Acculturation Gaps among Afghan Refugee Families in Canada: Implications for Family Relationships, Adaptation Outcomes and Subjective Wellbeing of Emerging Adults

by

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ABSTRACT

ACCULTURATION GAPs AMONG AFGHAN REFUGEE FAMILIES IN CANADA

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The present study applied and extended the acculturation gap-distress model to a sample of Afghan emerging adults and their parents living in Canada. Using two different methods to operationalize the “gap”, the impact of acculturation gaps on family relationships, adaptation outcomes and subjective wellbeing of Afghan emerging adults were examined. Acculturation was evaluated with regard to both Canadian and Afghan cultures, and independently for the language, identity, and behavioural domains of acculturation. Three themes emerged in the results: a) emerging adults’ proficiency in Farsi language and higher identification with Afghan culture are important factors behind their family relationships, adaptation outcomes and subjective wellbeing b) parents’ identification with the Canadian culture is an important factor behind emerging adults’ psychological adaptation and subjective wellbeing c) The parent-emerging adult gap in Canadian identity acculturation was the only type of gap associated with emerging adults’ lower reports of family cohesion.
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1 Introduction

Afghanistan has been exposed to continuous political upheaval and warfare since the late 1970’s (UNHCR, 2021). Three significant conflicts of the Soviet invasion of 1979, the civil war from 1994 to 2001 and the United States’ invasion of 2001, have contributed to the mass migration of Afghans in the past four decades (Mahdavi, 2014). Today, over 2.5 million Afghan refugees make the third largest displaced population in the world following Syrian and Venezuelan refugees (Saito, 2008; UNHCR, 2021). In August 2021, a revitalized group of Taliban seized most major cities of Afghanistan including the capital city of Kabul. This situation has introduced a new wave of Afghan refugees fleeing Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2021). In response to this recent crisis, Canada’s immigration program has welcomed many Afghan refugees. By 2023, Canada will resettle 40,000 vulnerable Afghans threatened by the current political situation (Government of Canada, 2021).

Resettling in a new society presents refugees with specific obstacles (Berry, 2006). Despite the increasing number of Afghan refugees resettling in Canada, only a few studies have investigated the acculturation experience of this population (Ahmad et al., 2020; Khanlou et al., 2008; Nourpanah, 2014; Stack & Iwasaki, 2009). This gap in the literature is particularly evident for Afghan youth and young adults. Youth and young adults are arguably the most vulnerable population of all refugees (Buchanan et al., 2018). Children of refugees experience many challenges in their adaptation to a new society including social alienation (Davies, 2008), difficulty accessing education (Women’s Refugee Commission, 2011), lack of support from adults (Sarr & Mosselson, 2010) and marginalization (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001a).
2 Literature Review

2.1 Acculturation

In 1936, Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits proposed an early definition of acculturation as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). Subsequent acculturation research resulted in two models of acculturation. A one-dimensional model proposes that as immigrants accept cultural aspects of the host society, they lose aspects of their heritage culture. According to this model, migrants may be situated on a continuum anywhere from un-acculturated to fully acculturated (c.f., Ryder et al., 2000). The one-dimensional model of acculturation was questioned by researchers who maintained that orientation to more than one culture is indeed possible (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006).

A bidimensional (also known as a bidirectional) model of acculturation was first introduced by John Berry (1970). As a broad conceptual framework, Berry proposed that acculturation to a new culture is independent of the maintenance of one’s heritage culture and the two can coexist (Berry, 2006). Based on their orientation towards heritage and host culture, migrants may take different approaches to acculturation, originally labelled as acculturation strategies. Integration constitutes a connection to both the dominant and heritage group; assimilation refers to an exclusive orientation towards the dominant group; separation entails an exclusive link to the heritage group; and marginalization refers to an orientation towards neither group (Berry, 2007).
2.1.1 Acculturation Gap

When considered within a family context, it has been suggested that immigrant parents and their children undergo a different rate of acculturation (e.g., Aumann et al., 2022; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Phinney et al., 2000). The pace at which individuals acculturate to the norms of a society often depends on the amount of exposure and one’s age at the time of arrival (Birman, 2006a). For example, children of immigrants often have more exposure to the host culture through attending school, and spending time with peers from different backgrounds than their parents. Thus, children may be more readily available to adopt the lifestyles and common norms of the new culture than their parents (Birman, 2006a). In a similar vein, children’s heritage identification may be lower than their parents without the formal education and exposure to cultural norms of their heritage culture (Birman, 2006a). Therefore, it is argued that immigrant children typically learn to navigate the larger society and learn the language more rapidly than their parents. This phenomenon is known as acculturation gap (Birman, 2006a, 2006b), dissonant acculturation (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), acculturation disparity (Tardif & Geva, 2006) or generational dissonance (Harris & Chen, 2022).

Whether the presence of an acculturation gap causes conflict between parents and children has been controversial. Some researchers (e.g., Lau et al., 2005) have found no relationship between intergenerational differences in acculturation and measures of family conflict. Others argue that acculturation gaps lead to potential conflict in parent-child relationships (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). According to Acculturation Gap Distress model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), the different pace and levels of acculturation between parents and children compounds the normative intergenerational gap that exists in families, leading to
family stress, conflict, and youth maladjustment (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Szapocznik et al., 1984). To date, support for this model has been inconsistent. For example, Crane et al., (2005), found that acculturation gap was significantly associated with depressive symptoms and delinquency among North American Chinese adolescents. Similarly, among American Indian youth, low acculturation gap was significantly associated with high self-esteem, low levels of anxiety, and less family conflicts (Farver et al., 2002). In contrast, some studies have not found acculturation gaps to be associated with any negative outcomes (e.g., Nieri & Bermudez-Parsai, 2014).

It has been argued that conceptual and methodological discrepancies may account for the disparate outcomes (e.g., Costigan, 2010; Telzer, 2010). For this reason, an increasing number of researchers have cast doubt on the generalizability of the Acculturation Gap Distress model and recommended that researchers develop conceptual and methodological consensus (e.g., Birman, 2006b, Costigan, 2010; Sun, Geeraert & Simpson, 2020; Telzer, 2010).

2.1.2 Studies of acculturation gap

When assessing acculturation gap, some studies did not employ a bidimensional model of acculturation and primarily assessed acculturation to only the host society (e.g., Merali 2002; Rick & Forward 1992). Nevertheless, such assessments overlook the possibility that acculturating immigrants may embrace both or be comfortable in neither of the two cultures (Berry et al., 1986). It has been suggested that the gap in endorsement of heritage culture (i.e., enculturation gap) may specifically be more maladaptive (e.g., Manzo et al., 2022; Marsiglia et al., 2018), especially when children are less oriented to their heritage culture compared to their
parents (Goforth et al., 2015; Ho & Birman, 2010; Telzer et al., 2016). This distinction is important but is missed when acculturation is not treated as bidimensional.

2.1.2.1 Domains of Acculturation

Acculturation theorists have emphasized the importance of considering many domains of acculturation such as, language, customs, and identification with the new and the old culture (e.g., Navas et al., 2007; Safdar et al., 2003). Some studies have focused on only one domain of acculturation, such as language (e.g., Juang et al., 2007; Pasch et al., 2006) whereas others examined different domains of acculturation. Many of these latter studies have combined all domains of acculturation into a single global index. Studies using a single global index, may have neglected how acculturation gap can be associated with outcomes in some domains and not others. For example, Birman (2006b) measured acculturation gap in the three domains of language, identity, and behavioural engagement among Soviet Jewish refugees in United States. Results suggested that acculturation gap only in the American identity domain was significantly related to family maladjustment. Similarly, among Vietnamese refugees, disparities only in Vietnamese identity acculturation were significantly related to lower family functioning (Ho & Birman, 2010). In both studies, separate investigation of different domains showed that acculturation gap in the language and behavioural domains may not be relevant to negative family outcomes.

2.1.2.2 Operationalization of Acculturation Gap

Aside from conceptual discrepancies, another possible explanation behind inconsistent results in previous studies may be the heterogeneous approaches used to operationalize
acculturation gap. Based on current literature, acculturation gap has usually been measured in one of four ways.

*Perceived acculturation.* Several studies have investigated acculturation gap as the perceived gap from either the child or parents’ perspective (e.g., Lui, 2019; Nair et al., 2018). For example, a study by Rasmi et al. (2015), investigated acculturation gap among Arab Canadian emerging adults and their parents. Emerging adults, in this study rated each item on the acculturation scale three times, indicating their personal response, and how they perceived their father and mother. Similarly, Buki et al. (2003), asked Chinese immigrant mothers to rate their own and their perception of their children’s acculturation level. Larger gaps were significantly associated with reports of communication difficulty and lower levels of satisfaction with one’s parenting among mothers. One obvious limitation of this approach is that children and parents may overestimate or underestimate each other’s level of acculturation. Many researchers have addressed this issue by calculating the actual acculturation gap.

