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Risk factors, predictors and mediators of violence against women attitudes and self-reported aggression among second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents

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Risk factors, predictors and mediators of violence against women attitudes and self-reported aggression among second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY AND DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work although it utilises secondary data from the Zurich Project on the Social Development of Children and Youths (z-proso). This thesis is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted or is being concurrently submitted for a degree or any other qualification at the University of Sheffield or any other University or similar institution. Moreover, no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted or is being concurrently submitted for any such degree or other qualification at the University of Sheffield or any other University or similar institution. This thesis is within the word limit.

Signed: Lana Ghuneim

Dated: 22nd February 2023

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigated risk factors, predictors and mediators of violence against women and self-reported aggression among second generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents. Data were acquired from the Zurich Project on the Social Development from Childhood to Adulthood (z-proso), an ongoing longitudinal study that has tracked the development of 1675 children from the age of 7 until 20 years old. This is the first study to ever explore differences in the prevalence and predictors of aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women among adolescents of three different migration backgrounds: second-generation refugee, second-generation migrant, and native, at different stages of their adolescence (ages 15 and 17 years for attitudes towards violence against women, and 13, 15, 17, and 20 years for self-reported aggression).

The research was led by four theoretical perspectives: attachment theory, social learning theory, patriarchal ideologies, and social cognition, and used a quantitative approach to a) investigate whether there were differences in aggression and violence against women attitudes among second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents, b) what risk factors were associated with higher levels of aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women among second-generation refugee youths, c) what factors were associated with higher levels of aggression and attitudes that support violence against women among the migration groups, and d) what factors mediated the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes/self-reported aggression.

Findings indicated that the overall mean score of attitudes justifying violence against women across the sample was low. Scores for second-generation refugee youths were marginally higher than those of second-generation migrant and native youths. No significant mean differences were found between second-generation refugees and other migration groups at age 15. However, significant mean differences emerged at age 17 years, with second-generation refugees reporting significantly marginally higher levels of violence against women attitudes.

Similarly, there were no significant mean differences in aggression between the groups when the youths were 13 years old (early adolescence), but from 15 years onwards, second-generation refugees reported significantly higher levels of aggression than their second-generation migrant and native peers.

Results indicated risk factors of attitudes in support of violence against women among second-generation refugee youths to be higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, violence legitimising norms of masculinity, and experience of corporal punishment.

In terms of self-reported aggression, risk factors identified among second-generation refugee youths were lower levels of parental involvement and competent conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of corporal punishment, holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity, and moral neutralisation of aggression.

Significant predictors of attitudes in support of violence against women across the whole sample were having a refugee background, lower levels of parental education, higher levels of moral neutralisation and experience of corporal punishment. Moreover, significant predictors of self-reported aggression were also having a refugee background, experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers, attitudes in support of violence against women, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and aggressive conflict coping strategies, and lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies. Separate regression analyses were conducted for each group to identify significant predictors of violence against women attitudes and aggression for each migration background.

Following a significant relationship between having a refugee background and violence against women attitudes and aggression, mediation analyses showed that the effect of having a refugee migration background on attitudes towards violence against women was partially mediated by moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment.

Finally, mediation analyses were conducted at ages 15, 17, and 20 for the relationship between having a refugee background and aggression, and at age 20 for the relationship between having a migrant background and aggression. Results indicated that the relationship between having a migrant background and self-reported aggression at age 20 was fully mediated by past-experience of corporal punishment. In contrast, mediation analyses conducted among adolescents with a refugee background at ages 15, 17 and 20 all showed that the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression was only partially mediated by experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers, aggressive conflict coping strategies, parental involvement, moral neutralisation of aggression, and attitudes in support of violence against women.

Chapter ONE: Introduction

1.1 Overview

Chapter 1 will offer a general overview of this thesis and what is to come in the following chapters. The statement of the problem and motivation for the current research will be explored, the aims and objectives of my project will be highlighted, the research questions and hypotheses will be presented, and the methodology used in this thesis will be outlined.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Adolescent aggression is one of the most pertinent problems facing society today (World Health Organization, 2015; Vega *et al.*, 2021). A scientific report published by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO (2018) reported that one in three adolescents aged 9-15 has engaged in a fight with another student and that 32.4% had been beaten up in the 12 months preceding this study (UNESCO, 2018). Moreover, adolescent aggressive behaviour has been shown to be a predictor of serious criminal activity and delinquency in adulthood (Vega *et al.*, 2021). The challenges posed by migration have been shown to affect the psychological and behavioural wellbeing of adolescents (Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010; Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Lee, 2019; Killias and Lukash, 2020). Furthermore, literature on violence against women attitudes within migrant communities is scarce (El-Abani *et al.*, 2020), and that of adolescents is even more limited. However, previous literature has shown that patriarchal ideologies and attitudes in support of violence against women are strongly associated with higher levels of aggression among immigrant adolescents (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013).

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, at the end of 2021, around 89.3 million forcibly displaced people existed around the world as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, human rights violations or events seriously disturbing public order. Of these, 53.2 million were internally displaced, 4.6 million were asylum seekers and 27.1 million were refugees (UNHCR, 2022). Moreover, according to the UNHCR's report, *Desperate Journeys* (UNHCR, 2018), around 80,800 people have escaped wars, terrorism, natural disasters, hunger and poverty from countries such as Afghanistan and Syria, and have arrived in Europe by the Mediterranean route between January and September 2018, with over a quarter of them being children, many traveling without their parents (UNHCR, 2019).

Consequences of war on children are atrocious and multifaceted. War affects children of attacked countries, children of attacking countries, and even children of countries not actively involved in the

conflict (Gadermann *et al.*, 2022). Moreover, the drastic effects of war are not only limited to children who have experienced the trauma first-hand but are intergenerationally transmitted to them by their parents and families (Sangalang and Vang, 2017). Accordingly, direct or indirect exposure to war trauma among children and adolescents can have social and psychological repercussions that continue many years after the exposure (Attanayake *et al.*, 2009; Sangalang and Vang, 2017; Gadermann *et al.*, 2022).

Migration research originating from western countries about immigrant children and adolescents has often focused on “migrant or refugee children.” Little attention has been given to second-generation immigrant children, who often, have different migration trajectories (Onukogu, 2022). Moreover, very little research by way of conceptualising aggression among the second generation has been conducted. Rather, what exists is an abundance of literature on refugee and migrant children (Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen, 2008; Titzmann, Raabe and Silbereisen, 2008; Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Black *et al.*, 2013; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021).

This thesis utilises secondary data from the Zurich Project on the Social Development from Childhood to Adulthood (z-proso) with the aim of identifying differences, predictors, and mediators of violence against women and self-reported aggression among a sample of second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents living in Zurich, Switzerland. The z-proso study is an ongoing longitudinal study that was first launched in 2004 among 1675 7-year-old children living in Zurich, Switzerland, and has tracked their development to age 20 years. Data were collected when the participants were 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, and 20 years old (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). Findings from this extensive study have been extensively published in over 90 peer-reviewed journal articles in fields including criminology, psychiatry, and epidemiology. The sample was extremely multicultural, with 58% of the children’s mothers reporting that they were born outside of Switzerland. Mothers reported coming from around 80 different countries including former Yugoslavia, Germany, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Brazil and Italy (Averdijk, Ribeaud and Eisner, 2015; Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). This multicultural variety mirrors the significant percentage of second-generation immigrant youths in Switzerland, and the city of Zurich in particular (Fibbi *et al.*, 2015). Despite the multicultural nature of the z-proso dataset, no distinction between second-generation refugee, second-generation migrant, and native Swiss adolescents was available (distinctions were made between ‘immigrant background’ and ‘non-immigrant background’). Following a thorough data screening and selection process – see Chapter 5, three migration background groups were identified in order to answer the research questions provided below: second-generation refugee, second-generation migrant, and native Swiss.

In order to conceptualise second generation migrants in Switzerland, a clear differentiation has to be made between different groups of immigrant children. Refugee children are children who were forced to leave their countries of origin and have been displaced to a new host country with or without their parents or an adult family member as a result of war or persecution, for example (UNHCR, 2022). Migrant children, on the other hand, have not been forcibly displaced from their home countries, and are not affected by wars and conflicts. Moreover, they often comprise a group of children who migrate with parents or adult family members (Liefwaard and Sloth-Nielsen, 2016; Onukogu, 2022). Despite the high percentage of second-generation immigrants in the sample, the z-proso dataset itself does not have a variable which distinguishes between refugees and migrants (not war related). This thesis established a new variable in the z-proso dataset within which participants were identified as second-generation refugee, second-generation migrant, and native Swiss adolescents – see Chapter 5 for a detailed explanation.

The limited studies on the second generation have often used the definitions offered by demographers and researchers based on western immigration laws and integration policies (Onukogu, 2022). For example, among American demographers, ‘second generation’ refers to US-born children whose parents immigrated to the United States (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco and Teranishi, 2016). Similarly, Lelie et al. (2012) have used the term ‘second generation’ to refer to children born in European countries to immigrant parents. Understanding ‘second-generation’ in that way suggests that they are second generation by virtue of them being born in the host country and are therefore not regarded as immigrants.

To begin with, it is important to note that second-generation refers to children of refugees and migrants who were born in Switzerland, i.e. they are not refugees or migrants themselves. Several steps were taken to conceptualise second-generation refugees and migrants in this thesis, as the z-proso dataset did not include a clear measure of migration status. Accordingly, migration status was determined using several variables in the dataset. In order to conceptualise second-generation refugees, a strict set of criteria (parental place of birth, parental mother-tongue, country/city of origin, parental migration permit, reason for migration) (See Chapter 5). Second-generation refugee adolescents in this thesis therefore are adolescents with at least one refugee parent. Similar criteria were applied to conceptualise second-generation migrants, and these include adolescents with at least one voluntary (not war-related) migrant parent. Children with one refugee parent and one voluntary migrant parent were categorised as second-generation refugees. Finally, native Swiss adolescents are those with two Swiss parents. Adolescents who could not be clearly assigned to one of these groups were excluded from the analyses. Most responses collected in the dataset came from

mothers, so the responses are mostly based on maternal information, since the paternal information was often missing - see Chapter 5 for full sample selection overview.

Adolescent aggression has been coined as one of the most relevant challenges facing society today (World Health Organization, 2015; Vega *et al.*, 2021). Research has shown that refugee exposure to war trauma, persecution and difficult migration experiences can be linked to higher levels of psychological and conduct problems (Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010; Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Lee, 2019; Killias and Lukash, 2020), and several studies have reported higher levels of delinquency and aggression among immigrant youths than their native counterparts, for example, (Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen, 2008; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Stevens *et al.*, 2015; Duinhof *et al.*, 2020; Svensson and Shannon, 2020). Furthermore, aggressive behaviour in adolescence has been shown to be a significant predictor of serious criminal activity and delinquency in adulthood (Vega *et al.*, 2021).

The development of aggression from childhood to adulthood is well-studied, and existing literature has identified a significant number of developmental risk factors within the individual, family and social domains (Loeber *et al.*, 2007; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010b; Jolliffe *et al.*, 2017; Fenimore, Perez and Jennings, 2019). Moreover, studies that have been conducted among immigrant and native children and adolescents have identified factors such as poor parenting - including low parental involvement and corporal punishment (Spencer and Le, 2006; Hamner, Latzman and Chan, 2015), the need for affiliation and peer delinquency (Go and Le, 2005; Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021; Korol and Stattin, 2021), social thought processes – such as moral neutralisation of aggression and aggressive conflict coping strategies (Boyden, 2003; Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Ardila-Rey, Killen and Brenick, 2009), low acculturation (Go, 1999; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Titzmann, Raabe and Silbereisen, 2008) and patriarchal ideologies (Lahlah *et al.*, 2013, 2014) to be linked to higher levels of aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women among immigrant and native adolescents.

It has been proposed in previous literature that the incidence of family violence among refugee families is higher in host Western countries than it is in their home countries due to migration stressors and struggles (Song, 1996; Maker, Shah and Agha, 2005). Moreover, in addition to being associated with higher levels of aggression among immigrant and refugee youths, exposure to parental corporal punishment is also associated with beliefs that justify violence against women and violence in general, as a method to solve conflicts (Pardini, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005; Morris, Mrug and Windle, 2015). Accordingly, immigrant and refugee youths are likely to have higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression than their native counterparts as a result of their or their

parents' traumatic experiences of war and displacement (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). Moreover, patriarchal ideologies and beliefs about traditional gender roles are more prevalent among immigrant and refugee youths than their native peers (Lahlah et al., 2013; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015), and have also been associated with increased levels of aggression among both native and immigrant adolescents (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Steinfeldt et al., 2012; Lahlah et al., 2013; Rizzo, Banyard and Edwards, 2021). Additionally, previous research has found that the reasons for aggression among immigrant youths include the need for belonging and affiliation to their peers, whereas reasons for aggression among native youths were more dominance and power-related (Korol and Stattin, 2021; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021).

According to the available literature, it is important to investigate the risk factors, predictors and mediators of aggression and attitudes towards violence against women among second-generation- migrants, refugees and native adolescents, and to assess the similarities and differences between the groups.

This thesis will consider self-reported aggression and attitudes towards violence against women. Self-reported aggression, rather than parent or teacher-reported aggression will be utilised in this thesis. The reasoning behind this decision is that as children get older, they have less contact time with their parents due to the increased time spent with their friends and outside of their home, therefore a self-reported measure of aggression provides a more accurate picture (Marcus, 2017). Self-reported aggression is measured using the Social Behaviour Questionnaire SBQ (Tremblay, 2000) adapted for adolescents. The scale measured the participants' reactive aggression, proactive aggression, and physical aggression.

On the other hand, attitudes in support of violence against women were operationalised using a scale based on Saunder's (1987) Inventory of Beliefs about Wife Beating. The three items that will be used in this thesis to measure violence against women attitudes are: 1) 'A man is allowed to beat his wife/female partner if she doesn't do what he wants', 2) 'Women only have themselves to blame when they are beaten by their husband/male partner', and 3) 'If a woman insults her husband/male partner, he is allowed to beat her'. It is important to note that although the two constructs (self-reported aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women) may be related, they are different and are potentially driven by different motivations. While self-reported aggression measures individual behaviours, attitudes towards violence against women assess beliefs. Studies by Anderson & Bushman (2002) and Flood & Pease (2009) support these distinctions, emphasizing factors like situational determinants and social norms in shaping aggression and attitudes.

1.3 Aims and objectives of this thesis

A contextualized understanding of aggression and attitudes towards violence against women among adolescents requires an understanding of such attitudes and aggression across migrant, refugee, and non-immigrant native subpopulations. To my knowledge, there is no record of research on population-level risk factors, predictors, and mediators of aggression and attitudes that justify violence against women for second-generation- migrant, refugee and native adolescents, and how such patterns (risk factors, predictors, and mediators) may vary by age. This thesis aims to fill this gap in the literature using the Zurich Project on the Social Development from Childhood to Adulthood a longitudinal dataset among a nationally representative adolescent sample in Switzerland. As mentioned above, the z-proso dataset is an impressive study, with a wide global research network. Utilising this dataset provides a unique opportunity to investigate potential risk factors and predictors of violence against women attitudes and aggression among adolescents with different migration backgrounds, cross-sectionally over the ages 13-20 years, to explore changes from early adolescence to young adulthood.

This focus of the current thesis serves the dual purpose of contributing to knowledge on risk factors, predictors, and mediators of attitudes towards violence against women among second-generation- refugee, migrant and native adolescents, as well as contributing to knowledge about risk factors, predictors, and mediators of aggression among the three groups. This thesis is guided by five research questions. Addressing these five research questions advances existing literature by exploring in greater detail the indirect effect of war on aggression and attitudes towards violence against women among adolescents with a refugee background, and how that compares to their migrant and native counterparts. The research questions are presented below.

1.3.1 Research questions

- 1) Are there differences in aggression and violence against women attitudes among second-generation- refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents from ages 13-20 years?
- 2) What are the risk factors associated with higher levels of aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women among second-generation refugee youths?

- 3) What are the predictors of aggression and attitudes that support violence against women among the second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents?
- 4) What factors mediate the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes?
- 5) What factors mediate the relationship between migration status and levels of self-reported aggression?

1.3.2 Hypotheses

In order to address these research questions, this thesis adopts a data analytic approach which is implemented in two chapters, both investigating risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women attitudes (Chapter 6) and self-reported aggression (Chapter 7) among the three migration groups (second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants, and native Swiss). Analyses for attitudes towards violence against women were conducted for ages 15 and 17 years, while analyses for self-reported aggression were conducted for ages 13, 15, 17 and 20 years.

To test the hypotheses presented and answer the research questions, this thesis utilised two literature reviews, presented in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 provided a broad, global narrative literature review, that set the rest of the thesis up by providing a backdrop for the more targeted systematic literature review presented in Chapter 3. Figure 1.1 shows a conceptual diagram on the structure of the thesis, where the findings from the narrative review in Chapter 2 guided the targeted systematic review in Chapter 3, through focusing on four main factors, namely: 'aggression', 'immigrant', 'adolescent', and 'Europe'. These four variables were chosen since the thesis aims to investigate the risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women attitudes and aggression among second-generation refugees, migrants, and native Swiss adolescents, so a more targeted search of *immigrant adolescents' aggression in Europe* was carried out. As shown in Figure 1.1, based on an extensive literature review, five risk domains related to immigrant adolescent aggression and violence against women attitudes were identified, namely: parental/familial domain, peer/friend domain, acculturation domain, individual factors domain (patriarchy, moral neutralisation of aggression), and the migration process and experience domain, see Chapters 2 and 3). The risk domains are first identified in Chapter 2 and continue to be relevant in Chapter 3. These risk domains are in line with the theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter 4, namely: attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition and social learning. Finally, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are used to guide the methodology (Chapter 5), and the analyses and discussion chapters (Chapters 6 and 7).

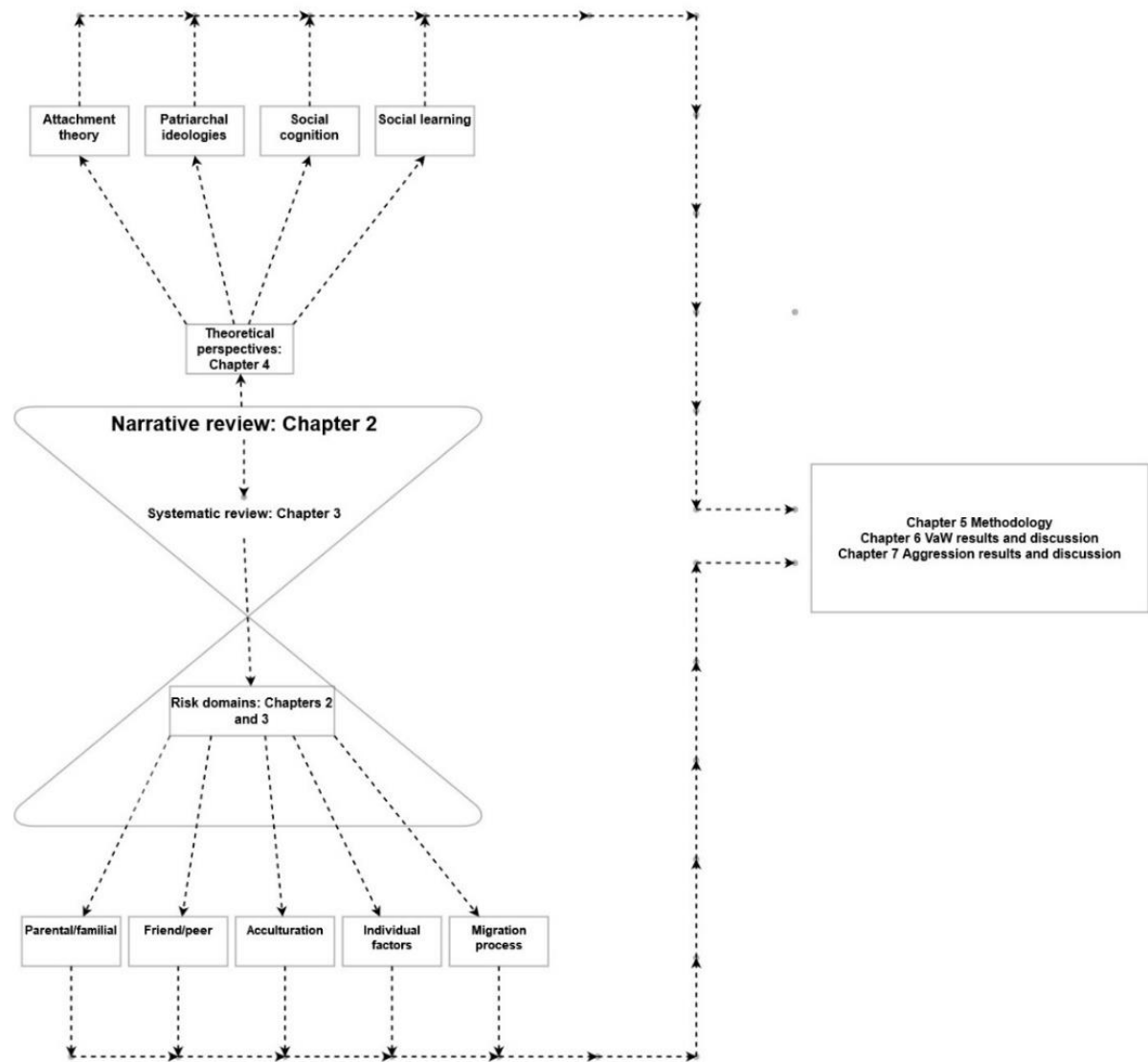


Figure 1.1: Conceptual representation of thesis structure

Based on the literature reviews in Chapters 2 and 3, and the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 4, the following hypotheses were generated:

- H1)* There will be differences in levels of attitudes towards violence against women between the groups.
- H2)* There will be differences in levels of moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.
- H3)* There will be differences in levels of experience of corporal punishment between the groups.

