



Cultural Identification and Religious Identification Contribute Differentially to the Adaptation of Australian Adolescent Muslims



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ABSTRACT

Australian Muslims are generally perceived as a devalued group in Australia and the public attitudes towards them are generally negative. This context raises questions about belonging and adaptation among Australian adolescent Muslims. The current study investigated how adolescent Muslims relate to their heritage culture, religion, and Australian culture, and which of these three factors is most important to adolescent Muslims' psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. The study employed a mixed-method design. A total of 321 high school Muslim students (149 males and 172 females) aged between 14 and 18 years completed self-report questionnaires, and a subset sample of 18 students in the same age range, evenly split between males and females, participated in semi-structured interviews. The study revealed a hierarchical pattern of identification among Australian adolescent Muslims, with attachment to their religion being the most important, followed by heritage culture identification and being Australian in third place. Australian adolescent Muslims' religious identification was perceived overall as more crucial to their socio-cultural and psychological adaptation, than their heritage culture identification or Australian identification. There was an overall modest contribution of Australian identification to adolescent Muslims' adaptation. This might be connected with the relatively less attachment they show to their Australian identity due maybe to perception of being the target of prejudice, an issue that can be addressed by implementation of prejudice reduction strategies.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Muslims in the Australian Context: Study Overview

Muslims are a cultural minority group in Australia. According to the Australian 2011 Census, 476,291 Muslims live in Australia and comprise 2.2% of the total population. Of the total Australian Muslim population, 38.5% were born in Australia,

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with almost 50% aged below 25 years (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Australian Muslims are citizens in a country that explicitly adopts a Multicultural policy. Recently, on 16 February 2011, the Australian government launched “The People of Australia: Australia’s Multicultural Policy” and reaffirmed the importance of a culturally diverse and socially cohesive nation (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011). The policy emphasises, among other things, (1) the expression of cultural values and benefits for all Australians, within the broader aims of national unity, community harmony, and maintenance of Australia’s democratic values; (2) a commitment to a just, inclusive, and socially cohesive society where everyone can participate in the opportunities that Australia offers and where government services are responsive to the needs of Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds; and (3) a commitment to promote understanding and acceptance while responding to expressions of intolerance and discrimination with strength and law enforcement.

The explicit adoption of a multicultural policy in Australia encourages a general positive and socially inclusive public atmosphere, which is psychologically beneficial for cultural minority individuals in fostering a secure sense of belonging to their heritage culture whilst consolidating their Australian identity, factors postulated by acculturation research to eventually promote minority individuals’ adaptation (e.g., Abu-Rayya & Sam, in press; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013).

Despite the socially, politically, and psychologically positive aims of Australian Multicultural Policy, the general Australian public attitudes towards Australian Muslims is less accepting and more prejudiced than might be hoped (Mansouri & Wook, 2008). This prejudice can hamper Australian Muslims’ cultural belonging and adaptation. For instance, Australian Muslims are perceived as ‘culturally inferior’, the ‘dangerous other’, and incompatible with, or radically different from, the non-Muslim Australian culture (Dunn, 2004; Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007; Poynting, Noble, Tabar, & Collins, 2004). Relatedly, Abu-Rayya and White (2010) have found that Anglo-Australians hold a segregationist attitude towards Australian Muslims and this correlates positively with their negative out-group attitudes towards Muslims. More recently, across the years 2010–2014, the Scanlon Foundation Surveys found a large percentage of Australians reporting consistent negative attitudes towards Australian Muslims (25%), compared to a lower presence of negative attitudes towards Christians (<5%) or Buddhists (<5%) (Markus, 2014).

In order to understand how Australian adolescent Muslims relate to their heritage culture, religion, and Australian culture in reaction to prejudice and discrimination they face in such a context, we nested the current study within the Multiple Identities Approach (e.g., Birman, Persky, & Chan, 2010; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012) argued to have a better explanatory power than Berry’s (1997) two-dimensional acculturation identification model, particularly among those whose lives involve multiple cultural affiliations. The present study aimed, through the employment of a mixed-method design, at exploring how Australian adolescent Muslims negotiate their heritage culture identification, Australian belonging, and religious identification, and how these identities comparatively relate to two distinct aspects of adolescents’ adaptation, namely (1) psychological adaptation, defined through emotions that evolve due to intercultural contact stress experiences (Berry et al., 2006; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001); and (2) socio-cultural adaptation, defined in terms of the acquisition of appropriate social and cultural skills needed to operate effectively in a cultural milieu (Berry et al., 2006; Ward et al., 2001).

1.2. Rationale of the Multiple Identities Approach

Adolescence is a crucial developmental period for heritage culture identity formation, especially for those from cultural minority groups. In Arce’s (1981) words “for [cultural] minority group members, identification with others who share their origins and traditions is critical in developing both a positive [cultural] identity and feelings of self-esteem and efficacy rather than self-blame and powerlessness” (p. 82). A plethora of research evidence supports a positive link between adolescents’ heritage culture identification and a range of adjustment measures (e.g., AbuBakar, Van de Vijver, Mazrui, Arasa, & Murugami, 2012; Berry et al., 2006; Heim, Hunter, & Jones, 2011).

Heritage culture identification, however, is not the only characteristic that minority adolescents may develop within multicultural societies. The interplay between heritage culture identification and how cultural minority individuals identify with the culture of the mainstream society, that is, their acculturation process seems crucial to their psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (Abu-Rayya & Sam, in press; Berry et al., 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Sam & Berry, 2010). Berry’s (1997) two-dimensional model has guided much acculturation research concerned with cultural minority individuals’ identification and adaptation. The model classifies minority individuals’ acculturation identifications according to the degree of identification with their heritage culture (dimension 1) and with the culture of the mainstream society (dimension 2). Interaction of the two dimensions according to the model gives rise to four potential acculturation identification modes: integration (high on both dimensions); assimilation (low on dimension 1, high on dimension 2); separation (high on dimension 1, low on dimension 2); and marginalisation (low on both dimensions). Research employing Berry’s model suggests a positive link between integration and adaptation among cultural minority adolescents (e.g., Abu-Rayya & Sam, in press; Berry et al., 2006; Sam & Berry, 2010).