*A match/mismatch* is a measure of actual acculturation gap in which children’s and parents’ acculturation are categorized into either “matched” or mismatched” groups. This measurement is based on Berry’s four categorization of acculturation. Parents and children with the same endorsement are matched and those with different endorsements are mismatched. While this approach has been used to address the limitation of perceived acculturation measurement (Nieri et al., 2016; Pasch et al., 2006; Yan et al., 2022), it fails to assess both individual levels of acculturation and the magnitude or size of the gap (Costigan, 2010).

*Using difference score,* is when researchers subtract parent’s acculturation score from their child’s. This approach allows for measuring the size of the gap or distance between parent
and child acculturation (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007; Cox et al., 2013; Marsiglia et al., 2014). One limitation of this approach is that researchers did not consider individual acculturation levels. Consequently, it may not be easy to ascertain if the significant results were due to the gap or individual acculturation levels (Birman 2006b; Telzer 2010; Telzer et al., 2016). A second limitation of this approach is that while it provides the magnitude of the difference, in most studies the direction of the gap has not been considered. In other words, this approach assumes that children are always higher than their parents in endorsement of host culture and parents are always higher in their endorsement of heritage culture (Telzer, 2010). This is an important consideration as some studies have found substantial variability in acculturation levels of parents and children. For example, among Indian immigrant families, a significant proportion of children were more traditional and less Western than their parents (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007). In fact, the study suggested no systematic pattern behind parent-child acculturation differences (Atzaba-Poria & Pike, 2007). Among immigrant families from the former Soviet Union living in U.S, almost one quarter of parents identified with American culture more than their children (Birman, 2006b). To address the issue of acculturation gap direction and possible main effects of individuals’ acculturation levels, a number of studies have utilized an interaction method.

*Interaction.* In this method, the child and parent’s acculturation levels are centered and multiplied to create an interaction term. They are then entered in a regression analysis simultaneously with the main effects of individual acculturation levels. Birman (2006a), Costigan, (2010) and Telzer (2010) have all argued that this method is an ideal approach to operationalization of acculturation gaps, as it considers both the individual and the interplay between parent-child acculturation levels. While the interaction method has been used
increasingly by many researchers, some studies have only investigated the significance of the acculturation gap interaction, while neglecting the independent effect of child and parent cultural orientations (e.g., Lazarevic et al., 2012).

2.2 Emerging adults

The majority of acculturation gap studies have focused on adolescents with only a few focusing on emerging adults (Chen & Sheldon, 2012; Lui, 2015; Rasmi et al., 2015, Sun et al., 2020). Adolescence refers to a developmental stage characterized by youth initiating their identity exploration outside of the family unit in order to navigate societal expectations and interactions (Rueger et al., 2010). This stage of development corresponds approximately to the age period between 10 and 19 years, which is in accordance with the World Health Organization’s definition of adolescence (Sacks, 2003). Emerging adulthood refers to the age range from 18 to 29, a period that is distinct from adolescence and adulthood (Tanner et al., 2009). The theory of emerging adulthood was first developed by Arnett (2000), as a framework for recognizing that the transition from adolescence to adulthood has become longer due to societal reasons such as higher age at the time of marriage, higher pursuit of post-secondary education and different mating practices (e.g., having non-committed relationships). Emerging adulthood has been characterized as the least structured stage of life when identity exploration continues and the possibility of feeling in between remains high (Arnett, 2011). According to Arnett (2003), what distinguishes adolescents from adults may be very different across different societies. In other words, people across different societies believe in different criteria for considering someone an adult. Among adolescents living in North America the three top criteria consistently have been “accepting responsibility for one’s self, making independent decisions,
and becoming financially independent” (Arnett 2000, p. 473). These criteria may be attained gradually throughout the course of emerging adulthood (Facio & Micocci, 2003).

Across collectivistic cultures, it has been argued that marriage may well be the ultimate criteria of transition to adulthood as it reflects not an achievement of the individual but a mutual commitment between two persons and often two extended families (Arnett, 2003). In some ethno-cultural groups, children continue to reside in the family home until marriage, which can occur well beyond adolescence (Rasmi et al., 2015). Thus, challenges once considered most salient to adolescents, such as acculturation gaps and intergenerational conflict, may be relevant to emerging adults from certain immigrant backgrounds (e.g., Ahn et al., 2008).

2.3 Psychological and Sociocultural Adaptation

Ward and colleagues introduced the terms psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1992). Psychological adaptations pertain to feelings of wellbeing or happiness after migration to a new society. In other words, psychological adaptation, is related to affect and refers to how comfortable and happy a person feels in regard to being in the new culture, or how anxious and out of place they feel as a result of acculturation stress (Matsumoto, 2001). Sociocultural adaptation is related to one’s ability to “fit in”, do well and behave according to the social expectations in a new culture (Ward & Kennedy, 1999). For example, interethnic friendships among young migrants can be interpreted as a sign of sociocultural adaptation, as interethnic friendships require a certain level of language proficiency and culturally appropriate behaviour (Titzmann et al., 2012). Prior research has demonstrated that psychological and sociocultural adaptations are conceptually connected to one another and have been used as a measure of overall wellbeing of immigrants and newcomers (Searle & Ward,
The psychological and sociocultural adaptation of immigrant adolescents and young adults have been the subject of much research (e.g., Frankenberg et al., 2013). However, an extensive search did not identify any studies that investigated the link between acculturation gaps and these two constructs of wellbeing among emerging adults.

### 2.4 Summary

Acculturation gaps and their implications on immigrant children’s wellbeing have received much attention. Most studies have investigated the experience of adolescents with only a few focusing on emerging adults. Considering the theoretical argument for the vulnerability of emerging adults, there seems to be a gap in literature investigating the experience of this population with regards to acculturation gap.

In addition, the conceptual and methodological diversity of previous studies has resulted in contradictory and complex findings. It was discussed earlier that several studies drew broad conclusions from a one-dimensional or a single global index of acculturation. When studies evaluated acculturation along multiple domains and in relation to both the native and host cultures, the patterns of gaps were shown to be more complex. The disadvantages of several techniques utilized in previous research was discussed next. Considering these limitations, an increasing number of acculturation gap researchers have recommended employing a bidimensional and multidomain acculturation model, assessing acculturation independently for parents and children; and using an interaction technique (e.g., Birman, 2006b, Costigan, 2010; Sun et al., 2020; Telzer, 2016).
3 Overview of the Present Research

The present study extended the acculturation gap-distress model to a sample of Afghan emerging adults and their parents living in Canada. To date, no studies have investigated acculturation gap among Afghan families. Studies of Afghan families suggest that Afghan households could involve three or even four generations living in the same households (Evason, 2019). It may be more likely that Afghan parents and their emerging adults live in the same households after migration (Muller, 2010). An Afghani household size on average has been reported to be 7.8 people. Culturally, this unit includes a husband, wife, their unmarried daughters, their sons and sons’ spouse and children (Evason, 2019).

In the present study, cultural orientations of Afghan parents and their emerging adults separately in multiple domains (i.e., behavioral practices, language proficiency, and identification) across both Canadian and Afghani cultures were measured. The size and direction of acculturation gaps between parents and emerging adults in all domains and across both cultures were measured. Subsequently, the impact of acculturation gaps on family relationships, adaptation outcomes and subjective well-being of Afghan emerging adults were examined. To demonstrate the benefits of operationalizing the gaps as an interaction between emerging adult and parent acculturation, both the difference score and interaction techniques were employed.

3.1 Research Questions and Hypotheses

Research Question 1. What is the size and direction of acculturation gaps?

The group differences in acculturation levels of parents and emerging adults on each of the three domains of language, identity and behavioural acculturation and with respect to both
Canadian and Afghan cultures were examined. Based on findings in this program of research (Birman, 2006b; Birman et al., 2002; Birman & Trickett, 2001, Ho & Birman, 2010), the following hypotheses were developed:

**Hypothesis 1a)** As a group, emerging adults will be more proficient in English, report higher identification with the Canadian culture and have higher engagement in behavioural practices related to Canadian culture.

**Hypothesis 1b)** As a group, parents would be more proficient in Farsi, report higher identification with the Afghan culture and higher levels of engagement in behavioral practices related to Afghan culture.

