring she does not "lose" the culture by encouraging her to maintain connections to the wider Ugandan community.

These young women were defining for themselves what it means to "be African" versus what it means to "act like an African American". They echoed the growing body of literature documenting the misconceptions and stereotypes held by Africans and African Americans and the resulting conflicts (Arthur, 2000; Darboe, 2006; Traore, 2003; 2006). Their understandings shaped their identity development as they selectively chose the characteristics and traits that they believed would lead to better outcomes and discarded or rejected the ones that did not fit in with their ideal. They saw some of their best qualities as being related to their African culture, whereas they equated their understanding of an African American identity as one that was "on the wrong path". They identified African Americans as those who don't take opportunities. Therefore, if

they associated too closely with African Americans, they could lose their entire sense of

purpose as an immigrant in the US and their potential for success.

Realizing Race

The majority of participants reported that race and racism are not focal points of

conflict in Uganda. They instead pointed to religion or tribal affiliation as the more likely

potential point of contention. Although primed to US racism through media exposure in

Uganda and novels they had read during their schooling like "Roots," participants

expressed that they truly learned about these group identities once they arrived in the US.

As Connie explained,

> I did know about racism, I just never thought I would see it firsthand really. I just
> heard of it. I was like, "Okay, that was back in the day of Martin Luther [King].
> But like even today like I've had people make racism jokes or be racist to me. So
> when I see it firsthand…in Uganda you do know about these things but you don't
> see it really. You just see it in the movies. I didn't think it was as serious as they
> made it to be. But it is.

Connie and others described that while they were aware of what racism was in the US

before they immigrated, they were surprised at the degree to which discrimination by skin

color was still present in the US. Most participants said that at some point in their time in

the US they had been discriminated against for being black. Experiences ranged from

middle school teasing to feeling that skin color was the reason a participant was passed

over for a job. Many described how this experience was shocking because they did not

consider themselves 'black'. They equated 'black' with being 'African American'- a

profile that they clearly were not. For most, these experiences prompted them to

differentiate themselves from black African Americans by ensuring people knew they

were African, not African American. Participants prioritized their national and ethnic

identity as a way of distancing themselves from a 'black' identity and the associated experiences of discrimination.

While most participants believed their understandings of race and ethnicity were based primarily on their own experiences once they arrived, youth also acknowledged their parents' opinions and stereotypes of African Americans. Maria described African parents, explaining "they don't really like Black communities" because they believe the media driven image of violence, underachievement and gang affiliation. Some participants described this view as incorrect, prejudiced and as a point of conflict in their family; other participants conceded that their parents' opinions influenced their choice of friends and their own beliefs.

However, more common than pulling their children away from identifying with African American communities, participants described how their parents exercised influence over their children's racial and ethnic identity development by encouraging a deeper knowledge of and connection to their ethnic roots. Parents made clear the importance of maintaining their native language and learning how to cook Ugandan food. Participants felt their parents and extended families encouraged characteristics that they felt were reflective of the Ugandan culture such as the importance of dressing respectfully, treating elders with respect, and embracing the collective sense of responsibility that is typical of Ugandans. By encouraging the uptake of a primarily ethnic identity, parents acted as an asset for young people to stay connected to their heritage culture. Intentionally or unintentionally, they were also providing their children with social capital upon which the youth were building an identity that they believe

would set them apart from one of the most marginalized groups in the US- African

Americans.

Participants also cited social settings such as school as a source of their

knowledge and understandings of the consequences of identifying with a racial identity in

the US. Some had experiences where their black racial identity impacted how other

students perceived them. Grace was ostracized in school based on the assumption that she

was African American.

> In my high school, like – if you were from Africa, they don't know you're from Africa. They think you're Black. A lot of Vietnamese kids, they'll be like, 'Oh, we cannot be with you. You are African-American!' Because their parent told them 'Oh, don't be with any African-American kids. They're bad, and they don't pay attention in school.' People try to distance themselves. From us, too, because they think we are Black. But we're actually African.

Across the sample, these young women attended schools with varying degrees of racial

diversity. Many were in diverse schools, but some were almost exclusively made up of

Caucasian students. Most had a healthy immigrant population- though not an African

one. Grace's experience described above was an example of the wider discourse and

portrayal of African Americans as an educational underclass. This profile pervades the

experience of all black students; for the Ugandans in this sample the consequence of the

conflation of Africans and African Americans was social exclusion. Therefore, a shared

racial identity based on skin color, meant sharing the negative social effects that African

Americans experience.

Identity Labels

Acknowledging the racialized context where participants found themselves and

the consequence of labels, young people in this study were confronted with the task of

self-identification by identifying a label, a way to describe themselves, a 'box to check'

that identified their group membership. Participants described themselves by adopting primarily ethnic labels defining themselves as African and Ugandan. A sense of pride and belonging were attached to these labels and participants across age ranges and developmental stages self-identified as "African" primarily. Tina proudly described herself as, "African. Always African. I'm so proud of being Ugandan. It's very beautiful country and I always say I'm African wherever I go."

When peers assumed they were African American, their responses ranged from a simple correction to a more heated and frustrated reply. Maria highlighted the confusion and frustration some participants felt upon being incorrectly labeled by others:

> Being African-American means something here. So usually, like most of the times I just say 'other'. And then when they ask, I put Ugandan…It [choosing a label] brings up a lot of different like- and I'm like, "No, I just don't want to deal with that."

Maria went on to explain how 'African American' as a label does not mean an African who moves to America as one would expect from a hyphenated label. She and others clearly stated that African Americans are an entirely different segment of the US population and Maria above described that she was averse to being labeled as an African American because of what it "means here" in the US. Like other participants, she was referring to the negative characteristics and traits stereotypically associated with African Americans. The participants saw the "African" label as doing positive social work for them as they believed it was associated with more positive qualities than a label of "African American". Maria described how "African" was not usually a choice on forms and she felt the entire process of labeling and identifying group membership was so complex and laden with stress that it was actually easier to select "other" than to try to accurately select and explain her group membership. Other participants described being

told by teachers to put one label or another and how they were then put in the position of explaining the differences between skin color and group membership.

The Interplay of Ethnic and Racial Identity

Thus, the labels young people chose were intentional attempts to be grouped with Africans. They prioritized their ethnic identity in an overt effort to distance themselves from their racial identity that grouped them with the African American community. They used language that reflected their underlying understandings of the status distinctions between Africans and African Americans. Sara said,

> I tell people I'm not *just*- I'm not African-American, I guess they automatically assume that. So when I tell people I'm not African-American and I'm Ugandan, then it's almost completely different. It's almost like, "Oh! Okay, well, that's interesting."… Now I guess I can respect you a little bit more because now you're not just an African-American . . . So when you mention that you're not African-American, it becomes something different. You become, I guess, a different person in society.

Sara acknowledged the social hierarchy of the US that marginalizes African Americans as those with lower social status. She understood her identification as an African to set her apart- and above- in social ranking. She saw being classified racially as doing a disservice, whereas prioritizing her ethnicity would lead to increased interest and respect. This was true for many young women in this sample. Other participants noted how elements of their ethnic identity were 'points of privilege' making their African/Ugandan identity one that would do positive work for them in terms of their social status and their future opportunities. Joan explained,

> I feel like it's a point of a certain type of privilege when you say you're from an African country and you're black at the same time because then people's stereotypes automatically kind of go out the window… my skin is black, but I don't really want to be associated as being black because it's like now you're going to think I'm this way and that way. You're going to associate me with being African-American and that's not what I am.