While Berry’s bicultural theorisation represents an important advance over previous cultural identification approaches, it does not capture the reality of cultural minority individuals with multiple identities (Birman et al., 2010). Berry’s model limits the supposed cultural context of minority individuals with multiple identities to two cultures (Rudmin, 2003). For instance, Ferguson, Bornstein, and Pottinger (2012) reported that the majority (70%) of their Jamaican adolescents sample in the US showed a strong tendency to tricultural integration, i.e., identification with their Jamaican culture, African American culture, and European American culture. Besides, the model does not take religious identification, where relevant, into

account. For instance, research suggests that Australian young Muslims differentiate between their religious identification and cultural identification, and that any attempt at intertwining the two might be a faulty practice (Myhr, 2005). In addition, as noted by Rudmin (2003), classifying respondents into acculturation identification modes when three or more, rather than two cultural identities are involved, results in cumbersome modes of identification. To escape the problems associated with Berry's model in such situations, we follow current research on cultural minorities, acknowledging the role that multiple identities play in minority individuals' lives (e.g., Birman et al., 2010; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012). Specifically, we build on Birman et al.'s (2010) assertion that assessing identification of adolescents with each of their possible cultures independently, is the most sensible solution when multiple identities (e.g., religion, heritage culture, and Australian culture in the present study) are involved, as this allows for disclosing the relative contribution of each identity to adolescents' adaptation.

1.3. The Study Mixed-Method Design and Aims

The quantitative methodology has been the dominant approach in psychological research concerned with the identification and adaptation of cultural minority adolescents (e.g., Abu-Rayya & Sam, in press; Berry et al., 2006; Birman et al., 2010). Qualitative methods are rather the exception in the field. As Hall (1996) prescribed, qualitative methodologies ensure a closer understanding of minority individuals' identity in their context, allowing study participants to frame the terms of their own experience of identification and related psychological experiences (Marin & Marin, 1991). Likewise, Pope-Davis et al. (2002) stated that the inclusion of participants' perspectives using a qualitative methodology can provide a depth and breadth of explanation that would not have been capable via quantitative means. Karasz (2009) has also proposed that the employment of qualitative methods in accessing individuals' experiences in cultural studies, may allow for more meaningful data to be obtained, while empowering participants to voice their own experiences. Research inquires into cultural minority adolescents' identification and adaptation can therefore capitalise on the wealth of exploration and depth of description that is inherent in qualitative methods (e.g., Karasz, 2009).

Nevertheless, Denzin and Lincoln (2003) have indicated that the information gained exclusively from quantitative or qualitative methods can be insufficient, and thus, the mixture of both in a given study, where relevant, can provide mutual elucidation of concepts and relationships, leading to complementarity and triangulation of conclusions. We therefore adopted a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods in this research, hoping that this mixed-method design would allow a better understanding of adolescent Muslims' identification and adaptation compared to a single-method study.

More specifically, the quantitative component of the study (named *Study 1a*) endeavoured to answer the following research questions: Q1. Do Australian adolescent Muslims feel attached differently to their heritage culture, religion, and Australian culture?; and Q2. Which of these three factors (heritage culture identification, religious identification, Australian identification) is most important to the psychological and socio-cultural adaptation among Australian adolescent Muslims?

The objective of the qualitative component of the study (named *Study 1b*), through the employment of semi-structured interviews, was to gain detailed descriptions that acknowledge the subjective nature of Australian adolescent Muslims' experience in relation to their identification and adjustment within the Australian context. Specifically, the aim of Study 1b was to gain an in-depth understanding of what it means for Australian adolescent Muslims to be members of their cultural group, to be Australian, and to be religious. The study also aimed to understand whether and how cultural identification, religious identification, and Australian identification assist adolescent Muslims' psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. Study 1b was intended to complement and expand the conclusions drawn from Study 1a.

2. Methods

2.1. Study 1a

2.1.1. Participants

A total of 321 high school Muslim students (149 males and 172 females) from Years 9, 10, and 11 studying at Muslim schools in metropolitan Sydney, Australia, participated in the quantitative study composed of a self-report questionnaire. The age of the participants ranged between 14 and 18 years with a *Mean age* = 15.60 years (*SD* = 1.065). Approximately 72% of the participants were born in Australia and 28% migrated to Australia before the age of five years. The participants were from diverse ethnic backgrounds including Turkish, Egyptian, Iraqi, Pakistani, Indian, and Lebanese, with the majority being Lebanese (about 36%) and Bangladeshi (16%). The vast majority (about 84%) stated that they lived in Australia in fairly ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. In terms of participants' parents' educational background, 51% of mothers had completed a Bachelor or higher degree, and 49% had completed a vocational (i.e., TAFE) certificate; 70% of fathers had completed a Bachelor or higher degree and 30% had completed a vocational (i.e., TAFE) certificate.

2.1.2. Study Procedure

Ethics approval to conduct the study was obtained from the University of Sydney Human Ethics Committee (Ethics approval number 12182). Out of six Muslim schools in the Sydney Metropolitan area that were contacted about the study and asked to participate, three schools consented to be part of this study and each school volunteered three classes from years 9–11. In total there were 9 participant classes. The students completed the study questionnaire during one class session

taking between 30 and 45 min. Participation consents were collected from students and their parents/guardians to participate prior to completion of the study questionnaire. As all students had mastery of the English language, questionnaires were administered to the participants in English only. Participating students were assured that any information provided would be treated confidentially through the non-reporting of their names, school names, or any revealing details in this study.

2.1.3. Measures

Self-report questionnaires were administered to the participants and included the following measures:

2.1.3.1. Socio-cultural adaptation. Three main factors were assessed: (1) *School adjustment*, (2) *School/community behavioural problems*, and (3) *Social relations*. *School adjustment* was measured using Berry et al.'s (2006) 7-item scale developed from previous work by Anderson (1982), Moos (1979), and Samadal (1998). The measure includes items such as "I feel uneasy about going to school in the morning". All items were rated on a 6-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6). The school adjustment scale had good reliability in the current study, Cronbach's alpha = .77. *School/community behavioural problems* were measured employing Berry et al.'s (2006) 10-item scale derived from Olweus's antisocial behaviour scale (Bendixen & Olweus, 1999; Olweus, 1989, 1994). Participants were asked to report the frequency of engaging in negative activities (e.g., "Had a serious quarrel with a teacher") during the last 12 months on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *never* (1) to *more than six times* (5). Cronbach's alpha of the scale in the present study was .81. *Social relations* were measured using Ryff's (1999) 9-item scale which includes items like "I enjoy personal and mutual conversations with family members or friends". Participants were asked to respond by using a 6-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6). Cronbach's alpha reliability of this measure in the present research was .84.

