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A Comparison of Hispanic Refugee Parents' and Adolescents' Accuracy in Judging Family Cultural Views

The Canadian school system requires refugee adolescents to develop the language, cross-cultural interaction skills, and direct modes of expression necessary for academic success. As peers become the agents of socialization into the host culture, adolescents may not attend to parents' differential levels of receptiveness to changes away from their cultural heritage. In this study 50 Hispanic refugee parent-adolescent dyads rated the acceptability of 24 cultural shifts from their own perspective and the perspective of the other family member. Adolescents were poorer judges of family cultural views than their parents, creating potential for family conflict when school-based changes occur at home.

Le système scolaire canadien exige que les réfugiés adolescents développent la langue, les habiletés en interaction interculturelle et les modes directes d'expression qui sont nécessaires pour réussir sur le plan académique. Les pairs étant les agents de socialisation vers la culture d'accueil, il se peut que les adolescents et leurs parents perçoivent différemment l'éloignement de leur patrimoine culturel. Cette recherche a analysé les réactions de 50 dyades parents-adolescents de réfugiés hispaniques aux changements culturels. Les réfugiés ont évalué l'acceptabilité de 24 de ces changements, selon leur propre perspective et selon celle de l'autre membre de leur famille. Les adolescents jugeaient moins bien les perspectives culturelles familiales que leurs parents; cet écart pourrait engendrer des conflits familiaux quand des comportements appris à l'école se manifesteront à la maison.

For immigrant and refugee adolescents, the potential to excel academically in the North American school systems is contingent on cultural change; use of the English language, cross-cultural interaction, independence of thought, and direct expression of ideas to adults are all prerequisites for academic success (Colbert & Colbert, 2003; Locke, 2003). Locke explains that schools are vehicles for the transmission of the values and behaviors of the culture in which they are embedded. Their educational practices and methods of student evaluation reflect the cultural ideals of the host society. Therefore, immigrant and refugee youth may have to relinquish traditional behaviors to survive and thrive in the school environment. The socialization of foreign-born adolescents into the expectations of the host culture through peers at school often prompts them to make behavioral shifts toward Western norms (Baptiste, 1993; Rick & Forward, 1992; Roizblatt & Pilowsky, 1996).

Adolescents' behavioral changes are often generalized to the family context (Baptiste, 1993; Roizblatt & Pilowsky, 1996). Applying new behaviors and skills such as English-language skills in other contexts would increase adolescents'

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opportunities for skill practice. Rehearsal of newly acquired skills is an established prerequisite for mastery (Bandura, 1977). From this perspective, transfer of new cultural behaviors to the home context would facilitate academic success. However, existing research suggests that immigrant and refugee parents may interpret changes away from traditional cultural behaviors as a rejection of the family and its values (Baptiste, 1993; Hernandez, 1996; Roizblatt & Pilowsky). Family conflicts may develop related to the parents' emphasis on cultural maintenance (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Gil & Vega, 1996; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Hovey & King, 1996).

Negative parental reactions to behavioral changes toward Western norms may place adolescents in a double-bind situation: In order to excel academically, they need to hone the language and interaction skills valued in the host culture school system. In contrast, to preserve positive family relationships, they need to minimize the transfer of host-culture behaviors to their home life. The potential for adolescents to be placed in a double-bind situation has been found to be greatest among refugee families from cultures distinct from the host culture (Roizblatt & Pilowsky, 1996). This has been attributed to parents' heightened attachment to the ideals of their home countries under conditions of forced resettlement.

Immigration Experiences of Hispanic Refugees

Hispanics are among the five non-European immigrant groups most highly represented in Canadian society (Statistics Canada, 2001). Most have come to Canada as refugees from Central and South America, escaping from political violence in their countries of origin (Gleave & Manes, 1990; Sanchez, 2003). The culture they practice differs from North American culture in terms of its language, norms for interaction and communication, and relationship structure (Gleave & Manes; Hernandez, 1996; Sue & Sue, 2003). The Canadian and United States cultures are characterized by the use of the English language, low-context communication in which the status of the speaker or the person spoken to do not affect the rules for interaction, a preference for egalitarian relationships, and a strong emphasis on individualism (Hofstede, 1980). In contrast, in Hispanic countries, Spanish is the primary language spoken in both the school and home contexts (Gleave & Manes, 1990). Relationships are organized hierarchically, with direct communication proceeding from people with higher to lower levels of ascribed authority and indirect communication of their responses (Gleave & Manes, 1990; Sue & Sue, 2003). This is particularly the case in interactions between parents and children; when parents speak, children are expected to listen rather than talk back (Hernandez; Sue & Sue). The preservation of relationships is important, as the Hispanic culture has a strong family orientation where collective goals take precedence over individual needs (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Hernandez; Sue & Sue). Within-group affiliation and dating are emphasized to promote cultural preservation (Gleave & Manes; Hernandez). These incongruities between host culture behavioral expectations and those of Hispanic families have led to cultural attributions for adolescents' academic challenges (Sue & Sue).