- H4) There will be differences in levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity between the groups.
- H5) There will be a relationship between migrant status and violence against women attitudes.
- H6) There will be a relationship between moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes among all migration groups.
- H7) There will be a relationship between violence legitimising norms of masculinity and violence against women attitudes among all migration groups.
- H8) There will be a relationship between experience of corporal punishment and violence against women attitudes among all migration groups.
- H9) The effects of migrant status on violence against women attitudes will be mediated through experience of corporal punishment, violence legitimising norms of masculinity and moral neutralisation of aggression.
- H10) There will be differences in levels of self-reported aggression between the groups.
- H11) There will be differences in moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.
- H12) There will be differences in aggressive conflict coping strategies between the groups.
- H13) There will be differences in parental involvement and experience of corporal punishment between the groups.
- H14) There will be a relationship between migration status and self-reported aggression.
- H15) There will be a relationship between aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies and self-reported aggression.
- H16) There will be a relationship between moral neutralisation of aggression and self-reported aggression.
- H17) There will be a relationship between experience of corporal punishment and self-reported aggression.
- H18) There will be a relationship between having delinquent peers and self-reported aggression.
- H19) There will be a relationship between parental involvement and self-reported aggression
- H20) There will be a relationship between legitimising norms of masculinity / attitudes towards violence against women and self-reported aggression.
- H21) The effects of refugee background on self-reported aggression will be mediated through patriarchal ideologies (violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity), social learning (experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers), social cognition (aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression), and attachment theory (parental involvement).

Figure 1.2 shows a conceptual representation of the hypotheses presented, in relation to the theoretical perspectives they were derived from. As shown in the key, the dashed arrows represent differences between the groups, the solid arrows represent relationships, and the dotted arrows represent potential mediating effects.

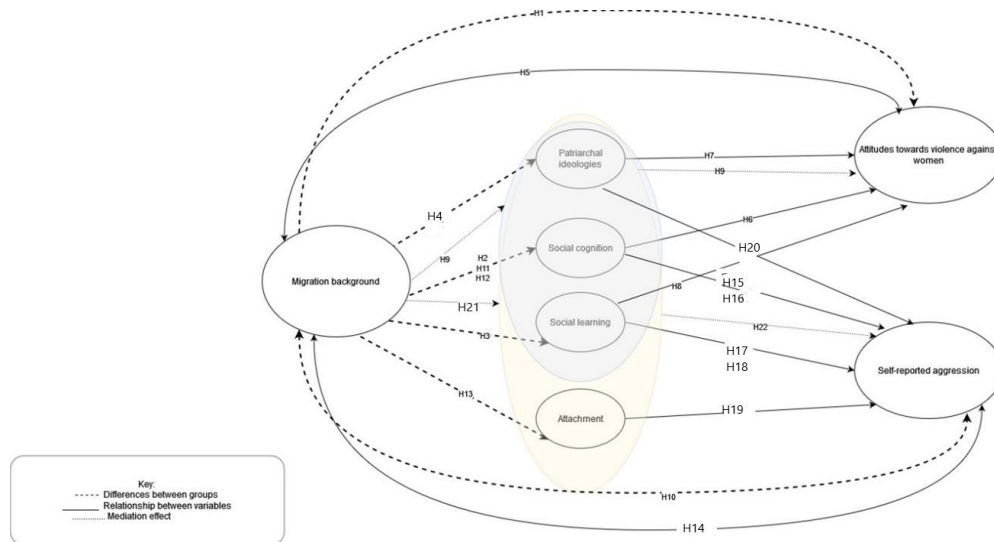


Figure 1.2: Conceptual diagram of hypotheses presented

1.4 Summary of Findings

This thesis aimed to investigate risk factors, predictors and mediators of self-reported aggression and violence against women among second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents living in Zurich, Switzerland. The literature reviews identified five pertinent risk domains: parental/familial domain, peer/friend domain, acculturation domain, individual factors domain, and migration process and experience domain. The research was also led by four theoretical perspectives: attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition and social learning. The thesis took a quantitative approach to answer the research questions provided.

In terms of attitudes towards violence against women, analyses were conducted at the ages 15 and 17 years. Findings indicated that patriarchal ideology, social learning, and social cognition helped in the understanding of supportive attitudes toward violence against women in terms of risk factors, predictors and mediators. It was found that at age 15, there were no significant differences in violence against women attitudes between adolescents with a refugee background and their migrant and native peers. At age 17 years, the findings indicated that although adolescents with a refugee

background displayed higher levels of support for violence against women than their native and migrant counterparts (mean levels were only marginally higher for adolescents with a refugee background), the level was still very low. This finding paints a picture of positive acculturation and integration into the mainstream culture. Moreover, findings also indicated that violence legitimising norms of masculinity (patriarchal ideologies), moral neutralisation of aggression (social cognition), and experience of corporal punishment (social learning) were significant risk factors for adolescents with a refugee background.

In terms of predictors of attitudes towards violence against women, findings showed that at age 15, second-generation refugees and migrants shared the same predictors (higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment), but at age 17, the only significant predictor of violence against women attitudes for adolescents with a refugee background was higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression. Adolescents with migrant and native backgrounds then had the same predictors of violence against women attitudes, namely: lower levels of parental education, higher moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment.

Finally, mediation analyses conducted at age 17 showed that the relationship between migration background and attitudes condoning violence against women operated at least in part through moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment for second-generation refugees.

In terms of self-reported aggression, analyses were conducted at the ages 13, 15, 17, and 20 years. Findings indicated that adolescents with a refugee background reported significantly higher levels of aggression than their migrant and native peers at ages 15, 17, and 20 years. Risk factors identified for second-generation refugee adolescents were lower levels of parental involvement (attachment theory), higher levels of corporal punishment (social learning), holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity (patriarchal ideologies), having higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression (social cognition) and a lower degree of competent conflict coping strategies (social cognition).

With regards to predictors of self-reported aggression, having a refugee background was a significant predictor of higher levels of aggression at ages 15, 17 and 20 years. Moreover, findings showed that aggressive conduct coping strategies were the strongest predictor of self-reported aggression at all ages for the sample as a whole and for all three groups individually. On the other hand, competent conflict coping strategies were also identified as a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample at all ages (13, 15, 17, and 20), and individually for second-generation refugees (age 17), second-generation migrants (ages 13, 15 and 20), and native adolescents (age 20). Other

significant predictors of self-reported aggression for the whole sample and the individual migration groups were moral neutralisation of aggression (whole sample at all ages, refugee background at age 15, second-generation migrant and native at all ages); experience of corporal punishment (whole sample all ages, refugee background ages 13, 17 and 20, second-generation migrant at ages 15 and 17, and native at age 15 and 20); having delinquent peers (whole sample at ages 13, 15, and 17, second-generation migrants at age 13, and natives at ages 15 and 17); and attitudes in support of violence against women (whole sample all ages, second-generation migrants at ages 15, 17, and 20, and second-generation refugees at age 20). No relationship was found between parental involvement and self-reported aggression for the total sample at all ages examined, although parental involvement was found to be associated with self-reported aggression for natives at age 15, and second-generation migrants at age 20.

Regression analyses conducted at age 20 indicated that having a migrant background was a significant predictor of self-reported aggression. However, the effect size of having a second-generation migrant background was small ($\beta = .065$) as compared to that of having a refugee status ($\beta = .132$) when it came to predicting self-reported aggression. Moreover, the mediation analysis conducted at age 20 showed that the relationship between having a migrant background and self-reported aggression was fully mediated by past-experience of corporal punishment. On the other hand, mediation analyses conducted at ages 15, 17 and 20 all showed that the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression was only partially mediated by experience of corporal punishment (ages 15, 17, and 20), peer delinquency (ages 15 and 17), aggressive conflict coping strategies (age 15), parental involvement (age 15), moral neutralisation of aggression (age 15 and 20), and attitudes in support of violence against women (ages 17 and 20).

The findings for both attitudes towards violence against women and self-reported aggression were all in line with the theoretical perspectives presented. Moreover, the findings highlighted the importance of social cognition (moral neutralisation of aggression, aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies), especially for adolescents with a refugee background.

1.5 Thesis Overview

This chapter provided an overview of the research, highlighting the fundamental gap in the literature on studies of aggression and attitudes toward violence against women among second-generation- refugee, migrant and native adolescents. Studying the Swiss case can be a vehicle through which this gap can be explored. This gap in the literature raises questions as to whether there are any

differences in support of violence against women and self-reported aggression among the migration groups. Additionally, the gap on literature on second-generation refugee adolescents raised questions on whether predictors, and mediators of attitudes towards violence against women and self-reported aggression levels are similar or different between the groups (second-generation refugee, migrant and non-migrant, native adolescents). Following a comprehensive review of previous literature and in line with theoretical frameworks, hypotheses for each section (attitudes towards violence against women and aggression) were generated and presented. This thesis aims to rectify this gap in the literature by undertaking direct comparisons between second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents.

In Chapter 2, a narrative literature review exploring factors associated with aggression and violence against women among immigrant and native adolescents was presented. Upon conducting the narrative literature review, five risk domains were identified and presented, namely: parental/familial domain, peer/friend domain, acculturation domain, individual factors domain, and migration process and experience domain. Relevant studies were discussed for each domain. The chapter began with an introduction, followed by an explanation of what risk factors and risk domains are, and a presentation of the risk domains identified. This was followed by a review of literature and discussion around each domain, and a conclusion.

Following that, Chapter 3 offered a targeted systematic review on aggression among immigrant adolescents in Europe. As discussed above, the key risk domains and variables (immigrant, adolescent, aggression, Europe) were identified in Chapter 2, and were then systematically drilled down in the systematic review in Chapter 3. As discussed above, Chapter 2 offered a broad narrative literature review for each of the risk domains and discussed studies conducted among immigrant and refugee youths in Europe and the rest of the world. The chapter aimed to set out the key themes and variables and provide a backdrop for the targeted systematic review offered in Chapter 3, which considered risk factors of aggression among immigrant youths in Europe specifically. This decision to utilise two literature reviews was taken because this thesis employed the z-proso dataset, a longitudinal study based in Zurich, Switzerland. Moreover, having a systematic look at the targeted variables mentioned above helps form an understanding of patterns of immigrant adolescent aggression in Europe, prior to generating the hypotheses and running the analyses. To my knowledge, this was the first systematic review that specifically focused on aggression among immigrant adolescents in Europe. The chapter began with an introduction, followed by the research questions of the systematic review, i.e. a) Are immigrant adolescents in Europe more or less likely than their native peers to display conduct problems and/or aggressive behaviour? and b) What are the risk factors behind immigrant adolescent problem behaviour and aggression in Europe? This was then followed by a reminder of the risk

domains identified in Chapter 2 and reused in Chapter 3. The next part discussed the search methodology with a detailed account of inclusion and exclusion criteria. Following that, the studies were presented and discussed in their appropriately allocated risk domains. The chapter concluded with answers to the research questions proposed and a summary of findings.

In Chapter 4, theoretical frameworks that informed the research were presented, namely: attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition and social learning. To begin with, attachment theory was presented, with the background and rationale discussed. This was followed by a presentation of attachment theory among refugee and migrant communities, a critique, and a summary of attachment theory. Following that, patriarchal ideology was introduced, with the background and rationale discussed. This was followed by an overview of patriarchy from a feminist perspective, an overview of the 'Culture of Honour', patriarchy and violence among refugee and migrant youths, and a summary of patriarchal ideology. After that, social cognition was introduced with an overview and rationale presented. Neutralisation theory (Sykes and Matza, 1957), moral disengagement (Bandura *et al.*, 1996), self-serving cognitive distortions (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996), and moral neutralisation (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a) were presented. Following that, moral disengagement among immigrant youths was discussed, followed by a theoretical summary of social cognition. The final theory presented was social learning theory, starting with an overview and rationale. This was followed by a discussion on social learning research among adolescents and an introduction to reactive and proactive aggression. Following that, a discussion of reactive and proactive aggression among migrant adolescents and a summary of social learning were presented. Finally, a conclusion summarising the theories and linking them to the hypotheses generated was presented.

Chapter 5 discussed the methodology and analytic plan undertaken for this thesis. After an overview, an introduction to the Zurich Project on the Social Development of Children and Youths (z-proso) was presented, including overviews on the z-proso sample, parental, child and teacher questionnaires and the ethical approval acquired. Following that, access to z-proso was discussed, followed by the selection of the sample for this thesis. Since there was no specific refugee/migrant/native status readily available within the dataset, several variables were examined and participants were categorised into one of three migration groups: second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants, and native Swiss adolescents. This procedure was explained, beginning with an overview of patterns of asylum in Switzerland from 1980 – 2003, followed by an explanation of data screening and sample selection. This was followed by descriptive statistics on the adolescent sample profiles. Following that, the measures used in this thesis (gender, migration status, parental involvement, experience of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation of aggression,

competent/aggressive conflict coping strategies, peer delinquency, legitimising norms of masculinity, attitudes towards violence against women and self-reported aggression) were presented, followed by a conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter 6 included the results and discussion for risk factors, predictors and mediators of attitudes towards violence against women among second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents. The first part, 6A, included the analyses conducted and findings, and the second part, 6B, included the discussion of the results. Section 6A started with a reminder of the research questions this thesis aimed to answer, and the hypotheses generated. This was followed by analyses for prevalence and risk factors (ANOVAs) for adolescents with a refugee background. After that, predictors (regression analyses), and mediators (mediation analyses) of attitudes towards violence against women at ages 15 and 17 for each migration group were presented, followed by a conclusion offering a summary of findings. This was followed by section 6B which offered a discussion of the findings regarding attitudes towards violence against women among second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents. For each of the data waves analysed (ages 15 and 17), a summary of findings was first presented, followed by an explanation of these findings. This was followed by a conclusion of the discussion on attitudes towards violence against women. Chapter 6 was then concluded by a summary of both sections 6A and 6B.

Similarly, the next chapter included the results and discussion of self-reported aggression among second-generation refugees, migrants, and native Swiss adolescents. Section 7A included analyses of levels of aggression and risk factors for second-generation refugees, and predictors and mediators of aggression among the adolescents of different migration backgrounds. As above, the section started with a reminder of the research questions and hypotheses and this was followed by analyses for levels (ANOVAs), risk factors (ANOVAs, correlations), predictors (regression analyses), and mediators (mediation analyses) at ages 13, 15, 17, and 20 years for each migration group. Finally, a summary of the findings was presented. Section 7B provided a discussion of aggression among second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents. This section offered a discussion of the correlations, risk factors, predictors and mediators of aggression, and was concluded by a summary. The chapter was then concluded by a summary of sections 7A and 7B.

Finally, Chapter 8 offered a conclusion of the thesis. This chapter included analytical conclusions where each of the research questions were addressed, followed by the strengths and original contributions of the research. Finally, future research directions, and policy recommendations were presented.

Chapter TWO: Narrative literature review

2.1 Introduction

This Ph.D. investigated aggression and violence against women attitudes among second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents in Zurich, Switzerland. As discussed in the previous chapter, this thesis offered two literature reviews: a narrative literature review (Chapter 2) and a systematic literature review (Chapter 3). As was shown in Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1, the broad narrative literature review presented in this chapter provided a backdrop for a more specific literature review in Chapter 3. The narrative literature review has identified five key risk domains which have been presented and discussed, namely: parental/familial domain, peer/friend domain, acculturation domain, individual factors domain, and migration process and experience domain. These risk domains have remained relevant and have also been identified in the systematic literature review in Chapter 3. The risk domains identified were in line with the theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter 4, namely: attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition and social learning.

Moreover, this thesis aimed to specifically investigate possible risk factors, predictors and mediators of violence against women attitudes and aggression among second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents in Zurich, Switzerland. Accordingly, the systematic review in Chapter 3 employed a targeted approach to focus on four particular factors in order to help answer the question, namely, 'adolescent', 'immigrant', 'aggression', and 'Europe'. Finally, the broad and specific review of the literature acquired from Chapters 2, 3, and the theoretical perspectives offered in Chapter 4 were used to guide the methodology at Chapter 5, and the results and discussion at Chapters 6 and 7.

Upon a close examination of the literature on aggression and violence against women attitudes among migrant and refugee adolescents, several risk factors were identified. Analysis of the separate risk factors then identified five themes that the risk factors could be nested in. Based on the themes identified, five risk domains that were pertinent to immigrant youth aggression and violence against women attitudes were identified, and relevant studies were grouped into each risk domain. Moreover, the risk domains identified are in line with four theoretical perspectives (Chapter 4) and are: parental/familial domain (attachment theory/social learning theory), peer/friend domain (social learning theory), acculturation domain (social learning theory, social cognition), individual factors domain, (patriarchal ideologies and social cognition) and migration process and experience domain (attachment, social cognition).

This chapter will begin with a definition of risk factors and risk domains, followed by the presentations of the five risk domains identified from the literature. Following that, each risk domain will be discussed, and literature will be reviewed. Finally, the chapter will end with a conclusion offering a summary of the literature reviewed in the five risk domains.

2.2 What are risk factors and risk domains?

The term 'risk factor' has been used to refer to correlates, predictors and causes. However, since correlates, predictors and causes can have different connotations, the definition proposed by Murray et al. (2009) and based on Kraemer et al. (1997) will be used in this thesis: 'Risk factors are correlates that are shown to predict delinquency. To demonstrate that something is a risk factor, a study needs to demonstrate correlation, and the variable must be shown to precede the outcome' (Murray et al., 2009: 3). This definition of risk factors does not suggest a notion of causation. However, by chronologically anticipating the outcome, they satisfy the necessary condition for a correlate to be a potential cause. Therefore, they might also be involved in the causation of aggressive behaviour. Following this definition, similar risk factors can be pooled together into risk domains, for example, a family risk domain can include parental harsh discipline, parental involvement, and sibling relations, all different risk factors that can fall under the same risk domain. Following the study by Ribeaud and Eisner (2010) and based on a thorough review of the literature and subsequently finding pertinent themes in which articles can be nested in appropriate risk domains, the following risk domains were identified.

Familial/parental domain

Throughout infancy and childhood, the family represents the most crucial formative micro-system for the child's development (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010). Accordingly, numerous external risk factors are associated with this domain. The risk factors include parental and familial characteristics, such as corporal punishment, parental involvement, and family cohesion.

Peer / friend domain

School is another micro-system in which children's relationships with their friends and classmates can impact their behavioural development. During this foundational period, the role and popularity of the child in class, as well as links with antisocial peers, are likely to influence the development of aggressive behaviour (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010). This domain includes the need for affiliation, peer selection, and peer delinquency.

Acculturation domain

Immigrant and ethnic minority youths must go through a process of cultural adaptation (Berry *et al.*, 2006), which requires adjustments in adaptation to the majority culture and adjustments in the adaptation to, and preservation of, the heritage culture (Miconi *et al.*, 2018). Acculturation can be described as the changing of values, belief systems, and behaviours that develops from regular contact between two cultures (Berry *et al.*, 2006). The experience and extent of acculturation into a new environment have been linked to immigrant children's behavioural and emotional development (Fulgini, 2001; Oppedal, 2006; Elliot, Reid and Baumfield, 2016; Baldwin-White *et al.*, 2017).

Individual factors (Social cognition / patriarchal ideologies)

The fourth domain includes individual factors that are linked to aggression and violence against women attitudes, namely moral neutralisation of aggression and traditional norms and beliefs. Moreover, social cognition is the way in which an individual processes, remembers, and uses information in social contexts to justify and predict their own behaviour and that of others (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a). Support of violence against women may be part of a broader set of beliefs, norms and values that legitimise the use of violence and aggression against others in general – moral neutralisation of aggression (Schuster *et al.*, 2021).