Joan felt her nativity was a way to set herself apart even though she was "black at the same time". For Joan, "black" was a negative descriptor; and therefore associating too closely with African Americans was perceived as having negative outcomes. No participants commented on advantages associated with being a black American, such as scholarships that are available for minority students. Participants put in clear terms that they saw race in the US as a master status-determining trait. Participants only noted the negatives associated with being grouped with African Americans. They described using their ethnic identity as a way to circumvent that qualification and the associated negative outcomes and racism.

Discussion

This paper examined how young women from Uganda in the greater Los Angeles area experience and understand their racial and ethnic identity development. This work and others (Foner, 1997; Guenther & Pendaz, 2011; Joseph et al., 2013; Kasinitz, 1992; Waters, 1999) demonstrate that navigating the racial structure of the US is a major acculturation task for black immigrants. In exploring how this group perceives what a black racial identity is and means in the US, we must acknowledge the central role skin color continues to play in society. The young people in this study have immigrated at a critical period of US history in terms of race relations and this study draws attention to the dominant and pervasive societal discourses that continue to marginalize African Americans.

As these women themselves see and experience racism, multiple contextual influences have led them to see their black skin color and identification by themselves or others as African American as a risk factor for failing: failing as students, failing to

achieve success, and failure to gain their parents and community's respect. In an effort to

attain, to be important, and to reach and accomplish their goals, they resist racial

classification as African Americans. This confirms other works that found black

immigrants distance themselves in order to avoid discrimination and the downward

mobility associated with the US black racial minority (Benson, 2006; Guenther &

Pendaz, 2011; Joseph et al., 2013; Waters, 1999). They instead highlight, develop, and

present themselves in terms of their African culture and ethnicity, confirming findings of

Okpalaoka (2009) and Guenther and Pendaz (2011). Guenther and Pendaz (2011) found

that East Africans felt that making their ethnic identity central was associated with the

possibility of future upward social mobility. While Guenther's sample was largely

Muslim, refugee, and Somali, this study of Ugandans shows that despite the pre-

migratory cultural, educational, economic and religious differences of these two groups,

the ethnic and racial identification experience in the US is similar in many ways. This

suggests that the racial structure of the US and the experience as a racial minority is more

powerful and central in the lives of black immigrants than other minority statuses such as

culture, socioeconomic position, or religion.

The widespread preference for an ethnic identity label of 'African' or 'Ugandan'

in this study is similar to findings of Okpalaoka's (2009) study of Nigerians in the US

who preferred a straightforward Nigerian identity and rejected hyphenating or mixing

their identity at all. In general, ethnic and/or racial labeling is a developmental issue for

adolescent immigrants. Labels have practical implications for young people such as

ticking a box on a job application, college application or a social media account. It has

also been found that the use of ethnic labels has implications for social relationships and

well-being (Kiang, 2008). However, the issue of labeling and hyphenating is somewhat unique for African immigrants. For most immigrant groups, (eg. Jamaican-American), the hyphen represents a mixed identity and is a symbol of acculturation and assimilation (Thompson & Bauer, 2003). Often, labels change with increasing time in the US resulting in transitions from national identity labels (Ugandan) to a pan-national label (African) or a pan-ethnic label (Black-American) (Rong & Brown, 2002). For Africans in this sample, the hyphenated identity of 'African American' was representative of an entirely different population with their own culture, values, beliefs, norms, and expectations. The label of African American carried a distinct meaning, one that was not held in high regard by many in the dominant culture. For this reason, participants gravitated towards an ethnic identity label over a label that classified them by race with African Americans.

Study Implications

This study uniquely adds the experience of young Ugandan immigrants to the growing understanding of the black immigrant racial and ethnic identification experience. Findings from this study have several implications for adults working with this population. First, findings suggest that parents, health care providers, educators, community leaders, and organizations should be aware of the unique racialization process this population may encounter as they progress through normative adolescent processes such as understanding their group membership and mobilizing an identity label. We must open the conversation of race and racism. We must consider the implications of these complex processes for not only first generation youth, but for subsequent generations. Second, assessment of mental health with this population should include an evaluation of race related stress or negative acculturation related concerns such as anxiety, self-esteem

or depression with consideration of the tensions and realities these young people are facing.

Third, supporting the cultural maintenance of this group is paramount and can be achieved through schools, families and communities providing physical and psychological spaces to support connectedness to African culture (Obiakor & Afoláyan, 2007). Opportunities to develop ethnic identity in a positive way such as sharing with others where they came from, what their country of origin is like, and what cultural norms exist may benefit their ethnic identity development and prevent conflicts with peers (Curry-Stevens, 2013; Scuglik & Alarcon, 2005; Traore, 2003). Also, increasing opportunities for learning about the history of racial prejudice in the US and creating forums to openly discuss stereotypes of African and African Americans may help to buffer conflicts between Africans and African Americans and build mutual respect (Arthur, 2000; Okonofua, 2013; Okpalaoka, 2009). This may be especially true for younger immigrant youth as research has shown that age-appropriate conversations about race, racial differences, racial inequity and racism are associated with lower levels of bias in young children (Katz, 2003). Awareness of these unique aspects of identity development in young Ugandan women may assist in the overall goal of incorporating population specific knowledge with the existing resources intended for all youth.

Limitations and Future Research

A small number of participants recruited from the same geographical region do not result in the ability to generalize findings, nor does it intend to in congruence with the qualitative nature of the study. The sample also represents primarily young women from socioeconomically stable families, with access to higher education, who were from the

most developed urban center in the country of origin. Despite these limitations, this analysis of Ugandan young women aims to contribute to overall understanding of the developmental processes of this under-researched population. Areas for future research include a more in depth understanding of racial awareness prior to immigration and how group membership influences behavioral choices, stigmatization, social supports, and adjustment related stress.

Conclusion

For these young Ugandan immigrants, the racial stratification of US society shapes how ethnicity is understood and expressed. Their self-development was impacted by the understandings, choices, and tensions surrounding identity and the challenging dynamics of racial and ethnic stereotypes. This grounded theory study captured not the mean experience of immigrant youth, but starts to describe the range and variation of experiences affecting this group and the impact of various social contexts.

References

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review*, *31*, 826–887.

Amoah, J. (2014). The Identity Question for African Youth: Developing the New While Maintaining the Old. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, *22*(1), 127–133. doi:10.1177/1066480713505068

Arthur, J. (2000). *Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diasporas in the US*. Westport: Praeger.

Bashi, B., & McDaniel, A. (1997). A theory of immigration and racial stratification. *Journal of Black Studies*, *27*, 668–682.

Benson, J. (2006). Exploring the Racial Identities of Black Immigrants in the United States. *Sociological Forum*, *21*, 219–247.

Blumer, H. (1958). Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position. *The Pacific Sociological Review, 1*(1), 3-7.

Boise, L., Tuepker, A., Gipson, T., Vigmenon, Y., Soule, I., & Onadeko, S. (2013). African refugee and immigrant health needs: report from a community-based house meeting project. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships: Research, Education, and Action*, *7*(4), 369–378. doi:10.1353/cpr.2013.0045

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Curry-Stevens, A. (2013). *The African Immigrant and Refugee Community in Multnomah County: An Unsettling Profile*. Portland, OR: Portland State University.