Next, the study examined whether the gaps within each dyad would follow a similar pattern as the one observed at the group level or if there would be variability in the direction of the gaps at the family level.

**Hypothesis 2)** It is expected that in several families, emerging adults will be more oriented towards Afghan culture and less oriented towards Canadian culture than their parents. Previous findings among Vietnamese and former Soviet Union refugees have shown that in several families, the direction of acculturation gaps may be the opposite of what was predicted by acculturation gap theories (Birman, 2006b; Ho & Birman, 2010).

**Research Question 2.** What would be the relationship of acculturation gaps to emerging adults’ reports of family adjustment, adaptation outcomes and subjective wellbeing?
This question was explored in two ways. In the first approach, acculturation gaps were determined by calculating the absolute value of the difference between each emerging adult and the parent in each domain and with respect to both cultures. In the second approach, the acculturation gaps were measured as the interaction of parent and emerging adult’s acculturation levels. Prior studies among immigrants from different backgrounds have produced diverse and contradicting results. This study was the first to investigate the relation between acculturation gap (computed as difference score and interaction) and the outcome variables of interest among Afghan families. Thus, research question 2 was treated as exploratory and no hypotheses were proposed.

4 Method

4.1 Participants and Procedures

Prior to collection of the data, a power analysis was conducted. It was determined to have a large effect size, to limit a type I error of 5%, and to have a power of .8, a minimum sample size of 104 participants or 52 dyads was required (via G*Power version 3.1.9.7).

A total of 148 participants (77 emerging adults, 68 parents and three care givers) participated\(^1\). All participants were originally from Afghanistan who at the time of the study lived in Canada. Participants were recruited through settlement agencies, service providers and

\(^1\) I conducted a compromise power analysis to determine $1 - \beta$ (power) for a linear multiple regression model as a function of $\alpha$, population effect size parameter and the sample size. $\alpha$ was set at 0.05. The effect size parameter was estimated by reviewing previous research examining the relationship between acculturation gaps and children’s mental wellbeing (e.g., Wiesner et al., 2015). Past research suggested a range of effect sizes falling generally within the lower and upper boundaries of what is typically considered medium effect sizes based on Cohen (1988). Therefore, I selected a medium effect size; specifically, $f^2 = 0.15$ in line with Cohen (1988). The number of predictors to examine question 2 for each regression model was 3 for difference score and 6 for interaction analyses. Results of both analyses suggested a $1 - \beta$ (power) estimate of 0.935.
community organizations in Vancouver British Colombia. Questionnaires were completed online through Qualtrics. Parents and emerging adults completed all measures. However, only data from emerging adults were utilized for the outcome variables. A translated version of the questionnaire was made available. Thirty-six participants completed the survey in Farsi language. The survey items were translated from English to Farsi language by a native bilingual (English - Farsi) speaker. The Farsi version was consequently evaluated by two other judges from Afghanistan who are both native Farsi speakers and are also fluent in English. All procedures performed in the study were reviewed by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Guelph (see Appendix E).

Eight parents’ responses to the survey were omitted from the final analysis because their emerging adult children did not participate. Similarly, six emerging adults’ responses were excluded because their parents did not participate in the study. Consequently, data from a total of 63 parent-emerging adult dyads was used for the final analyses. Of the 126 participants (63 children and 63 parents), seven participants had missing at least one item response. For these individuals, a score was calculated using the mean of the available responses on the scale.

Emerging adults were between the ages of 18 and 29. Of the 63 emerging adults in the sample, 27 identified as males, 32 as females, two as “intersex” and two chose “prefer not say”. They lived in Canada for an average of 12.87 years ($SD = 9.03$), ranging between less than a year

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2 As the data collection process coincided with the prevalence of COVID 19 pandemic (March 2022 to September 2022), the primary platform utilised by the community organisations was online and via social media platforms such as Facebook. Individuals could share the link to the study with their networks. Therefore, the study’s sample was comprised of more than just the organisations’ clientele.
and 28 years. The average age of arrival to Canada was 10.26 ($SD = 7.37$). At the time of data collection, the emerging adults were on average 22.89 years old ($SD = 3.51$).

*Parents and Caregivers.* Of the 60 parents and three caregivers, the majority were mothers ($n=41$). The mean age of the parents/caregivers was 51.02 ($SD = 7.21$) ranging from 36 to 66. The average age at which parents and caregivers arrived in Canada was 37.57 years old. Their period of residency in Canada varied from less than a year to 34 years, with a mean of 12.89 years. Reports on levels of education among parents and caregivers included no education ($n=5$), elementary school ($n=10$), secondary school ($n=6$), high school ($n=21$), undergraduate degree ($n=15$), graduate degree ($n=5$) and prefer not to say ($n=1$).

### 4.2 Measures

#### 4.2.1 Demographic Information

Demographic data were gathered from both parents and emerging adults. The questions included, age, gender, age at arrival in Canada and length of residence in Canada. In addition, parents were asked about their level of education and chose from no education, elementary school, secondary school, high school, undergraduate degree, graduate degree, and prefer not to say.

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3 Upon completion of data collection, it became evident that the question about parents' level of education was limited, as a broad terminology of "undergraduate degree" was used and the question did not differentiate between a college certificate, diploma, and bachelor's degree.
4.2.2 Acculturation

Acculturation was measured using the Language, Identity, and Behavioral Acculturation Scale (LIB; Birman & Trickett, 2001) (see Appendix A). The LIB consists of 50 items. It was originally designed to measure acculturation to Russian and American cultures independently. The scale is divided into subscales which measure language competency, identification with and degree of behavioural engagement in host and heritage cultures. The instrument yields a total acculturation score and separate subscale scores for each dimension of language, identity, and behavioural acculturation. The LIB was used in this research because it has good overall validity, reliability and has been utilized by other acculturation gap researchers (e.g., Birman, 2006) as mentioned previously, to allow comparison of results, it has been recommended that researchers in acculturation gap studies have consensus on their measurements of acculturation.

It is important to note that the subscale of language and behavioural of LIB scale may ask similar questions. However, while language subscale measures one’s capability to speak their host and heritage language, the behavioural subscale, measures their preference to participate in cultural engagements (Birman & Trickett, 2001). For the purpose of this study, LIB scale was used for Afghan and Canadian acculturation respectively.

Language competence. This subscale consists of nine parallel items asking participants to rate their ability to speak and understand Farsi and English. Ratings were made on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 “not at all” to 4 “very well, like a native”. An example of an

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4 Throughout the paper, the words “domain” and “dimension” are used to refer to two distinct constructs. While LIB scale has 3 domains (language, identity and behavioural), previous studies (e.g., Birman, 2006b) have referred to 6 dimensions (Canadian language, Canadian identity, Canadian behavioural, Afghan language, Afghan identity and Afghan behavioural).
item is “How would you rate your ability to speak English at home/work?”). Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficients for the emerging adults in this sample were .96 for the Afghan and .95 for the English language acculturations. For parents, Cronbach’s alpha for the Afghan language acculturation was .90 and .97 for the English language acculturation.

Identity acculturation. This subscale of the LIB was first adapted by Birman & Trickett (2001) from the Multidimensional Scale for Latinos (Birman & Zea, 1996) and the American Identity Questionnaire (Phinney & Devitch-Navarro, 1997). Participant were rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 “not at all” to 4 “very much”. Example items on heritage and host cultural identity are “I think of myself as being a Canadian” vs. “I think of myself as being an Afghan.” Alpha reliability coefficients were .89 and .90 for Canadian identity and .88 and .93 for Afghan identity for emerging adults and parents, respectively.

Behavioural acculturation. This subscale represents a revision of a measure used by Birman and Tyler (1994) and the Behavioral Acculturation Scale (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde, 1978) that were adapted by Birman & Trickett (2001). Nine parallel items measure participants’ behavioural acculturation to heritage and host culture. Behavioural acculturation is defined as "the extent to which an individual engages in behaviours associated with each culture (e.g., language, media, music, entertainment and food)" (Birman, Trickett, & Vinokurov, 2002, p. 593). Participants were rated on each item with a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 “not at all” to 4 “very much”. Examples of an item on both heritage and host behavioural acculturation is “How much do you socialize with Canadian friends?” vs “How much do you socialize with friends from Afghanistan”. Alpha reliability coefficients were .89
and .90 for Canadian and .88 and .93 for Afghan behavioural acculturation for emerging adults and parents, respectively.