Migration process and experience

Another prominent theme found involved the drastic effect the process of migration has on immigrant youths. This domain showed that the experience of migration comes with challenges that

can influence the immigrant child and their parents' family relations, mental health, externalising problems, and psychosocial development (Measham *et al.*, 2014).

2.3 Risk domains for aggression and violence against women attitudes among immigrant adolescents

A broad narrative literature review for each of the risk domains will be presented in this chapter, covering studies conducted among immigrant and refugee youths in Europe and the rest of the world. As mentioned above, this chapter will set out the key themes and factors, and provide a backdrop for the targeted systematic review offered in Chapter 3, which will consider risk factors of aggression among immigrant youths in Europe specifically. This decision to utilise two literature reviews was taken because this thesis employed the z-proso dataset, a longitudinal study based in Zurich, Switzerland. Moreover, having a systematic look at the targeted variables mentioned above helps form an understanding of patterns of immigrant adolescent aggression in Europe, prior to generating the hypotheses and running the analyses. The risk domains identified are each discussed below.

2.3.1 Familial/parental domain

Previous research has shown that refugee exposure to war trauma, persecution and difficult migration experiences can be linked to higher levels of PTSD (Spencer and Le, 2006; Bryant *et al.*, 2018; Reid and Berle, 2020) among individuals, which could play a role in changing parenting practices in ways which may adversely impact the wellbeing of their children (Fazel and Stein, A, 2002; Spencer and Le, 2006; Losoncz, 2016; Bryant *et al.*, 2018). The impact of parental practices on adolescents' own aggression and attitudes towards violence against women can be attributed to attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1988) (e.g. parental involvement and family cohesion) and social learning theory (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Bandura, 1977) (e.g. corporal punishment) – see Chapter 4 for detailed overview. Corporal punishment can be viewed as a social learning perspective as adolescents learn to copy and model their parents and caregivers' behaviour as a means to solve problems. For example, if they are exposed to corporal punishment when they have behaved in an undesirable way, and have received corporal punishment as a means to be reprimanded and fix their behaviour, they are likely to use aggression or condone violence against women as a means to fix other people's behaviour. Moreover, in terms of parental involvement and attachment, several studies suggest that

components of the parent–child interaction such as secure early attachment, parental responsiveness, or the frequency of showing positive or negative mood are associated with the moral development of children (Eisenberg, 2000). Furthermore, the impact of maternal past experiences and traumatic stress on aspects such as family functioning, child conduct problems and mental health has been extensively investigated (Ajduković and Ajduković, 1993; Maker, Shah and Agha, 2005; Ee, Kleber and Mooren, 2012; Sangalang and Vang, 2017; Sangalang, Jager and Harachi, 2017).

In a study by Ee et al. (2012), the authors employed a questionnaire to explore the associations between maternal PTSD, parent-child interaction and the children's psychosocial wellbeing and development among a sample of 49 refugee and asylum seeker mothers with a child aged 18-42 months born in the Netherlands. Analyses of the responses showed that the severity of PTSD symptoms for mothers was significantly correlated with internalizing behaviours and total problems scores for the children. It was also shown that mothers with PTSD symptoms were less likely to be emotionally available within the mother-child interaction dynamic (Ee, Kleber and Mooren, 2012). This finding is in line with previous literature that trauma can affect parenting practices, warmth and emotional availability (Scheeringa and Zeanah, 2001; Ee, Kleber and Mooren, 2012). Another longitudinal study focusing on the effects of trauma on maternal mental health and in turn its effect on family functioning and child psychosocial wellbeing was conducted among 327 Southeast Asian refugee mothers and their children in the United States (Sangalang, Jager and Harachi, 2017). Structural equation modelling indicated that maternal traumatic stress was indirectly related to child mental health through diminished family functioning. The authors found maternal traumatic stress to be related to higher levels of depressive symptoms, problems at school and antisocial and delinquent behaviour persisted in children, even two years after participants were questioned (Sangalang, Jager and Harachi, 2017).

Moreover, in a study by Spencer and Le (2006) the effect of the parent's refugee and immigration stressors on youths' violence was explored amongst a sample of 329 youths in the United States (112 Cambodian, 64 Chinese, 67 Lao/Mien, and 85 Vietnamese). The authors found evidence to suggest that the refugee process experienced by parents had a negative effect on both social and family cohesion, at least for Vietnamese youths. In order to ascertain relationships between parental refugee status/stress and youths' violence, correlations for all measures were conducted. Serious violence (self-reported scale constructed on the basis of the Denver Youths Survey of serious violence with items covering aggravated assault, robbery, rape and gang fights) showed a significant correlation with most of the measures used. When correlations were conducted separately by ethnicity, it was found that refugee status was significantly correlated with the youth's serious violence ($r=0.27$, $p < 0.05$) and parental engagement ($r=-0.32$, $p < 0.05$) only among Vietnamese families. Using structural

equation models, the authors found the parents' refugee status, peer delinquency, and parental engagement to be separate significant predictors of serious violence or family/partner violence (Spencer and Le, 2006). Finally, the authors suggested that among Vietnamese families, parental refugee experience can impact their children's violent behaviour through enabling more contact with delinquent peers and having a low level of parental engagement (Spencer and Le, 2006).

Similarly, a study by Bryant et al. (2018) investigated the effect of post-traumatic stress disorder on refugees' parenting and their children's mental health. The sample was part of the longitudinal study Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA), which was done by the Australian Government Department of Social Services (Chen et al., 2017; Bryant et al., 2018; Reid and Berle, 2020). Participants in the study were adult refugees admitted to eleven sites in Australia between October 2013, and February 2014, who had been granted a permanent humanitarian visa status in Australia. The sample comprised of 394 primary caregivers and 639 children, and each primary caregiver supplied information in relation to at least one child. The authors used path analysis to examine chronological patterns of relationships between the independent variables (PTSD, trauma history, postmigration stressors, parenting style, and children's psychological difficulties) using the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire scale scores. Direct and indirect relationships between parental PTSD and the child's emotional and conduct problems were found through several mediated pathways. For example, a direct association was seen between PTSD and the child's emotional problems ($\beta=0.144$, $p = .0001$). In addition, indirect relationships between PTSD (via harsh parenting) and the child's emotional problems ($\beta=0.041$, $p = 0.022$); conduct problems ($\beta=0.049$, $p = 0.021$); hyperactivity ($\beta=0.044$, $p = 0.024$); and peer problems ($\beta=0.022$, $p = 0.051$) were found (Bryant et al., 2018). In other words, the authors found that the higher the level of PTSD, the harsher their parenting, the greater the level of the child's hyperactivity, conduct, emotional and peer problems. It is interesting to note that the indirect path from parental PTSD (via harsh parenting) to children's problem behaviour was stronger than the direct PTSD path (except in the case of emotional problems) (Bryant et al., 2018). This highlights the importance of parenting style on the child's psychosocial wellbeing. This transgenerational effect of PTSD on parental practices is supported by previous literature (Fazel and Stein, A, 2002; Sangalang and Vang, 2017; Timshel, Montgomery and Dalgaard, 2017).

An interesting study by Reid and Berle (2020) using the same sample of refugees in the Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA) (Chen et al., 2017; Bryant et al., 2018) sought to examine the relationship between the type and trajectory of parental PTSD and how this links to child adjustment. The authors also examined whether having two parents with PTSD rather than only one had a more drastic effect on the child's mental health. Regression analyses were conducted for three different

comparisons for mothers and fathers. In the first comparison group, only one of the parents was classed in a high PTSD symptom trajectory group VS both parents classed in the high PTSD symptom trajectory group. This comparison was conducted to show whether having one parent with high PTSD symptoms will influence the children's total difficulties (as shown in the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire), emotional wellbeing, conduct problems, ADHD and peer problems as opposed to children with parents in the low PTSD group. The second comparison was between both parents being in the high PTSD trajectory group VS both parents being in the low PTSD trajectory group. This comparison was done to explore whether children with both parents classed in the high PTSD symptom group would have more problem behaviour and worse mental health. The last comparison was done between having both parents in the high PTSD symptom trajectory VS having only one parent in the high PTSD trajectory group. This comparison was done to show whether there is an additive effect of having both parents with high PTSD symptoms rather than only one. Results accorded with previous literature: having one parent with high PTSD symptoms had an adverse effect on children's emotional problems and overall psychosocial functioning including total difficulties, conduct problems and peer problems. This outcome persisted when both parents were classed to be in the high PTSD symptom group. However, when a comparison was made between children with both parents being classed in the high PTSD symptoms group VS one parent classed to be in the high PTSD group, there was only an additive effect for having more emotional problems and difficulties (Reid and Berle, 2020).

Moreover, a study by Eruyar et. al., (2018) investigated the role of parental factors and parent-related stress on Syrian refugee children's mental problems and conduct problems. The impact of parental psychopathology and parental stress was examined after controlling for the children's own traumatic experiences and levels. The sample consisted of 263 Syrian refugee children, aged 8-18 years, in addition to 82 fathers and 181 mothers residing in Istanbul, Turkey. Results showed that exposure to trauma was a significant predictor to mental health, emotional and conduct problems among refugee children. Other factors associated with higher levels of psychosocial problems were younger age, female gender, parental psychopathology and parental stress. The predictive effect of parental factors, such as parental problems, including parental distress and parent-child dysfunctional interaction on the children's psychosocial problems was significant after controlling for the children's own trauma (Eruyar, Maltby and Vostanis, 2018).

Research shows a high prevalence of family violence and child abuse within refugee families (Fazel et al., 2012; Alink et al., 2013; Losoncz, 2016; Sangalang, Jager and Harachi, 2017; Timshel, Montgomery and Dalgaard, 2017), with parental PTSD and exposure to war violence being significant risk factors to a higher prevalence of domestic violence amongst refugee children (Spencer and Le,

2006; Catani et al., 2008). A systematic review of 15 studies investigating the risk and protective factors related to family violence amongst refugee families found that parenting factors were considered an important risk factor at both the individual (e.g. parental trauma, PTSD, depression, history of child abuse) and familial (e.g. poor parent-child interaction) level. Alternatively, secure parental interaction and attachment could work as a protective factor to prevent the intergenerational transmission of PTSD from the parents to their children, as well as reducing the children's subsequent conduct problems (Timshel, Montgomery and Dalgaard, 2017). Moreover, Husain (2004) has suggested that secure parent-child attachment can encourage resilience in the face of war, and consequently have a decreased vulnerability for harmful outcomes in hard situations (Husain, 2004). However, this result was not supported by Haskuka et al. (2008) who found that participants with secure attachment representations did not score higher on moral reasoning as compared to those with insecure attachment representations. Moreover, they reported that secure attachment style did not mitigate the effects of war exposure. It was concluded, however, that war exposure may change a person's attachment style from secure to insecure (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008).

Moreover, in a quantitative study by Alink et al. (2013), the authors investigated whether children from immigrant backgrounds living in the Netherlands were more likely to be maltreated than their native Dutch counterparts and looked for risk factors associated with this. Immigrant families were categorised into traditional immigrants and non-traditional (often refugees) immigrants. Results showed that both categories of immigrant families had a higher level of child maltreatment than native Dutch families, and that this risk seemed to be minimised with higher parental education levels and higher social economic status (SES) among traditional immigrants but not non-traditional immigrants. The lack of mediation of education and SES on non-traditional (refugee) families was attributed to parental stress and PTSD (Alink et al., 2013). This result is similar to a study by Chang et al (2008) that examined patterns of child maltreatment among Cambodian refugee families in Los Angeles. The authors found that child maltreatment and neglect cases were most prevalent among Cambodian refugee families in comparison to other Asian Pacific ethnic groups in Los Angeles, and that mothers most likely to maltreat their children had mental health issues, such as depression (Chang, Rhee and Berthold, 2008). The adverse effect of parental PTSD and exposure to war was also shown in the study by Catani et al. (2008). In this study, a survey was administered to 296 Tamil school children aged 9-15 years, randomly selected from 15 different schools in Sri Lanka. Results showed that paternal alcohol use, PTSD and exposure to violence were significant positive predictors of family violence (Catani et al., 2008). In addition to that, in a study by Maker et al. (2005), the authors recruited 251 women from three different groups: Latina, East Asian and South and Middle Eastern, living in the

United States. The survey included items addressing the mothers' experience of child violence, beliefs about child physical disciplining, and gender roles in the family unit. Results showed a high level of child physical violence before the age of 16 amongst all three ethnicities. The authors suggested that the strongest predictor of child physical discipline and violence is previous exposure to childhood violence, rather than demographic factors (Maker, Shah and Agha, 2005).

Experience of corporal punishment has been documented to be associated with higher levels of aggression and support of violence against women (Straus and Yodanis, 1996; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Mueller-Bamouh et al., 2016; Sangalang and Vang, 2017; Zhu et al., 2017; Schuster et al., 2020; Zych et al., 2021). In a longitudinal study by Zych et al. (2021), using the z-proso dataset, the authors investigated possible predictors of involvement in different bullying roles. Among others, the authors found experience of corporal punishment to be a significant predictor of involvement in bullying behaviour. Furthermore, in a longitudinal study among 342 Chinese adolescents by Zhu et al. (2017), the authors aimed to investigate the relationship between corporal punishment and physical aggression, while also focusing on deviant peer affiliation. While controlling for gender, age and sociodemographic factors, the authors found a direct longitudinal link from corporal punishment to physical aggression. Moreover, it was also found that experience of corporal punishment at 7th grade predicted higher deviant peer affiliations at 8th grade, which in turn, predicted higher levels of physical aggression at 9th grade (Zhu et al., 2017).

Interestingly, findings on experience of parental harsh discipline in studies I have published, Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) and Schuster et al. (2020), were mixed. Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) investigated attitudes towards honour crimes amongst a sample of 856 ninth grade students from fourteen schools in Amman, Jordan. It was found that only for boys, harsh discipline administered by the mother was not related to a higher support of honour crimes, whereas harsh discipline administered by the father was. This result was not found for girls in the sample. This finding implies that an authoritarian and patriarchal chastising style of the father increases the chance that their sons are ready to justify killing a woman to protect the honour of their family (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). Similarly, the study by Schuster et al. (2020) found that only paternal harsh discipline was associated with a higher acceptance of wife beating among the sample of Jordanian adolescents. Interestingly, gender-specific analyses showed that maternal harsh discipline was a significant predictor of acceptance of wife beating for girls only, whereas paternal harsh discipline was a significant predictor for boys only (Schuster et al., 2020).

It has been suggested in past research that it is possible that the prevalence of family violence among refugees is higher in Western countries than it is in their home countries, due to migration

stressors and difficulties (Song, 1996; Maker, Shah and Agha, 2005). In line with this, parenting practices amongst South Sudanese refugees in Australia were explored in a study by Losoncz (2016). The author conducted 32 semi-structured interviews with recently arrived South Sudanese in Australia and explored the difficulties of parenting in a new environment. In the Sudanese culture, parenting is mainly the responsibility of the mother with a heavy reliance on extended family or clan to collectively care for the children (Losoncz, 2016). Upon migration, parents – mainly mothers, have lost this support network of an extended family. This loss of extended family support, in addition to mothers being separated from fathers by migration or divorce, lead to a higher prevalence of single mother families. Additionally, parents have reported a shift in power dynamics, due to the children picking up the Australian culture and the English language more proficiently than their parents, causing the parents to rely on their children on a daily basis. This shift in power dynamic caused changes in parenting practices into being more authoritarian and hierarchical. Unfortunately, this approach of parenting has left the children confused, depressed and often, physically abused (Losoncz, 2016). As suggested above in the study by Losoncz (2016), when entering a new country and environment, refugees feel like they are losing control of nearly everything in their lives, it is likely that they would hold on tighter to cultural norms and traditions, such as patriarchy, authoritarian parenting, and corporal punishment (Maker, Shah and Agha, 2005; Losoncz, 2016).

Moreover, exposure to parental corporal punishment is associated with beliefs that justify violence as a means to resolve conflicts (Pardini, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005; Morris, Mrug and Windle, 2015). The findings by Schuster et al (2020) and Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) are in line with this; children exposed to harsh discipline by a same sex parent (i.e. primary role model), may have learnt that violence is a suitable and appropriate way to deal with likely conflict situations (Schuster et al., 2020). Furthermore, individuals who have experienced corporal punishment may view abusive relationships as normal, and therefore learn aggressive conflict coping strategies as a result (Morris, Mrug and Windle, 2015). In addition to that, adolescents who are exposed to harsh parental discipline are unlikely to have been shown other non-violent conflict solving strategies and are therefore more likely to endorse spousal violence as a method of conflict resolution (Straus and Yodanis, 1996; Schuster et al., 2020).

Findings regarding the influence of corporal punishment on immigrant child aggression and conduct problems, however, are mixed. Several studies have shown experience of corporal punishment to be linked to higher levels of aggression among immigrant youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Regev, Gueron-Sela and Atzaba-Poria, 2012), whereas other studies indicated that processes such as corporal punishment are more likely to affect native and highly accultured adolescents, rather than refugees, believing that the relationship between parental discipline and the child's conduct

problems may be absent or limited in immigrant families (Stevens et al., 2007). A potential reason for this is that harsh parental discipline is considered the cultural norm in many non-Western countries, and therefore, children may be desensitised to any adverse effects on their psychosocial wellbeing and development (Jambunathan, Burts and Pierce, 2000; Stevens et al., 2007; Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Renteln, 2010). For example, in their study comparing violence among Turkish and Russian immigrant youths versus native German youths, Baier and Pfeiffer (2008) found that only 17% of German youths reported experience of parental corporal punishment, as opposed to 29.8% of Turkish youths, and 25.4% of Russian youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). On a similar note, the authors found that 26.1% of the Turkish youths reported witnessing intimate partner violence among their parents, as opposed to 13.7% among their Russian counterparts, and 6.2% among their German counterparts (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). This finding supports the notion that in non-Western immigrant countries, familial violence and parental harsh discipline are normalised and therefore more prevalent.

In summary, previous literature showed the damaging effect of war trauma and difficult migration experiences on refugee parents, their relationship with their children and their children's psychosocial wellbeing (Ajduković and Ajduković, 1993; Fazel and Stein, A, 2002; Maker, Shah and Agha, 2005; Spencer and Le, 2006; Losoncz, 2016; Bryant *et al.*, 2018). Research has also shown that children with a refugee background are more prone to be maltreated and receive corporal punishment by their parents (Chang, Rhee and Berthold, 2008; Alink *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, previous literature has shown higher levels of corporal punishment to be linked to higher levels of aggression and attitudes towards violence against women (Straus and Yodanis, 1996; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Mueller-Bamouh et al., 2016; Sangalang and Vang, 2017; Zhu et al., 2017; Schuster et al., 2020; Zych et al., 2021).

2.3.2 Peer / friend domain

Peer selection and influence have been widely investigated in relation to adolescent aggression, conduct problems and externalising behaviour (Simons-Morton, Hartos and Haynie, 2004; Pardini, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Dipietro and McGloin, 2012; Steketee, 2012; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Svensson et al., 2012; Pung et al., 2015; Defoe et al., 2021; Huijsmans et al., 2021; Korol and Stattin, 2021; Mansini, 2022). The impact of peer delinquency on adolescents' own delinquency can be attributed to social learning theory (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Bandura, 1977) – see Chapter 4 for detailed overview. In summary, adolescents learn to copy and model their friends' problem behaviour as a means of belonging and fitting in. According to Akers

(1966; 2017), adolescents learn to engage in delinquent/aggressive behaviours from their friends through reinforcement of deviant behaviours, adoption of norms that justify deviance, and finally, modelling and imitation of their deviant role models (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Akers, 2017). For example, in a study using the z-proso dataset, Defoe et al. (2021) investigated the co-development of friends' delinquency and adolescents' delinquency over three data waves (ages 13, 15 and 17 years). Findings showed that the co-development between friends' delinquency and adolescents' delinquency was stronger when adolescents engaged in delinquent acts together, i.e. co-offending (Defoe et al., 2021). Moreover, previous research has shown that immigrant adolescents are more likely to engage in delinquent or aggressive behaviour when their peer group engaged in such behaviour as well (Fandrem et al., 2010; Svensson et al., 2012; Svensson and Shannon, 2020).