2.1.3.2. Psychological adaptation. Three measures of psychological adaptation were included: (1) *self-acceptance*, (2) *environmental mastery*, and (3) *life satisfaction*. *Self-acceptance* and *environmental mastery* were assessed using Ryff's (1999) scale. The self-acceptance scale includes items such as "In general, I feel confident and positive about myself" and the environmental mastery scale includes items like "I often feel overwhelmed by many responsibilities". Participants were asked to respond to 18 items (9 for each scale) by using a 6-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6). Cronbach's alpha reliabilities of self-acceptance and environmental mastery in the present research were .86 and .86, respectively. *Life satisfaction* was measured on a 6-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6) with five items e.g. "I am satisfied with my life" (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The scale had a Cronbach's alpha reliability of .88 in the current study.

2.1.3.3. Heritage culture identification. Participants were asked to indicate the ethnic group they belong to, and asked about the extent of their identification with this group employing Phinney's (1992, 1993) 14-item Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). The MEIM assesses heritage culture behaviours, heritage culture affirmation and belonging, and heritage culture identity achievement. In the present study, MEIM was used as a single case rather separating it out into subscales. An example item of heritage culture behaviours is "I participate in cultural practices of my own ethnic group, such as special food, music, festivals, or customs". All items were rated on a 6-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (6). The measure had Cronbach's alpha reliability of .92 in the present study.

2.1.3.4. Australian identification. This was measured similar to heritage culture identification but the items referred specifically to participants' Australian culture (for instance, "I have a lot of pride in the Australian culture and its accomplishments"). Cronbach's alpha reliability of the measure was .86 in the present study.

2.1.3.5. Religious identification. Participants were asked to indicate the religion they belong to, and asked about the extent of their religious identification using the 15-item Multi-religion Identity Measure (Abu-Rayya, Abu-Rayya & Khalil, 2009). The measure is divided equally between three aspects of adolescents' religious identification: religious affirmation and belonging (e.g. "I have a strong sense of belonging to my religion"), religious identity achievement (e.g. "I have spent much time exploring my religion such as its rituals, faith, morals, history, and traditions"), and religious faith and practices (e.g. "My belief in God is important to me"). In the present study, participants' overall score on this measure was used rather than their separate subscales' scores. Items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale from *not at all* (1) to *absolutely* (7). Cronbach's alpha reliability of the measure was .90 in the present study.

2.5. Study 1b

2.5.1. Participants

Eighteen high school Muslim students aged between 14 and 18 years were recruited to participate in semi-structured interviews. This sample was drawn from the same participant cohort in Study 1a six months following its completion, and was diverse in terms of gender and ethnic groups. There was an even split between male and female participants, but overwhelmingly, volunteer interviewees were born in Australia ($n = 15$) and Lebanese was the most common ethnic background ($n = 10$) among them. Other ethnicities included Turkish ($n = 2$), Palestinian ($n = 2$), Egyptian ($n = 2$), Bangladeshi

Table 1
Zero-Order Correlations Among Socio-Cultural Adaptation, Psychological Adaptation, and Identification.

	M/SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. School Adjustment	4.3/.89	–							
2. School/Community Problems	1.54/.53	.65**							
3. Social Relations	4.64/.86	.52*	–.57**						
4. Self-Acceptance	4.36/.89	.31*	–.13	.34*					
5. Environmental Mastery	4.16/.92	.26*	–.19*	.33*	.66**				
6. Life Satisfaction	3.98/1.2	.35**	–.29**	.24*	.62**	.64**			
7. Cultural Identification	4.41/1.03	.28**	–.13	.46**	.38**	.35**	.41**		
8. Australian Identification	3.75/.72	.20*	–.05	.22**	.21**	.20*	.17*	.08	
9. Religious Identification	6.26/.77	.43**	–.46**	.29**	.46**	.38**	.45**	.31**	–.02

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

($n = 1$), and Fijian ($n = 1$). The participants in Study 1b were not different from those in Study 1a in terms of their level of heritage culture identification, religious identification, and Australian identification.

2.5.2. Study Procedure

Six months after the completion of Study 1a, arrangements were made with the schools to approach the participant classes, introduce Study 1b, and request two participants, one male one female, from each of the classes to take part in 20–35 min semi-structured interview. The interviews were typically conducted in quiet private rooms at the school and recorded on a digital voice recorder as per participants' and parents' consent. Participant consent was collected from students and their parents/guardians prior to the interview. All interviews were carried out in English, as participants were all competent in this language, and thus no alternative format needed to be arranged. Interviewees were assured that any information provided would be treated confidentially through the non-reporting of their names, school names, or any revealing details in this study.

2.5.3. Interview Structure

The 18 interviewees in the qualitative study participated in a semi-structured interview that included five parts. *Initially*, demographic information was gathered with reference to year of birth, place of birth, and ethnic background. *Secondly*, questions relating to psychological adaptation (e.g., self-acceptance, life satisfaction), and socio-cultural adaptation (e.g., school adjustment), were asked. For instance, within the context of psychological adaptation participants were asked “Are you satisfied with yourself and life in general? How?” and “How do you feel about yourself?; within the context of socio-cultural adaptation, they were asked ‘How would you describe your relationship with your teachers?’ and “Have you ever had over the last year a serious quarrel with a teacher or a classmate? Why? Can you tell me about it?”. *Thirdly*, participants were asked questions about their heritage culture identification. Questions in this regard included “In the beginning of this interview you mentioned that your ethnic group is _____, can you please tell me 5 things that distinguish you as a member of your ethnic group?”, “What things do you dislike about your ethnic group?”, “What kind of social activities or cultural practices of your ethnic group do you go to? Why they are important to you?”, and “Does being a member of your ethnic group help you to like your school or do better at school? How (what features help you)?”. *Fourthly*, participants were asked about being Australian. For instance, they were asked “Does being Australian mean or not mean a lot to you? How? And why?”, “Can you tell me 5 things that distinguish you as Australian? Which thing do you most like? Why? Which thing do you most dislike? Why?”, “What is your view of the Australian way of life? How different is it from the way of life of your ethnic group? Which way of life do you like? Why?”, and “Does being an Australian help you to like your school or do better at school? How (what features help you)?”. *Lastly*, interviewees were asked questions relating to their religion. For instance, they were asked “Do you consider yourself religious? Tell me 5 things that make you religious?”, “Does being religious help you to like school or do better in school? If Yes how? And if No why?”, and “If there is anything you would like to change in Australia for you to feel better as a religious person, what would these things be?”. At the end, participants were thanked and given the opportunity to add anything they would like to any of the questions asked or any other issue.