Family Conflict

In a study of Hispanic refugee families from Central and South America, Gil et al. (1994) found that adolescents' level of cultural integration into North American society as a result of their school experiences was positively associated with intergenerational disagreement about cultural change. In two follow-up studies, Gil and Vega (1996) and Hovey and King (1996) reported that the experience of intergenerational differences in preferences for North American versus Hispanic customs and behaviors was significantly positively related to the occurrence of family conflict.

In the unique circumstances of Hispanic refugee families, family conflicts may be fueled by the limited information that parents and adolescents have about each other's cultural viewpoints. Hernandez (1996) identified a link between the pre-migration experiences of Hispanic refugees and family communication patterns during the resettlement process. He reported that refugee parents' attempts to conceal the adverse life events they experienced in their countries of origin and their associated psychological symptoms from their adolescents often reduce the degree of open dialogue in the family system. This change in family interaction patterns can impair family members' abilities to form accurate judgments of each other's viewpoints, motivations, and behaviors. If a Hispanic adolescent is unaware of his or her parents' disapproval of displaying specific behavioral shifts toward Western norms in the home, the adolescent may not anticipate or try to manage negative parental reactions, which may contribute to family conflicts. Similarly, if parents are not aware of their adolescents' inclinations to change their behaviors, they may be alarmed when adolescents depart from their cultural expectations.

In a study of Hispanic refugee families from Central and South America, Merali (2002) asked parents and adolescents to rate the degree of acceptability of behavioral changes toward Western norms from both their own perspective and the perceived perspective of the other family member. Both parents and adolescents tended to underestimate or overestimate significantly the degree of intergenerational differences in their cultural perspectives. In that study, parent and adolescent data were combined in order to have enough participants for the analysis. Therefore, parents' and adolescents' accuracy in judging each other's acceptance of cultural change could not be compared. Developmental research suggests that parents and adolescents may differ in their ability to appraise accurately each other's levels of openness to cultural change.

Developmental Tasks of Parents and Adolescents

According to Erikson's (1963, 1968) theory of psychosocial development, parents and adolescents differentially focus their attention on the individuals and groups that are most salient for them as they attempt to accomplish the key developmental tasks associated with their respective stages of life. The key developmental task of mid-life is to make a valuable contribution to the lives of future generations. The mid-life stage in Erikson's model represents the age bracket of most parents of adolescents, for whom this task translates into an attempt to provide their children with the skills needed to become successful members of society (Muuss, 1988). For immigrant and refugee parents, a central part of the parenting process is the transmission of their cultural heritage (Baptiste, 1993; Santisteban & Mitrani, 2003). Among Hispanic

families, close parental monitoring of adolescent behavior is often used to assess cultural retention and cultural change (Chun & Akutsu, 2003). The Hispanic parents in Merali's (in press) study reported that parental monitoring involves close supervision of adolescent behavior in the home environment so that any signs of culture change or loss can be countered with informal religious and cultural education.

The key task of the adolescent stage of life is identity development (Erikson, 1963, 1968). This developmental task may serve to keep youth focused on peers rather than on family members. The process of discovering and identifying one's personal value system and favored behavior pattern involves exploration of a variety of values and behaviors, with the result of making a conscious commitment to a chosen way of being. For immigrant and refugee adolescents, identity development involves examining their attitudes toward their own cultural group and the majority group in the host nation (Berry, 2003; Phinney, 2003). In the process of cultural exploration, peers are expected to become the primary agents of socialization into the host culture (Baptiste, 1993; Erikson, 1963, 1968; Violato & Travis, 1994).