Darboe, F. (2006). Africans and African Americans: Conflicts, Stereotypes and Grudges. *PSU McNair Scholars Online Journal*, *2*(1). doi:10.15760/mcnair.2006.48

Duany, J., & Jorge. (1998). Reconstructingr acial identity: Ethnicity, color, and class among Domini-cans in the United States and Puerto Rico. *Latin American Perspectives*, *25*, 147–172.

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Foner, N. (1997). The Jamaicans: Race and Ethnicity Among Immigrants in New York City. In N. Foner, *New Immigrants in New York City* (pp. 195–217). New York:: Columbia University Press.

Ford, M. E., & Kelly, P. A. (2005). Conceptualizing and categorizing race and ethnicity in health services research. *Health Services Research*, *40*(5 Pt 2), 1658–1675. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6773.2005.00449.x

Gambino, C., Fitzwater, J., & Trevalyan, E. (2014). *The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2008-2012* (No. ACSBR/12-16). Washington DC: U.S.: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Reports. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2014/acs/acsbr12-16.pdf

Garcia-Coll, C., Lamberty, G., Jenkins, R., McAdoo, H. P., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & Vazquez Garcia, H. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914.

Guenther, K. M., & Pendaz, S. (2011). The Impact of Intersecting Dimensions of

Inequality and Identity on the Racial Status of Eastern African Immigrants. *Sociological Forum*, *26*(1). doi:10.1111/j.1573-7861.2010.01226.x

Helms, J. E. (1993). Introduction: Review of Racial Identity Terminology. In J. E. Helms, *Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research and Practice.* Westport. Conn.: Praeger.

Hyman, I. (2004). Setting the stage: reviewing current knowledge on the health of Canadian immigrants: what is the evidence and where are the gaps? *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, *95*(3), I4–8.

Itzigsohn, J., & Dore-Cabral, C. (2000). Competing identities? Race, ethnicity and pan-ethnicity among Domini-cans in the United States. *Sociological Forum*, *15*, 225–247.

Joseph, N., Watson, N. N., Wang, Z., Case, A. D., & Hunter, C. D. (2013). Rules of Engagement: Predictors of Black Caribbean Immigrants'

Engagement With African American Culture. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(4), 414–423. doi:10.1037/a0032659

Kasinitz, P. (1992). *Caribbean New York: Black Immigrants and the Politics of Race*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Katz, P. (2003). Racists or tolerant multiculturalists? How do they begin? *American Psychologist*, *58*(11), 897–909.

Kiang, L. (2008). Ethnic self-labeling in young adults from Chinese American backgrounds. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *37*, 97–11.

Kools, S., McCarthy, M., Durham, R., & Robrecht, L. (1996). Dimensional analysis: Broadening the conception of grounded theory. *Qualitative Health Research*, *6*(3), 312–330.

Lincoln, Y. S. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE.

Njue, J., & Retish, P. (2010). Transitioning: Academic and Social Performance of African Immigrant Students in an American High School. *Urban Education*, *45*(3), 347–370.

Obiakor, F., & Afoláyan, M. O. (2007). African Immigrant Families in the United States: Surviving the Sociocultural Tide. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, *15*, 265–270. doi:10.1177/1066480707301425

Okonofua, B. (2013). "I Am Blacker Than You": Theorizing Conflict Between African Immigrants and African Americans in the United States. *SAGE Open*, *3*(3), 1–14. doi:10.1177/2158244013499162

Okpalaoka, C. (2009). *"You don't look like one, so how are you African?": How West African immigrant girls in the U.S. learn to re-negotiate ethnic identities in home and school contexts*. Columbus, Ohio: Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University.

Rodriguez, C. (2000). *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: New York : University Press.

Rogers, R. (2001). 'Black Like Who?' Afro-Caribbean Immigrants, African Americans, and the Politics of Group Identity. In N. Foner, *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York* (pp. 163–192). Berkeley: CA: University of California Press.

Rong, X., & Brown, F. (2002). Socialization, culture, and identities of Black immigrant children: What educators need to know. *Education and Urban Society*, *34*(2), 247–273.

Schatzman, L. (1991). Dimensional analysis: Notes on an alternative approach to the

grounding of theory in qualitative research. In D. R. Maines, *Social organization and social process*. New York: Aldine DeGruyter.

Scott, J. (2003). English Language and Communication: Issues for African and Caribbean Immigrant Youth in Toronto. In P. Anisef & K. Kilbride, *Managing two worlds : the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Scuglik, D., & Alarcon, R. (2005). Growing up whole: Somali children and adolescents in america. *Psychiatry (Edgmont)*, *2*(8), 20–31.

Thompson, P., & Bauer, E. (2003). Evolving Jamaican migrant identities: Contrasts between Britain, Canada and the USA. *Community, Work & Family*, *6*(1), 89–102. doi:10.1080/1366880032000063923

Traore, R. (2003). African students in America: Reconstructing new meanings of African American in urban education. *Intercultural Education*, *14*(3), 243–254.

Traore, R. (2006). Voices of African students in America: "We're not from the jungle. *Multicultural Perspectives*, *8*(2), 29–34.

Wambua, J., & Robinson, C. (2012). Possible Selves and Goal Orientations of East-African Undergraduate Students in the United States. In Z. Bekerman & T. Geisen, *International Handbook of Migration, Minorities and Education* (pp. 479–496). Springer Netherlands.

Waters, M. C. (1999). *Black identities: West Indian immigrant dreams and American realities*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Yinger, J. (1976). Ethnicity in Complex Societies. In L. A. Coser & O. N. Larsen, *The Uses of Controversy in Sociology*. New York: Free Press.

Discussion

Discussion

Meaning of Findings in Relation to Research Questions and Study Aims

The purpose of this study was to explore how first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth experience and understand their health and development and what factors among community, school, family, peer groups and the individual affect their health behaviors (nutrition, physical activity, and risk behaviors) and self-development (self-esteem, self-identity, interpersonal relationships). The specific aims of this study of first-generation female Ugandan immigrant youth were to:

1) explore youth perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and self-development;

2) describe the resources and barriers to healthy adolescent and young adult development (e.g., adequacy of health information and social and tangible support, acculturation);

3) develop a theoretical model of factors across social contexts that contribute to self-development and health behaviors.

First Aim. This research was able to explore a range of perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward self-development as described in Aim #1. The participants strongly felt that their development was tied to the age and stage at which they had immigrated. Participants described a desirable balance between being old enough to be connected to Ugandan culture and their "roots" and young enough to enter the schooling system and benefit from the opportunities it leads to in terms of higher education, networking, and socializing. Most approximated the age of 12 or 13 as an ideal age for immigration. Breslau et al. (2009) found that in a mixed immigrant sample including an African subgroup, the 1.5 generation, or those immigrating before the age of 13 years, is more likely to develop American health habits and are more likely to not maintain the higher status of health that immigrant populations enjoy in their first years in the US

(Alegria, Canino, Stinson, & Grant, 2006; Grant et al., 2004; Institute of Medicine, 1998). Breslau also found that risk for mood and anxiety disorders was lower in foreign-born youth relative to the US-born only for those who arrived at the age of 13 years or older, but not among immigrants who arrived prior to the age 13. Additionally, those immigrating at aged 13 or older also had lower use of alcohol, drugs and nicotine, unlike their counterparts aged 13 or younger, whose substance use mirrored the US-born population, indicating that acculturation and assimilation may occur in a more dramatic manner before age 13 (Breslau, Borges, Hagar, Tancredi, & Gilman, 2009). This supports the importance of considering age at migration when evaluating the degree of acculturation and its subsequent health effects.