4.2.3 Family Relationships

Family Cohesion and Adaptation Evaluation Scale III, a 20-item questionnaire was chosen to measure quality of family relationships (Olson, Portner, & Lavee, 1985). The scale assesses the degree of family cohesion and adaptability perceived by emerging adults in the study. Ten odd-numbered items measured cohesion and 10 even-numbered items measured adaptability (see Appendix B). The measure asks respondents to identify on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 “almost never” to 5 “almost always”, how frequently the mentioned behaviour happens in their family. For the cohesion subscale, items represented five concepts in a family context: emotional bonding, supportiveness, family boundaries, time together, approval of friends, and interest in recreation. A sample item includes: “We approve of each other's friends”. Alpha reliability coefficients were .88 and .90 for emerging adults and parents, respectively.

The family adaptability items measure the degree of decision making by emerging adults, discipline, leadership roles, and rules in the family. A sample item for this measure included “In solving problems, the children's suggestions are followed”. Alpha reliability coefficients for the adaptability scale were .88 and .86 for emerging adult and parents, respectively.

4.2.4 Adaptation

Psychological Adaptation (Demes & Geeraert, 2012; 10-items). This scale measures emerging adults’ adaptation through their feelings about being in Canada (e.g., “I am excited about being in Canada”) and away from Afghanistan or a different original country (e.g., “Sad to
be away from Afghanistan”). Responses were recorded on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 “strongly disagree”, to 7 “strongly agree” (see Appendix C). Alpha reliability coefficients were .74 and .80 for emerging adults and parents, respectively.

*Sociocultural Adaptation* (Demes & Geeraert, 2012; 12-items). This scale measures emerging adults’ adaptation through how easy or difficult it is to live in Canada regarding twelve different aspects of life in Canada (e.g., climate, family life, food etc.) (see Appendix C for all items). Responses were recorded on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 “strongly disagree”, to 7 “strongly agree”. Alpha reliability coefficients was .67 and .69 among emerging adults and parents, respectively.

4.2.5 Subjective Wellbeing

*Satisfaction with life*. To measure subjective wellbeing, the Satisfaction with Life Scale developed by Diener et al., (1985) was used. This scale is made of 5 items. Emerging adults were asked to indicate their agreement to the items on a scale ranging from 1 “strongly disagree” to 7 “strongly agree”. A sample item included, “In most ways my life is close to my ideal.” (See Appendix D). The coefficient alpha was 0.78 among emerging adults and .74 among parents.

5 Results

5.1 Preliminary Analyses

---

5 Alpha reliability did not improve by removal of any items from the scale.
### Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of all Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$N=27$</td>
<td>$N=32$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$M (SD)$</td>
<td>$M (SD)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canadian Acculturation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>3.28 (0.47)</td>
<td>3.09 (0.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>2.60 (0.56)</td>
<td>2.58 (0.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>2.66 (0.61)</td>
<td>2.55 (0.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Afghan Acculturation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>2.35 (0.73)</td>
<td>2.65 (0.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>2.31 (0.66)</td>
<td>2.35 (0.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>2.18 (0.54)</td>
<td>2.30 (0.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Cohesion</td>
<td>2.95 (0.62)</td>
<td>3.32 (0.77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Adaptability</td>
<td>2.67 (0.62)</td>
<td>2.86 (0.91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Adaptation</td>
<td>4.87 (0.52)</td>
<td>4.82 (0.72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociocultural Adaptation</td>
<td>5.29 (0.69)</td>
<td>5.20 (0.88)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective Wellbeing</td>
<td>4.19 (0.80)</td>
<td>4.28 (1.17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Descriptive Analyses.** Residuals were checked for skewness, kurtosis, normality, and linearity assumptions to ensure the scales meet the required criteria. The descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1.
Dimensionality. LIB scale is designed to measure acculturation in multiple domains. To validate the multi-domain aspect of the model, Pearson correlations were conducted to compare acculturation between different domains among emerging adults as a group and subsequently among parents as a group. As shown in Table 2 the correlations between Afghan language, identity and behavioural dimensions ranged from .11 to .50 for emerging adults and between .34 to .69 for parents. The Canadian acculturation correlations ranged from .40 to .67 for emerging adults and .21 to .52 for parents.

In general, for both cultures, and for both parents and emerging adults, language and identity acculturation emerged mostly independent of one another (see Table 2). However, relatively stronger correlations were observed between Canadian behavioural and language acculturations for parents \((r = .52, p < .01)\) and for emerging adults \((r = .50, p < .01)\), between Canadian identity and behavioural acculturation for emerging adults \((r = .67, p < .01)\) and between Afghan identity and behavioural acculturation for parents \((r = .69, p < .01)\) as well as emerging adults \((r = .50, p < .01)\). These higher correlations are consistent with the acculturation paradigm underlying LIB scale which suggest that behavioural acculturation is a reflection of both cultural identity and language proficiency (Birman, 2006b; Birman & Trickett, 2001).

\(^{7}\) In prior studies using LIB scale (e.g., Birman, 2006; Birman and Trickett, 2001) correlations above \(r = .50\) have been considered as relatively stronger correlations. The same logic was followed in this study.
For parents, Canadian behavioural and identity acculturations were not significantly correlated ($r = .21, p = 0.10$). Similarly, for emerging adults, Afghan language and Afghan identity were not significantly correlated ($r = .11, p = .84$). In other words, lack of proficiency in Farsi did not indicate lower degrees of identification with Afghan culture among emerging adults.
Table 2. Correlations of Acculturation Dimensions Reported by Parents and Emerging Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Parents' Reports of Acculturation</th>
<th>Emerging Adults' Reports of Acculturation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Canadian Language</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Canadian Identity</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Canadian Behavioural</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Afghan Language</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Afghan Identity</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Afghan Behavioural</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. M and SD are used to represent mean and standard deviation, * indicates p < .05. ** indicates p < .01.
Significant correlations (all at $p < .01$ level) were observed among the five outcome variables reported by emerging adults (see Table 3). These significant correlations suggest that family environment, adaptation and subjective wellbeing are distinct yet related concepts.

**Table 3. Correlations between the Outcome Variables Reported by Emerging Adults**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>$SD$</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Family Cohesion</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Family Adaptability</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Psychological Adaptation</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.44**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sociocultural Adaptation</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>.63**</td>
<td>.44**</td>
<td>.57**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Subjective Wellbeing</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>.68**</td>
<td>.56**</td>
<td>.61**</td>
<td>.55**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. $M$ and $SD$ are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$

**5.2 Main Study Questions**

Research Question 1. What is the size and direction of acculturation gaps?

At the group level, differences between parents and emerging adults on each of the six acculturation dimensions were tested using a mixed model. As seen in Table 4, emerging adults as a group scored significantly higher than parents on Canadian language and Canadian behavioural acculturations. Emerging adults’ Canadian language mean score (3.19) was significantly higher than the mean for parents (2.20). The overall mean for emerging adults’ Canadian behavioural acculturation (2.63) was also significantly higher than the overall mean for parents (2.09). While emerging adults’ overall mean on the Canadian identity dimension was higher than parents, this difference was not statistically significant (see Table 4).
In accordance with Hypothesis 1b, parents as a group were significantly higher than emerging adults on all the three Afghan acculturation domains. Specifically, compared to emerging adults, parents on average had a higher degree of competency in Farsi language (3.52 vs. 2.50), endorsed higher identification with Afghan culture (3.09 vs. 2.29) and engaged in more behavioural practices related to Afghan culture (2.82 vs. 2.25); all differences were significant at the $p < 0.001$ level.

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics of Acculturation for Afghan Immigrant Emerging Adults and Their Parents (n= 63)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Parents group mean</th>
<th>Emerging adults group mean</th>
<th>t value (df)</th>
<th>Mean absolute value of acculturation gap (SE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canadian Acculturation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>8.45 (61.90) ***</td>
<td>0.99 (0.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>1.50 (61.28)</td>
<td>0.16 (0.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>4.28 (123) ***</td>
<td>0.54 (0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Afghan Acculturation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>10.02 (61.48) ***</td>
<td>1.02 (0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>6.37 (62.22) ***</td>
<td>0.80 (0.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>5.46 (62.10) ***</td>
<td>0.58 (0.11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Differences in acculturation at the dyad level. Acculturation gaps were computed for each parent-emerging adult pair with respect to each of the six acculturation dimensions by subtracting the scores of the parent from the emerging adult. In accordance with Hypotheses 2a and 2b, there were several families where the gap's direction in each of the six dimensions were the reverse of what the acculturation gap theories anticipated. These gaps are listed in Table 5. While as a group, emerging adults were higher than their parents on English competence and Canadian behavioural acculturation, examining differences in acculturation scores at the dyad
level uncovered several notable exceptions. There were 5 families in which parents reported a higher level of proficiency in English than their emerging adults. In 23 families, parents reported higher levels of identification with the Canadian culture than their emerging adults. In 16 families, higher levels of engagement in Canadian behavioural practices were reported by parents.