Purpose of the Study

The divergent developmental focus of parents and adolescents suggests that parents may be better at appraising adolescents' levels of acceptance of behavioral changes toward Western cultural norms than youth may be in judging their parents' cultural views. This study aimed to test this hypothesis by assessing differences in Hispanic refugee parents' and adolescents' accuracy in evaluating each other's openness to cultural change. A greater understanding of parents' and adolescents' cultural judgments would assist in the creation of intervention strategies to reduce the potential for family conflict due to incongruities in cultural expectations at school and at home.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 50 Hispanic refugee parent-adolescent dyads (100 individual participants). Thirty (60%) of the parent-adolescent dyads were of the same sex, whereas 20 (40%) were opposite-sex dyads. Seventeen (56.67%) of the 30 same-sex parent-adolescent dyads were mothers and daughters and 13 (43.33%) were father-son pairs. Among the opposite-sex dyads, mothers and sons were more highly represented than fathers and daughters (14 dyads vs. 6 dyads).

The mean ages of the parent and adolescent participants were 42 ($SD=5.11$) and 15.18 ($SD=1.88$), respectively. The parents' age on arrival in Canada ranged from 24 to 53 ($M=36$, $SD=6.17$). The adolescents' age on arrival in Canada ranged from 2 to 16 years ($M=10$, $SD=3.48$). Overall, the Hispanic parent-adolescent dyads had 5.5 years of tenure in the host society ($SD=3.49$). They migrated to Canada from Central and South America. The most highly represented country of origin was El Salvador, accounting for 36% of the sample. The second and third major source countries of the research participants were Guatemala and Colombia (38% combined). El Salvador and Guatemala are among the top source countries of Central American immigration to Canada (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2003).

The average family size of the study participants was four members ($SD=1.22$). Most of the Hispanic parents were married (80%). Eight (16%) of the parents were separated or divorced, one (2%) was widowed, and one (2%) was a single parent. The number of years of schooling parents had completed ranged from eight to 23 years ($M=14.39$, $SD=3.26$). At the time of the study, 30 (60%) of the parents were working full time, eight (16%) were employed on a part-time basis, 10 (20%) were unemployed, and two (4%) were students. Almost all the parents who were working part time or were unemployed were mothers (7/8: 88% and 8/10: 80% respectively). Eleven (28.95%) of the 38 parents who were employed were working in labor positions such as cleaning and meat-cutting. Ten (26.32%) were working in skilled trades such as carpentry, mechanics, plumbing, and seamstress positions. Nine (23.68%) were employed in semiprofessional occupations such as data entry and records management, home-care assistants, and laboratory assistants. The remaining eight (21.05%) were employed in professional occupations such as accounting, computer programming, architecture, and radiology.

The participants were recruited through immigrant-serving agencies in two major cities in the province of Alberta: Calgary and Edmonton. The approximate size of the Hispanic community in these Canadian cities is 8,500 and 7,000, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2001). Community members in these cities often socialize through cultural celebrations and family activities hosted by the immigration agencies, as well as through local Catholic churches. Although the community has achieved a certain level of integration with other Canadians in these regional centers, Merali (in press) found that youth reported experiencing name-calling and racism at school (e.g., being referred to as *Spics* when they were out together), prompting attempts to assimilate or blend in. Such experiences would amplify the pressures on youth to shift their behaviors toward the host culture. Parents in these cities expressed significant concerns about their children relinquishing their cultural heritage due to their school experiences (Merali).

Settlement workers in immigration agencies in the two Albertan cities were provided with one-page study descriptions to distribute to clients. These included the dates, times, and locations of questionnaire administration. Study descriptions were created in both English and Spanish. The process of forward and back translation was used (Larson, 1984). One staff member of the local Language Bank translated the English version of the study description into Spanish, and another bilingual expert reproduced the English version from the first-language variant. Inconsistencies in meaning were resolved through consensus between the two experts.

Materials

The Behavior Questionnaire (Merali & Violato, 2002) was used to assess parents' and adolescents' appraisals of each other's cultural views. This instrument consists of 24 items that address prototypical behavioral changes toward Western norms that adolescents may be likely to generalize to their overall life context as a result of their experiences in the Canadian school system. It solicits evaluations of the appropriateness of English language use in the home, use of Western media, participation in Western cultural celebrations and festivals, interracial friendships and dating, direct versus indirect communication such

as speaking one's mind when interacting with adult family members, and independent versus family-oriented behaviors (e.g., moving out of the family home, spending more time with friends than with family members, etc.). The items were developed with reference to the literature on immigrant and refugee families and in consultation with 14 bicultural psychologists, social workers, and settlement workers. The bicultural consultants included members of the Hispanic community.