Another perception that was discussed was how the context of the US, and Los Angeles specifically, impacted their health and development. Participants cited experiences of American misunderstandings of Africa and Africans as influential in how their pride in Africa and Uganda developed and how they became committed to being 'advocates' of Africa and making a difference in this perception by being an example of a successful, modern African. They described how their English language ability was a positive factor that enabled a more smooth entry into US society. Others have explored issues related to language and accent and its impact on African immigrants (Yesefu, 2005).

Young women also described their beliefs and understandings about race, class and gender. In terms of race, participants reported that while they knew what race and racism were before immigrating, they did not know the extent to which skin color continues to play a role in US society and did not expect to find race as a central element of their lives. For many immigrant youth, there is the challenge of constructing and recreating their ethnic and racial identities (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). In this study, participants understood their

race as something that would associate them with African Americans in the US and they would therefore be subject to the same discrimination, marginalization and low social status attributed to African Americans in the US today (Alba & Nee, 1997; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Benson, 2006; Guenther & Pendaz, 2011; Okonofua, 2013). For this reason, their beliefs and attitudes about race and its impact greatly impacted their self- development in terms of their understandings, choices, and goals. Like other black immigrant groups they actively avoided group membership with African Americans (Arthur, 2000; Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Duany & Jorge, 1998; Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000; Okonofua, 2013; Rodriguez, 2000).

The young women also reported how the US has afforded them new opportunities in terms of gender relations compared to Uganda. Studies with other cultures have found similar results, with one ethnographic study of Mexican immigrants that suggested the status of women after migration improves in various ways (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994). As the young Ugandans in this study developed understandings in the US of the various expectations of the female gender role from males, parents, the larger community, and from themselves- they started to form their own gender identity including their expectations of themselves, limitations, goals, and abilities. Many described feeling their options were limitless in the US as a woman and this was encouraging as they looked ahead to college and the job market.

While there were no other studies found on Ugandan youth and identity development, scholars have focused on identity development across various subsamples of Africans (Amoah, 2014; Cruz, 2010; Fenster & Vizel, 2007; Gibau, 2005; P. Grant, 2007; Guenther & Pendaz, 2011; Hunt, 2002; Ibrahim, 2008; Kibour, 2001; Killian & Johnson, 2006; Kuver, 2009; Okonofua, 2013; Sanchez-Pardo, 2011; Saraiva, 2008; Sargent & Larchanche-Kim, 2006). A common thread across studies on Africans and identity development is that identity is not static

and is dependent on the context and situation. A second thread in research on Africans and identity development is that self-concept and self-development of Africans in Western countries is often negotiated around initial experiences of race and racism.

This dissertation research extensively described conditions that impact self-development including self-identity and interpersonal relationships, however it stopped short of short of answering the important question of how their perceptions, beliefs and attitudes toward health and development impacted their health behaviors. This is an area for future research.

Second Aim. This research addressed the second aim by describing the resources and barriers to healthy development including social and tangible supports and sources of influence. The acculturation process and the associated resources and barriers were the main focus of this work. Certain influences were instrumental in how these young people acclimated and integrated to life in the US. These included, but are not limited to the media, community elders including their parents, social settings including the Ugandan community, and the school setting. In many ways the media played a negative influence. It played a negative role in their racial and ethnic identity development with many participants citing media driven messaging as a source of their beliefs about the negative characteristics and low status associated with African Americans. Media also shaped their expectations prior to immigration and all participants reported being let down or underwhelmed with the reality of life in America and how difficult it was to attain American dream. A study of Ghanian students specifically examined pre and post migration expectations and realities and found similar sources of stress including alarm at the inaccurate assumptions regarding their country of origin, unfamiliar experiences with discrimination, and the importance of culture specific coping strategies such as family support and religiosity (Fischer, 2011).

Faith in God and in God's will is seen as a resource for Ugandan women in this study, which has also been reported in samples from Senegal and Mauritania (Vaughn & Holloway, 2010). Their findings highlighted the role God's will in decision-making and suggested that decision-making and other health opportunities may depend on more than just the adolescent, but on their relationship with religion. While most studies with East Africans include a sizeable Muslim population, this dissertation research is based on a sample that was exclusively Christian. Of note, compared to other East African immigrant groups, their religion was less of a divisive or marginalizing quality in the US since they were joining the majority group.

For the women in this study, unanticipated barriers to development included loneliness, isolation, inter-generational conflict, and financial stresses. In research on East Africans, there is a focus on adolescent-parent relationships, cultural values of families, family interdependence, and intergenerational cultural conflict. In this study, conflict between the generations was noted when youth expected more freedom, privacy, and independence. However, parents also played a supportive mediating role between youth and grandparents or elders when the disconnect was even greater. Stuart, Ward, Jose, and Narayanan (2010) who studied a mixed sample including Ugandan and Zimbabwe adolescents and parents, point out that intergenerational conflict is a normal part of western developmental processes (developing independence and asserting autonomy), but not a normal part of African developmental processes (where the focus is on interdependence and the group). Therefore, when intergenerational family conflict is seen in East African immigrant families, it is difficult to know whether it is merely a differing pace of acculturation between parent and child, known as dissonant acculturation, or if it is an integration of western developmental processes. In this study with Ugandans, intergenerational refers to not only parent-child relationships, but to grandparent-child and community elder-child

relationships.

Despite instances of conflict, a resource for this population was the tight-knit established Ugandan community that they found on arrival. While participants cited their parents and elders as a source of stress in some cases, the majority felt their support, guidance, and expectations played a positive role in their development. Parents were seen as both a positive resource and as a barrier. All participants mentioned the influence of the Ugandan community and its members as a powerful force in shaping their initial immigrant experiences. The community provided emotional support, task oriented support such as assistance with documentation, and perhaps most importantly provided a place to maintain cultural connections and relationships with other Ugandans. The community connectedness based in the sharing of cultural activities is a developmental asset for this population. Work with African youth in Africa supports this notion and has also identified that parental or guardian connectedness, and parental supervision are influential in adolescent health and social success (Peltzer, 2009).

An additional aspect noted by participants that was both a barrier and positive resource was the inaccuracy of academic placement. Some felt they were given a chance to have a break from the rigorous schoolwork they were accustomed to in Uganda and their high scores afforded them a place of admiration amongst peers. Others felt they were not challenged and felt college was then a shock when they were once again challenged in the academic setting. All reported a strong devotion and commitment to education and their academic experience. Other work supports this notion of traditional African values of education as highly important and finds it may serve as a protective factor in terms of school behavior and willingness to learn (Njue & Retish, 2010; Wambua & Robinson, 2012).

An additional resource for this population was technology and the overall impact of

globalization. As primarily women from the capital city, Kampala, prior to immigration these women experienced the influence of Western cultures and technology and media. This is vastly different for youth today than previous immigrant generations and varies from country to country (Blum, 2007). For these young women, it is increasingly easy to use an app to communicate globally free of charge, place international phone calls, or obtain culturally desirable cooking ingredients. They therefore, have been able to maintain transnational relationships, build and keep a social network in both countries, and lessen some of the isolation and financial burden experienced by previous generations. Migration scholars (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001) have described ways in which technological innovations, globalization, and ease of transportation have altered our understanding of migration. In this sample, they specifically noted the availability of social media and apps as ways in which they can stay connected with friends and family at home and the positive role this played in alleviating the separation and sadness associated with leaving friends and families.