With respect to Afghan acculturation, in 5 families, emerging adults reported higher levels of proficiency in Farsi language than their parents. In 7 families emerging adults reported greater levels of identification with Afghan culture. In 11 families, emerging adults reported higher levels of engagement in Afghan behavioural practices than their parents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5. Frequency of Unexpected Gaps, Computed as Difference Scores Between Parents and Emerging Adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parents were higher than emerging adults on:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers of Families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Behavioural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emerging adults were higher than parents on:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghan Behavioural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Research Question 2.* What would be the relationship of acculturation gaps to emerging adults’ reports of family adjustment, adaptation outcomes and subjective wellbeing?  

---

8 Due to a limited sample size and the overfitting of numerous variables in the regression models, the demographic variables were removed from the main analyses. When the predictive variables account for variance above the error term, they serve as a useful source of information. To avoid compromising the validity of the results, and after consulting with the members of my committee and statistics experts from the University of Guelph Library, it was determined that excluding the demographic factors from the analyses was an appropriate course of action for this sample size.
**Difference Scores.** In the first approach, acculturation gaps were determined by calculating the absolute value of the difference between acculturation level of each emerging adult and parent. For each outcome variable, two separate linear regression models were conducted. In the first model, the three Afghan acculturation dimensions (Language, Identity and Behavioural) were entered all together. In the second model, the three Canadian acculturation dimensions were entered all together. As presented in Table 6, among Afghan acculturation dimensions, the gaps in Farsi proficiency were significantly associated with emerging adults’ reports of family cohesion ($b = -.39, SE = .12, p = .001, 95\% CI [-.62, -.16]$), family adaptability ($b = -.36, SE = .11, p = .003, 95\% CI [-.59, -.13]$), and subjective wellbeing ($b = -.48, SE = .16, p = .004, 95\% CI [-.80, -.15]$). The larger gaps were significantly associated with lower reports of family cohesion, family adaptability and subjective wellbeing. Larger gaps in Afghan behavioural acculturation were associated with emerging adults’ higher reports of subjective wellbeing ($b = .43, SE = .20, p = .038, 95\% CI [0.03, 0.83]$). No significant associations were found between any of the outcome variables and gaps in any domains of Canadian acculturation.
Table 6. Regression Findings with Acculturation Gaps Operationalized as Absolute Value of Parent-Emerging Adult Difference Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome Variables</th>
<th>Acculturation Gaps as Difference Score</th>
<th>Acculturation Gaps as Difference Score</th>
<th>Acculturation Gaps as Difference Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian Language</td>
<td>Canadian Identity</td>
<td>Canadian Behavioural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estimates 95% CI</td>
<td>Estimates 95% CI</td>
<td>Estimates 95% CI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Cohesion</td>
<td>b          SE      Lower  Upper</td>
<td>b          SE      Lower  Upper</td>
<td>b          SE      Lower  Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Cohesion</td>
<td>.24        .12       -.01   .49</td>
<td>.04        .12       -.20   .29</td>
<td>-.05       .11       -.27   .17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Adaptability</td>
<td>.27        .13       .01    .52</td>
<td>.05        .13       -.20   .30</td>
<td>.06        .11       -.16   .29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Adaptation</td>
<td>.05        .11       -.17   .27</td>
<td>.22        .11       .00    .44</td>
<td>-.11       .10       -.31   .08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological Adaptation</td>
<td>.12        .14       -.16   .41</td>
<td>.19        .14       -.09   .47</td>
<td>-.01       .13       -.26   .25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective Wellbeing</td>
<td>.23        .17       -.11   .57</td>
<td>.23        .17       -.12   .58</td>
<td>-.31       .15       -.62   -.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Outcome Variables     | Afghan Language                      | Afghan Identity                        | Afghan Behavioural                     |
|                       | b          SE      Lower  Upper          | b          SE      Lower  Upper          | b          SE      Lower  Upper          |
| Family Cohesion       | -.39**     .12       -.62   -.16        | -.10       .12       -.35   .14         | .07        .15       -.22   .36         |
| Family Adaptability   | -.36**     .11       -.59   -.13        | -.23       .12       -.47   .00         | -.09       .14       -.38   .20         |
| Psychological Adaptation | -.07       .11       -.29   .15         | -.23       .11       -.68   -.00        | .19        .14       -.09   .47         |
| Sociological Adaptation | .25        .14       -.04   .53         | -.16       .15       -.46   .13         | -.03       .18       -.39   .33         |
| Subjective Wellbeing  | -.48**     .16       -.80   -.15        | -.24       .17       -.58   -.09        | .43*       .20       .03   .83         |

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001
Main and Interaction Effects. The second approach framed the gap as the interaction between parent and emerging adult acculturation levels. For each outcome variables, two separate hierarchal regression analyses were conducted. In the first regression model, the main effects of Afghan acculturation dimensions (Language, Identity and Behaviour) were entered in Step 1. followed by their interaction terms in Step 2. In the second model, the main effects of Canadian acculturation dimensions (Language, Identity and Behaviour) were entered in Step 1. followed by their interaction terms in Step 2. The significant results for each outcome variable are explained in detail and summarized in Table 7.

Family Cohesion

The main effects of emerging adult Afghan language \( (b = .48, SE = .12, p = .000, 95\% CI [0.23, 0.72]) \), and Afghan identity \( (b = .31, SE = .14, p = .033, 95\% CI [0.03, 0.59]) \) acculturations were positively associated with emerging adults’ reports of family cohesion.

Significant parent-emerging adult interaction was found for Canadian identity acculturation. The regression coefficient representing the interaction of emerging adult and parent Canadian identity acculturation fell within a positive confidence interval \( (b = .60, SE = .21, p = .006, 95\% CI [0.18, 1.01]) \). As seen in Figure. 1, family cohesion was especially lower among emerging adults with higher reports of Canadian identity whose parents reported lower levels of Canadian identity \(-1 SD\) \( (b = -.47, SE = .23, p < .05, 95\% CI [-.92, -1.02])\). However, when parents reported higher levels of Canadian identity acculturation \(+1 SD\) emerging adults’ Canadian identity acculturation may have not been associated with reports of family cohesion \( (b = -31, SE = .22, p = .168, 95\% CI [-.12, .74]).\)
Figure 1. Interaction between Parents’ and Emerging Adults’ Canadian Identity and Association with Family Cohesion.

Family Adaptability

The main effect of emerging adult Afghan language acculturation ($b = .41, SE = .12, p = .001, 95\% CI [.17, .66]$) and emerging adult Afghan identity acculturation ($b = .36, SE = .14, p = .014, 95\% CI [.08, .64]$) were significantly associated with emerging adults’ higher reports of family adaptability. No interaction effects were found.

Psychological Adaptation
The main effect of parent Canadian identity acculturation \((b = .41, SE = .17, p = .017, 95\% CI [.08, .75])\) as well as emerging adult Afghan identity \((b = .40, SE = .14, p = .008, 95\% CI [.11, .69])\) were significantly associated with higher reports of psychological adaptation. No interaction effects were found.

**Sociocultural Adaptation**

The main effect of emerging adult Afghan identity acculturation \((b = .39, SE = .19, p = .045, 95\% CI [.01, .77])\) was significantly associated with higher reports of sociocultural adaptation. No interaction effects were found.