Respondents are asked to indicate the degree to which they perceive each behavior to be acceptable on a 5-point Likert scale; a rating of 1 represents a judgment that the behavior is completely unacceptable and a rating of 5 represents a judgment that the behavior is completely acceptable. The maximum and minimum scores on the Behavior Questionnaire are 120 and 24 respectively. For the purpose of this study, respondents were asked to rate the degree to which their parent or adolescent views the behaviors to be acceptable in addition to reporting their own behavior judgments.

Merali and Violato (2002) conducted a reliability assessment on the Behavior Questionnaire using a mixed ethnic sample that included members of the Hispanic community. The instrument was found to have high internal consistency in seven languages including Spanish, with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .91 to .93. Factor analysis of the instrument yielded four item dimensions: Individualism, Interaction/Expression, Western Cultural Participation, and Western Cultural Entrenchment, reflecting assimilation into the host culture through behaviors such as changing one's name to make it sound more Canadian (Merali, 1996).

In addition to the Behavior Questionnaire, participants completed a Family Information Form addressing their status on demographic variables. On this form respondents were asked to list the first and last names of immediate family members to facilitate accurate matching of parent and adolescent data sets. An Informed Consent Form was administered to participants before completion of the Family Information Form and Behavior Questionnaire.

All study materials that were not already available in Spanish (i.e., the Study Description, the Family Information Form, and the Informed Consent Form) were submitted to assessors at the local Immigrant Language and Vocational Assessment/Referral Centre for modification. The assessors simplified the language used to ensure comprehension by individuals with low levels of English proficiency. They also suggested changes in wording that would facilitate clear and accurate translation of study materials. The materials were translated using the process of forward and backward translation described above. Both English and first-language versions of all study materials were made available to participants to account for variable levels of English proficiency.

Procedure

Pernice (1994) reported that immigrants and refugees are most receptive to participating in research when the research occurs in contexts that are already familiar to them. Inclusion of members of their own cultural communities in study implementation can also facilitate involvement. Such conditions seem to offset skepticism about the principal investigator's intentions based on immigrants' and refugees' lack of familiarity with social science studies.

Taking these findings into account, questionnaire were administered on site at the immigrant-serving agencies from which participants were recruited. Two bilingual and bicultural (Hispanic) members of the settlement staff at each host agency were hired as research assistants; one individual was responsible for administering study materials to parents and the other was responsible for concurrently administering them to adolescents.

Questionnaire administration occurred in a small-group setting consisting of five parents and five adolescents per session respectively. Parents and adolescents were directed to different rooms. The parent sessions were conducted exclusively in Spanish, whereas the adolescent sessions were conducted using both languages by following each Spanish explanation and instruction with an English translation. In each session the bilingual research assistants introduced themselves and provided a brief overview of the purpose and nature of the study as addressed in the Informed Consent Form. They also made it clear that both English and first-language versions of all study materials would be available. They informed the participants that they would be present to answer any questions throughout the procedure. After participants signed the Informed Consent Forms, the Family Information Form and Behavior Questionnaire were each explained and distributed to participants according to individual language preferences. The questionnaire explanation and administration process took approximately half an hour. I coded, scored, and analyzed the data gathered.

Results

Openness to Cultural Change

Parents' and adolescents' self-ratings of the degree of acceptability of the shifts toward Western norms listed on the Behavior Questionnaire were used as an indicator of their levels of openness to cultural change. Their ratings on how the other family member views the same behaviors represented the parents' and adolescents' appraisals of each other's cultural status.

The mean Behavior Questionnaire self-rating score for the Hispanic refugee parents was 61.36 ($SD=14.73$), suggesting a moderate degree of openness to cultural change. Parents' self-rating scores ranged from 38 to 98. The Hispanic parents judged their adolescents' Behavior Questionnaire scores to average at 76.90 ($SD=19.22$). Adolescents' Behavior Questionnaire self-ratings yielded a mean score of 83.34 ($SD=15.54$), with a range from 44 to 109. The Hispanic refugee adolescents judged their parents' Behavior Questionnaire scores to average at 73.46 ($SD=19.47$).