  Third aim. This research did not culminate in a finished theoretical model of factors across social contexts that contribute to self-development and health behaviors. It instead presented grounded theorizing (Clarke, 2005) in the form of an analytic tool and visual known as an explanatory matrix (Schatzman, 1986, 1991). Clarke (2005) called for the generation of sensitizing concepts and theoretical integration toward grounded theorizing as the ultimate goal rather than formal theories in reflection of the postmodern understanding that the complexities of any situation are evolving, tentative, and "cannot be pinned down" (p.572). This research on Ugandan immigrant youth and developmental processes approached the phenomenon within a postmodern, constructivist paradigm. The consideration of local, changing, and multiple realities and intersecting concepts all with an appreciation of the developmental context was critical to a

study that included age, gender, immigration, and various developmental stages.

The explanatory matrix summarized the major dimensions represented in this research that were arranged by whether they were context, condition or consequence in relation to the process of acculturation and identity development. Context refers to the situation or environment in which the dimensions are embedded and in this research included the acculturative experience, international and US specific discourses on immigration, race, gender and their intersections; the purpose of their immigration; demographic characteristics including family structure; and their normative cultural understandings. Conditions impact the process by facilitating, blocking, or shaping the actions and/or interactions and included the timing of immigration, the context of reception, influential people and social settings, the perceived value of Ugandan cultural maintenance versus the value of adopting certain American traits, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination versus opportunity. The processes are the actions or interactions of the conditions. The highest order perspective in this research was that of identity development. The consequences are the outcomes of the processes and included development of a bicultural/integrated identity, racial and ethnic identities, and an altered understanding of gender identity. This study explored protective *and* risk factors, and the multitude of influences and social settings that interact and impact Ugandan youth development while simultaneously considered the surrounding contexts, or structural conditions. Understanding their perspectives and the meanings derived from their experiences provides a foundation for understanding their actions and behaviors.

Significance of Overall Results

Research on immigrant health reveals contradictory evidence and complex relationships (Cunningham, Ruben, & Narayan, 2008). This is partially due to the prolific use of a pan ethnic

identity label of "African" that typically lacks regional or country of origin designation, with Africans treated as a homogeneous group. This creates an inexact depiction of the ethnic subgroups and makes findings difficult to interpret and compare. This dissertation research addressed this methodological pitfall by recruiting women from one country only, Uganda. Limiting the sample to one African country/region hopes to dispel the current notion that all foreign-born Blacks are a homogeneous group with the same cultural background and orientation toward development and potentially toward health care practices. The findings presented represent an in depth consideration of the unique cultural, linguistic, religious, racial, and societal attributes of this particular population and can therefore be seen as an important step in the direction of developing an understanding of the developmental assets and risk/protective factors that characterize this specific young immigrant population. This is the first known study with Ugandan youth in Los Angeles focusing on their understandings, beliefs, and attitudes towards health and development and how various factors across social contexts are barriers or resources. Insights from these participants will help to better understand the needs of this population, in order to improve health and development of immigrant adolescents as they become young adults. This has the potential to bolster promotion and prevention programs with culturally and developmentally appropriate knowledge.

Limitations and/or Alternate Explanations

This sample was made up of older female Ugandan adolescents and young adults predominantly from the capital city of Uganda and came from families with moderate to high levels of resources. Participants immigrated either with their immediate family or to join parents or extended family already established in the US. The majority of the participants utilized the US diversity visa as a migration channel. The participants had been in the US as little as 6 months

and as long as 11 years. This group is representative of young people that have experienced

emigrating from Uganda to the greater Los Angeles area. However, their experiences are not

representative of younger adolescents, of those of young Ugandans who emigrated to other parts

of the US, of non-English speaking Ugandans, or of refugees.

Additionally, there is always the concern for the potential desire on the part of young

immigrant females to provide socially acceptable responses. This was hopefully mediated by my

cultural awareness and the combination of one-to-one formal interviews, informal interviews and

observations in data collection. Also, while it was not possible to guarantee confidentiality since

direct quotes may be used in publications, there were strategies in place to protect

confidentiality. Care was taken to ensure that participants were aware of the confidentiality

issues in qualitative research that utilizes direct quotes.

A further limitation of this research is that it only explored the youth view. In future

research, parents and other community members should also be interviewed to gain an additional

understanding of the experience across developmental stages and in consideration of differing

levels of interaction. Finally, a small number of participants recruited from the same city does

not result in the ability to generalize findings, nor does it intend to in congruence with the

qualitative nature of the study. As participants were recruited from the same social circles and

Ugandan community, their attitudes and beliefs may in fact reflect understandings that they had

discussed with each other prior to this study. Despite these limitations, this analysis of young

Ugandan women aimed to highlight the major developmental assets of this population, the

unique challenges, and the variation. Better knowledge of both assets and challenges can

contribute to overall understanding of the health needs for this under-researched population.

Implications for Nursing

For those working directly with Ugandan immigrant youth, these findings may help them to understand the processes these youth are experiencing. Providers will benefit from knowing that these women are predominantly using an integrative approach to acculturation that involves evaluating, learning, and trying on various blends and balances of the two cultures. It has been shown that this integrative approach can lead people to more satisfactory and successful transitions to adulthood (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Nurses in primary care and schools are likely to interact with this population the most, but all nurses who work with Ugandan youth should encourage them to participate in mainstream society so that they do not experience isolation or alienation while also maintaining strong ties to the Ugandan community as a way to limit cultural loss and allow their ethnic identities and ways of living to thrive.

Additionally, knowing and understanding the difference between collectivistic and individualistic cultures can afford providers and those involved with this population the needed knowledge in providing care and information for these immigrant youth in a culturally acceptable and appropriate form. Findings suggest young people may involve their parents or value the opinions of their families in a different way from US born youth. Providers should also be aware of the unique racialization process this population may encounter as they progress through normative adolescent processes such as understanding their group membership and mobilizing an identity label. A critical finding in this study revealed that discrimination will likely be experienced by this population in some form, and these young people need to be aware particularly of the history of race and institutional racism in this country, as well as positive coping skills that do not further perpetuate marginalization of minority groups in the US. We must consider the implications of these complex processes for not only first generation youth,

but for subsequent generations.

Mental health is often studied as an outcome in African immigrant populations due to the potential for acculturative stress. Acculturative stress directly results from the acculturative process, resulting in stress behaviors such as anxiety, depression, marginalization, alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptoms, and identity confusion (Crow, 2012). Assessment of mental health with this population is imperative and should specifically include an evaluation of race related stress or negative acculturation related concerns such as anxiety, self-esteem or depression with consideration of the tensions and realities these young people are facing. Further, studies with immigrant groups have found that psychological adaptation and socio-cultural adjustment vary between youth males and females (Berry et al., 2006) and that females may be more at psychological risk for acculturation problems than males (Beiser et al., 1988; Carballo, 1994). Research has found females express psychological distress as depression and anxiety, whereas males may exhibit more behavioral symptoms (Tanaka-Matsumi & Draguns, 1997). Further, in a mixed sample of immigrant youth, Oppedal and colleagues' (2005) found that gender is a protective factor for females as they reported higher competence in the dominant culture and a decrease in perceived discrimination, whereas males maintained higher ethnic culture competence and collectivist family values. This potentially advocates for gender specific health promotion activities that serve to integrate males into the host culture and foster ethnic pride in females (Oppedal, Roysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005).