Factors such as the need for affiliation and belonging can play a major role in adolescents joining in delinquent and aggressive behaviours. For example, Simons-Morton et al. (2004) conducted a longitudinal study examining the impact of parent and school variables on aggression among 1081 sixth grade adolescents. The authors found that aggression levels increased over time, and that the levels at Time 1 and Time 2 were indirectly associated through affiliation with Time 2 problem-behaving friends. In addition to this finding, the authors found that association with delinquent peers was also indirectly linked to lower levels of school engagement (Simons-Morton, Hartos and Haynie, 2004). This need for affiliation has been extensively investigated among immigrant youths, as it could play an even bigger role for individuals who are trying to adapt and fit into a different culture or country, especially those who face ethnic harassment (Fandrem et al., 2010; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Baldwin-White et al., 2017; Korol and Stattin, 2021). In other words, immigrant youths can be more susceptible to factors such as peer delinquency due to their larger need for affiliation (Dipietro and McGloin, 2012). Adolescent friendships are seen as an individual's first endeavours to develop a sense of identity outside of their family and home life (Warr and Warr, 2002). This general need for autonomy that develops in adolescence is likely to be augmented among immigrant youths due to their experience of being an outsider and not fitting in, and this autonomy is likely to be rooted in their social networks (King and Harris, 2007; Dipietro and McGloin, 2012). Accordingly, being accepted by peers becomes a necessity where the need to belong and evade sanctions from the non-conformist behaviour is motivation enough to engage in aggressive or delinquent behaviour (Lacourse et al., 2003). For example, in a study among 1800 adolescents, with both cross-sectional and longitudinal findings, Dipietro and McGloin (2012) found contact with delinquent peers to have a larger impact on aggression among immigrant youths than it did for native-born youths. Moreover, in a study by Strohmeier et al. (2012), the authors found the underlying processes behind aggression between immigrant and native adolescents to differ; while native youths' motives for aggression were power

and social dominance related, the strongest motive behind immigrant youths' aggression was their need for affiliation (Strohmeier et al., 2012a). Similar results were found in other studies, for example another study by Strohmeier et al. (2012b) and Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier (2021), and different motivations for aggression between first-generation, second-generation and native youths were found where reactive aggression was found to be the strongest motivation for second-generation migrants and native adolescents, whereas the need for affiliation was found to be the strongest motivation for aggression among first-generation migrants (Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012b; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). This result implies that the processes behind aggression are related to an individual's level of acculturation; less acculturated youths had a greater need for affiliation, whereas the mechanisms behind native and more acculturated youths' aggression were related to power/status or reactive aggression. This is partly in line with the result presented by Korol and Stattin (2021), who explored immigrant youths' affiliations with violent peers as an underlying mechanism linking ethnic harassment to violent behaviour. The authors found that acculturation level was not related to the likelihood of affiliation with delinquent peers, however, ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents were more likely to engage in aggressive behaviour when they were less acculturated and less orientated to the Swedish mainstream culture (Korol and Stattin, 2021).

Peer relations are particularly important during the period of adolescence. In his pivotal work on adolescence, Coleman (1961) argued that as adolescents shift towards autonomy, they see "the family a less and less satisfying psychological home" and instead seek comfort in friends (Coleman, 1961: 312). This argument has been backed up with literature showing the increased role of peer factors accompanied by the decreased role of family and parental factors during adolescence as youths would spend more time with their friends and less time with their parents as adolescence progresses (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996; Warr and Warr, 2002; Huijsmans et al., 2021). For example, in another longitudinal study utilising the z-proso dataset, Huijsmans et al. (2021) investigated the influence of parental bonds and having deviant peers on delinquency and self-control over the ages 13 to 17 years. Findings showed that having delinquent peers played a significant role in influencing delinquency during mid adolescence, as opposed to parental factors, such as parental involvement. In addition, they also found that the relationship between delinquent peers and delinquency was reciprocal, wherein peer delinquency increased the likelihood of delinquency, and likewise delinquency reinforced peer delinquency (Huijsmans et al., 2021).

To summarise, youths are taught to take part in aggressive behaviours from their friends and peers through mechanisms of social learning (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Akers, 2017). Furthermore, the need for affiliation has been widely investigated and was found to be a significant motivation for

aggression among immigrant youths in particular, as it could have an even larger effect on adolescents who are trying to adapt and fit into a new culture or country (Fandrem et al., 2010; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Baldwin-White et al., 2017; Korol and Stattin, 2021).

2.3.3 Acculturation domain

Another prominent theme that is shown to be related to refugee and immigrant children's mental health, conduct problems and family relations is acculturation (Hovey and King, 1996; Dinh et al., 2002; Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Huckans, 2003; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Bhanot and Senn, 2007; Ho, 2010; Messinger et al., 2012; Betancourt et al., 2015; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2016; Arnoso, Arnoso and Elgorriaga, 2021; Ward et al., 2021). Acculturation describes the course of change in a person's behaviours, beliefs and attitudes upon entering a new culture (Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Ho, 2010). A known acculturation model is Berry's model of acculturation, otherwise known as Berry's Fourfold model (Berry, Trimble and Olmedo, 1986; Berry et al., 2006) which aims to describe the four different paths individuals choose to acculturate and blend into the host country. These paths are: 1) Assimilation: this is where the immigrant exclusively identifies with the host culture and has little interest in their own culture. 2) Marginalisation: this occurs when an individual rejects both cultures and is neither interested in integrating in the new culture, nor maintaining their own. 3) Separation: this occurs when an individual's interest is in maintaining their own culture and not integrating in the new culture. 4) Integration: this is where an individual is seeking both the maintenance of their own culture and wider involvement with the new society and culture of the host country (Berry et al., 2006). Studies have shown that the integration path of acculturation leads to the best outcomes for psychosocial development and wellbeing within immigrants such as lower anxiety, depression and acculturative stress, while marginalised individuals suffered the most adverse psychological effects (Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002).

Moreover, the process of acculturation often results in 'acculturative stress'. The notion that acculturation is not a simple process is borne out by previous work that has been carried out on this matter (Berry *et al.*, 1987, 2006; Smart and Smart, 1995; Hovey and King, 1996; Betancourt *et al.*, 2015; Ward *et al.*, 2021). Terms such as "culture stress," "culture shock," "culture fatigue," "role shock," and "language shock" were coined to portray the psychological influence of adaptation to a new culture (Smart and Smart, 1995). Stages of acculturative stress have been likened to stages of change, divorce or disability (Brammer and Abrego, 1981; Smart and Smart, 1995). Stages include initial happiness and relief at the changes, followed by post-decisional regret, which is followed by

stress with associated psychological signs, and finally a sense of acceptance, adjustment, and reorganization (Smart and Smart, 1995). These stages are like the ones an immigrant goes through when they leave their country of origin. At first, there could be a sense of relief at having come to a new home country, with hopes for a better economic and political future. However, after this initial period, and when faced with a multitude of stressors, such as a lack of understanding of the language or cultural norms, perceived discrimination, loneliness, etc., they may come to question the decision to leave their homeland if left intentionally. In the case of refugees who were involuntarily displaced from their home, this regret can be manifested in feeling sadness and despair (Berry et al., 1987; Rogler, 1994). Eventually, if acculturative stress is overcome, reorganization takes place wherein the immigrant adjusts to losses and can rebuild their life in the new host country (Smart and Smart, 1995).

As mentioned above, refugees are likely to present higher levels of acculturative stress than immigrants who have voluntarily settled in a new country (Berry et al., 1987; Rogler, 1994). In a comparative study investigating acculturative stress among 1197 immigrants, refugees, Native peoples, sojourners and ethnic groups in Canada, it was found that individuals who entered Canada voluntarily, such as immigrants, reported lower levels of acculturative stress than those who were involuntarily displaced, such as refugees (Berry et al., 1987). This result was replicated in the United States in a study by Rogler (1994). The authors found that immigrants who voluntarily moved to America suffered lower levels of acculturative stress than refugees who were forced to flee their home countries (Rogler, 1994). This higher level of acculturative stress among refugees can have drastic effects on both parents and their children.

An abundance of studies have reported an association between acculturative stress and aggression/violence against women (Caetano et al., 2007; Messinger et al., 2012; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2016; Ward et al., 2021). This relationship between acculturative stress and higher levels of intimate partner violence was investigated among Hispanic couples living in the United States by Caetano et al. (2007). Findings showed that lower acculturation was positively associated with higher levels of acculturative stress, which in turn was directly related to a greater likelihood of involvement in intimate partner violence (Caetano et al., 2007). Furthermore, in a longitudinal study among an immigrant Hispanic sample in the United States, Lorenzo-Blanco et al. (2016) found that higher levels of parental acculturative stress were associated with higher levels of aggression and conduct problems among youths over time. In contrast, those whose parents reported higher levels of acculturation (i.e. lower levels of acculturative stress) reported a lower level of conduct problems and aggression (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2016).

Previous studies have discussed an 'acculturation gap' between the child's level of acculturation and that of their parents, and attributed child psychosocial problems and family strains to this acculturation gap (Luo and Wiseman, 2000; Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Li and Guo, 2018). In a study by Farver et al. (2002), questionnaires were administered to 180 second-generation Asian Indian adolescents born in America and one of their first-generation immigrant parents in order to assess their acculturation, ethnic identity and family conflict, as well as the children's anxiety levels and self-esteem (Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002). The authors found that the adolescents in the sample were more prone to have chosen the assimilation acculturation path, while parents were more prone to have gone down the separation path. It was shown that this acculturation gap between the children and the parents has led to family conflict, lower levels of self-esteem and anxiety levels within the adolescents. Families in which children and parents had similar levels of acculturation and integration had less family conflict and lower levels of anxiety and poor self-esteem within the children (Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002).

Moreover, a study by Li and Guo (2018) proposed that the acculturation gap between children and their parents is more pronounced among refugee families. The study explored whether adolescent acculturation could predict self-esteem and depressive symptoms, whether adolescent acculturation would have an adverse effect on self-esteem and depressive symptoms through higher levels of parent-child conflict and lower family cohesion, and whether there was a difference between refugees and non-refugees. The study was conducted among a sample of 1342 Asian refugee ($N=563$) and non-refugee ($N=779$) immigrants in the United States. Acculturation was measured by three proxy measures: nativity, length of time living in America, and U.S. preference (which referred to the child's preference to the American way of doing things). Results showed that there was a direct link between adolescent acculturation (through nativity and length of time in America) and psychological wellbeing, but no link through having a preference to American ways. Another interesting finding was that for only the refugee group, having lived in America for longer periods was linked to lower levels of depressive symptoms. In addition to that, upon comparing the refugee group to the non-refugee group, more acculturated refugee youths reported higher levels of parent-child conflict and lower family cohesion due to an acculturation gap between the children and their parents (Li and Guo, 2018). Similar to the study by Farver et al. (2002), this acculturation gap consequently led to lower self-esteem and a higher level of depressive symptoms. Another suggested factor that could have led to poor family cohesion and parent-child interaction is so-called cultural bereavement (Eisenbruch, 1991). Refugee parents are likely to suffer from that as the trauma and difficulty associated with being forced to flee and abandon one's country and culture could cause them to be more separated and marginalised in the host country. This acculturative and psychosocial stress could then lead to higher

levels of parent-child conflict and subsequent psychological child problems such as depression and low self-esteem (Li and Guo, 2018). The acculturation gap can therefore trigger feelings of anger and conflict between parents and their children (Hinton et al., 2009). This susceptibility to anger can consequently aid in the employment of aggressive conflict coping strategies. Moreover, children with a refugee background, who have themselves experienced war or have had an intergenerational transmission of trauma have likely learned aggressive coping strategies from their traumatised parents (Ho, Bluestein and Jenkins, 2008; Ho, 2010).

Like the previous studies (Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Li and Guo, 2018), a recent mixed methods study by Peisker et al. (2020) was conducted among 222 refugee parents from the Congo, Myanmar, and Ethiopia. The authors found that refugee parents who had more positive experiences of acculturation reported greater life satisfaction and better communication and relationships with their children, whereas parents who had higher levels of acculturation stress reported more problems and intergenerational dissonance (Colic-Peisker, Khawaja and Hebbani, 2020). Likewise, in a longitudinal study by Dinh et al. (2002), the relationship between acculturation and proneness to take part in problem behaviour among 330 Hispanic children residing in the United States was examined. Findings showed the importance of parental involvement in mediating the relationship between acculturation and problem behaviour proneness over time (Dinh et al., 2002). This finding highlights the key role of parenting variables, such as parental involvement, when assessing conduct problem proneness among immigrant children. This result is supported by a study among 481 foreign- and U.S.-born Latino adolescents living in North Carolina and Arizona, by Smokowski and Bacallao (2006). The authors found that parent-adolescent conflict was the strongest cultural risk factor associated with aggressive behaviour, followed by perceived discrimination. Moreover, the authors also found that higher levels of familism and involvement in the culture-of-origin were key cultural protective factors, associated with lower levels of aggressive behaviour. Finally, mediation analyses suggested that familism and parent-adolescent conflict mediated the influence of acculturative conflicts, parent and adolescent culture-of origin involvement, and parent U.S. cultural involvement, on adolescent aggression (Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006). Similarly, a recent literature review of 102 studies conducted in 14 European countries found evidence supporting the effect of culture on adolescent adaptation (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017). The authors found that integrated youths who blended into the new culture while maintaining their own cultural identity reported better psychosocial wellbeing, mental health and self-esteem (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017).

In summary, acculturation often comes with 'acculturative stress', which has been linked to higher level of aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women (Caetano et al., 2007; Messinger et al., 2012; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2016; Ward et al., 2021). Furthermore, refugees who

have been involuntarily displaced from their countries are likely to exhibit higher levels of acculturative stress than voluntary migrants (Berry et al., 1987; Rogler, 1994). Another issue linked to acculturation is the 'acculturation gap' between immigrant parents and their children. Previous literature has shown that the wider that gap is, the higher the chances of child psychosocial difficulties and family conflict (Luo and Wiseman, 2000; Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Li and Guo, 2018). Again, it was shown that this acculturation gap was more prominent among refugee families.

2.3.4 Individual factors (patriarchy and moral neutralisation of aggression) domain

The role of moral neutralisation of aggression has been linked to higher levels of aggression in general and violence against women attitudes more specifically (Posada and Wainryb, 2008; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010; Poteat, Kimmel and Wilchins, 2011; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Puy, Hamby and Lindemuth, 2014; Correa-Velez, Gifford and McMichael, 2015; Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020; Schuster *et al.*, 2021). The role of moral neutralisation of aggression and justification of violence against women in predicting physical teen dating violence perpetration and monitoring was investigated by Schuster et al. (2021) in a longitudinal study utilising the z-proso dataset at the ages 15 and 17 years. The authors found that higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression at age 15 were positively associated with higher levels of physical dating violence perpetration and monitoring/controlling behaviours at age 17, among both male and female adolescents (Schuster et al., 2021). Similarly, a study by Puy et al. (2014) investigated the relationships between attitudes and experiences of dating violence and the effect of gender within a sample of 132 school pupils and vocational education students aged 14 to 22 years in Switzerland. The authors found that a general acceptance of violence was associated with psychological and physical perpetration of dating violence as well as physical victimization. The results suggested that among other predictors investigated, such as endorsement of patriarchal ideologies and gender roles, pro-violence attitudes were the most consistent predictor of physical and psychological aggression within dating relationships (Puy, Hamby and Lindemuth, 2014). Accordingly, factors such as violence legitimising norms of masculinity and patriarchal ideologies have been associated with higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, which in turn has been associated with higher levels of violence against women attitudes and aggression among immigrant and non-immigrant youths (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013; Schuster *et al.*, 2020).

2.3.4.1 Moral neutralisation of aggression

Moral neutralisation of aggression has been linked to higher involvement in bullying roles, i.e. being a bully or a bully-victim (Obermann, 2011; Gini, Pozzoli and Hymel, 2014; Zych et al., 2021). For example, in a study among 739 Danish sixth grade and seventh grade children (mean age 12.6), Obermann (2011) investigated the relationship between moral disengagement and different self-reported and peer-nominated positions in school bullying. Findings showed that both self- and peer-nominated bullying roles were associated with moral disengagement, and that both pure bullies, and bully-victims (those who are both bullies and victims) reported higher levels of moral disengagement (Obermann, 2011). Similarly, in the study by Zych et al. (2021) using the z-proso sample, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression increased the risk of involvement in different bullying roles and were positively associated with an adolescent being a pure bully, or a bully-victim (Zych et al., 2021).

In addition to that, higher levels of moral disengagement were found to be associated with higher levels of victimisation among adolescents (Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020). For example, in a study by Cuadrado-Gordillo et al. (2020), the relationships between moral disengagement, the acceptance of teen-dating violence, and how the victims of this type of abuse perceive victimisation were investigated among 2577 adolescents in Spain. Findings showed that moral disengagement and the acceptance of teen-dating violence played a mediating role in modifying the perceptions of violence. Higher levels of moral neutralisation were associated with higher levels of victimisation, and the victims' levels of moral disengagement explained their justification of the violence and their inability to recognise abuse (Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020).

Moreover, extensive research has shown that moral neutralisation of aggression is associated with higher levels of youths externalising problem behaviour and aggression (Gibbs, Potter and Goldstein, 1995; Barriga and Gibbs, 1996; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010, 2015; Gini, Pozzoli and Hymel, 2014; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). Predictive effects and correlations between moral neutralisation and aggression have often been reported as significant and high, indicating that moral neutralisation and aggression are intrinsically tied to each other (Paciello et al., 2008; Gini, Pozzoli and Hymel, 2014; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2015). For example, in their 2015 study, Ribeaud and Eisner explored the nature of the relationship between moral neutralisation and aggression in early adolescence. They found a distinct, stable cross-sectional, interindividual relationship between moral neutralisation and aggression at ages 11 and 13, with significant high correlations between the variables reported (above $r=0.5$). In addition to that, a considerable and stable within-person association was found, indicating that the cross-sectional association cannot be explained away by population heterogeneity, and path

analyses revealed near-zero lagged effects of moral neutralisation on aggression when controlling for antecedent aggression and vice versa, therefore suggesting no longer-term independent causal effects in either direction (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2015). Similarly, a study by Paciello et al. (2008) examined the stability and change of moral disengagement and its impact on aggression and violence in late adolescence among a sample of 366 youths aged 14 to 20 years in Italy. The authors found that at the population level, moral disengagement went down over time for both boys and girls. Specifically, the authors found that moral disengagement reduced strongly between ages 14 and 16 years and less evidently until age 20 years. Analyses identified four developmental trajectories among the adolescents: (1) a non-disengaged group that originally started with low levels of moral disengagement, followed by a decrease in moral disengagement, (2) a normative group that started with originally moderate levels of moral disengagement also followed by a decrease in moral disengagement, (3) a later-desister group that started with originally high-medium levels of moral disengagement followed by an increase in moral disengagement from ages 14 to 16 years followed by a strong increase in moral disengagement from ages 16 to 20 years, and (4) a chronic group that started with and maintained medium-high levels of moral disengagement. The findings demonstrated that adolescents who maintained higher levels of moral disengagement were more likely to exhibit regular aggressive and violent behaviour in late adolescence (Paciello et al., 2008). Similarly, in a study among a representative sample, Agnew (1994) found that a large proportion of adolescents accepted neutralisations supporting the use of violence in certain situations, and that the acceptance of these neutralisations was associated with violent behaviour. Results showed a small, yet significant, independent effect of preceding neutralisations on later violence ($\beta = 0.08$) when controlling for preceding violence and other likely confounds followed over 1 year. Moreover, a study by Hyde et al. (2010) investigated the role of moral disengagement in the development of antisocial behaviour among an ethnically diverse sample of 187 low-income boys followed prospectively from ages 1.5 to 17 years. The authors found a considerable ($\beta = 0.34$) independent effect of moral disengagement at age 15 years on antisocial behaviour 1–2 years later when controlling for social information processing (Hyde, Shaw and Moilanen, 2010).

Extensive research has considered the processes of moral disengagement among immigrant youths, and their impact on externalising behaviour and aggression (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Posada and Wainryb, 2008; Qouta et al., 2008; Campaert, Nocentini and Menesini, 2018; Passini, 2019; Bayram Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2020; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). For example, studies among immigrant and native adolescents residing in Sweden, Bayram Özdemir et al. (2020, 2021) found an association between moral disengagement and engagement in victimization generally, and engagement in ethnic victimization specifically for both immigrant and Swedish youths (Bayram

Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2020). Furthermore, a study by Gjelsvik and Solhaug (2017) explored the relationship between aggression and moral disengagement among 577 youths who resettled in Norway as unaccompanied minor asylum seekers. The adolescents mainly originated from Afghanistan, Somalia, Iraq and Sri Lanka, and had on average been resettled for 4.63 years ($SD = 2.40$) in Norway at the time of data collection. Results indicated that aggression levels reported by the refugee youths were low. Moreover, moral disengagement partly mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and proactive affiliation-related aggression (Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017).