3. Results

3.1. Study 1a

3.1.1. Preliminary Analyses

Correlations among all study measures are presented in Table 1. Given the moderate relationships among socio-cultural adaptation measures and among psychological adaptation measures, as well as the weak relationships between socio-cultural and psychological adaptation measures, it was considered reasonable to maintain this distinction throughout the analyses (Ward et al., 2001).

Pearson's correlations between cultural identification, Australian identification, and religious identification indicated that only religious identification and cultural identification had a statistically significant correlation, $r = .31$, $p = .01$. This

Table 2
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Socio-Cultural Adaptation and Cultural, Australian, and Religious Identifications.

	School Adjustment	School/community Problems	Social Relations
	Standardised B	Standardised B	Standardised B
<i>Step 1</i>			
Gender	.03	-.26*	-.07
Age	.09	-.11	.08
Length of residence in Australia	.003	-.07	.14
Average school grade	.15	-.15	.11
Mother's Education	-.06	-.09	-.03
Father's Education	.12	.04	.03
Neighbourhood ethnic composition	-.11	.08	.14
Ethnic Language Fluency	.16	-.09	.12
English Language Fluency	-.04	.05	.10
Country of Birth	.05	.07	-.02
<i>Step 2</i>			
Religious ^a	.38**	-.46**	.12*
Cultural ^a	.08	.04	.47**
Australian ^a	.13	.02	.14

Note: ^aMulticollinearity statistics, namely Tolerance Values and VIF, did not indicate any collinearity problem due to the religious and cultural identifications correlation: Tolerance values for religious, cultural, and Australian identifications were .85, .77, and .86, respectively, and VIF values were less than 1.30.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .001$.

correlation was not strong enough to cause multicollinearity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013), as validated in the correspondent hierarchical regressions conducted to answer Q2.

3.1.2. Q1

To examine possible differences in attachment to cultural identity, Australian identity, and religion among Australian adolescent Muslims, a repeated measures ANOVA was carried out using identification mean scores as the within subject factor. The analysis revealed a statistically significant difference between the three factors, $F(2, 318) = 495.50, p = .001$. Post-hoc analyses employing Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons showed that adolescent Muslims felt statistically significantly more attached to their religion ($M = 6.26, SD = .77$) compared to their cultural ($M = 4.41, SD = 1.03$) or Australian ($M = 3.75, SD = .72$) identifications, $t(320) = 22.24, p = .001, t(320) = 28.55, p = .001$, respectively. The effect sizes of these differences were large, Cohen's d (Cohen, 1992) for the difference between religious identification and cultural identification was 1.43 and between religious identification and Australian identification 2.38. Participants felt also more attached to their cultural identity than being Australian, $t(320) = 6.57, p = .001$, with a moderate effect size, $d = .52$.

3.1.3. Q2

To compare the relative associations between religious identification, cultural identification, Australian identification and adaptation, a series of hierarchical regression analyses was undertaken. Here, each adaptation measure was entered into the regression as a dependent variable, socio-demographics were entered as control variables as a first step in the regression, followed by cultural identification scores, Australian identification scores, and religious identification scores in the second step.

As far as socio-cultural adaptation is concerned, the analyses revealed that none of the socio-demographic variables were associated with participants' school adjustment or social relations, and only gender was associated with school/community behavioural problems, standardised $\beta = -.26, z = -2.86, p = .005$, with males reporting more school/community behavioural problems ($M = 1.67, SD = .57$) than females ($M = 1.43, SD = .48$). Refer to Table 2. The inclusion of religious identification, cultural identification, and Australian identification in the second step revealed a large effect size association with school adjustment, adjusted $R^2 = 15\%$ (R^2 change of 14%), $F(11, 309) = 2.93, p = .001$, school/community behavioural problems, $R^2 = 22\%$ (R^2 change of 18%), $F(11, 309) = 4.02, p < .001$, and social relations, adjusted $R^2 = 20\%$ (R^2 change of 20%), $F(11, 309) = 3.76, p < .001$. It was religious identification in particular that had a statistically significant positive association with school adjustment, $\beta = .38 (z = 4.35, p < .001)$ and a negative association with school/community behavioural problems, $\beta = -.46 (z = 5.51, p < .001)$. The other two identities had a non-significant association with either school adjustment or school/community behavioural problems. Comparisons of the standardised β s of cultural identification, Australian identification, and religious identification indicate, then, that participants' religious identification was perceived as more crucial to their school adjustment and school/community behavioural problems. Participants' cultural identification, on the other hand, had a higher positive association with social relations, $\beta = .47 (z = 4.73, p < .001)$, than either religious ($\beta = .12, z = 1.97, p = .048$) or Australian ($p > .05$) identification.

A separate series of hierarchical regression analyses were undertaken to examine the relationship between cultural identification, Australian identification, religious identification and psychological adaptation. As shown in Table 3, the analyses revealed that participants' gender and average school grade were the only socio-demographic variables that showed statistically significant associations with some of the positive adaptation measures. Specifically, participants' gender was

Table 3
Hierarchical Regression Analyses of Psychological Adaptation and Cultural, Australian, and Religious Identifications.