In terms of assessing acculturation and mental health, there are several considerations. Primarily, nursing and social science need to acknowledge that there is no consistent measure used to study acculturation, identity development or other developmental processes in this population and those previously used are not culturally validated with specific relevant

subpopulations (Hyman, 2007; Mollersen & Holte, 2008; Sumathipala & Murray, 2006). For example, the use of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, Meltzer, & Bailey, 1998) to assess psychiatric problems is prolific, although it requires further validation in cross-cultural use with Ugandans and other East Africans. In the known instruments and in designing interview guides, an examination of the cultural relevance of mental health constructs, terms and diagnoses that are used is needed to ensure the validity of the findings (Johnson, Kim, & Johnson-Pynn, 2012; Mamah et al., 2013). Providers must keep in mind tools that are commonly used to assess health in adolescents and young adults may be culturally inappropriate and/or may not capture the intended information from Ugandan youth.

Future Research

More research is needed in the areas of identity development (ethnic, racial, religious, sexual and gender), self-concept (self esteem and sense of future self), impact of family structure and role change, mental health, and contextual factors in different social contexts that are risk and/or protective factors for various health and social outcomes. As increasing numbers of Ugandans and other East African youth immigrants arrive during the critical period of identity development, studying the intersection of identity development with variables such as gender, perceived discrimination, and age at arrival, *together* with important socio-demographic characteristics such as social class will yield valuable information for understanding the acculturation trajectory for these youth. This type of work is progressively growing in the international community, although it is suggested from intercontinental European studies that while the structure of identity development is similar across countries, identity processes differ such as societal expectations, and timing of certain role transitions (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Meca, & Ritchie, 2012). An Israeli research group may provide a model for future research

through their extensive and growing body of work on identity and family functioning of Ethiopian and former Soviet Union youth (Mana, Orr, & Mana, 2009; Romi & Simcha, 2009).

Further, while the general immigrant literature provides wide evidence of an immigrant health effect or advantage (Hyman, 2001; Singh & Miller, 2004; Stephen, Foote, Hendershot, & Schoenborn, 1994), it is unclear if this advantage persists over time (Hyman, 2007; Singh & Siahpush, 2001; Uretsky & Mathiesen, 2007), and in immigrant *youth* studies, findings related to a health advantage are inconsistent and often conflicting (Hyman, 2001; Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). In African *adult* populations, multiple studies have suggested that African immigrants have a health advantage in comparison to other immigrant groups (Akresh & Frank, 2008; Read, Emerson, & Tarlov, 2005) and US born black adults (Elo & Culhane, 2010; Hamilton & Hummer, 2011). Further research in this area for African youth is needed.

Additionally, the inclusion of families as a unit for analysis would benefit research with Ugandans and other East African populations. Studies involving families as the unit of analysis are necessary given the collective family structure that is central to many African cultures. The family as a unit appears to provide support and protection through valuable parent-child relationships, similar to other adolescent cohorts, and replication studies to validate this finding would add to the growing literature on family dynamics as a protective factor to adolescent health. Further work is needed to elucidate the preliminary findings of the immigrant community's role in youth development with specific focus on the dynamics within the immigrant communities, the opportunities within for African-born youth, and the subsequent impact of that connectedness. The protective aspects of this structure as well as the tensions and conflicts it creates could be made clear through the study of family units. Also, with increasing numbers of Africans qualifying to sponsor other family members, the family re-unification route

is the fastest growing immigration channel (Thomas, 2011). As more intact families and more extended family members arrive, it may become possible through inclusion of families in research to understand the impact of collectivist family structure on youth and developmental processes.

Finally, the next step for me is to examine how the information learned in this study regarding identity development subsequently impacts decision making and health behaviors. This is a logical next step and is one that can lead to tailored knowledges and interventions, supportive programs and recommendations.

References

Akresh, I., & Frank, R. (2008). Health selection among new immigrants. *American Journal of Public Health*, *98*(11), 2058–2064. doi:10.2105/ajph.2006.100974

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review*, *31*, 826–887.

Alegria, M., Canino, G., Stinson, F. S., & Grant, B. F. (2006). Nativity and DSM-IV psychiatric disorders among Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, and non-Latino Whites in the United States: results from the National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions. *Jourmnal of Clinical Psychiatry*, *67*(1), 56–65.

Amoah, J. (2014). The Identity Question for African Youth: Developing the New While Maintaining the Old. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, *22*(1), 127–133. doi:10.1177/1066480713505068

Arthur, J. (2000). *Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diasporas in the US*. Westport: Praeger.

Bashi, B., & McDaniel, A. (1997). A theory of immigration and racial stratification. *Journal of Black Studies*, *27*, 668–682.

Beiser, M., Wood, M., Barwick, C., Berry, J. W., deCosta, G., Milne, W., et al. (1988). After the door has been opened: Mental health issues affecting immigrants and refugees in Canada. *Ministries of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, and Health and Welfare*.

Benson, J. (2006). Exploring the Racial Identities of Black Immigrants in the United States. *Sociological Forum*, *21*, 219–247.

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth Acculturation, Identity and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: an International Review*, *55*(3), 303–332.

Blum, R. (2007). Youth in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *41*(3), 230–238. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2007.04.005

Breslau, J., Borges, G., Hagar, Y., Tancredi, D., & Gilman, S. (2009). Immigration to the USA and risk for mood and anxiety disorders: variation by origin and age at immigration. *Psychological Medicine*, *39*(7), 1117–1127. doi:10.1017/s0033291708004698

Carballo, M. (1994). *Scientific consultation on the social and health impact of migration: Priorities for research*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Clarke, A. E. (2005). *Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cruz, J. (2010). This ain't Paris sweetie: Exploring West African and French identity in the Southern United States. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 792–800. doi:10.1177/1077800410383125

Cunningham, S., Ruben, J., & Narayan, V. (2008). Health of foreign-born people in the United States: a review. *Health & Place*, 623–636.

Duany, J., & Jorge. (1998). Reconstructingr acial identity: Ethnicity, color, and class among Domini-cans in the United States and Puerto Rico. *Latin American Perspectives*, *25*, 147–172.

Elo, I., & Culhane, J. (2010). Variations in health and health behaviors by nativity among pregnant Black women in Philadelphia. *American Journal of Public Health*, *100*(11), 2185–2192. doi:10.2105/ajph.2009.174755

Fenster, T., & Vizel, I. (2007). Globalization, sense of belonging and the African community in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. *HAGAR: Studies in Culture, Polity & Identities*, 7–24.

Fischer, N. (2011, April 26). *Pre- and Post- Migration Attitudes Among Ghanian International*

Students Living in the United States: A Study of Acculturation and Psychological Well-being.
(N. Fischer). Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond Virginia. Retrieved from
http://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/2551

Gibau, G. (2005). Diasporic identity formation among Cape Verdeans in Boston. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 532–539.

Goodman, R., Meltzer, H., & Bailey, V. (1998). The strengths and difficulties questionnaire: A pilot study on the validity of the self-report version. *European Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, *7*, 125–130.