Furthermore, immigrant, and specifically refugee youths are likely to have higher levels of moral neutralisation than their native peers as an effect of their traumatic experiences of war and displacement, either directly or as a result of intergenerational transmission (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). A study by Haskuka et al. (2008) compared three groups of students from two cultures (Turkey and Kosovo) with different levels of exposure to the 1998-1999 war in Kosovo. Results revealed that exposure to war had a very strong negative effect on an individual's moral reasoning; students with any exposure to war reported significantly lower levels of moral reasoning than those who had not been exposed to war (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008). This result implies that the drastic effects of exposure to war are not only restricted to aggression, stress and psychosocial wellbeing, but are also related to a person's socio-cognitive processes, such as moral reasoning and moral neutralisation. Similarly, a study by Posada and Wainryb (2008) investigated the moral development of 96 Columbian children and adolescents in the context of survival and revenge. Participants made judgements about stealing and physical harm in general and in the context of survival and revenge. All participants deemed it wrong to steal or harm others, even in the need for survival, indicating that refugee children and adolescents' views on matters of welfare and justice were in line with the mainstream culture, as seen in normative samples in Western countries. Findings for revenge, however, were more mixed, with a majority justifying stealing and hurting in that condition (Posada and Wainryb, 2008). This result is in line with previous literature which indicates that in socio-political environments characterised by deprivation and abandonment, children justify the exclusion of certain people and condone revenge (Killen et al., 2007; Ardila-Rey, Killen and Brenick, 2009; Brenick et al., 2010).

2.3.4.2 Violence legitimising norms of masculinity/ violence against women / patriarchy

Research on violence against women attitudes within migrant communities is scant (El-Abani et al., 2020), and that of adolescents is even more limited. Parallels can, however, be drawn from

research conducted in patriarchal societies of which many of the migrants investigated originate from. For example, in a study I have conducted investigating the prevalence of attitudes in support of honour killings in Amman, Jordan, 40% of the boys and 20% of the girls in the sample justified the killing of a sister, daughter or wife if she has dishonoured her family (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). Similarly, in another study I have conducted, in Amman, Jordan, the rates of acceptance of wife beating in an adolescent sample of Jordanian boys and girls ranged from 6.1% (sometimes it is okay for a man to beat his wife) to 50.5% (an unfaithful wife deserves to be beaten). Moreover, items such as (A husband has the right to beat his wife if she insults him in front of his friends), (A husband has the right to beat his wife if she doesn't respect his parents or siblings), and (A husband has the right to beat his wife if she constantly disobeys him) had a high prevalence of 17.7%, 21.4% and 22.1% across the sample. Moreover, when responses were split by gender, boys showed significantly higher support of wife beating than girls (Schuster et al., 2020). Furthermore, prevalence of attitudes in support of wife beating was also found to be high in a study among 275 boys in Bangladesh, 13,078 boys in India, and 939 boys in Nepal. Justification of wife beating was found to be high at 51% in India, 42% in Bangladesh, and 28% in Nepal (Dalal, Lee and Gifford, 2012).

Factors such as violence legitimising norms of masculinity and patriarchal ideologies have been associated with increased levels of aggression among both native and immigrant adolescents (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Steinfeldt et al., 2012; Lahlah et al., 2013; Rizzo, Banyard and Edwards, 2021). In a study by Baier and Pfeiffer (2008), the authors investigated youth violence among native German, Russian and Turkish adolescent boys in Germany. To evaluate violent behaviour, participants were asked whether, and if yes, how often they had perpetrated bodily harm, a robbery, an extortion, or held someone at gunpoint in the last year. Findings showed that Turkish youths reported higher levels of aggression and violence, followed by Russian youths, and finally German youths. For example, 19.1% of the native German boys committed bodily harm in the past year, compared to almost twice as often among Turkish (37.5%) and Russian (31%) males. Moreover, 23.7% of all Turkish boys as opposed to 9.2% of Russian boys and 3.9% of German native boys approved of violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity. Accordingly, higher levels of violence among Turkish and Russian youths were attributed to cultural orientations and values, such as patriarchy and violence legitimising norms of masculinity (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). Similarly, Lahlah et al. (2013) found that holding traditional gender role orientations and violence legitimising norms of masculinity were factors associated with higher levels of violent offending among immigrant Moroccan-Dutch youths than their native Dutch counterparts – see systematic review in Chapter 3. Furthermore, in a study by Rizzo et al. (2021), the relationships between sexual harassment victimisation, perpetration, and masculine gender role beliefs were investigated in a sample of 236 adolescent boys. Findings

showed that sexual victimisation was strongly related to perpetration only when traditional gender role attitudes regarding male power and apathy (having a tough image and carefully keeping feelings and emotions in check to avoid being seen as non-masculine) were high (Rizzo, Banyard and Edwards, 2021). This result is in line with that by Reidy et al. (2015) in which the relationship between gender-role discrepancy stress and engagement in physically and sexually violent behaviours was investigated among 589 adolescent males. Findings showed that boys who experienced stress about being seen as “sub-masculine” were more likely to engage in sexual violence as a way of proving their masculinity to themselves and/or others and eliminating possible “threats” to their masculinity by dating partners (Reidy et al., 2015). Similarly, in a study by Steinfeldt et. al. (2012), adherence to male role norms was a significant predictor of bullying perpetration among a sample of 206 high school football players aged 14-18 years.

In summary, the final risk domain identified included moral neutralisation of aggression and violence legitimising norms of masculinity. As discussed above, a large body of literature has investigated the link between moral neutralisation of aggression and aggression/violence against women (Posada and Wainryb, 2008; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010; Poteat, Kimmel and Wilchins, 2011; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Puy, Hamby and Lindemuth, 2014; Correa-Velez, Gifford and McMichael, 2015; Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020; Schuster *et al.*, 2021) and child externalising problem behaviour and aggression (Gibbs, Potter and Goldstein, 1995; Barriga and Gibbs, 1996; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010, 2015; Gini, Pozzoli and Hymel, 2014; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). Furthermore, the influence of moral neutralisation of aggression on immigrant youth aggression and victimisation was also extensively studied (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Posada and Wainryb, 2008; Qouta et al., 2008; Campaert, Nocentini and Menesini, 2018; Passini, 2019; Bayram Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2020; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). As indicated by previous research, levels of moral neutralisation of aggression are likely to be higher among adolescents with a refugee background as a result of their trauma, either experienced directly or as a result of intergenerational transmission (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022).

As discussed above, social cognition refers to the processes in which a person learns and uses information in social contexts to excuse and predict their own behaviour and that of others. Therefore, moral neutralisation of aggression can be linked to higher justification of violence against women, as such attitudes may be part of a broader set of beliefs that justify the use of violence in general. Accordingly, as discussed above, previous research has shown factors such as violence legitimising norms of masculinity and patriarchal ideologies to be associated with higher levels of

aggression among both native and immigrant youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Steinfeldt et al., 2012; Lahlah et al., 2013; Rizzo, Banyard and Edwards, 2021).

2.3.5 Migration process and experience

The experience of migration itself can have adverse effect on migrants and their children (Measham *et al.*, 2014; Pottie *et al.*, 2015). Difficulties resulting from migration stressors can affect both first- and second-generation migrants and refugees (Zhou, 2003; Measham *et al.*, 2014; Pottie *et al.*, 2015; Bui and Farrington, 2016). These include higher levels of aggression and externalising problems (Bui and Farrington, 2016), parent-child conflict (Bean *et al.*, 2007) and mental health problems (Erucar, Maltby and Vostanis, 2018). Reasons as to why such difficulties can follow migration include overcoming psychosocial stresses endured when integrating into a new country, such as loneliness, social exclusion, discrimination, and family conflict (Measham *et al.*, 2014).

For example, a systematic review conducted by Pottie et al. (2015) found that in the 18 studies included (14 carried out in the USA, 2 in the Netherlands, 1 in France, and 1 in Israel), bullying victimisation and peer aggression were significantly higher for non-official language speaking first-generation immigrant youths compared to third generation and native born youths. This finding signifies a distinct sensitive time during migration and the effect of the migration process itself (Pottie *et al.*, 2015). This finding supports previous literature indicating that most immigrant adolescents undergo psychosocial stress when integrating into their new country (Huckans, 2003; Bean *et al.*, 2007; Titzmann, Raabe and Silbereisen, 2008). First-generation immigrant adolescents are more likely to experience victimisation and peer violence due to struggles in their adjustment to a new culture and issues such as peer discrimination and ethnic harassment (Pottie *et al.*, 2015). This result was in line with that of a study conducted by Bui and Farrington (2016). The authors aimed to investigate differences in pro-violence attitudes between first- and second-generation immigrants in the United Kingdom, aged 16-40. Data for the study were obtained from the 2010-2011 UK citizenship survey (Communities Study; Department for Communities and Local Government and Ipsos MORI, 2012). Findings indicated that levels of pro-violence attitudes were significantly higher for first-generation than second-generation immigrants. Moreover, it was found that first-generation immigrants had negative perceptions towards the host country, and accordingly, harboured violent attitudes (Bui and Farrington, 2016). As discussed above, this could be due to the pre, during and post migration experiences that first-generation immigrants have lived through (Pottie *et al.*, 2015; Bui and Farrington, 2016).

Migration can have a particularly adverse effect on refugees, who can experience migration stressors during the pre-migratory, migratory, and post-migratory periods (Measham *et al.*, 2014). In their home countries, war-exposed individuals may witness or live through war brutalities, be denied basic needs such as food and water, and be separated from their family members (Measham *et al.*, 2014). Moreover, hardships can also include disorder and interference with their daily lives, such as disruptions of work and education (Bean *et al.*, 2007; Measham *et al.*, 2014). These hardships can accompany refugees in the process of migration, as they may be separated from their loved ones, and still be exposed to violence and suffer from poor nutrition, and uncertainty about the future (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2008; Basak, 2012). Upon arrival to a new host country, as discussed above, refugees are likely to experience stressors to their and their family's adaptation and acculturation, family conflict, challenges with a new language, and incidents of social exclusion and discrimination (Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Berry *et al.*, 2006; Measham *et al.*, 2014; Betancourt *et al.*, 2015; Baldwin-White *et al.*, 2017). Furthermore, migration disturbs normal parent-child relationships in several ways. To begin with, many immigrant families endure long periods of separation from the father, mother or siblings due to delayed reunification (Zhou, 2003). This process in which members of the family arrive in the host country at different times, otherwise known as 'relayed migration' (Sung, 1987), can also cause stressors and damage parent-child and sibling relationships, as when all the family members are eventually reunited, they all have to make adaptations and adjustments to each other in a new environment (Zhou, 2003). Another issue in which the process of migration can cause difficulties and family conflict relates to women working outside of their home as an economic necessity. While this change gives women independence and autonomy, it can also cause problems in the family dynamic at home, such as difficulty in child-rearing and challenges to the patriarchal and traditional norms (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 2003).

Moreover, the migration process can have an adverse effect on both second- and first-generation refugees. Challenges faced during migration can influence refugee parents, and subsequently this can affect their children's psychosocial wellbeing, even years after migration has occurred (Bui and Farrington, 2016). As discussed in the parenting domain, refugee parents are more likely to use corporal punishment and harsh discipline on their children (Alink *et al.*, 2013), and are more likely to have lower levels of parental warmth and engagement (Erucar, Maltby and Vostanis, 2018), therefore damaging the parent-child attachment bond (Bettmann and Olson-Morrison, 2018; Juang *et al.*, 2018). These changes can in turn, lead to higher levels of aggression and psychosocial challenges among second-generation refugee children (Zhou, 2003; Spencer and Le, 2006; Measham *et al.*, 2014). This is in line with the study conducted by Spencer and Le (2006), that showed that parents' traumatic refugee experiences indirectly influenced their children's psychosocial wellbeing

and engagement in serious violence. Moreover, previous literature has shown that compared to native youths, second-generation immigrant youths took on more responsibility to help their parents navigate the new culture, such as helping them with the language and cultural norms (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Dipietro and McGloin, 2012). Moreover, such role reversal usually leads to parents depending on their children, which can lead to a loss of parental authority (Zhou, 2003). By spending more time and emphasising with their parents, second-generation immigrant youths are also likely to be influenced by their parents' mental health and attitudes (Dipietro and McGloin, 2012; Bui and Farrington, 2016). Combined with second-generation immigrants' own difficulties and challenges, this intergenerational transmission of violence may increase the risk of violence (Bui and Farrington, 2016).

In summary, the process of migration can affect individuals at all three stages: pre-migration, during-migration, and post-migration (Measham *et al.*, 2014). Moreover, drastic effects of migration can influence youths first-hand for first-generation immigrants, and intergenerationally for second-generation immigrants (Zhou, 2003; Bui and Farrington, 2016). Challenges faced include family conflict, higher levels of aggression, and psychosocial development problems.

2.4 Conclusion

The literature into factors that influence immigrant aggression and support of violence against women has been presented and discussed. Factors such as low parental involvement, experience of corporal punishment, low acculturation (wide acculturative gap/acculturative stress), moral neutralisation of aggression, affiliation with delinquent peers, and holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found to be associated with higher levels of aggression among immigrant youths. Results were presented in risk domains, namely, parental/familial domain, peer/friend domain, acculturation domain, and norms and migration process and experience domain.

To begin with, the first risk domain presented and discussed was the parental/familial domain. The adverse effect of war trauma, persecution and challenging migration experiences on refugee parents (Spencer and Le, 2006; Bryant *et al.*, 2018; Reid and Berle, 2020), and how this negatively affects their parenting and attachment as well as the psychosocial wellbeing of their children (Ajduković and Ajduković, 1993; Fazel and Stein, A, 2002; Maker, Shah and Agha, 2005; Spencer and Le, 2006; Losoncz, 2016; Bryant *et al.*, 2018) were discussed. Research has also indicated that children from a refugee background are more likely to experience maltreatment and corporal punishment by their parents as an effect of these challenges (Chang, Rhee and Berthold, 2008; Alink *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, previous literature has shown higher levels of corporal punishment to be associated with higher levels of aggression and attitudes towards violence against women (Straus and Yodanis, 1996;

Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Mueller-Bamouh et al., 2016; Sangalang and Vang, 2017; Zhu et al., 2017; Schuster et al., 2020; Zych et al., 2021).

The second risk domain identified and discussed was the peer/friend domain. Peer selection and influence has been extensively explored in relation to adolescent aggression, conduct problems and externalising behaviour (Simons-Morton, Hartos and Haynie, 2004; Pardini, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Dipietro and McGloin, 2012; Steketee, 2012; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Svensson et al., 2012; Pung et al., 2015; Defoe et al., 2021; Huijsmans et al., 2021; Korol and Stattin, 2021; Mansini, 2022). Adolescents learn to participate in delinquent or aggressive behaviours from their peers through reinforcement of delinquent behaviours, adoption of beliefs that excuse deviance, and copying deviant role models (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Akers, 2017). Moreover, the need for affiliation has been widely investigated among immigrant youths, as it could have an even stronger effect on individuals who are trying to adapt and fit into a new culture or country (Fandrem et al., 2010; Strohmeier et al., 2012; Baldwin-White et al., 2017; Korol and Stattin, 2021). Furthermore, immigrant youths are likely to be more vulnerable to peer delinquency due to their stronger need for belonging and affiliation (Dipietro and McGloin, 2012).

The third domain identified and discussed in relation to immigrant and refugee aggression and attitudes towards violence against women was the acculturation domain. Acculturation, including 'acculturative stress' and 'acculturation gap' were discussed. As described above, acculturation refers to the changes in a person's attitudes, norms and behaviours upon moving to a new country and culture (Berry, Trimble and Olmedo, 1986; Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Ho, 2010). Moreover, as discussed above, the process of acculturation can be accompanied by 'acculturative stress', which encompasses challenges presented during the acculturation (Berry *et al.*, 1987, 2006; Smart and Smart, 1995; Hovey and King, 1996; Betancourt *et al.*, 2015; Ward *et al.*, 2021), and refugees are likely to present higher levels of acculturative stress than voluntary migrants (Berry et al., 1987; Rogler, 1994). Studies have reported an association between higher levels of acculturative stress and aggression/violence against women (Caetano et al., 2007; Messinger et al., 2012; Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2016; Ward et al., 2021). Another issue associated with acculturation is the 'acculturation gap' between immigrant parents and their children. Studies have shown that the wider that gap is, the higher the likelihood of child psychosocial problems and family conflict (Luo and Wiseman, 2000; Farver, Narang and Bhadha, 2002; Li and Guo, 2018). Again, it was shown that this acculturation gap was more pronounced among refugee families.

The fourth risk domain presented and discussed was individual factors, that included social cognition/patriarchal ideologies, namely moral neutralisation of aggression and violence legitimising

norms of masculinity. A vast body of research has shown an association between moral neutralisation of aggression and aggression/violence against women (Posada and Wainryb, 2008; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010; Poteat, Kimmel and Wilchins, 2011; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Puy, Hamby and Lindemuth, 2014; Correa-Velez, Gifford and McMichael, 2015; Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020; Schuster *et al.*, 2021) as well as adolescent externalising problem behaviour and aggression (Gibbs, Potter and Goldstein, 1995; Barriga and Gibbs, 1996; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010, 2015; Gini, Pozzoli and Hymel, 2014; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). Moreover, an extensive body of research has documented the effect of moral neutralisation of aggression on immigrant youths' aggression and victimisation (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Posada and Wainryb, 2008; Qouta *et al.*, 2008; Campaert, Nocentini and Menesini, 2018; Passini, 2019; Bayram Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2020; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). Furthermore, research has indicated that levels of moral neutralisation of aggression are specifically higher among refugee youths due to their traumatic experiences of war and displacement, either directly or as a result of intergenerational transmission (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). As discussed above, social cognition refers to the processes in which an individual learns and employs information in social contexts to justify and predict their own behaviour and that of others. Accordingly, moral neutralisation of aggression can be associated with higher support of violence against women, as such attitudes may be part of a wider set of beliefs that condone the use of violence and aggression against others in general. Accordingly, literature has shown factors such as violence legitimising norms of masculinity and patriarchal ideologies to be linked to higher levels of aggression among both native and immigrant youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Steinfeldt *et al.*, 2012; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013; Rizzo, Banyard and Edwards, 2021).

The final risk domain presented and discussed considered the migration process and experience. In summary, this section discussed the adverse effect of the migration process on first- and second-generation immigrant youths and their parents (Zhou, 2003; Bean *et al.*, 2007; Measham *et al.*, 2014; Pottie *et al.*, 2015; Bui and Farrington, 2016). Difficulties resulting from loneliness and social exclusion can include higher levels of aggression (Bui and Farrington, 2016), family conflict (Bean *et al.*, 2007) and mental health problems (Erucar, Maltby and Vostanis, 2018).

The literature on factors that influence adolescent aggression and support of violence against women was presented and discussed in this chapter. Factors such as low parental involvement, experience of corporal punishment, low acculturation (wide acculturative gap/acculturative stress), moral neutralisation of aggression, affiliation with delinquent peers, the process of migration, and holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found to be associated with higher levels of aggression among immigrant youths.

Given that the focus of the Ph.D. is on second-generation refugee and migrant adolescents in a European country and given the lack of any systematic review covering aggression among these groups in Europe, the next chapter will contain a systematic review of literature aggression and delinquency differences between immigrant and native adolescents in Europe, with a consideration of the risk domains identified in this narrative literature review. Five of the studies included in the systematic review were touched upon in this narrative review, but they will be regarded in more detail and viewed from a different perspective in the systematic review in Chapter 3. This will be followed by an account of theoretical perspectives used to guide this research in Chapter 4, then the methodology, analysis and discussion chapters will follow.

Chapter THREE: Systematic review: Aggression among immigrant adolescents in Europe

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a systematic review of aggression and externalising behaviour among immigrant adolescent youths in Europe. The chapter aims to identify studies relating to aggression patterns and risk domains among immigrant adolescents in Europe according to the criteria shown below, group the studies into the relevant risk domains identified in Chapter 2, summarise the findings and contributions of each article, and draw on similar literature carried out in the rest of the world to discuss these studies. Five of the studies reviewed in this chapter have been lightly touched on in the narrative literature review in Chapter 2, but they will be considered in greater detail in this chapter. As explained in Chapters 1 and 2, the literature of the thesis was broadly set out in the narrative literature review (Chapter 2). This set out the backdrop for Chapter 3, in which a targeted systematic approach was conducted in order to drill down the main variables this thesis is interested in, namely: ‘adolescent’, ‘immigrant’, ‘aggression’ and ‘Europe’. This chapter takes a systematic review approach since the z-proso sample used in this thesis is made up of immigrant and native Swiss adolescents living in Switzerland. Previous literature looking at general patterns of criminality has documented differences in aggression and ‘criminality’ between Europe and the USA (Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015). Therefore, it was believed that a systematic review of literature focusing on European countries will add to the knowledge of what factors could influence immigrant youths in Europe. The decision to focus on aggression rather than violence against women attitudes was taken since as discussed in Chapter 2, attitudes in support of violence against women are likely to be part of a broader support for violence and aggression in general, and conducting two separate systematic reviews would have been beyond the scope of this thesis. Accordingly, this systematic review was conducted to investigate whether immigrant youths in Europe are more likely to be aggressive than native youths. Finally, since research has shown immigrant youths to be more vulnerable and susceptible to mental and behavioural problems (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017), possible risk factors were investigated.