**Subjective Wellbeing**

Emerging adults’ reports of subjective wellbeing was positively associated with emerging adult Afghan language acculturation \((b = .56, SE = .17, p = .002, 95\% CI [0.21, 0.90])\), emerging adult Afghan identity acculturation \((b = .69, SE = .20, p = .000, 95\% CI [.30, 1.09])\), and parent Canadian identity acculturation \((b = .75, SE = .25, p = .004, 95\% CI [.24, 1.25])\). A significant negative association was found between emerging adults Afghan behavioural acculturation and their reports of subjective wellbeing \((b = -.50, SE = .23, p = .037, 95\% CI [-.96, -.03])\). No interaction effects were found.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome Variables</th>
<th>Acculturation Dimensions</th>
<th>Gap as Main Effects and Interactions</th>
<th>Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Family Member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Estimates   95% CI</td>
<td>Estimates   95% CI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.06 .16 -.27 .39</td>
<td>-.17 .23 -.64 .30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>.08 .16 -.24 .41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>.08 .16 -.24 .41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.06 .19 -.34 .46</td>
<td>.60** .21 .18 1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>.32 .19 -.07 .70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>-.03 .20 -.44 .38</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>.10 .16 -.43 .23</td>
<td>.43 .22 -.02 .88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>-.03 .20 -.44 .38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>-.10 .16 -.43 .23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.48*** .12 .23 .72</td>
<td>-.23 .24 -.70 .25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>.11 .20 -.29 .50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>.31* .14 .03 .59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.04 .16 -.28 .35</td>
<td>.17 .15 -.12 .47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>-.00 .17 -.33 .33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>-.03 .20 -.43 .36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.02 .21 -.39 .44</td>
<td>.02 .21 -.39 .44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Family Adaptability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>.37 .22 -.82 .07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>.25 .17 -.09 .59</td>
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<td>.02 .21 -.40 .43</td>
<td>.39 .23 -.09 .86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>.15 .20 -.25 .55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>-.22 .21 -.64 .21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.07 .17 -.41 .28</td>
<td>.36 .25 -.15 .87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emerging Adult Parent</td>
<td>.41** .12 .17 .66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>.11 .19 -.28 .50</td>
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*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001
6 Discussion

The current study was the first to examine acculturation gaps among Afghan families in Canada. The objectives of the study were multiple. The study measured acculturation to the Canadian and Afghan cultures independently, obtained parents' and emerging adults’ reports, compared participants' self-reported as opposed to perceived acculturation levels, and examined acculturation in the three domains of language, identity, and behavioural practices. In addition, two separate statistical methods (difference score vs. interaction) were used to operationalize the gaps in acculturation. The links between acculturation gaps (in each domain and with respect to both host and heritage cultures) and emerging adults’ experience of family relationships, adaptation outcomes and subjective wellbeing were examined. The findings of this study confirmed that patterns of acculturation are much more complex than previously thought and that sample characteristics such as cultural background and context are important considerations in studying acculturation gaps.

6.1 Inter-correlations among acculturation domains

In the absence of prior research measuring acculturation by culture and separate domains among Afghan immigrants, it was difficult to compare the results regarding intercorrelation of domains. However, compare to prior studies using the LIB acculturation scale, the correlation between Canadian identity and behavioural acculturation was much lower among Afghan parents than what was observed among parents from former Soviet Union living in the US (Birman, 2006b). This non-significant correlation was consistent with the findings among Vietnamese parents (Ho & Birman, 2010). The different findings may be due to sample characteristics, such
as parents’ level of education. For instance, it is a characteristic of the former Soviet refugee adults to be highly educated, with the majority having a college degree and having worked in professional fields before migration (Birman & Trickett, 2001). Thus, it is possible that among refugees from the former Soviet Union, identification with the host society was highly correlated with being active in the cultural activities related to the American culture. When compared to parents from Afghanistan, this is in stark contrast. In this study, 66% of parents had a level of education equal or below high school diploma. Afghan parents in this sample, may have found alternative ways to identify as Canadians regardless of their engagement in the cultural activities related to the Canadian culture; a phenomenon that may be more prominent in the Canadian society. Canada’s multiculturalism policy is an intergroup ideology that is highly supportive of cultural diversity and encourages the protection of immigrants’ heritage culture without imposing restrictions on migrants to embrace the culture of the dominant group (Berry, 2013). In this sense, Afghan parents may have developed a Canadian identity without perceiving engagement in the Canadian culture as a prerequisite for identification with the Canadian society.

The correlation between Afghan language and Afghan identity acculturations among emerging adults was non-significant. In contrast, for adolescents from the former Soviet Union, Russian language competence was significantly correlated with Russian identity (Birman, 2006b). The findings are also contrary to the significant correlation between Vietnamese language and Vietnamese identity acculturations observed among Vietnamese adolescents (Ho & Birman, 2010). It is possible that compared to adolescents from the former Soviet Union and Vietnam (11–19 years old), the older emerging adults from Afghanistan (18-29 years old) have had higher cultural maturity due to longer exposure to their heritage culture. Therefore, Afghan
emerging adults may have identified with their heritage culture more strongly regardless of their proficiency in Farsi language.

6.2 Direction of the Gap

On each of the three acculturation domains, results indicated that parents were more oriented towards Afghan culture and less oriented towards the Canadian culture. However, unexpected patterns emerged at the dyad level. A considerable number of parents reported higher Canadian identity than their children, and a considerable number of emerging adults reported higher engagement in behavioural practices related to Afghan culture. The findings are in line with prior studies using the LIB scale (e.g., Birman, 2006b; Birman & Trickett, 2001; Ho & Birman, 2010) and studies (using other acculturation scales) investigating acculturation gap among Chinese American (Lim et al., 2008) and Arab Canadian families (Rasmi et al., 2015). These unexpected patterns reveal that contrary to acculturation gap theories, immigrant parents are not always more oriented towards their ethnic culture, or less oriented to the culture of the larger society at least insofar as identity is concerned. Being from different generations and age groups, especially at the time of migration, immigrant parents and children may have a different understanding of the significance of ethnic and national identity (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Tsai et al., 2000). As an example, due to the significance of forming a sense of self throughout adolescence, it may be more vital for immigrant children to emphasize their ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). For adolescents, involvement in a peer group that sets them out as "ethnic" may make it initially difficult to take pride in their heritage identity (Tsai et al., 2000). However, exploring and accepting their ethnic identity may be essential and valuable for older emerging adults who may have battled with identity difficulties when they were younger, and have a broader understanding of its significance in the new society.
In addition, it is possible that compared to their parents, emerging adults may not be as enthusiastic about the process of migration because they may have not participated in the decision-making process. Being removed from their homeland, may make immigrant children less excited and less inclined to embrace the host culture (Birman, 2006b). Overall, the findings call into question the long-held belief that, in comparison to their parents, immigrant children will inevitably be more acculturated to the host culture and less acculturated to their ethnic culture.

6.3 General Findings

Investigation of the main research questions provided a nuanced view of acculturation gaps. Using a multidomain and bidimensional acculturation model, the study was able to identify what type/s of acculturation gap across multiple domains and with respect to the Canadian and Afghan cultures were more consequential. Overall, three themes emerged in the results: a) emerging adults’ proficiency in Farsi language and higher identification with Afghan culture are important factors for their family relationships, adaptation outcomes and subjective wellbeing, b) parents’ identification with the Canadian culture is an important factor behind emerging adults’ psychological adaptation and subjective wellbeing , c) The only consequential parent-emerging adult gap existed in identification with the Canadian culture. These themes are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Emerging Adults’ Orientation to Afghan Culture -Associations with Family Relationships, Adaptation Outcomes and Subjective Wellbeing

Afghan Language. When computed as a difference score, lower gaps in Farsi language proficiency were significantly associated with higher reports of family cohesion and family
adaptability. However, when testing for main and interaction effects, it became evident that it was the main effect of emerging adult’s proficiency in Farsi (and not the gap) that was positively linked to reports of family cohesion, family adaptability and subjective wellbeing. These findings are consistent with previous research among samples of Chinese, Vietnamese, and former Soviet refugee families which suggested a link between children's proficiency in their ethnic language and family adjustment (Birman, 2006b; Ho & Birman, 2010; Luo & Wiseman, 2000 & Portes & Hao, 2002). For children whose parents immigrated when they were adults, proficiency in heritage language may contribute to better child-parent communication, which may in turn strengthen the family connections. This logic is consistent with the theory of Acculturation Family Distancing (AFD) (Hwang, 2006). AFD claims that the distance between immigrant parents and children is primarily due to a) communication problems and b) cultural values that are incompatible. AFD and its core components are expected to worsen with time if not managed, resulting in higher likelihood of conflict and deterioration of children’s overall adjustment. In this study, the parents scores on Farsi language proficiency were very high (see Table 4), possibly because adults are unlikely to lose their ability to speak and comprehend their ethnic language. Without variation in parents' degrees of proficiency in Farsi, the prevalence of the gap is solely attributable to emerging adults’ degrees of proficiency in Farsi.

**Afghan Identity.** When computed as a difference score, gaps in Afghan identity acculturation were not significantly associated with any outcome variables. However, testing for main and interaction effects revealed significant associations between emerging adults’ Afghan identity and all of the outcome variables. Prior studies have highlighted the importance of ethnic identity for the wellbeing of adolescents (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2007; Umaña-Taylor, 2004) and emerging adults (e.g., Sun et al., 2020). Phinney (1990), argued that favorable views regarding
one's ethnicity are crucial to psychological functioning of children from minority groups. Ethnic identity has been considered an important aspect of one’s development, leading to higher self-esteem, higher life satisfaction (Phinney, 1990), higher academic achievement and fewer mental health issues (Huang & Stormshak, 2011).