Grant, B. F., Stinson, F. S., Hasin, D. S., Dawson, D. A., Chou, S. P., & Anderson, K. (2004). Immigration and lifetime prevalence of DSM-IV psychiatric disorders among Mexican Americans and non-Hispanic whites in the United States: results from the National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, *61*(12), 1226–1233. doi:10.1001/archpsyc.61.12.1226

Grant, P. (2007). Sustaining a strong cultural and national identity: the acculturation of immigrants and second generation Canadians of Asian and African descent. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *8*(1), 89–116.

Guenther, K. M., & Pendaz, S. (2011). The Impact of Intersecting Dimensions of Inequality and Identity on the Racial Status of Eastern African Immigrants. *Sociological Forum*, *26*(1). doi:10.1111/j.1573-7861.2010.01226.x

Hamilton, T., & Hummer, R. (2011). Immigration and the health of U.S. black adults: does country of origin matter? *Social Science Medicine*, *73*(10), 1551–1560. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.07.026

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1994). *Gendered Transitions: Mexican Experiences of Immigration*.

Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hunt, S. (2002). "Neither here nor there": The construction of identities and boundary maintenance of West African Pentecostals. *Sociology*, 147–169.

Hyman, I. (2001). Immigration and health. In *Health Policy Working Paper Series*. Canada: Health Canada.

Hyman, I. (2007). *Immigration and health: Reviewing evidence of healthy immigrant effect in Canada*. (M. Doucet)*CERIS Working Paper Series*. Toronto: Joint Center of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

Ibrahim, A. (2008). The new flaˆneur. *Cultural Studies*, *22*, 234–253. doi:10.1080/09502380701789141

Institute of Medicine. (1998). *From Generation to Generation: The Health and Well-Being of Children in Immigrant Families*. (National Academy Press). Washington, DC: Institute of Medicine.

Itzigsohn, J., & Dore-Cabral, C. (2000). Competing identities? Race, ethnicity and panethnicity among Domini-cans in the United States. *Sociological Forum*, *15*, 225–247.

Johnson, L. R., Kim, E. H., & Johnson-Pynn, J. S. (2012). Ethnic identity, self-efficacy, and intercultural attitudes in East African and US youth. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *27*(2), 256–289.

Kibour, Y. (2001). Ethiopian immigrants' racial identity attitudes and depression symptomatology: An exploratory study. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *7*, 47–58. doi:10.1037//1099-9809.7.1.47

Killian, C., & Johnson, C. (2006). "'I'm not an immigrant!'": Resistance, redefinition, and the role of resources in identity work. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60–80.

Kuver, J. (2009). Cultural and corporate belonging in the course of transnational biographies: A

    case study of a Sierra Leonean immigrant in Germany. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*,

    1–32.

Mamah, D., Striley, C. W., Ndetei, D. M., Mbwayo, A. W., Mutiso, V. N., Khasakhala, L. I., &

    Cottler, L. B. (2013). Knowledge of psychiatric terms and concepts among Kenyan youth:

    analysis of focus group discussions. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *50*(4), 515–531.

    doi:10.1177/1363461513499809

Mana, A., Orr, E., & Mana, Y. (2009). Social representations, social identity, and inter-group

    acculturation theories: An integrative model of adolescent immigrant identity construction.

    The Journal of Social Psychology, *149*(4), 450–473.

Mollersen, S., & Holte, A. (2008). Ethnicity as a variable in mental health research: a systematic

    review of articles published 1990-2004. *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, *62*(4), 322–328.

    doi:10.1080/08039480802044414

Njue, J., & Retish, P. (2010). Transitioning: Academic and Social Performance of African

    Immigrant Students in an American High School. *Urban Education*, *45*(3), 347–370.

Okonofua, B. (2013). "I Am Blacker Than You": Theorizing Conflict Between African

    Immigrants and African Americans in the United States. *SAGE Open*, *3*(3), 1–14.

    doi:10.1177/2158244013499162

Oppedal, B., Roysamb, E., & Heyerdahl, S. (2005). Ethnic group, acculturation, and psychiatric

    problems in young immigrants. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry*, *46*(6), 646–660.

    doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2004.00381.x

Peltzer, K. (2009). Health behavior and protective factors among school children in four African

    countries. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, *16*(2), 172–180.

doi:10.1007/s12529-008-9015-3

Read, J., Emerson, M., & Tarlov, A. (2005). Implications of black immigrant health for U.S. racial disparities in health. *Journal of Immigrant Health*, *7*(3), 205–212. doi:10.1007/s10903-005-3677-6

Rodriguez, C. (2000). *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: New York : University Press.

Romi, S., & Simcha, G. (2009). Ego identity and perceived family functioning: comparing at-risk native-born and immigrant Ethiopian adolescents in Israel. *Adolescence*, *44*(176), 869–890.

Rumbaut, R., & Portes, A. (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Sanchez-Pardo, E. (2011). Adrift on the black Mediterranean diaspora: African migrant writing in Spain. *Social Identities*, 105–120. doi:10.1080/13504630.2011.531908

Saraiva, C. (2008). Transnational migrants and transnational spirits: An African religion in Lisbon. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, 253–269. doi:10.1080/13691830701823921

Sargent, C., & Larchanche-Kim, S. (2006). Immigration status, gender, and the construction of identities among Malian migrants in Paris. *American Behavioral Scientist,*, 9–26.

Schwartz, S., Montgomery, M., & Briones, E. (2006). The Role of Identity in Acculturation among Immigrant People: Theoretical Propositions, Empirical Questions, and Applied Recommendations. *Human Development*, *49*, 1–30.

Schwartz, S., Zamboanga, B., Meca, A., & Ritchie, R. (2012). Identity around the world: an overview. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, *2012*(138), 1–18. doi:10.1002/cad.20019

Singh, G., & Miller, B. (2004). Health, life expectancy, and mortality patterns among immigrant populations in the United States. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, *95*(3), 114–121.

Singh, G., & Siahpush, M. (2001). All-cause and cause-specific mortality of immigrants and native born in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, *91*(3), 392–399.

Stephen, E., Foote, K., Hendershot, G., & Schoenborn, C. (1994). Health of the foreign-born population: United States, 1989-90. *Advance Data*, (241), 1–12.

Stevens, G., & Vollebergh, W. (2008). Mental health in migrant children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, and Allied Disciplines*, *49*(3), 276–294. doi:10.1111/j.1469-7610.2007.01848.x

Stuart, J., Ward, C., Jose, P. E., & Narayanan, P. (2010). Working with and for communities: A collaborative study of harmony and conflict in well-functioning, acculturating families. *Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *34*(2), 114–126.

Sumathipala, A., & Murray, J. (2006). New approach to translating instruments for cross-cultural research: a combined qualitative and quantitative approach for translation and consensus generation. *International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research*, *9*(2), 87–95.

Tanaka-Matsumi, J., & Draguns, J. (1997). Culture and psychopathology. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi, *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (2nd ed., Vol. 3, pp. 413–448). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Thomas, K. (2011). What Explains the Increasing Trend in African Emigration to the U.S.? *International Migration Review*, 3–28.