The chapter will start with a summary of what risk factors are and a presentation of the five risk domains that have been identified for this review: familial/parental domain, peer/friend domain, acculturation domain, individual factors domain, and migration process and experience domain. This will then be followed by an account of the search process including the inclusion and exclusion criteria, and the results and discussion of studies included in this review within their respective risk domains.

Finally, the chapter ends with a conclusion in which the research questions are answered and summarised.

Europe has historically been a hub for immigration but in recent years, immigration levels into Europe have rapidly increased (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014). Due to this rise in immigration, the number of children and adolescents with a migration background continues to rise in many European countries (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014). Migration can be a fundamentally traumatic life event due to the multiple challenges associated with resettlement, acculturation and adaptation to a new society (Berry *et al.*, 2006). This chapter aims to explore and discuss the patterns of aggression among immigrant adolescents in Europe. Research into whether immigrant adolescents have higher levels of aggression and/or delinquency than their native counterparts has mixed results. Several studies report that the level of delinquency and/or aggression among immigrant youths is significantly higher than that of their native peers (Schmitt-Rodermund and Silbereisen, 2008; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Stevens *et al.*, 2015; Duinhof *et al.*, 2020; Svensson and Shannon, 2020), whereas other studies report that there were no differences in delinquency between immigrant and native adolescents (Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Noam *et al.*, 2014; Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021). Moreover, there is a gap in the literature regarding a systematic review on aggression and delinquency risk factors among immigrant youths in Europe. Despite there being three systematic reviews on emotional and conduct problems among migrant children in Europe (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017) and America (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2015), none of them focus on only adolescents, and only aggression / externalising problems. The review by Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann (2014) presented and analysed findings from 36 studies published from 2007-2013 with a focus on mental health and behavioural problems. The participants of the studies in this systematic review were aged 3-20 years. Moreover, during their study selection process, any studies focusing solely on asylum seekers or refugees were excluded from the systematic review. Similarly, the review of 102 studies conducted in 14 European countries by Dimitrova *et al.* (2017) examined the adjustment of the children of immigrants (first and second generation immigrants) in terms of their emotional, psychological, academic, and behavioural development. In contrast, this current systematic review only considered quantitative studies conducted in Europe among immigrant adolescents aged 10-19 years.

3.2 Research questions behind this systematic review

Following the broad narrative literature review presented in Chapter 2, the following research questions were generated for this systematic review in order to investigate aggression among immigrant adolescents.

- 1) Are immigrant adolescents in Europe more or less likely than their native peers to display conduct problems and/or aggressive / delinquent behaviour?
- 2) What are the risk factors behind immigrant adolescent problem behaviour, aggression, and delinquency in Europe?

3.3 Risk domains

Following the risk domains presented in Chapter 2, this chapter offers a systematic review on aggression among immigrant adolescents aged 10-19 years in Europe. Upon the examination of the included studies – see below, the five risk factors identified in Chapter 2 were still relevant. The risk domains identified are outlined below.

Familial/parental domain

The risk factors in the studies included in this review were divided into two sets of family characteristics: parental characteristics and familial characteristics. Parental characteristics were further differentiated into parental warmth, parental monitoring and parental support. Familial characteristics were further differentiated into tight family bonds and familial cohesion.

Peer / friend domain

For this chapter, peer factors have been divided into three sections: the need for affiliation, peer selection/classroom heterogeneity and peer support.

Acculturation domain

As discussed in Chapter 2, immigrant and ethnic minority youths must go through processes of acculturation and cultural adaptation (Berry *et al.*, 2006). Acculturation was found to be a significant risk factor of aggression in several studies in this review.

Individual factors domain (patriarchy and SES)

In contrast to the risk factors identified in Chapter 2, the studies included in the review did not investigate, and therefore did not identify moral neutralisation of aggression as a risk factor for aggression among immigrant youths. Therefore, the individual factors included in this domain were patriarchal ideologies and social economic status (SES) as potential risk factors.

Migration process and experience

This final identified risk domain included the migration experience, co-occurrence of internalising and externalising problems and generational status (e.g. first-generation, second-generation).

3.4 Methodology

A systematic literature search was conducted. The databases Web of Science, Scopus, Google Scholar, PsychInfo and the Applied Social Sciences Index ASSI were searched using the terms ['intergenerational' or 'second generation' or 'migrant' or 'immigrant' or 'refugee' and 'adolescent' or 'young' or 'minor' and 'violen*' or 'aggress*' or 'conduct problem' or 'delinq*' or 'offend*'].

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Studies were included if they were published between 1-1-2009 until 15-8-2021 when the systematic search was conducted. This window was chosen since the z-proso sample used for this Ph.D. would be in early to late adolescence during these years, therefore, the sample in studies published in the chosen years would be of comparable age. Moreover, studies were only included if

they were based in a country within Europe. There were several reasons behind this decision. To begin with, no systematic reviews that specifically focussed on aggression risk factors among immigrant adolescents in Europe was found. Three systematic reviews covering emotional and behavioural problems in migrant children were published in The United States (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2015) and Europe (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017). The reviews of studies based in European countries did not target only adolescents and specifically aggression and conduct problems, as this review has. The other reason this review focused on European countries was because the z-proso sample for this Ph.D. thesis contains a sample of adolescents with an immigrant background living in Switzerland, and comparisons can be better drawn in samples in similar settings. Furthermore, studies have shown that there is a difference in delinquency and 'criminality' between Europe and the USA (Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015).

Moreover, studies were only included if the sample comprised of adolescents aged 10-19 years. This age range was chosen because adolescence is a critical period during which individuals undergo much psychosocial development and identity formation (Baldwin-White *et al.*, 2017). Additionally, only studies published in peer reviewed journals in English were included and only quantitative methods were used in all the studies chosen. Qualitative studies and studies with no data were excluded as the aim of this review was to quantitatively answer the research questions presented above. Finally, to ensure that no studies were overlooked, a manual search was conducted on the reference lists of the identified articles. All article screening and selection was done by the primary researcher.

3.5 Results and discussion

Initially, 3634 relevant studies were found from systematic searches among the databases Web of Science, Scopus, Google Scholar, PsychInfo and the Applied Social Sciences Index ASSI. Once duplicates were removed, 2111 potentially eligible studies were obtained. Subsequently, eligible papers were filtered using the inclusion and exclusion criteria, leaving a total of 32 articles (Figure 3.1).

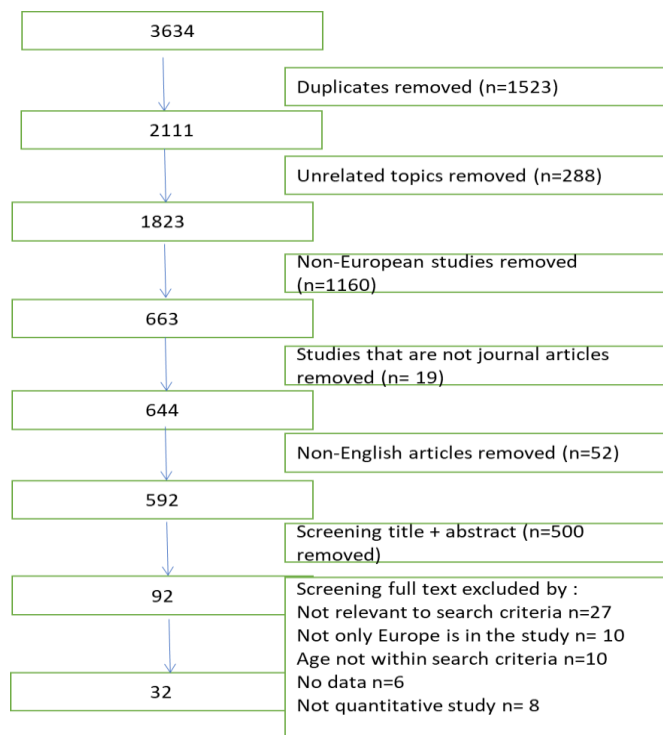


Figure 3.1: Flowchart showing the search process

3.5.1 Characteristics of the included studies

The 32 articles included in this review were published between 2009 and 2021. Of these, twenty-six were cross-sectional and six were longitudinal. The complete sample collected from all the included studies comprised 188041 immigrant and native adolescents. Twenty-seven studies compared native adolescents to immigrant adolescents and five studies focused only on immigrant adolescents. Seven studies were conducted in Sweden (Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019; Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021; Korol and Stattin, 2021), five in the Netherlands (Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013, 2014; Paalman *et al.*, 2015; Duinhof *et al.*, 2020), five in Norway (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Chun and Mobley, 2014; Noam *et al.*, 2014; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020), three in Italy (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009; Borraccino *et al.*, 2018; Miconi *et al.*, 2018), one in Finland (Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015), one in Cyprus (Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021), one in Austria (Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012), one in Germany (Rabold and Baier, 2011), one in Switzerland (Siegmunt and Lukash, 2019), and seven studies conducted in more than one country within Europe (Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010; Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012; Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017; Lee, 2019; van der Gaag, 2019; Killias and Lukash, 2020).

With regards to the question whether immigrant adolescents exhibit higher levels of aggressive behaviours, the studies showed different results. Of the twenty four studies that compared immigrant and native youths, eight reported that there were no differences in the prevalence or seriousness of aggression between immigrant and native youths (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009; Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Chun and Mobley, 2014; Noam *et al.*, 2014; Lee, 2019; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020; Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021), thirteen studies reported that immigrant youths showed higher levels of delinquency and/or externalising problems (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013, 2014; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Miconi *et al.*, 2018; Siegmunt and Lukash, 2019; van der Gaag, 2019; Duinhof *et al.*, 2020; Killias and Lukash, 2020; Svensson and Shannon, 2020), and three studies reported native youths display higher levels of externalising behaviour, aggression and/or delinquency than immigrant youths (Paalman *et al.*, 2015; Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017). Moreover, one study by Strohmeier *et al.* (2012), showed that immigrant status was associated with higher levels of bullying others in Norway, but that no differences regarding aggressive behaviour were found in Austria. This finding is similar to that of Mood *et al.* (2016), which found that mental health (externalising and internalising behaviour) is affected by the country the immigrant children are living in (e.g. youths living in Sweden showed lower rates of externalising problems, whereas youths in England showed higher rates) (Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016). Another interesting observation was reported by Borraccino *et al.* (2018), where the risk of reporting bullying behaviours and physical fights was higher in first-generation immigrants and decreased in the second generation, independent of ethnic background. The studies are summarised in four tables (Tables 3.1-3.4), as they were divided into the risk domains presented above. These risk domains that potentially account for the differences in delinquency between immigrant and native adolescents will be presented and discussed below.

3.5.2 Familial / parental domain

Ten studies explored the effect of parental/familial factors on immigrant youth's aggression (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009; Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010; Chun and Mobley, 2014; Lahlah *et al.*, 2014; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021; Korol and Bevelander, 2021). The studies showed that factors such as parental warmth (Lahlah *et al.*, 2014; Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2017; Korol and Bevelander, 2021), tight family bonds (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009; Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017), attachment to parents (Svensson and Shannon, 2020), parental support

(Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010; Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017), parental monitoring / knowledge of the child's whereabouts (Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021; Korol and Bevelander, 2021) and family cohesion (Chun and Mobley, Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017) are associated with lower levels of externalising problems and aggression. In contrast, factors such as weak parental social control (Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021) and generational conflict (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009) are linked to higher delinquency rates.

The studies by Mood, Jonsson and Låftman (2016, 2017) compared non-immigrant adolescents to immigrant adolescents in four European countries (Germany, England, the Netherlands, and Sweden). The studies showed that immigrant adolescents reported lower rates of internalising and externalizing problems (aggressiveness, delinquent, and rowdy behaviour) than native adolescents (Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017). This review will only focus on the externalising problems. Results showed that juveniles of non-Western backgrounds were more likely to live in nuclear families, reported stronger family cohesion, and had more involved parents. The authors attributed the immigrant youth's advantage with regards to externalising problems to the strong protective familial factors discussed above (Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017).

On the other hand, weak family bonds, low parental support and a weak relationship between parents and their children were found to be significant factors in increased delinquency and aggression among both immigrant and native adolescents (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009; Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010). In their comparative study on patterns and prevalence rates of self-reported deviance between native Italian and 'foreign' (mostly second-generation immigrant) adolescents, Melossi *et al.* (2009) found no significant differences in the frequency or seriousness of self-reported deviancy between native and immigrant adolescents. Greater levels of self-reported deviance were strongly correlated to the adolescents feeling more stigmatized, reporting higher levels of generational conflict (conflict between the adolescents and their family), and most strongly, weak family bonds (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009). The result that there were no significant differences between immigrant and native youths with regards to delinquency/aggression once parental factors were controlled for was also shown by Eichelsheim *et al.* (2010). The authors investigated whether there were differences in the relationship between the parent-child relationship and aggression / delinquency between immigrant (Moroccan origin) and native (Dutch) boy and girl adolescents living in the Netherlands. They found that a poor parent-child relationship and low parental support were significantly related to aggression and delinquency among adolescents, regardless of their gender or ethnicity (Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010). The authors also found that adolescent disclosure to their parents was more strongly associated to lower levels of delinquency than it was to aggression (Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010).

In addition to the study by Eichelsheim et al. (2010), disclosure to parents and parental monitoring were shown to have an effect of decreasing adolescent participation in delinquent activities (Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021) and offending (Korol and Stattin, 2021). Similar to the previous studies discussed (Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa, 2009; Eichelsheim *et al.*, 2010), the study by Jaf et al. (2021) found parental factors to affect adolescent delinquency rather than the adolescent's immigration background (Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021). The authors found that adolescent disclosure ($\beta = -0.22$, $p < .001$) and parental control ($\beta = -0.17$, $p < .001$) negatively predicted adolescent delinquency. In addition, delinquent behaviours negatively predicted youth's participation in sports ($\beta = -0.11$, $p = .006$) (Jaf, Özdemir and Bayram Özdemir, 2021). Similarly, the study by Salmi et al. (2015) reported that low parental control could be a factor associated with higher levels of delinquency. The authors found that certain delinquent activities and offending behaviours were more common among immigrant youths than among native adolescents, specifically, violent behaviour and drug use. When investigating what variables could possibly account for these differences, low parental social control and risk routines, such as staying out late and alcohol consumption proved to be most pertinent (Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015).

In their study, Korol and Bevelander (2021) investigated the protective effects of positive parenting on the delinquency and violence of ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents. Results showed that ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents with a perceived influence on family decisions, parental warmth and parental knowledge were less likely to engage in antisocial behaviour in the long term (1 year later) (Korol and Bevelander, 2021). Moreover, it was reported that ethnic harassment was positively associated to delinquency and violence at low levels of parental warmth ($\beta = 0.25$, 95% CI = [0.15, 0.36] and $\beta = 0.32$, 95% CI = [0.18, 0.46], respectively) versus ($\beta = 0.05$, 95% CI = [- 0.07, 17] and $\beta = 0.04$, 95% CI = [- 0.12, 20], respectively) at high levels of parental warmth, low perceived influence in family decision making ($\beta = 0.23$, 95% CI = [0.13, 0.34] and $\beta = 0.32$, 95% CI = [0.18, 0.45] respectively) versus ($\beta = 0.07$, 95% CI = [- 0.04, 17] and $\beta = 0.08$, 95% CI = [- 0.07, 0.23], respectively) at high levels of perceived family influence, and low parental knowledge ($\beta = 0.25$, 95% CI = [0.15, 0.36] and $\beta = 0.37$, 95% CI = [0.24, 0.51], respectively) versus ($\beta = 0.09$, 95% CI = [- 0.01, 0.19] and $\beta = 0.06$, 95% CI = [- 0.08, 0.19], respectively) at high levels of parental involvement. Results also showed that ethnic harassment was positively linked to violence among immigrant youths at low levels of parental solicitation (measured on a scale that assessed parents' inclination to actively seek information about their adolescents' lives) ($\beta = 0.43$, 95% CI = [0.26, 0.60]), but not at high levels ($\beta = 0.06$, 95% CI = [- 0.01, 0.23]) (Korol and Bevelander, 2021). Similarly, in the study by Svensson and Shannon (2020), first- and second-generation immigrant youths were compared to native youths. Results showed that adolescents of immigrant background reported more offences than those with a

native Swedish background, but the differences between first- and second-generation immigrants were marginal ($\beta = 0.06$ vs. $\beta = 0.05$). Instead of migration background, the authors found that attachment to parents and parental monitoring were negatively associated to offending (Svensson and Shannon, 2020).

The study by Lahlah et al (2014) reported that there was a significant effect of ethnicity on committing violent acts between Moroccan-Dutch and native Dutch boys ($F = 23.47$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), where immigrant boys committed a significantly higher number of violent acts. Moreover, Dutch boys reported significantly higher levels of paternal (59.7 , $SD = 13.8$) and maternal (61.0 , $SD = 11.9$) warmth and consistency (3.0 , $SD = 1.0$) paternal, and (3.0 , $SD = 1.0$) maternal) in comparison to Moroccan-Dutch boys' paternal (45.7 , $SD = 18.5$) and maternal (49.5 , $SD = 16.6$) warmth and consistency (2.5 , $SD = 1.1$ paternal, and 2.6 , $SD = 1.0$, maternal). In addition to that, Dutch boys reported significantly lower levels of paternal and maternal rejection in comparison to Moroccan-Dutch boys. The authors found that for both groups of adolescents, lower levels of parental emotional warmth and higher levels of parental rejection were significantly related to violent offending. Moreover, the relationships between almost all parenting variables and violent delinquency were significantly stronger for Moroccan-Dutch boys, than for native Dutch boys (Lahlah et al., 2014).

These results are in line with previous literature (Buehler, 2006; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Titzmann, Raabe and Silbereisen, 2008; Titzmann, Silbereisen and Mesch, 2014; Yang and McLoyd, 2015; Baldwin-White et al., 2017; Dimitrova et al., 2017; Wheeler et al., 2017). The protective nature of parental and familial factors against immigrant adolescent aggression and delinquency can be explained in several ways. To begin with, relationships in which the parents are warm and have strong attachment bonds to their children can help immigrant adolescents establish stronger resilience and help in forming social skills such as self-regulation, conflict management and problem solving (Bush and Peterson, 2013). These skills can in turn, help adolescents to appropriately react to and handle social stressors, such as those linked to their immigrant background or acculturation stress. Moreover, when the parent-child relationship is strong, adolescents can also develop these social skills and coping strategies by looking up to their parents as their role models, which in turn can deter immigrant adolescents from partaking in violent and delinquent behaviour (Korol and Bevelander, 2021). This result is in line with literature outside of Europe. For example, in a study among 101 African-American adolescents conducted by Kliewer et al. (2006), a positive relationship was found between the adolescent's feelings of love and acceptance by their parents and their propensity to use proactive coping mechanisms in response to community violence. Additionally, there was a positive association between the mother's and adolescent's use of aggressive coping strategies in the face of community violence (Kliewer et al., 2006).

In addition to strong parent-child relationships and parental warmth, this systematic review found parental monitoring to also be a protective factor against aggressive behaviour among immigrant adolescents. Parental monitoring might offer support for immigrant adolescents in how to steer their social environment, neutralise undesirable social messages such as ethnic harassment, and flexibly manage the potential risks associated with immigration and acculturation stress (Korol and Bevelander, 2021). Parental monitoring can also offer immigrant youths a support network in times of stress. Research has shown that adolescents with strong relationships with their parents are more likely to seek their parents' advice and opinions in times of need (Ackard *et al.*, 2006).

Other familial factors such as family cohesion and tight bonds have been shown to protect adolescents (immigrant and native) from taking part in delinquent and aggressive activities (Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Mirsky, 2012; Chun and Mobley, 2014; Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017; Wheeler *et al.*, 2017). As shown in the studies in this review by Mood *et al.* (2016, 2017), immigrant adolescents displayed lower rates of externalising behaviours than their native peers. This was attributed to the positive effect of tight family bonds and family cohesion. The authors explained the mental health advantage in immigrant adolescents through familial and parental factors. Immigrant youths in their sample were more likely to live in nuclear families, reported tighter family bonds and family cohesion and had higher levels of parental engagement and monitoring (Mood, Jonsson and Låftman, 2016, 2017). Moreover, the study by Chun and Mobley (2014) interestingly found first-generation immigrant youths to be less susceptible to risk factors, than second-generation and native youths. This finding supports the 'immigrant paradox' where even though first-generation immigrants are more socioeconomically disadvantaged, they show better adaptation than non-immigrants, and that second-generation immigrants show worse adaptation than first-generation immigrants (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017). Moreover, despite having lower SES than their native and second-generation counterparts, first-generation immigrants in the study reported a more positive relationship with their families than native adolescents and a higher sense of school belonging than second-generation adolescents. This finding highlights the importance of tight parent-child bonds and family cohesion as a protective factor against the hardships of migration, such as low SES (Chun and Mobley, 2014). This finding is in line with research conducted outside of Europe. This strong familism was widely studied in the United states among Latino adolescents, where strong family bonds were shown to be a strong protective factor (Schwartz *et al.*, 2005; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Marsiglia, Parsai and Kulis, 2009; Wheeler *et al.*, 2017; Cuevas *et al.*, 2021) and family cohesion has been shown to be a key factor in family level (Barber and Buehler, 1996; Tolan *et al.*, 1997) and individual level (Barber and Buehler, 1996; Marsiglia, Parsai and Kulis, 2009; Mirsky, 2012) functioning.