	Self acceptance	Environmental Mastery	Life Satisfaction
	Standardised B	Standardised B	Standardised B
<i>Step 1</i>			
Gender	-.24**	-.20*	-.15
Age	.12	.09	.13
Length of residence in Australia	.13	-.05	.08
Average school grade	.21*	.24**	.30**
Mother's Education	-.10	-.06	-.06
Father's Education	.03	-.02	-.07
Neighbourhood ethnic composition	.11	.11	.12
Ethnic Language Fluency	.14	.05	.03
English Language Fluency	.09	.14	.07
Country of Birth	-.06	.17	-.04
<i>Step 2</i>			
Religious ^a	.36** ^b	.31** ^e	.43* ^h
Cultural ^a	.28** ^c	.27** ^f	.19 ⁱ
Australian ^a	.18 ^d	.17 ^g	.18 ^j

Notes: ^a Multicollinearity statistics, namely Tolerance Values and VIF, did not indicate any collinearity problem. Tolerance values for religious, cultural, and Australian identifications were .85, .75, and .86, respectively, and VIF values were less than 1.30. ^b $z = 4.67$, ^c $z = 3.16$, ^d $z = 2.07$, ^e $z = 2.57$, ^f $z = 3.96$, ^g $z = 2.96$, ^h $z = 2.13$, ⁱ $z = 5.64$, ^j $z = 2.23$, ^k $z = 2.03$.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

associated with self-acceptance ($z = -2.71$, $p = .008$), and environmental mastery ($z = -2.33$, $p = .02$), with males reporting higher self-acceptance ($M = 4.60$, $SD = .77$) and environmental mastery ($M = 4.42$, $SD = .78$) than females' self-acceptance ($M = 4.15$, $SD = .94$) and environmental mastery ($M = 3.95$, $SD = .97$). Participants' average school grade was positively associated with self-acceptance ($z = 2.41$, $p = .02$), environmental mastery ($z = 2.81$, $p = .006$), and life satisfaction ($z = 3.54$, $p = .001$).

The addition of religious, cultural, and Australian identifications to each hierarchical regression model associated with positive measures of psychological adaptation made a significant contribution to the explained variance, adjusted $R^2 = 34\%$ (R^2 change of 24%), $F(11, 309) = 6.72$, $p < .001$ for self-acceptance, adjusted $R^2 = 32\%$ (R^2 change of 20%), $F(11, 309) = 6.16$, $p < .001$ for environmental mastery, and adjusted $R^2 = 35\%$ (R^2 change of 24%), $F(11, 309) = 6.98$, $p < .001$ for life satisfaction. While each of the factors of religious, cultural, and Australian identifications were positively associated with the measures, an inspection of the standardised β s indicates that participants' religious identification had a higher positive association with self-acceptance, environmental mastery and life satisfaction, than cultural or Australian identification.

3.2. Study 1b

3.2.1. Data Analysis

The interviews with the participants were transcribed and analysed using a thematic analysis approach. Thematic analysis is a broader qualitative method designed to identify, analyse, and report semantic information and patterns or themes within data (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Themes represent "some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 82). As the main objective of Study 1b was to complement, enrich and contextualise the quantitative findings in Study 1a, a deductive or top-down approach (Hayes, 1997) was employed in identifying the central themes. That is, central themes derived from the quantitative questionnaire used in Study 1a were employed to guide the semi-structured interviews and thus the qualitative analyses in Study 1b. These central themes included heritage culture identification, Australian identification, religious identification, and psychological adaptation (i.e., self-acceptance and life satisfaction) and socio-cultural adaptation (i.e., school adjustment).

Deductive thematic analysis, as employed in Study 1b, is thought to be analyst-driven and therefore can be subject to analyst-biases. As noted by Braun and Clarke (2008), "researchers cannot free themselves from their theoretical and epistemological commitments, and data are not coded in an epistemological vacuum" (p. 84). To strengthen the validity of the analysis of the interviews in the present study, and to minimise analyst-biases, an educational psychologist from the University of Sydney, who was blind to Study 1a, carried out analyses jointly with the first researcher. Both of analysts had formal training and sufficient experience in the application of thematic analysis methods. In conducting the thematic analyses, a set of procedural over-lapping stages based on Braun and Clarke (2008) were carried out as follows: 1. Gaining familiarity with the interview data through text entry and careful reading; 2. Generation of subthemes/codes by finding their connections in the data with the central themes (noted above) through successive readings and reflection. The significance of the subthemes and their priorities were decided upon with reference to the main objectives of Study 1b; 3. Reviewing and verifying subthemes through a re-iterative process. Initial subthemes were further reviewed and refined to generate a clearer understanding of the emergent patterns. During subthemes generation and verification processes, a themes matrix using MS Excel was established, appointing a row to each central theme and its associated subthemes and a column to each interviewee. The excerpts from the interview transcripts that were used during the analyses stage were then hyperlinked to the themes

matrix according to theme/subtheme and interviewee; 4. Representation through the writing up of an account of what has been learned. The themes matrix guided this stage to point to fitting interviewee contents; and 5. Illustration through the inclusion of selected representative quotes from the text. In this regard, interviewees were de-identified throughout the report by assigning them an alias.

3.2.2. Heritage Culture Identification from the Participants' Perspective

The themes *family, friends, community, ethnic language, and cultural observances* emerged in participants' expression of cultural identity. The *family context*, for instance, was evident in the participants' meaning of their cultural identity. In its most raw form, when DH, a Palestinian Muslim, was asked what makes her feel most part of her ethnic group she replied "My parents [laughs]." This element also appeared in a more convoluted form. AiG, a Lebanese Muslim, for example, described the high importance of family in her culture, saying that the one thing she feels characterises her culture is, "Just the closeness that it represents". At the same time, however, AiG illustrated an experience of her cultural identity that was more expansive than the family context. When asked what things make her feel more like a member of her cultural group, AiG replied:

"I guess when I have a large group getting together and it is not all my relatives, it is people from my group whom I do not know and I feel like I am a part of something bigger"

For AiG, this *something bigger* is experienced as a commonality perhaps of purpose, or at least experience. This emerged in AiG's conception of cultural identity when she also noted the strength she finds in sharing a common ethnic culture with her schoolmates through *socialisation* and speaking their *ethnic language* especially in the face of prejudice Muslims feel in Australia "...with my Lebanese friends I speak Arabic, feel strong if we go to public places to have fun because they can protect me if a mad Australian targeted us". In a similar vein, the role of *friendships* was explicit in YC's, a Turkish male, answer to the question relating to what distinguishes him as a member of his cultural group:

"...I go to Turkey sometimes, I go to the country, we have family get together and meet up with friends, Turkish friends"

The affection participants shared for various *cultural observances* such as cultural festivals, food, music, TV shows and movies, connection with home country, and attendance at the mosque was another notable element of their cultural identity. For instance, when asked to tell five things that distinguish his cultural group from other groups, AmA, a Lebanese Muslim, mentioned:

"Ah, um the food that we eat, our music, festivals, we speak Arabic, the way that we look, the way that we see other people and the connection that we have with our country and the values"

It is of interest that for KF cultural and religious observances melt into one and this was also reflected in the replies of a few other participants. For example, when asked about the degree to which he resembles a typical member of his cultural group a Turkish Muslim replied: "Um, as long as being a Muslim person, practices the religion, prays five times a day, eats the cultural food, speaks the language, yes I do".

3.2.3. Australian Identification from the Participants' Perspective

While participants' cultural identity seems to be connected with 'significant' cultural themes such as family ties, cultural traditions and practices, and friendships, Australian identity seems to take a softer character among most participants being mainly framed around *leisure activities* such as going to the beach, playing sports, having barbeques, and dressing in an Australian way. For example, a Lebanese Muslim girl noted:

"Um well sport, you know I like a lot of sport here I play cricket, basketball so yeah. What do I like the most. . .umm go to the beach. There is nothing I do not like. . . Just everything, everyday life, I like my sports, I like to be laid back and just relax. Not take anything too seriously. I like the laid back attitude there is not much I do not like. I like to dress in the Australian way"

and, an Egyptian Muslim male noted:

"well I practise some of the things Australians do like, go to the beach, on the weekends we have a family barbeque where the whole family gets together"

On a few occasions, participants referred to being Australian in some meaningful terms such as *place of birth, politics* (freedom, multiculturalism), *services* (opportunities), national days, *social experiences* (festivals and public spaces), *friends*, and *racism*. For one of the participants, EB, a Lebanese girl, an Australian identity was characterised through the lens of '*good citizenship*' and the political ideals commonly considered important in Australia. She, for example, described her experience of being Australian in the following way:

"I am very fortunate I was born here, we have equal opportunities, it is easy to go to universities, I like being an active citizen and you know talking about everything with everyone, Australia is a beautiful multicultural country, I like a lot multicultural festivals here"

Most participants described their cultural and Australian identities as important to them; a common answer was such as AmA's, a Lebanese male, "I see myself as both Lebanese and Australian because I was born here and raised here and my background is Lebanese, I am not typical". The majority of respondents noted that they desire a stronger sense of Australian identity, but in order for this to happen some aspects need to change in the Australian society to consolidate their sense of Australian belonging. Particularly, non-Muslim Australians' lack of cultural awareness concerning Muslims needs to change and the presence of racism and prejudice towards Muslims needs to be eliminated. When asked KF, an Egyptian girl, how she could feel more Australian, she said "Get rid of racism against Muslims in Australia and then I will feel more proud to be Australian".

3.2.4. Religious Identification from the Participants' Perspective

For the majority of the participants their Muslim faith was a central feature of their lives. Compared to their reference to cultural identity and being Australian, participants had a sort of consensus on what defines Islamic religiosity. They described religiosity through the lens of *Islamic faith*, *religious rituals* (such as prayers, celebrations, religious manners), and *education* and the *school environment*; *teachers* and *friends* were notably acknowledged as facilitators of religiosity attainment. For instance, when asked whether he thought of himself as religious, WB, a Fijian male, replied:

"Yes, you can say, I pray alhamdulillah [thanks God] everyday, also abiding by other laws in the religion, keeping away or trying to keep away from those things that are forbidden, and obviously believing in God. Yeah, so following the religion, not just saying you believe and do nothing about it"

Likewise, DH, a Palestinian girl, replied to whether she is religious with:

"Yeah, Alhamdulillah [thanks God], well I read Quran often, I love to watch lectures, I get addicted, like especially, to some Sheikh's [Muslim clerks]. They are funny on the net. I go to a Muslim school, especially being in a Muslim school it is the most important thing that reminds us of our religion"

Interestingly, participants talked about the school, teachers, and friends as facilitators of their religiosity. For EB, a Lebanese girl, for example, the headmaster of her school played a role in her religious development. When asked what she likes about her school, she answered:

"the religion and how it is religious and everything, um the Principal [laughs] I do like him and his religious character. . . . the teachers in the school are constantly reminding us of what is haraam [sinful] and what you should not do, and what we should do for our religion and also in society".

Likewise, DH, a Palestinian girl, when asked what she likes about her school, the school environment and teachers became an indispensable element of her religiosity:

"Islam, honestly I am obsessed with my religion, I love that the school is academically advanced, it gives us a lot of opportunity, some teachers are great friends and religious models to me"

The role of school friends in religiosity development was apparent, for example, in the case of KF, an Egyptian girl. When asked what she likes about her school, she answered:

"it is Muslim, teachers are good, education is good, we have a high standard of Education, by seeing Muslim friends in the school everyday practising our religion makes me want to practise with them as well".

3.2.5. Heritage Culture Identification, Australian Identification, and Religious Identification: Are there Implications for Adolescent Muslims' Adaptation?

Adaptation was investigated in the interviews through questions relating to participants' personal and life satisfaction, for example, their satisfaction with, and motivation at school, and the respect and self-discipline they show within the school context. While most participants reported an overall satisfactory and contented school and personal life, and showed a strong attachment to their cultural identity, and a good sense of Australian identity, they generally did not see a clear connection between their cultural identity or Australian belonging and adaptation. Exceptions to this were three participants who noted a positive effect of cultural or Australian identity on their adaptation.