*Afghan Behavioural.* When computed as a difference score, larger gaps in Afghan behavioural acculturation were significantly linked to higher reports of subjective wellbeing. However, when testing for main and interaction effects, it became evident that it was the main effect of emerging adult s’ Afghan Behavioural acculturation (and not the gap) that was linked to lower levels of subjective wellbeing. In other words, emerging adults who had higher engagement in cultural activities associated with Afghan culture reported lower levels of subjective wellbeing. On the one hand, this finding is in contrast with studies suggesting that higher ethnic engagement exerts a positive impact on immigrants’ overall wellbeing (e.g., Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2008; Stuart & Jose, 2014). On the other hand, this finding is in line with literature suggesting that ethnic orientation of young people from minority groups can be linked to very diverse outcome patterns. As an example, among Mexican American students, those with more positive views of their ethnic culture exhibited significantly lower levels of academic aspirations (Gonzalez et al., 2013). In contrast, other studies found that acculturation to Mexican culture did not have any significant influence on educational aspirations (Flores et al., 2008) or academic accomplishments (Neseth et al., 2009). The results of this study may also be related to research findings suggesting that subjective wellbeing may be negatively impacted when children are burdened by their family commitments, such as providing a financial contribution to the family or being highly involved in language brokering (Gaytán et al., 2007; Martinez et al.,
Overall, the mixed findings of this study confirm that acculturation in different domains can be associated with different outcomes.

Parents’ Identification with the Canadian Society- Associations with Psychological Adaptation and Subjective Wellbeing

No acculturation gaps in any of the Canadian acculturation domains (computed as difference score) were significantly associated with this study’s outcome variables. However, testing for main and interaction effects revealed that parents’ higher reports of Canadian identity were significantly associated with emerging adults’ higher reports of psychological adaptation and subjective wellbeing. In line with this finding, Sabatier and Berry (2008), observed that among immigrants from different backgrounds living in France, immigrant fathers’ orientation to French culture increased familial self-esteem and reduced delinquency among their children. Similarly, Sun, Geeraert, and Simpson (2020), found that among emerging adults from diverse backgrounds living in the UK, subjective wellbeing was positively associated with parents’ orientation to the larger society and negatively associated with parents’ orientation toward heritage culture.

Parents’ orientation to the host society has also been linked to better parenting outcomes. For example, among Chinese Canadian families, parents’ orientation toward Canadian society was associated with higher feelings of parental efficacy, which resulted in parents’ better psychological adjustment (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). According to Vu et al. (2019), Chinese American immigrant mothers’ involvement in the American culture was also connected with higher reports of psychological wellbeing. In turn, higher psychological health was related to less
perceived authoritarian and greater authoritative parenting. According to the findings of this study, when parents identify more with the Canadian culture and emerging adults identify more with the Afghan culture, emerging adults report greater psychological adaptation and subjective wellbeing. Overall, the above main effect findings confirm the notion that, a family in which parents accept the values of the larger society and children accept the cultural values of their heritage culture, is an open system, a democratic institution and a healthy environment for children's overall wellbeing (Sabatier & Berry, 2008).

It is important to note that contrasting the findings of this study, Telzer et al. (2016), found no evidence that parents' acculturation to either the host or heritage culture had an impact on the wellbeing of their children among Mexican American families. In addition, contrary to this study, Costigan and Dokis (2006), suggested that parents' higher heritage acculturation promotes the wellbeing of children among Chinese families in Canada. The variations in findings are amenable to interpretation within an acculturation framework and are consistent with the ecocultural and the interactive model of acculturation which emphasize the roll of contextual factors in the acculturation processes of family members (Sabatier & Berry, 2008).

Gaps in Canadian Identity- Association with Family Cohesion

A primary finding of this study was that only one type of acculturation gap was consequential for Afghan emerging adults’ reports of family cohesion. The discrepancies in the Canadian identity acculturation were associated with lower reports of family cohesion.

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9 Parents who support their children's freedom but at the same time impose rules and regulations on how they should behave are known as authoritative parents. On the other hand, authoritarian parenting is characterized by a restrictive and punitive approach, in which parents encourage their children to obey their orders (Watabe & Hibbard, 2014).
Investigation of the interaction plot revealed that when emerging adults reported high and parents reported lower Canadian identity acculturation, lower levels of family cohesion were reported by emerging adults.

This interaction pattern emphasizes the importance of acculturation pace in a family context. Acculturation pace refers to the speed of acculturation which can vary across and within individuals. It’s argued that in immigrant families, children acculturate faster than their parents to the host society’s culture. As a result, children's linguistic and cultural skills raise the possibility that they will become informational conduits for their parents regarding the new society. Consequently, children are more likely to act as language brokers (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Titzmann & Gniewosz, 2018) or engage in higher levels of "parentification" (Titzmann, 2012). Parentification is the process through which children are allocated or undertake adult duties, such as providing instrumental and emotional care for their parents (Titzmann & Gniewosz, 2018). It is argued that shifts in the behaviours of one individual inside the family system as a result of faster acculturation have the potential to destabilize other members of the system which may ultimately lead to a rearrangement of the system (Titzmann & Lee, 2022). In line with the findings if this study, some researchers have concluded that the imbalance in which children acculturate faster than their parents have negative consequences for children’s adjustment (Gaytán et al., 2007; Martinez et al., 2009).

In the typology of acculturation gaps offered by Portes et al. (2001), only one type of three acculturation gaps is deemed problematic for family relationships, signifying the possibility of "healthy" gaps. According to Portes et al. (2001), intergenerational conflict is low when family members acculturate to the settlement culture and learn the language at a similar rate.
(consonant acculturation) or when the cultural and linguistic aptitude of children compensates for
the parents' inferior skill (selective acculturation). However, at times when children’s immersion
in the host culture exceeds that of their parents’, parents may experience a loss of authority and
feel less understood by their children. As a result, parental demands of maintaining ethnic
cultural values may increase all of which can be very challenging for the children (dissonant
acculturation).

**Study Strengths and limitations**

Using a multidomain and a bidimensional acculturation model enabled the current study
to identify nuanced finding patterns. Effects could not be situated along a single axis opposing
national and ethnic acculturation orientations. The gap between parents and emerging adults in
all acculturation domains existed. However, in many cases, it was either the parent or emerging
adult acculturation that was linked to the outcome variable of interest. These results would have
been obscured if only difference score method was used.

Given the complexity of acculturation processes, Costigan (2010), recommended that
researchers move beyond the question of whether acculturation gaps are problematic or not.
Instead, this complexity can be navigated by researching (a) what types of acculturation gaps are
most detrimental to family life or child development, (b) what factors exacerbate or mitigate the
consequences of acculturation gaps, and (c) what are the mechanisms via which acculturation
gaps impact adjustment? This study was a step towards understanding what types of
acculturation gaps are most detrimental to family life and adjustment of Afghan emerging adults.
However, the findings need to be confirmed by future research particularly among Afghan
immigrants. Such differential findings are noteworthy and may have distinct implications for intervention plans aimed at decreasing the repercussions of acculturation gaps.

Although the strength of this study was utilization of dyadic data, data from just one of the parents were collected. For this reason, it was not possible to investigate the degree to which acculturation gaps differed by gender matching in emerging adult-parent pairs. The study was also limited in its comparison of first (foreign-born) and second generation (Canadian-born) participants. First-generation and second-generation immigrants differ in their exposure to the cultures and languages of their home countries as well as the larger society. Perhaps, the second-generation emerging adults whose parents are foreign-born may be more susceptible to experiencing acculturation gap. In fact, research indicates that second-generation adolescents from immigrant families of diverse backgrounds residing in the United States experience less consonance and more dissonance in their families (Harris & Chen, 2022).

Even though statisticians who specialize in the analysis of dyadic data recommend the interaction approach, this method has its own limitations. For example, it does not directly compare acculturation levels between parent and child pairings within the same family (Costigan, 2010). An additional limitation of the study was the moderate internal reliability of the Sociocultural Adaptation scale (α=.67). George and Mallery (2003), and Hulin, Netemeyer, and Cudeck, (2001), deemed Cronbach alpha of 0.6-0.7 as acceptable. Nevertheless, given that some of the significant findings were related to the outcome variable of sociocultural adaptation, the results should be interpreted with caution.