In summary, this domain showed parental and familial risk factors associated with aggression among immigrants in Europe are similar to those for immigrant youths in a broader geographical area, as presented in Chapter 2. As discussed above, parental warmth, support, and monitoring, tight family bonds, attachment to parents, and family cohesion are associated with lower levels of aggression among immigrant adolescents in Europe. In contrast, weak parental social control and generational conflict are associated with higher levels of aggression and delinquency. Table 3.1 shows a summary of the studies included in the systematic review that considered parental and familial factors.

Table 3.1: Parental / familial risk domain

Authors/year	Sample	Participants	Age	Country	Study design	Comparison	Variables	Relevant outcome measures	Findings
Korol and Bevelander (2021)	The Seven School Study	365 first- and second-generation immigrant adolescents	Mean age 13.93 years	Sweden	Longitudinal		Ethnic harassment, adolescent attachment to parents, parental warmth, influence in family decisions, parental knowledge of adolescent daily activities, parental solicitation	Delinquency, violence	Ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents who received parental warmth and perceived their influence on family decisions and whose parents were aware of their children's daily activities were less likely to engage in delinquency and violence one year later. Immigrant youth whose parents actively sought information about their offspring's lives were less prone to display violence in the face of ethnic harassment.
Jaf, Özdemir and Özdemir (2021)	The Seven School Study	687 immigrant and Swedish adolescents	Mean age 13.931 years	Sweden	Longitudinal	Immigrant and non-immigrant youths	Immigrant status, organized sport participation, sports dropout, disapproval of peer relations, perceived parental monitoring	Youth delinquency	Similar results were observed for both immigrant and native youth. Adolescents who disclose their whereabouts to parents and whose parents practice control are less likely to engage in delinquent behaviors, and, in turn, more likely to engage in organized sports. The findings were similar with respect to sports dropout.
Mood, Jonsson and Läftman (2017)	data were drawn from the first wave (2010 – 2011) of the cross-national, longitudinal survey CILS4EU	18,370 (internalizing) and 15,859 (exter-nalizing) respondents	14 and 15 years , and parents	England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden	Cross-sectional	Immigrant and non-immigrant youths	Gender, age, immigrant background, immigrant generation, origin region, family structure, family relations, parental monitoring, parental school engagement, parental education, parental nonemployment	Internalising and externalizing problems	Adolescents of non-Western background were more likely to live in nuclear families, experienced stronger family cohesion, and had more engaged parents. Immigrant youth showed better mental health (both internalising and externalising problems) than non-immigrant youth. This was largeley attributed due to immigrant youths tight family bonds, low divorce rates, and strong parental support.
Mood, Jonsson and Läftman (2016)	data were drawn from the first wave (2010 – 2011) of the cross-national, longitudinal survey CILS4EU	18,716 respondents	14 and 15 years	England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden	Cross-sectional	Immigrant and non-immigrant youths	Immigrant background, origin region, family structure, family relations, immigrant generation, parental education, parental occupation status and employment.	Internalising and externalizing problems	Particularly strong associations with mental health (internalizing and externalizing problems) were found for family structure, family cohesion, and parental warmth. Overall, half of the advantage in internalizing and externalizing problems among immigrant-background youth could be accounted for by measures of family structure and family relations, with family cohesion being particularly important.
Eichelsheim et al (2009)	Results from two different samples - Study 1 and Study 2.	Study 1: 288 adolescents, Study 2: 306 adolescents	Study 1: 12-17 years, Study 2: 12-15 years	the Netherlands	Cross-sectional	Dutch and Moroccan origin	Ethnicity, negative quality of the parent-adolescent relationship, parental support, adolescent disclosure	Externalizing problem behaviour - delinquency and aggression	Neither in Study 1 nor in Study 2 ethnic or gender differences were found in the patterns of associations between support,autonomy, disclosure, and negativity in the parent-adolescent relationship and aggression and delinquency. The patterns were largely similar for both studies. Mainly negative quality of the relationship in both studies was found to be strongly related to both aggression and delinquency
Melossi, De Giorgi and Massa (2009)	Data collection took place from 4 junior high schools in the metropolitan area of Bologna, Italy.	335 students	13-14 years	Italy	Cross-sectional	Native and immigrant adolescents	Immigrant status, cultural/generational conflict, perception of stigma	Sel-reported delinquency	The results illustrated so far suggest no evidence of a higher frequency or seriousness of deviant behaviors among foreign respondents. The level or seriousness of self-reported delinquency was similar for second-generation immigrants and native Italian adolescents. Delinquency in both Italian and immigrant respondents was strongly correlated to cultural/generational conflict, the perception of stigma, and weak family bonds.
Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen (2015)	Finnish Self-Report Delinquency Study	8914 sixth and ninth grade students	12-13 years and 15-16 years	Finland	Cross-sectional	Native and immigrant youth in Finland	Immigrant status, family socioeconomic factors, social control and routine activities, morality, self control and academic achievement	Delinquency	Several forms of delinquency were more prevalent among immigrants than among native youth. In addition, immigrant youth who commit crimes reported more repeated offences than natives. Multivariate analyses indicate that routine activities and parental control were related to the immigrant youths' higher risk of active delinquency. After adjusting for a range of variables such as morality, SES, school achievement and self-control, the immigrants' higher risk of delinquency decreased, but remained significant.
Lahlah et al (2014)	Data taken from a school survey and a youth probation office survey	364 Dutch (295) and Moroccan Dutch (69) boys in five schools and 113 Dutch (70) and Moroccan Dutch (43) boys from a probation centre participants were recruited among Dutch (N = 70) and Moroccan-Dutch (N = 43) boys in two (regionally operating) youth probation offices	15-18 years	the Netherlands	Cross-sectional	Native Dutch and Moroccan Dutch adolescents	Ethnicity, perceived parenting styles	Violent delinquency	Incidences of violent offending are higher for Moroccan-Dutch boys than for native Dutch boys. Moroccan-Dutch boys reported lower levels of parental emotional warmth and parental consistency, and higher levels of parental rejection and strictness in comparison with their Dutch peers. Within both groups, emotional warmth and rejection is significantly associated to violent offending. The associations of almost all parenting variables and violent delinquency are significantly stronger for Moroccan-Dutch boys than for Dutch boys. Perceived parenting exerts a significant and direct effect on violent offending.

3.5.3 Peer/friend domain

Thirteen studies investigated the association between conduct problems (e.g., delinquency, aggression, bullying, violence) and interpersonal friendships, relationships, and school composition (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Roland, 2009; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Fandrem, Strohmeier and Jonsdottir, 2012; Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Noam *et al.*, 2014; Siegmunt and Lukash, 2019; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020; Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Korol and Stattin, 2021; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021).

In five of the studies (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021), the need for affiliation was related to higher levels of conduct problems amongst immigrant youths. Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel (2012) investigated the differences in bullying and aggressive behaviour between natives and immigrants and investigated the underlying causes of this behaviour in a sample of 302 native Norwegians, 161 first-generation immigrant adolescents living in Norway, 339 native Austrians, and 126 first-generation immigrants living in Austria. Results showed that migration status was associated with higher levels of bullying others in Norway but not in Austria. Despite the differences in the underlying motives of aggression between immigrants and natives, the need for affiliation was a stronger motive for immigrant youths compared with natives in both countries. In Austria, for native youths, reactive aggression ($\beta = 0.61, p < 0.01$) was more strongly associated with aggressive behaviour compared with the need for affiliation ($\beta = 0.39, p < 0.01$). Immigrant youths, however, showed opposing results; the need for affiliation ($\beta = 0.80, p < 0.01$) was more strongly associated with aggressive behaviour compared with reactive aggression ($\beta = 0.27, p < 0.01$). Similar results were shown in Norway: For native youths, both reactive aggression ($\beta = 0.32, p < 0.01$) and the need for affiliation ($\beta = 0.42, p < 0.01$) predicted bullying others, whereas for immigrant youths, the need for affiliation ($\beta = 0.54, p < 0.01$), but not reactive aggression ($\beta = 0.08, p = 0.57$) predicted bullying others (Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012). In another study, using the same Austrian data, Strohmeier *et al.* (2012) investigated the extent to which peer acceptance is an underlying cause of overt aggressive behaviour, and whether it will be more relevant to first-generation ($N=126$), or second-generation ($N=175$) immigrants compared to natives ($N=339$). The findings showed notable differences between first- and second-generation immigrants and natives. For second-generation immigrants, natives and first-generation immigrant girls, reactive aggression was the strongest predictor of overt aggressive behaviour. For first-generation boys, however, the goal to be accepted by friends was the strongest predictor for aggressive behaviour ($\beta = 0.93$), and not

reactive aggression ($\beta=0.11$) (Strohmeier et al., 2012). This result was in line with that found in the study by Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier (2021), where the need for affiliation was the strongest predictor for all forms of aggressive behaviour among first-generation immigrant adolescents. For natives and second-generation immigrants, however the motive behind bullying was power, rather than affiliation related (Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). Similarly, in their comparative study, Fandrem et al. (2009) found that immigrant juveniles reported higher rates of bullying their peers than native juveniles, but the mechanisms behind this behaviour were different between groups. Proactive power-related aggression was strongly associated with bullying behaviour in native Norwegian boys whereas proactive-affiliated aggression was very strongly associated with bullying behaviour in immigrant boys (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Roland, 2009). This result was also replicated in the study by Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe (2020), where the authors found that only reactive and power-related proactive aggression were significantly associated with conduct problems, regardless of immigration status. The need for affiliation was strongly related to emotional problems for immigrant youths whereas reactive aggression was associated with native youths' emotional problems (Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020).

Although status and affiliation are recognised in the literature dealing with adolescents' social goals (Ojanen, Grönroos and Salmivalli, 2005), studies which specifically investigated the effect of affiliation goals on aggressive behaviour are still scarce (Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012), with the majority of them included in this review (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). In summary, the studies showed that the processes and reasons behind bullying and cyber-bullying between immigrant and native adolescents differ, where aggression among native youths was power-related, driven by the need to be dominant and gain status, while aggression among immigrants was driven by a need for affiliation as they aim to establish strong aggressor-aggressor relationships (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). This affiliation-related aggression is used as a tool to aid immigrant adolescents' sense of belonging and acceptance by their peers as an attempt at acculturation. In this context, acculturation can be discussed in light of attachment theory (Bowlby, 1988) and interpersonal relationships, where positive acculturation and healthy connections among adolescents are established through intercultural friendships (Titzmann and Silbereisen, 2009; Stefanek, Strohmeier and van de Schoot, 2015), prosocial behaviours or common achievements and successes (Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). Moreover, and in line with acculturation models (Berry *et al.*, 2006), it was argued that the need for affiliation or acceptance are distinct hardships for immigrant youths who are also acculturating and trying to fit in

(Berry *et al.*, 2006; Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel, 2012). Accordingly, immigrant youths who are exposed to a positive atmosphere where they are able to create and preserve tight bonds to people and places, where they can establish a sense of belonging, are more adjusted and would be better equipped to manage immigration stressors (Juang *et al.*, 2018).

The next sub-domain identified in this systematic review involves peer selection (i.e. friendship networks disapproving of violence vs involvement with violent/aggressive friends) (Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Korol and Stattin, 2021), classroom heterogeneity and neighbourhood characteristics (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Siegmunt and Lukash, 2019). With regards to peer selection, studies in this review have shown that immigrant adolescents were more inclined to engage in violent/aggressive behaviour if their friendship network engaged in violent behaviours (Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Korol and Stattin, 2021), and bullying (Fandrem *et al.*, 2010). In the study by Korol and Stattin (2021), ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents were more likely to be involved with violent peers and display violent behaviour over time. Interestingly, immigrant youth's orientation towards their home culture was not found to raise or buffer the effect of ethnic harassment on their involvement with violent peers (Korol and Stattin, 2021). As discussed previously, in their study, Svensson and Shannon (2020) found that although adolescents of immigrant background reported higher rates of offending, the relationship between immigrant background and offending was weak, and only accounted for 1% of the variance. They found, however, strong associations between having delinquent peers and offending for all three groups of adolescents (first-generation immigrants, second-generation immigrants, and natives), though the size of the coefficient varied ($\beta = 0.61$ for natives, $\beta = 0.75$ for second-generation, and $\beta = 0.83$ for first-generation immigrant youths). This result implies that the effect of delinquent friends is stronger for immigrant youths than it is for natives (Svensson and Shannon, 2020). Moreover, the study by Fandrem *et al.* (2010) aimed to investigate the differences between immigrant and Norwegian adolescents with regards to bullying others. The study also investigated the differences in peer group memberships between the immigrant and native youths. Nearly all immigrant boys in the sample were identified as bullies, and further analysis has shown that immigrant boys were bullying together in groups, whereas Norwegian girls, for example, were bullying alone. This, again, emphasises the effect of affiliation with violent peers on immigrant boys, causing them to be over-represented in the bullying group of the study (Fandrem *et al.*, 2010).

Not all studies however, agreed that immigrant youths are more likely to choose delinquent peers. A study by Svensson *et al.* (2012) showed that there was no difference in the prevalence or processes behind delinquency between immigrant and native adolescents. The study showed that both immigrant and native adolescents selected their friends based on their migration status and

similar levels of delinquency, and that immigrant youths were not more likely to choose delinquent friends than native youths. The study found that all adolescents were more likely to adopt the delinquent behaviours of their friends, but when testing whether immigrant adolescents were more likely than native adolescents to adopt the delinquent behaviours, the interaction was nonsignificant, suggesting that immigrant youths were not more likely to be affected by their peers' delinquent behaviours than their Swedish counterparts. Finally, the study investigated whether immigrant youths were more likely to select delinquent friends if they were in a majority immigrant school, but the results were also nonsignificant, suggesting that immigrant adolescents were not more prone to choosing a delinquent friend in majority immigrant schools than in minority immigrant schools (Svensson et al., 2012). Interestingly, the study by Siegmunt and Lukash (2019) found that higher classroom heterogeneity increased the likelihood of adolescents committing offences (mostly graffiti, group fighting robbery, bicycle, car/motorbike and personal theft) regardless of their immigration background (Siegmunt and Lukash, 2019). Moreover, in their study, Rabold and Baier (2011) conducted a survey among all ninth-graders in Hanover Germany. The sample was comprised of different ethnicities, and the study aimed to explore the effect of an adolescent's friendship network's ethnic composition on violent behaviour in general, and on ethnic differences in violent behaviour in particular (Rabold and Baier, 2011). To begin with, the authors found considerable differences between immigrant and native German adolescents with regards to their ethnic network composition, where the majority of immigrant adolescents' friendship networks consisted of same-ethnicity peers (Rabold and Baier, 2011). Similar to the results provided by Svensson et al. (2012), the study by Rabold and Baier (2011) showed that immigrant adolescents displayed more violent behaviours than their native counterparts. Immigrant adolescents in the sample, however, lived in more disadvantaged areas and experienced more parental and general violence in their daily life. After controlling for network characteristics and introducing the proportion of German friends in the immigrant adolescent's life, ethnic differences in violent behaviour were no longer significant (Rabold and Baier, 2011).

As discussed above, the association between having delinquent friends and offending/taking part in delinquent behaviour was strong as portrayed by several studies in this review (Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Korol and Stattin, 2021). Three of the four studies, however, showed that immigrant adolescents were more likely to adopt the delinquent habits and behaviours of their peers than native youths (Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Korol and Stattin, 2021). This can be due to children with an immigrant background having to depend on "alternative learning environments," such as their friendship network, since their parents may have lower levels of assumed cultural knowledge as compared to their native peers (Svensson and Shannon,

2020). The result found in this review is consistent with the work of Waters (1999), who has argued that the friendship network potentially has a stronger effect on the behaviour of adolescents with an immigration background than that of their native peers (Waters, 1999). As shown in the study by Rabold and Baier (2011), increasing the proportion of native friends in an adolescent's network is associated with lower levels of delinquent behaviour. This can be explained as native youths displayed lower rates of violence approval, which in turn would have an impact on an individual's own acceptance of violent norms (Rabold and Baier, 2011).

With regards to classroom / school heterogeneity, Siegmunt and Lukash (2019) found that higher classroom heterogeneity increased the likelihood of adolescents taking part in delinquent behaviour, regardless of their immigrant background. This result was explained not by the diversity of ethnic groups, but the diversity in cultural norms (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Siegmunt and Lukash, 2019). Furthermore, this finding is in line with previous literature not included in this systematic review (Walsh *et al.*, 2015; Boggess, 2016). In a recent study among 51,636 European countries and the United States, the role of friend and classmate support on the relationship between immigrant school composition and peer violence was investigated (Walsh *et al.*, 2015). It was found that a higher percentage of immigrant adolescents in a school was associated to higher levels of physical fighting and bullying for both immigrant and non-immigrant students and lower levels of victimization for immigrants (Walsh *et al.*, 2015). This finding is supported by other studies outside of Europe, for example, the result presented by Boggess (2016) which investigated the relationship between levels of serious offending among adolescents in schools, and the racial / ethnic changes in the school and community. The study showed that there was a relationship between racial / ethnic composition in schools and juvenile delinquency. This result can be explained as higher levels of ethnic and racial diversity can interfere with the adolescent's ability to form attachments with other ethnic groups than their own, and form strong social bonds (Boggess, 2016; Siegmunt and Lukash, 2019).

The third sub-domain explored in this review was friend and classmate support. Two studies considered the effect of friend (Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020) and classmate (Noam *et al.*, 2014) support on juvenile delinquency. Similar to the study by Korol and Stattin (2021), the study by Korol *et al.* (2020) showed ethnically harassed immigrant youths were significantly more likely to be involved in delinquent and violent behaviour ($\beta = 0.23$, 95% CI = [0.05, 0.41]). Results also showed that friend support acted as a buffer against the negative effect of ethnic harassment on externalising problems among immigrant adolescents. It was found that friend support significantly moderated the association between adolescents' experience of ethnic harassment and their engagement in delinquent behaviours, $\beta = -0.08$, 95% CI = [-0.05, -0.01]. In addition to that, it was also shown that ethnic harassment positively predicted involvement in delinquent behaviours at low levels of friend

support, $\beta = 0.26$, 95% CI = [0.08, 0.45], but not at high levels of friend support, $\beta = 0.16$, 95% CI = [-0.04, 0.36], and was positively linked to violent behaviours at low levels of friend support, $\beta = 0.28$, 95% CI = [0.08, 0.48], but did not predict violent behaviours at high levels of friend support, $\beta = -0.17$, 95% CI = [-0.73, -0.23] (Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020). Similarly, the study by Noam et al. (2014) showed that immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents did not differ in conduct or comorbid problems, and that high levels of school stress, or low classmate support could better explain higher levels of conduct problems among adolescents regardless of immigration status (Noam *et al.*, 2014).

Research exploring the effect of friend and classmate support on immigrant adolescents is scarce, but the results presented in this review are supported in literature not included in this systematic review (Brody *et al.*, 2006; Walsh, Harel-Fisch and Fogel-Grinvald, 2010; Walsh *et al.*, 2015). For example, a study by Walsh et al. (2010) examined factors affecting mental health outcomes among a sample of 3499 Israeli-born and 434 immigrant adolescents aged 11, 13 and 15 years. Results showed that for native Israeli adolescents, relationships with parents, teachers and peers had a significant effect on mental health outcomes and risk behaviours. On the other hand, for immigrant youths, the strongest predictor of mental health problems and risk behaviours was their school environment, namely teacher and friend support (Walsh, Harel-Fisch and Fogel-Grinvald, 2010). Furthermore, in their comparative study across 11 countries, Walsh et al. (2015) found that for immigrant youths, there was a stronger negative association between immigrant school composition and fighting / bullying victimisation in schools with low classmate support as opposed to schools with high classmate support (Walsh et al., 2015). Moreover, this result was also supported in a study exploring links between perceived racial discrimination and later conduct problems among African American adolescents in the United States. The authors found that adolescents who received higher levels of friend support displayed lower rates of conduct problems over time (Brody et al., 2006).