Based on a comparison of parents' and adolescents' self-rating scores on the Behavior Questionnaire, the mean degree of parent-adolescent disagreement about cultural change among the Hispanic families was 23.96 points ($SD=18.53$). A Matched or Dependent Samples *t*-test suggested that overall, the Hispanic parents perceived behavioral shifts toward Western norms to be significantly less acceptable than did their adolescent children, $t(49)=-7.39$, $p<.001$.

Comparison of Parents' and Adolescents' Cultural Judgments

Three Matched or Dependent Samples *t*-tests were performed to compare parents' and adolescents' accuracy in evaluating each other's levels of open-

ness to cultural changes on the Behavior Questionnaire. To correct for an increased Type 1 error rate in performing multiple tests to answer the primary research question, the level of statistical significance of the obtained test results was adjusted a priori to $p < .01$ for a rejection of the null hypothesis; this adjustment involved dividing the .05 significance level by the number of tests performed (3).

The first *t*-test compared parents' ratings of their adolescents' openness to cultural change with adolescents' self-ratings on the Behavior Questionnaire. The results indicated no significant difference between parents' judgments of their adolescents' cultural status and the youths' true cultural viewpoints. In contrast, the second *t*-test comparing adolescents' ratings of their parents' openness to cultural change with parents' Behavior Questionnaire self-ratings revealed that their overestimation of their parents' acceptance of behavioral shifts toward Western norms was significant, $t(49) = 4.74$, $p < .01$.

A final *t*-test was performed on the difference scores of parent and adolescent participants in judging each other. A difference score was computed for each parent and each adolescent by subtracting the other family member's Behavior Questionnaire self-rating score from the perceived Behavior Questionnaire score based on the parents' or adolescents' judgment of the other family member. This *t*-test confirmed the results of the previous two tests, suggesting that parents were more accurate judges of adolescents' cultural views than adolescents were of their openness to cultural change, $t(49) = -4.52$, $p < .01$.

Discussion

Although the Hispanic refugee parents who participated in this research reported a moderate degree of openness to cultural change, they were found to be significantly less accepting of behavioral shifts toward Western norms than their adolescents. The intergenerational disagreement regarding cultural change observed in this study is consistent with earlier research findings on Hispanic refugee families in cultural transition (Gil & Vega, 1996; Gil et al., 1994). A comparison of parents' and adolescents' accuracy in judging each other's openness to cultural change revealed that parents were better judges of adolescents' cultural views than adolescents' were of their parents' views. The greater accuracy of parents in judging family cultural views supports the focus of their developmental stage on the transmission of their cultural heritage to their children (Muuss, 1988; Santisteban & Mitrani, 2003). Adolescents' focus on peers as the primary agents of socialization into the host culture (Violato & Travis, 1994) may interfere with their ability to read accurately and respond to their family situation during the cultural transition process.

Interestingly, the youth in this study viewed their parents as more accepting of cultural change than they actually were. The limited dialogue among Hispanic refugee families post-migration (Hernandez, 1996) may have prevented parents from explicating their cultural expectations for their children. Alternatively, parents may assume that their children are aware of their cultural expectations. The adolescents' perceptions of their parents could result in school-based cultural changes being transferred into family life, use of the English language in the home, independent expression, and direct communication with parents would be likely to occur. Adolescents would subsequently be

confronted with their parents' divergent behavioral expectations (Baptiste, 1993). If adolescents do not accurately appraise their parents' views on cultural change, they may not anticipate or appropriately respond to the parental reactions they may receive on generalizing cultural changes to the family environment. They may react based on an intense emotional response to their double-bind situation, rather than through the use of an active problem-solving strategy. Colbert and Colbert (2003) identified unresolved differences in sociocultural expectations across the school and home contexts as an important factor in the academic problems that immigrant and refugee youth experience.