The study was limited in its investigation of possible mechanisms (e.g., children’s psychological resilience and parenting style) via which acculturation gaps impact adjustment.
Interactions within families are rather complex behaviours, because they involve multiple individuals (parents, siblings, grandparents etc.) which may be particularly the case among Afghans with extended families living together (Muller, 2010). Covering this complexity in one single study was nearly impossible.

Investigating larger contextual variables was also outside the scope of this paper. Little is known about how regional and national factors interact with acculturation gaps at the family level. Locally, the size and resources associated with one’s ethnic community can affect the ease to maintain heritage ties and develop healthy ethnic identities. On a national scale, different receiving societies have different policies regarding the ethnic cultural maintenance and assimilation of the new culture by immigrants (Bornstein, 2017). Finally, even though this study contributes to the scant literature on acculturation of Afghan migrants, the small sample size and the large number of analyses, necessitates the need for cautionary interpretations and replication of the study questions.
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## APPENDIX A
The Language Identity and Behavioral Acculturation Scale
(LIB; Birman & Trickett, 2001)

### A. Language

For the following statements, please mark one of the four possible answers.

How would you rate your ability to speak English:

1. Not at all
2. A bit
3. Often
4. Very much like a native

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</table>

How well do you understand English:

6. On TV or at the movies

7. In newspapers or in magazines

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On TV or at the movies</td>
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<tr>
<td>In newspapers or in magazines</td>
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</table>
8. In songs

9. Overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How would you rate your ability to speak Farsi:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. With family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. With Afghan friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. On the phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. With strangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Overall</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>How well do you understand Farsi:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15. On TV or at the movies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. In newspapers or in magazines</td>
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<td>17. In songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Overall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Cultural Identity:

How would you describe your cultural/ethnic identity?

In the following questions we would like to know the extent to which you consider yourself Canadian or Afghan.

To what extent are the following statements true of you?

5. Not at all
6. A bit
7. Often
8. Very much

1. I think of myself as being Canadian

2. I feel good about being Canadian

3. Being Canadian plays an important part in my life

4. I feel that I am part of Canadian culture

5. If someone criticizes Canadians, I feel they are criticizing me

6. I have a strong sense of being Canadian

7. I am proud of being Canadian

8. I think of myself as being an Afghan

9. I feel good about being an Afghan

10. Being an Afghan plays an important part in my life
11. I feel that I am part of an Afghan culture

12. If someone criticizes Afghans, I feel they are criticizing me

13. I have a strong sense of being an Afghan

14. I am proud that I am an Afghan

C. Cultural Behaviour

We are interested in how much you take part in Canadian and Afghan activities. Please circle the response that indicates to what extent the following statements are true about things that you do.

How much do you speak Canadian:

1. At home?

2. With your neighbors

3. With friends

How much do you:

4. Read Canadian books, newspapers, or magazines

5. Watch Canadian movies (on TV, VCR, etc.).
6. Eat Canadian food

7. Attend Canadian concerts, exhibits, etc.?

8. Socialize with Canadian friends

How much do you speak Farsi:

1. At home?

2. With your neighbors

3. With friends

How much do you:

4. Read Farsi books, newspapers, or magazines

5. Watch Farsi movies (on TV, VCR, etc.).

6. Eat Afghan food

7. Attend Farsi/Afghan concerts, exhibits, etc.?

8. Socialize with Afghan friends
APPENDIX B

Family Adaptation and Cohesion Evaluation

Scales III (FACES III)
(Olson, Portner, & Lavee, 1985)

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<tr>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Almost never</td>
<td>Once in a while</td>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Frequently</td>
<td>Almost always</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

DESCRIBE YOUR FAMILY NOW:

1. Family members ask each other for help.
2. In solving problems, the children's suggestions are followed.
3. We approve of each other's friends.
4. Children have a say in their discipline.
5. We like to do things with just our immediate family.
6. Different persons act as leaders in our family.
7. Family members feel closer to other family members than to people outside the family.
8. Our family changes its way of handling tasks.
9. Family members like to spend free time with each other.
10. Parent(s) and children discuss punishment together.
11. Family members feel very close to each other.
12. The children make the decisions in our family.
13. When our family gets together for activities, everybody is present.
14. Rules change in our family.
15. We can easily think of things to do together as a family.
16. We shift household responsibilities from person to person.

17. Family members consult other family members on their decisions.

18. It is hard to identify the leader(s) in our family.

19. Family togetherness is very important

20. It is hard to tell who does which household chores
APPENDIX C

Adaptation Scale

Items for Psychological Adaptation (Demes & Geeraert, 2012; 10-items).

“During the time you have spent in Canada, what emotions/feelings and thoughts do you often experience?”

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<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Somewhat Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Somewhat Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
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</table>

1. excited about being in Canada
2. out of place, like you don't fit into Canadian culture (R)
3. a sense of freedom being away from Afghanistan/ other home country *
4. sad to be away from Afghanistan/ other home country (R)
5. nervous about how to behave in certain situations (R)
6. lonely without your family and friends from Afghanistan/ home country around you (R)
7. curious about things that are different in Canada *
8. homesick when you think of Afghanistan (R)
9. frustrated by difficulties adapting to Canada (R)
10. happy with your day to day life in Canada
Items for sociocultural adaptation (Demes & Geeraert, 2012; 12-items).

Think about living in Canada. How easy or difficult is it for you to adapt to Canada, and then rate the following 12 items, on a 7 point Likert-type scale from 1, very difficult to 7, very easy.

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<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very Difficult</td>
<td>Somewhat Difficult</td>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>About the same</td>
<td>Easy</td>
<td>Somewhat Easy</td>
<td>Very Easy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Climate (temperature, rainfall, humidity)
2. Natural environment (plants and animals, pollution, scenery)
3. Social environment (size of the community, pace of life, noise)
4. Living (hygiene, sleeping practices, how safe you feel)
5. Practicalities (getting around, using public transport, shopping)
6. Food and eating (what food is eaten, how food is eaten, time of meals)
7. Family life (how close family members are, how much time family spend together)
8. Social norms (how to behave in public, style of clothes, what people think is funny)
9. Values and beliefs (what people think about religion and politics, what people think is right or wrong)
10. People (how friendly people are, how stressed or relaxed people are, attitudes towards foreigners)
11. Friends (making friends, amount of social interaction, what people do to have fun and relax)
12. Language (learning the language, understanding people, making yourself understood)
APPENDIX D

Satisfaction With Life Scale

(Diener, et al., 1985)

The Satisfaction with Life Scale. Journal of Personality Assessment, 49, 71-75. Description of Measure: A 5-item scale designed to measure global cognitive judgments of one’s life satisfaction (not a measure of either positive or negative affect). Participants indicate how much they agree or disagree with each of the 5 items using a 7-point scale that ranges from 7 strongly agree to 1 strongly disagree.

Instructions: Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

• 7 - Strongly agree
• 6 - Agree
• 5 - Slightly agree
• 4 - Neither agree nor disagree
• 3 - Slightly disagree
• 2 - Disagree
• 1 - Strongly disagree

___ In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
___ The conditions of my life are excellent.
___ I am satisfied with my life.
___ So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
___ If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.
APPENDIX E

University of Guelph, Research Ethics Board Certificate of Approval

The members of the University of Guelph Research Ethics Board have examined the protocol which describes the participation of the human participants in the above-named research project and considers the procedures, as described by the applicant, to conform to the University's ethical standards and the Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2nd Edition.

The REB requires that researchers:
- Adhere to the protocol as last reviewed and approved by the REB.
- Receive approval from the REB for any modifications before they can be implemented.
- Report any change in the source of funding.
- Report unexpected events or incidental findings to the REB as soon as possible with an indication of how these events affect, in the view of the Principal Investigator, the safety of the participants, and the continuation of the protocol.
- Are responsible for ascertaining and complying with all applicable legal and regulatory requirements with respect to consent and the protection of privacy of participants in the jurisdiction of the research project.

The Principal Investigator must:
- Ensure that the ethical guidelines and approvals of facilities or institutions involved in the research are obtained and filed with the REB prior to the initiation of any research protocols.
- Submit an Annual Renewal to the REB upon completion of the project. If the research is a multi-year project, a status report must be submitted annually prior to the expiry date. Failure to submit an annual status report will lead to your study being suspended and potentially terminated.

The approval for this protocol terminates on the Expiry Date, or the term of your appointment or employment at the University of Guelph whichever comes first.

Signature: [Signature]

Date: April 14, 2022

Dave Guyadeen
Co-Chair, Research Ethics Board-General