For instance, YC, a Turkish male, was explicit when asked about the role his cultural identity plays in his attitudes towards himself and in his school life:

"my parents raised me Turkish, this makes me proud, want to get out the best of myself to contribute to my people, I am doing very well in school, have strong motivation to wake up and go to school, it is not acceptable in my culture that I do troubles in school, we should respect our teachers and not have troubles with friends"

With reference to her Australian identity, AkL, an Egyptian girl, noted that being Australian helps her particularly in learning:

"to do better at school because like out there you have to be successful and do well, Australia helps me to have a good education, so you can do well in the real world"

Compared to cultural or Australian identity, across most respondents there was a close perceived connection between religiosity and personal satisfaction and school success. Most participants saw religion as helping them to have a meaning in life and to stay motivated and focused. YC, A Turkish male, explained that:

“Being Muslim is a great thing, I have a meaning in my life, good manners, I understand why I am here in this world, being religious helps you being more focused and clear headed and keeps you away from distraction and stuff, do better in school and in life”.

Likewise, religiosity was linked to increased commitment to fulfil great ambitions at a professional/community level. For example, when asked whether being religious helps him to do better at school, MB, a Lebanese male, answered:

“Yeah, because when you be religious you feel close to Allah and feels like you are doing the right thing, I want to be a big doctor, whatever I want to do I want to do it for my Muslim people, nation, so I can help them”.

4. Discussion

Nested within the Multiple Identities Approach (e.g., Birman, Persky, & Chan, 2010; Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012), and the employment of a mixed-method design, the aim of the present study was to explore how Australian adolescent Muslims negotiate their heritage culture identification, Australian belonging, and religious identification, and how these identities comparatively relate to adolescents' adaptation. We integrate the quantitative findings of Study 1a and the qualitative findings of Study 1b to address these questions. Adolescent Muslims' identification pattern is addressed first, followed by addressing the relationship between identification and adaptation.

4.1. Identification of Australian Adolescent Muslims

The quantitative analyses of heritage culture identification, Australian identification, and religious identification in Study 1a revealed a pattern of identification that might be considered to be hierarchical in nature with Australian adolescent Muslims feeling most attached to their religion in the first place, followed by heritage culture in the second place compared to being Australian. This finding converges with other research showing that indeed Islam composes a significant part of adolescent Muslims' identification in Australia.

Inglis, Elley and Manderson (1992), in their study on young Australian Muslims in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, for instance, found that Islam was said to be a more important part of their self-identity than their cultural heritage. Likewise, Myhr (2005) found that Australian young Muslims most identify with their religion compared to identification with their cultural heritage or being Australian, and that Muslims' religious identity remains strong across generations. Akbarzadeh and Saeed (2001) argue, similarly, that Islam provides a common identity and way of living for Muslims in Australia, despite their ethnic heterogeneity as a group, and that Islam has a stronger cultural influence in the lives and worldview of Muslims than the multiple and heterogeneous ethnicities from which they come. When it comes to the feelings of Australian identity, Akbarzadeh and Saeed (2001) noted that second and third generation Muslims have a strong bond with Australia, and in most cases this bond is not made at the expense of their Islamic and heritage culture.

The weaker attachment adolescent Muslims show to their Australian belonging may be presumably attributed in part to the negative public attitudes or racism they experience in Australia (e.g., Mansouri & Wood, 2008; Markus, 2014). In fact, as emerged in the interviews, the majority of adolescent Muslims noted that some aspects of Australian society need to change in order to consolidate their sense of Australian belonging. In particular, interviewees noted that non-Muslims' level of cultural awareness of Muslims needs improvement, and the presence of racism and prejudice towards Muslims needs to be eliminated.

It must be noted, however, that a preference for religious or cultural identification compared to being Australian among Australian Muslims does not indicate preference for separation from Australian society, in Berry's (1997) acculturation terms. In fact, participants' religious and heritage culture identification were not quantitatively correlated with their Australian identification, meaning that their religious identification and heritage culture identification are not opposed to being Australian. In other words, adolescent Muslims can develop multiple identities to which they show differential attachments, as the case with other faith-based minority adolescents (e.g., Birman et al., 2010).

The predominance of religious identification in Australian adolescent Muslims' identity as emerged in the quantitative analyses, was also evident in the thematic analyses of the interviews with the participants revealing that for the majority of them Islamic faith was a central feature of their lives, something more important than being a member of their heritage culture groups or being Australian. Besides, thematic analysis of the interviews with the participants seeking to clarify “what it means to Australian adolescent Muslims to be religious?”, “what it means to Australian adolescent Muslims to be members of their cultural group?”, and “what it means to Australian adolescent Muslims to be Australian?” revealed that adolescent Muslims had a strong sense of Islamic identification and a relatively clearer sense of their heritage culture identity compared to being Australian.

These views are consistent with the *hierarchical* fashion of identification revealed by the quantitative analyses noted above. In the case of religious identification, Australian adolescent Muslims had a sort of consensus on what defines their religious identity, and described religious identification through the lens of Islamic belonging and Islamic faith and religious

rituals such as prayers, celebrations, and religious manners. In a similar vein, most of the participants expressed their heritage culture identification in such cultural affirmation and belonging terms as attachment to their culture, consolidated by familial ties and social networks, and also expressed their heritage culture identification in cultural behaviour terms, such as cultural observances of festivals, food, language, music, and TV shows and movies. Australian identification, on the other hand, took a softer character among most participants. Here, adolescent Muslims framed their Australian identity mainly around leisure activities such as going to the beach, playing sports, having barbeques, and dressing in an Australian way. There was, however, some reference among some adolescent Muslims to Australian identity in 'deeper' terms such as citizenship, freedom, multiculturalism, services, national days, friendships, and social experiences. These notions associated with adolescents' perception of religious identification, heritage culture identification, and Australian belonging meant they are able to distinguish between different parts of their identity-based self-concept. This is especially important because acculturation research (e.g., [Berry et al., 2006](#)) tends to treat religion as part of a culture rather than a distinct construct.

4.2. Identification and Adaptation

Study 1a revealed that Australian adolescent Muslims' religious identification was perceived overall (in two out of three measures) as more crucial to their socio-cultural adaptation than their heritage culture identification or Australian identification (which was not, in fact, connected with socio-cultural adaptation at all). In the case of psychological adaptation, study findings indicated also that adolescent Muslims' religious identification had a higher positive association with self-acceptance, environmental mastery, and life satisfaction than heritage culture identification or Australian identification.