Merali (2004) presents a relevant case example of an intergenerational conflict in a Hispanic family. The case involves a daughter who perceives her father to be open to cultural change. She converses with her sister in English in the presence of her father, who has limited English proficiency. The father interprets his daughter's use of English in the home as a threat to her retention of her native language, Spanish. He also feels that the use of English in the home imposes an impermeable communication barrier between himself and his children. The father insists that his daughter speak Spanish in the home. A family conflict ensues when the daughter is angered by her father's attempt to control her behavior and continues to speak to her sister in English. She refrains from speaking Spanish at home because her peers at school have been teasing her about her broken English and she has been performing poorly on her academic assignments.

The findings of this study imply that the daughter's misjudgment of her father's true stance regarding the use of English in the home prevents her from anticipating a family conflict. Her misjudgment also prevents her from taking steps to prevent a conflict from occurring by sharing her school experiences with her father. If the father understood the academic and social challenges the daughter was facing and was given the opportunity to express his discontent with the language barrier in their relationship, a solution to the problem could be negotiated. The daughter might agree to speak Spanish when in her father's immediate presence, while continuing to talk with her sister in English in the privacy of their own room. This possible problem resolution would resolve the daughter's double-bind situation; she would have opportunities to develop her English skills and also maintain a positive relationship with her father.

Through the discussion the daughter has with her father where her use of English in the home is linked to her limited academic achievement, she may enlist the father's support for skill practice. Her educational success would represent an opportunity for the family to experience some upward mobility in their new host society. Casas, Furlong, and de Esparza (2003) recommend reframing school practices and educational goals in the context of family or community goals in order to make the host culture school system relevant and significant in the minds of Hispanic parents. They discuss the history of disconnection between Hispanic parents and the host society school system due to disparate cultural value systems, despite increasing demands for parents' involvement in their children's education. In the example discussed, another strategy to enlist the father's support for the daughter's educational goals would be for an agreement to be reached where she begins to teach him some English. In this way the daughter's acquisition of a new behavior would benefit

the father as well by promoting his own ability to communicate in the host language when outside the home.

Due to the reality of discontinuities between life at school and at home, school counselors need to be prepared to assist families in preserving positive functioning while supporting adolescents' academic endeavors (Colbert & Colbert, 2003; Locke, 2003). Interventions that could assist youth to understand the actual views of their parents better might assist in the prevention and management of family conflict. Sanchez (2001) describes the use of guided family dialogues between parents and youth where they can explore each other's cultural viewpoints and renegotiate their definitions of acceptable and unacceptable behaviors in the host society. The dialogues engage family members in a discussion about the school, work, family, and community contexts in which they are currently situated and the expected cultural *scripts* (specific behaviors and skills) for each context. A focused discussion about cultural scripts would explicate the expectations of the Canadian school system in relation to English-language use, cross-cultural interaction, and direct and independent communication. It would also illuminate the discontinuities youth may experience between school-based cultural expectations and family expectations for appropriate behavior. In the discussions the cultural adaptation process is conceptualized as a challenge facing the entire family system. Family members are asked about the specific challenges they face, with each family member offering his or her views and opinions.

The dialogues provide a perception-checking mechanism for parents and youth as they try to understand each other's cultural status. Once family members' views become overt, the counselor collaborates with the family to identify problem solutions that address the needs and wishes of each family member (Sanchez, 2001). This intervention strategy could address the reduction in parent-adolescent discussion that may take place in Hispanic refugee families as a result of parents' efforts to conceal pre-migration traumas and related symptoms from their children (Hernandez, 1996). Therefore, it addresses the root of the problem and may prepare families for positive adaptation during resettlement.

Limitations

This study has two limitations. First, the study employed a small, nonrandom sample. Many studies of refugees use nonprobability samples; randomly selected individuals may feel obligated to participate on the basis of cultural norms about respect for authority (Pernice, 1994). Nevertheless, the sample characteristics and size could limit the generalizability of the research findings to all members of the Hispanic community. Second, the use of self-report measures may elicit socially desirable responses. The fact that adolescents' judgments of their parents' openness to cultural change were contrary to social expectations supports the accuracy of the obtained data; one would expect that adolescents would perceive their parents as culturally conservative.

Directions for Future Research

The results of the present study suggest that parents are better judges of their adolescents' cultural views than adolescents are of their parents' cultural status. Future research should attempt to examine the individual and family

outcomes of guided family dialogues that aim to assist adolescents to understand better their parents' perspectives on cultural change, specifically in relation to reducing the potential for family conflict. These research endeavors would significantly enhance our understanding of the adjustment of refugee families in cultural transition.

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