Uretsky, M. C., & Mathiesen, S. G. (2007). The effects of years lived in the United States on the general health status of California's foreign-born populations. *Journal of Immigrant & Minority Health*, *9*(2), 125–136. doi:10.1007/s10903-006-9017-7

Vaughn, L. M., & Holloway, M. (2010). West African immigrant families from Mauritania and Senegal in Cincinnati: a cultural primer on children's health. *Journal of Community Health*, *35*(1), 27–35. doi:10.1007/s10900-009-9191-3

Wambua, J., & Robinson, C. (2012). Possible Selves and Goal Orientations of East-African Undergraduate Students in the United States. In Z. Bekerman & T. Geisen, *International Handbook of Migration, Minorities and Education* (pp. 479–496). Springer Netherlands.

Yesefu, A. (2005). The gender dimensions of the immigrant experience: The case of African-Canadian women in Edmonton. In W. Tettey & K. Puplampu, *The African diaspora in Canada: Negotiating identity and belonging* (pp. 133–146). Alberta: University of Calgary Press.

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO
DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your country of origin: _____

2. Would you describe your city or village of origin as rural or urban?: _____

3. Year and age of immigration to the US: _____

4. Age Now: _____

5. Grade in school: _____

6. Languages Spoken: _____

7. Profession (if over 18): _____

8. Anything else you would like the researcher to know: _____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix B

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO
INTERVIEW GUIDE

Preamable:

I am a nurse who has previously worked in Uganda and the reason I wanted to meet you and ask some questions today is to learn more about female Ugandan immigrants and their experiences as young people in the US. I'm going to be asking you about good experiences and bad experiences related to your youth years and you are free to stop this interview at any time or choose not to answer any question.

Question	Probe	Notes
Can you start by telling me your name, age and where you were born?	Rural? Urban? Did you move at all? Who did you live with?	
Up until age __ (age when immigrated), what would you pick out as the most important event in your life?		
Tell me about your immigration experience when you moved to the US	Age when you came to the US? Did you come with your family? Did you have friends/family in the US? How did you feel about immigrating and leaving your home country? What did you think America would be like? Where did you get those ideas? Would you have changed any part of the immigration experience? What is your first memory in the US? Or first impressions?	
If your parents came here first and you joined later, any thoughts/memories?	How it felt to be separated? How it felt to re-unite?	

Tell me about the community and neighborhood you lived in when you moved here.	Were there other people from your country? Did that affect you at all? Was there anything specific about it that helped you? Was a problem? How about specific people in the community that had an effect on you or that you remember? Is there anything you think was different or unique about your community from other kids your age? Overall, as a teenager, how was your neighborhood/ community important to you? Did it influence you at all? Did you notice it in any way?	
Can you talk about how your immediate family changed, if at all when you moved here?	Did any family relationships or roles change? How has your family been a source of support? How has your family created further challenges? After you moved here did any family celebrations, traditions, or rituals that were important in your childhood change, or did your family develop new traditions?	
Tell me about ways you have found to stay in touch with your home country?	Is that important to you?	
Tell me about ways you are handling having 2 cultures both American and Ugandan?	Blending them? Balancing? Integrating? Combining? Are you seeing certain American things you want	

	more in your life or you want to specifically avoid? How to you know/choose which things about you will change now that you are here? Or is it totally a sub-conscious process?	
Tell me about the school you go to	Are there other people from your country? Or other immigrants in school?	
What are the best things about school?	Friends Role models Are there teachers or staff important to you?	

What are the challenging things about school?	Teasing/Bullying?
	    What age was it worst at? If it was certain kids, certain ages, certain settings, certain topics/triggers
	    How does it affect you?
	    What do you do when you are teased?
	    Is there anything you do that makes you feel better?
	    Could anything have prevented this? Helped?
	    Do you think the teasing you face is different than other kids because you are from another country?
	    An immigrant from Africa?
	    A girl?	

If at all, how do you think your school experience was/is different than other students because you are a girl or young women from Uganda?		
Is school easier or harder in the US?	Did you take a placement test?	

	Is language a barrier? Parents don't know to expect or request it? Do teachers and schools assume they are lower level learners? How does it feel for these students to be placed in lower level classes? (value of self) What does it mean for them as the year goes on? Is it a source of confidence and capability. A chance to shine with peers? Or might it feel limiting or degrading? Do students feel comfortable advocating for themselves? What are the advantages to it being easier/harder? Or disadvantages?	
What relationships are the most important to you? Friends, Family, someone else?	How would you describe those relationships?	
Tell me about your friends	Where did you meet? What do you have in common? What do you like to do together? How would your friends describe you?	
I am interested in how you describe yourself	If you fill out a form or identify with a group, what do you call yourself? Do you like that identity/label? Or is there some other title that works better? Has it always been that way since you arrived? If not, when did it change and why Are there advantages to	

	being in _____ group? Or calling yourself ____? Have you ever "hid" your identity in any way? Or has there ever been a time when you didn't share more about your culture?	
What do you think people think of when you say you are African or Ugandan?		
What traits do you think of when you think of a Ugandan or African?	Look like? Behavior characteristics? Other?	
Is this different than Black Americans born here?	What is the difference you see between African and African American? Did you see it that way when you lived in Africa? Or just since you moved?	
Are the African traits you describe different than other immigrants?	Different between different African populations?	
Where did you get your understandings of these different groups?		
Are their labels you specifically didn't want to have? Why?		
Is there a social order or ranking to these label or groups in the US?	Does this make you try harder to be in that group?	
Have you ever been mistaken as being in or from a different group?	How did that feel?	
Can you tell me about your awareness of race and racial issues when you lived in Uganda?		
How did immigrating at your age/life stage affect you?	Was that timing important to your development? Why? What if you moved earlier?/later? Is there a best age to immigrate? Why?	

	What would have been different about you if you stayed in your home country?	
Can you talk about differences and similarities between people with Ugandan parents who were born here vs people like you that grew up in Uganda and moved here?		
What has been the single most helpful thing in making the immigration process/experience work?	What has been the single most difficult thing that made the process hard?	
Do you notice any differences as a female in the US vs in Uganda?	Do you see your self and feminitiy or female gender any differently now that you are in the US	
What advice would you give to a girl or young woman who has just moved here?		
How would you define "health" or "being healthy"?		
If you have a question about something health-related, where do you go for the information?	Why do you go to that source? Anything you wish was there or available? What are the top three health-related things that you wish you knew more about? As a young adolescent? <15 As an older adolescent? >15 What do you learn about health in school? How does it apply to you or not?	
Tell me about things related to health and your	Tell me how you learned to handle (that	

body and mind that you think may be different or special because you grew up partly in another country.	situation/experience). Is there anything missing here in the United States that you really enjoyed/liked/or needed in your home country?	
Does anything or anyone specific affect your health behaviors?	Community School Family peer groups individual	
Is there anything that we've left out of your story?		
What are your feelings about this interview, and all that we have covered?		

Publishing Agreement

It is the policy of the University to encourage the distribution of all theses, dissertations, and manuscripts. Copies of all UCSF theses, dissertations, and manuscripts will be routed to the library via the Graduate Division. The library will make all theses, dissertations, and manuscripts accessible to the public and will preserve these to the best of their abilities, in perpetuity.

Please sign the following statement:

I hereby grant permission to the Graduate Division of the University of California, San Francisco to release copies of my thesis, dissertation, or manuscript to the Campus Library to provide access and preservation, in whole or in part, in perpetuity.

_____   June 10, 2015
Author Signature Date