The contribution of adolescent Muslims' heritage culture identification to their adaptation is in line with research on other minorities (e.g., [Berry et al., 2006](#); [Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013](#); [Ward & Kus, 2012](#)), and so their national (Australian) identification contribution to their adaptation, albeit modest (e.g., [Berry et al., 2006](#); [Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013](#); [Ward & Kus, 2012](#)). The overall modest contribution of Australian belonging to adolescent Muslims' overall adaptation might be connected with the relatively less attachment they show to their Australian identity, perhaps due to perceived feelings of being the target of prejudice (e.g., [Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999](#); [Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2012](#); [Phinney, 1990](#)).

Compared to the roles of heritage culture and national identification in cultural minority adolescents' adaptation, the important role of religious identification has been masked in acculturation research (e.g., [Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013](#); [Ward & Kus, 2012](#)). The positive connections between Australian adolescent Muslims' religious identification and their adaptation lend support to previous Australian and international research testifying to the positive role religious identification plays in adolescent's adaptation and general sense of wellbeing. For instance, available research evidence on Australian and non-Australian Muslims suggests that Muslims' religious identification relates positively to a range of psychological and social/behavioural adaptation parameters (e.g., [Abu-Rayya & Abu-Rayya, 2009](#); [Abu-Rayya, Almoty, White, & Abu-Rayya, 2016](#); [Abdel-Khalek, 2009, 2011](#)). Likewise, studies on Australian Christian adolescents (e.g., [Ciarrochi, 2007](#)) found that adolescents' religious identification made a significant contribution to their social wellbeing (social support and satisfaction with it) and emotional wellbeing (hope, mindfulness, acceptance, joy). The contribution of religious identification to adolescents' adaptation has also gained evidence in international research (e.g., [Fife, Adegoke, McCoy, & Brewer, 2011](#); [Headey, Schupp, Tucci, & Wagner, 2010](#); [Ji, Perry, & Clarke-Pine, 2011](#); [Rasic, Kisely, & Langille, 2011](#)).

Why is religious identification associated with psychological functioning? [George, Ellison, and Larson \(2002\)](#), and [Williams and Sternthal \(2007\)](#) have proposed, for instance, that the impact of religious identification on adaptation may generally occur through *social support* garnered from involvement in a religious faith or community, providing a platform for social interactions and emotional care. The current study results lend support to this suggestion. Australian adolescent Muslims' religious identification contributed to their socio-cultural adaptation in such social terms as better social relations and school adjustment, and less involvement in school/community problems. It is also possible to argue that Islamic religious identification installs in adolescents faith-based *social norms* and *standards* that assist them to be well disciplined and prosocial ([Abu-Rayya et al., 2016](#)), as implied in better socio-cultural adaptation. Other explanations ([George et al., 2002](#); [Koenig & Larson, 2001](#)) have proposed that religious identification may promote optimistic and positive world and self-views that provide meaning to life experiences. The current study findings lend support also this view. Adolescent Muslims' religious identification contributed to their psychological adaptation in terms of self-acceptance, environmental mastery and life satisfaction, factors that relate directly to positive world- and self-views. Although social and emotional support, adherence to social norms and standards, and positive self-views can also be facilitated by heritage culture identification or Australian belonging, evident in the positive connections between heritage culture identification or Australian identification and adaptation, it seems that Islamic religious identification shapes adolescent Muslims more powerfully in this regard.

The overall superiority of religious identification in adaptation among adolescent Muslims as emerged in the quantitative analyses was also evident in the thematic analyses of the interviews with participants. Adaptation was looked at in the interviews through questions relating to participants' personal and life satisfaction, their satisfaction with and motivation at school, and the respect and self-discipline they show within the school context. Thematic analyses of the interviews showed that while most adolescents reported an overall satisfactory and contented school and personal life, and showed a strong attachment to their heritage culture identity and a good sense of Australian identity, they generally did not see a clear connection between their heritage culture identification or Australian belonging and adaptation. Exceptions to this were a few participants who noted a positive effect of heritage culture identification or Australian identification on their self-satisfaction, life-satisfaction, desire for school learning or learning motivation, school achievements or success, and

being well-behaved in the school. Most participants, however, were in a better position to note a positive role of religious identification in their adaptation in these terms.

Collectively, the quantitative and qualitative findings indicate that religious identification is an important factor to consider in the acculturation and adaptation experiences of Australian adolescent Muslims, and possibly minority adolescents from other faiths. The examination of how religious identification alongside heritage culture and national identification contribute to minority adolescents' adaptation is possible in the multiple identities approach (e.g., Birman et al., 2010), as further demonstrated in the present study.

4.3. Limitations

Three limitations must be noted. First, the current research was conducted in Muslim schools and therefore generalisability of the results to Australian adolescent Muslims who study in public schools is not possible. Future research should study adolescent Muslim students attending other types of schools to shed further light on the present study's conclusions. Second, the present study, as in the case of many other studies concerned with the interconnection between identity and adjustment (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Ward & Kus, 2012), is correlational in nature and therefore conclusions should not be understood in cause-effect terms. Lastly, while the current study is based on a mixed-methodology which might be considered a strength, the qualitative part of the study was carried out on a relatively small sample recruited from the quantitative study cohort due to constraints of time and resources. Had the study conducted the semi-structured interviews with all participants who took part in the quantitative study, the triangulation and integration of conclusions from both the qualitative and quantitative studies would have been more informative and robust. Future research might have the resources and means to construct a mixed-method study in such a manner.

4.4. Conclusion

The study revealed a hierarchical pattern of identification among Australian adolescent Muslims, with religious identification coming in the first place, followed by heritage culture identification in the second place compared to being Australian. This hierarchy was also evident in the analyses of the interconnections between religious identification, heritage culture identification, and Australian identification and adaptation. Adolescent Muslims' religious identification should therefore be distinguished from their heritage culture identification in acculturation research set to explore their adaptation. In addition, there was an overall modest contribution of Australian belonging to adolescent Muslims' adaptation that might be connected with the relatively less attachment they show to their Australian identity. The implementation of strategies to improve Australians' views of Muslims and reduce their prejudice (e.g., White & Abu-Rayya, 2012; White, Abu-Rayya, Weitzel, 2014; White, Harvey, & Abu-Rayya, 2015) would contribute to adolescent Muslims' stronger identification with their Australian identity, and in turn, enhance their adaptation.

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