The positive effect of friend support on the mental health of adolescents and their better social adjustment has been researched extensively (Demir and Urberg, 2004; Walsh, Harel-Fisch and Fogel-Grinvald, 2010; Noam et al., 2014; Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020). In contrast, so has the negative effect low friend support can have on adolescents, such as depression and anxiety (Wit et al., 2011; Noam et al., 2014). This effect of friend support on the psychosocial wellbeing of immigrant adolescents, including their propensity to partake in problem behaviour, can have several explanations. First, having a friend can offer immigrant adolescents a coping mechanism to help deal with issues such as acculturation stress and negative emotional states (Noam *et al.*, 2014; Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020). As such, friend support might ease the process of acculturation for immigrant youths, and safeguard them from using defective coping strategies, such as delinquency and antisocial behaviours. Second, by receiving high levels of friend support, immigrant youths will

develop a sense of belonging and affiliation, which can alleviate feelings of social exclusion and in turn, build better resilience, encourage positive coping mechanisms, and make them less likely to take part in delinquent and antisocial behaviour (Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020).

In summary, this domain showed that peer and friend risk factors associated with aggression among immigrant adolescents in Europe are similar to those for immigrant youths in a broader geographical area, as presented in Chapter 2. In line with literature presented in Chapter 2, aggression for immigrant adolescents was found to be driven by a need for affiliation. Moreover, studies in this review reported that higher levels of classroom heterogeneity were linked to higher levels of aggressive behaviours among adolescents, regardless of their immigrant background. Finally, this subsection showed that low friend support was associated with higher levels of aggression, while higher levels of friend support acted as a protective factor against adolescent aggression and conduct problems regardless of immigration background. Table 3.2 shows a summary of the studies included in the systematic review that considered peer and friend factors.

Table 3.2: Friend / peer risk domain

Authors/year	Sample	Participants	Age	Country	Study design	Comparison	Variables	Relevant outcome measures	Findings
Korol and Stattin (2021)	The Seven School Study	365 first- and second-generation immigrant adolescents	Mean age 13.93 years	Sweden	Longitudinal		Ethnic harassment, affiliation with violent peers, orientation toward the mainstream culture, immigrant crowd affiliation at school	Violent behaviour	Identification with an immigrant peer crowd at school made ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents more inclined to associate with violent peers and, in turn, engage in violent behaviours over time. Immigrant youth's orientation toward the mainstream culture was not found to elevate or buffer the effect of ethnic harassment on youth's affiliation with violent peers. Yet, ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents were shown to be more prone to violent behaviours over time when they were less orientated toward Swedish culture.
Korol, Özdemir, and Stattin (2020)	The Seven School Study	365 first- and second-generation immigrant adolescents	Mean age 13.93 years	Sweden	Longitudinal		Ethnic harassment, friend support	Delinquent and violent behaviour	Ethnic harassment was negatively correlated with friend support and positively associated with adolescents' involvement in delinquent and violent behaviour in the short-term. Friend support was also negatively linked to both delinquent and violent behaviour. Although ethnic harassment did not elevate the risk of immigrant youth's involvement in violent behaviours longitudinally, it functioned as a risk factor for their engagement in delinquent conduct over time
Svensson and Shannon (2020)	Four cross-sectional nationally representative school surveys of year nine youth	21,504 adolescents	Average age of 15 years	Sweden	Cross-sectional	First and second generation immigrants and native Swedish adolescents	Immigrant background, attachment to parents, parental monitoring, school bonds, delinquent friends, social background	Self-reported offending	Offending is significantly more common among immigrant youth than among native youth, but differences between first- and second-generation immigrants were marginal. There were no significant differences between the groups in relation to family and school factors, but youths with a native Swedish background seem to be significantly less controlled by their parents and to have significantly weaker bonds to school than the two immigrant groups. The association between delinquent friends and offending is stronger for both first- and second-generation immigrants than for natives.
Strohmeier, Fandrem and Spiel (2012)	In Austria, data were collected in grade 9 classes of ten different schools and 49 classes located in the capital city of Austria, Vienna. In Norway, a sub-sample of a national representative study conducted in secondary schools (grade 8, 9 and 10) was used.	302 non-immigrant Norwegians, 161 first generation immigrant adolescents living in Norway, 339 non-immigrant Austrians, and 126 first generation immigrants living in Austria.	14-16 years	Austria and Norway	Cross-sectional	Immigrant and native youth in Austria and Norway	Immigrant status, affiliation / acceptance by others	Aggressive behaviour/bullying others, reactive aggression	Immigrant status was associated with higher levels of bullying others in Norway. In Austria, no differences regarding aggressive behaviour were found. Underlying motives of aggressive behaviour and bullying others are different between non-immigrant and immigrant youth in both countries. With regards to reactive aggression, the association with aggressive behaviour/bullying others was stronger among non-immigrants compared to immigrants. In both Austria and Norway, the analyses revealed that the need for affiliation or acceptance was a stronger motive for immigrant youth compared with natives.
Svensson et al (2012)	The Seven School Study	1,169 immigrant and non-immigrant youth	12-16 years	Sweden	Cross-sectional	Immigrant and non-immigrant youths	Immigrant status, school composition, peer selection, social influence	Delinquency	Immigrants do not differ from non-immigrants on either the prevalence or the processes behind delinquency. Peer selection and social influence operated in a complementary manner to explain this similarity. The processes did not differ between immigrants and non-immigrants or between school contexts.
Strohmeier et al (2012)	Data were collected in grade 9 classes of ten different schools and 49 classes located in the capital city of Austria, Vienna.	339 native Austrians, 126 first generation immigrants, and 175 second generation immigrants	14-19 (M = 15.61)	Austria	Cross-sectional	First- and second-generation immigrants and natives	Immigrant status, acceptance by friends as a goal, reactive overt aggression	Overt aggressive behaviour	The goal to be accepted by friends was a stronger predictor than reactive aggression for overt aggressive behaviour in first-generation immigrants compared with second-generation immigrants and natives. Gender moderated these associations. The goal to be accepted by friends was a very strong predictor of overt aggressive behaviour in first generation immigrant boys, but not in first generation immigrant girls.
Rabold and Baier (2011)	Data were taken from a survey conducted among all schools in Hanover in 2006	1,967 students	Mean age 15 years	Germany	Cross-sectional	Students of german and different immigrant backgrounds	Migration background, friendship network composition, acceptance/denial of violent norms, violence disapproval in friendship network/clique, parental violence, social status, social disorganisation	Violent behaviour	With regard to violent behaviour, non-German juveniles showed violent behaviour more frequently than their German counterparts. However, after controlling for network characteristics, ethnic differences in violent behaviour disappeared. Furthermore, the results show that the friendship network's ethnic composition also depends on community characteristics.
Fandrem et al (2010)	Survey at a secondary school in Norway	156 adolescents (59 first- and second-generation immigrants, 97 native Norwegian)	13-15 years	Norway	Cross-sectional	Native Norwegian and immigrant youth	Immigrant status, group affiliation, ethnic vs. native peer contact	Bullying others	Immigrant boys were less often identified as non-bullies but more often identified as bullies while immigrant girls were more often identified as non-bullies but less often identified as bullies. In addition, immigrant boys were overrepresented in bullying groups and immigrant girls were overrepresented in zero bullying groups. Furthermore, more immigrant boys than one would expect were bullying together with others, and more Norwegian girls that one would expect were bullying alone.
Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe (2020)		1759 adolescents : 862 immigrant , 897 native	10-15 years	Norway	Cross-sectional	Immigrant and non-immigrant youths	Immigrant status, reactive aggression, power related proactive aggression, affiliation related proactive aggression	Conduct and emotional problems	Only reactive and power-related proactive aggression were significantly associated with conduct problems, similarly for immigrant and non-immigrant children. The effects of reactive and power-related proactive aggression on emotional problems were stronger for non-immigrant adolescents, while the effects of affiliation-related proactive aggression were stronger for immigrant adolescents.
Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier (2021)	Data collection took place in Paphos, participants selected from six schools.	507 native Greek-Cypriots, 149 first-generation immigrants and 93 second-generation immigrants	15-19 years	Cyprus	Cross-sectional	Native, first-, and second-generation immigrant adolescents.	Immigrant background, power, anger and affiliation aggression motives	Bullying, cyber-bullying, physical, verbal and relational aggression	The need for affiliation motive was the strongest predictor for all forms of aggressive behaviour among first-generation immigrant adolescents. On the other hand, non-immigrant youth cyber-bully their peers mainly because they want to be powerful. Anger was not found to be an underlying motive to cyber-bully others in any of the groups. It was, however, an important motive for physical or verbal aggression among non-immigrant youth.
Siegmunt and Lukash (2019)	ISR3*	4,158 seventh, eighth and ninth grade students in Switzerland	12-16 years	Switzerland	Cross-sectional	First and second generation immigrants and native Swiss adolescents	Immigration background, classroom heterogeneity	Delinquency: Violent, property and minor offences	Swiss youth with an immigrant background have a higher prevalence of delinquency. Juveniles are more likely to commit offenses when they attend school classes with higher heterogeneity, regardless of the nature of the heterogeneity (i.e., mixture of natives, first-generation immigrants, or second-generation immigrants). The heterogeneity of school classes relates significantly to involvement in graffiti, vandalism, shoplifting, group fight, robbery, burglary, bicycle theft, vehicle theft, and personal theft.
Noam et al (2014)	The Youth, Culture, and Competence study of the Norwegian Institute of Public Health	2248 immigrant and native Norwegian students	Eighth grade students	Norway	Cross-sectional	Immigrant and native students	Immigrant status, ongoing school hassle, perceived school stress and classmate support	Conduct problems	There are more similarities than there are differences between immigrant and non-immigrant youth. Both immigrant and non-immigrant boys and girls did not differ in conduct problems or comorbid problems. Perceived school stress and classmate support were found to be associated with emotional, conduct, and comorbid problems for all youth, regardless of immigrant status.
Fandrem et al (2009)	Surveys conducted in 26 secondary schools in 22 municipalities in Norway.	3,127 adolescents, 2938 native Norwegian and 189 immigrants)	13-15 years	Norway	Cross-sectional	Native Norwegian and immigrant youth	Immigrant status, gender	Bullying others, reactive and proactive aggressiveness	Immigrant adolescents bully their peers more often compared with their native Norwegian counterparts. The underlying mechanisms of bullying others are different between native Norwegian and immigrant boys. Proactive power-related aggressiveness is strongly related with bullying behaviour in native Norwegian boys but not in immigrant boys. Proactive-affiliated aggressiveness is very strongly related with bullying behaviour in immigrant boys but only weakly related in native Norwegian boys. This indicates that the wish for affiliation is an important mechanism of bullying others in immigrant boys.

3.5.4 Acculturation domain

The effect of acculturation on delinquency and violence was explored in five studies (Borraccino *et al.*, 2018; Miconi *et al.*, 2018; Lee, 2019; Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019; van der Gaag, 2019) and was touched upon in the previously discussed study by Korol and Stattin (2021). Findings indicated that separated youths exhibited a higher level of externalising problems and violent / delinquent behaviour than more accultured youths (Borraccino *et al.*, 2018; Miconi *et al.*, 2018). On the other hand, the studies by van der Gaag and Lee (2019; 2019) reported that acculturation (Lee, 2019) and cultural alignment (van der Gaag, 2019) on their own did not explain the difference in delinquent behaviour between native and immigrant adolescents. The fifth study, by Özdemir *et al.* (2019) reported that although separated youths were the most likely to engage in violent behaviours, integration did not have an effect on youth's engagement in violent behaviour (Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019).

The study by Miconi *et al.* (2018) investigated the effect of cultural orientation preferences (integration, assimilation, separation) and impulse control on externalising problems. In addition to that, the authors explored the moderating effect of these factors on the relationship between discrimination and externalising problems among immigrant (Romanian-origin and Moroccan-origin) youths living in Italy (Miconi *et al.*, 2018). Results showed that for separated adolescents, there was a positive and significant relationship between discrimination and externalising problems when impulse control levels were low ($\beta = 2.04$, $SE = 0.72$, $p = 0.006$), but not when impulse control levels were high ($\beta = 0.15$, $SE = 0.68$, $p = 0.119$). In contrast, for assimilated adolescents, the relationship between discrimination and externalising problems was significant at high levels of impulse control ($\beta = 3.18$, $SE = 1.38$, $p = 0.026$), but not at low levels ($\beta = 1.93$, $SE = 1.21$, $p = 0.119$). Interestingly, among integrated youths, impulse control did not moderate the relationship between discrimination and impulse problems either at high ($\beta = 2.48$, $SE = 19.48$, $p = 0.903$) or low ($\beta = 16.65$, $SE = 10.52$, $p = 0.148$) levels (Miconi *et al.*, 2018). The study by Özdemir *et al.* (2019) followed a similar theme and aimed to explore the risk factors behind violence committed by ethnically harassed adolescents. The authors found a significant relationship between being ethnically harassed and increased engagement in violent behaviour over time ($\beta = 0.25$, $p < .001$) after controlling for gender, SES, personal harassment, and violent behaviours. They also found that there was no significant relationship between personal (rather than ethnic) harassment and increased engagement in violent behaviour over time ($\beta = 0.01$, $p = 0.87$) (Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019). The authors also found that separated youths were more likely to engage in violent behaviour over time ($\beta = 0.10$, $p < 0.05$), while having an integrated identity, or impulsive personality traits did not have a significant main effect on youths' engagement

in violent behaviour (Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019). The lack of effect of impulsive personality traits on the relationship between ethnic harassment and violent behaviour is concurrent with the result presented by Miconi *et al.* (2018) with regards to integrated youths, but not separated youths (Miconi *et al.*, 2018; Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019). The study by Borraccino *et al.* (2018) showed that externalising problems, such as bullying and school fights were more common in first-generation immigrants, and decreased for second-generation immigrants, independent of ethnic background, and this decrease in risk was attributed by the authors to increased acculturation and integration into the host country (Borraccino *et al.*, 2018).

Similarly, the study by Lee (2019) showed that integrated adolescents exhibited lower levels of delinquency when compared with assimilated students. However, when control variables were added to the model, the effect of the integrated identity lost significance. The author found that leisure time activities were negatively associated with higher levels of delinquency while subjective material deprivation was associated with higher levels of delinquency. Moreover, adolescents who did not live with either of their biological parents, or whose parents were divorced were more likely to exhibit delinquent behaviour (Lee, 2019). This result is partially concurrent with that found by van der Gaag (2019), in which the author explored whether cultural alignment mediated differences in offending between native adolescents and adolescents from different migration backgrounds (Western, Post-communist, Asian and Middle Eastern). It was found that the Western group, with the highest degree of cultural alignment had the highest level of offending, compared to the other backgrounds. Moreover, mediation analysis showed that structural disadvantage (low SES, neighbourhood disorganisation and school disorganisation, exposure to risks of delinquent development) and cultural alignment failed to explain the differences in offending between the Western group and the other groups (Post-communist, Asian and Middle Eastern). On the other hand, structural disadvantage appeared to fully explain the differences in offending compared to natives rather than their cultural alignment or migration background. Finally, for Asian and Post-Communist students, cultural alignment explained these differences to a degree, but structural disadvantage accounted for the majority of these differences in offending (van der Gaag, 2019).

The mixed results for the effect of acculturation on youths delinquency / violence in this review are in line with other literature on acculturation and youths delinquency / violence (Wong, 1999; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017; Toro and Nieri, 2018; Fenimore, Perez and Jennings, 2019; Klein *et al.*, 2020; Cuevas *et al.*, 2021). For the studies in this review, the mixed results that acculturation by itself was not sufficient to be a protective factor against adolescent aggression can be explained since it is important to remember that an adolescent is affected by their family/friends and school (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Accordingly, it is important to take into

consideration the level of acculturation and adaptation the family has, and their attitudes toward the adolescent's acculturation (Soriano *et al.*, 2004). Differences in the acculturation levels of parents and children, or an acculturation gap, have been associated with higher rates of parent–child conflict and maladjusted adolescent development, such as depression, delinquent behaviour, and the use of serious violence by immigrant adolescents (Telzer, 2010; Schwartz *et al.*, 2013) – see review in Chapter 2. The acculturation gap between parents and adolescents has not been discussed in the studies in this review, but parental and familial factors that were discussed in the previous section, such as low family cohesion / high parent-child conflict, can possibly be an effect of such an acculturation gap.

In summary, this domain showed that findings regarding the influence of acculturation on aggression and violent behaviour on immigrant youth aggression in Europe is similar to that for immigrant youths in a broader geographical area, as presented in Chapter 2. Studies in this review showed a mixed result on the effect of acculturation on youth aggression, where while separated youths were found to show higher levels of aggression, integration did not have a significant effect. Table 3.3 shows a summary of the studies included in the systematic review that considered acculturation factors.

Table 3.3: Acculturation risk domain

van der Gaag (2019)	ISRD3*	17,604 students	12-16 years	Austria, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland	Cross-sectional	Native students and students with a migrant background	Migrant status/cultural background, cultural alignment, structural influences	Delinquent behaviour: lifetime serious offending	Apart from the Asian group, significantly higher prevalence rates of serious lifetime offending were found across all migrant groups compared with native-born students. The Western group with the highest levels of cultural alignment had the highest offending rates. For the Middle Eastern group, structural disadvantage fully explained differences in offending with native students, also when accounting for cultural alignment. For Asian and Post-Communist students, structural disadvantage mediated the largest part of the difference in offending with natives, but cultural alignment for these groups also explained part of this difference.
Miconi et al (2018)	Participants were recruited in the north-eastern region of Italy and were part of a larger study of national and immigrant early adolescents' socioemotional	126 Moroccan and 126 Romanian youths	11-13 years	Italy	Cross-sectional	Moroccan and Romanian adolescents	Perceived discrimination, cultural orientation, impulse control	Externalising problems	When facing discrimination, youths who endorsed separation and exhibited low levels of impulse control were more vulnerable to externalizing problems. In contrast, among assimilated adolescents the discrimination-externalizing difficulties link was significant at high levels of impulse control. Low levels of impulse control were associated with more externalizing problems for Romanian, but not for Moroccan early adolescents.
Özdemir, Özdemir, and Stattin (2020)	The Seven School Study	365 first- and second-generation immigrant adolescents	Mean age 13.93 years	Sweden	Longitudinal		Ethnic harassment, impulsive personality traits, ethnic identity, school ethnic composition	Violent behaviour	The more youth were ethnically harassed, the more they engaged in violent behaviour over time. Ethnically harassed separated youth who have a strong ethnic identity and do not identify themselves with mainstream society were significantly more likely to engage violent behaviours. Impulsivity and school ethnic composition did not act as moderators.
Lee (2020)	CILS4EU**	6,073 students of immigrant background	15-16 years	England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden	Cross-sectional		Migration background, identity	Delinquent behaviour	While the ethnic identity of students with non-European backgrounds was negatively associated with delinquent behavior, separated students of European background reported higher delinquency compared with their assimilated counterparts. Adolescents with a non-European background were more likely to report delinquent behaviour when they were assimilated. Among separated European migrant students, a positive net association is observed between strong ethnic identity and delinquency. Compared with their assimilated peers, holding onto a strong minority identity is linked with higher delinquent behaviour.
Borraccino et al (2018)	Italian 2013/2014 Health Behaviour in School-aged Children study	47,399 adolescents	11, 13 and 15 years	Italy	Cross-sectional	Adolescents of different immigration backgrounds and ethnicities	Immigration status, ethnic background, SES	Externalising behaviours (bullying and physical fights)	The risk of reporting bullying behaviours and physical fights was higher in first-generation immigrants and decreased in the second generation, independent of ethnic background.

3.5.5 Individual factors (patriarchy and SES) domain

Three studies considered gender role orientations (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013) and social economic status SES (Duinhof *et al.*, 2020). Studies in this review found traditional gender role orientations and norms of masculinity to be related to higher levels of immigrant youths offending and delinquency (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). In their study, Lahlah *et al.* (2013) found that higher levels of serious offending were significantly related to traditional gender role orientations. Results showed that for the Moroccan-Dutch group, the prevalence rates of violent offending were two to nine times higher than for the native Dutch group. The authors also found significant differences in gender role orientations and stereotypes between the immigrant and native groups, with the Moroccan Dutch boys holding more traditional family roles and gender stereotypes. Analyses showed that both lower SES and an immigrant ethnic status were associated with holding more conventional gender role orientations. Subsequent analysis showed that a lower SES, an immigrant ethnic background, and traditional gender role orientations were significantly associated with higher rates of violent offending. This shows that Moroccan Dutch boys from lower SES backgrounds and more traditional gender role orientations had significantly higher rates of violent offending (Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). This result was also presented in the study by Rabold and Baier (2011), where the higher the level of masculinity norms, and the lower the level of violence disapproval in an adolescent's network, the higher the risk of engaging in violent behaviour (Rabold and Baier, 2011). This relationship between higher rates of masculinity / gender role orientations and higher levels of delinquency and aggression has been shown in previous literature among immigrant adolescents outside Europe (Pleck and O'Donnell, 2001; Kulis, Marsiglia and Nagoshi, 2010; Cuevas *et al.*, 2021). As discussed above, adolescence is a sensitive period where an individual is seeking a sense of self and identity. Adolescents have been shown to use violence and impulsivity as mechanisms to develop their confidence and identity (Brown and Mann, 1991), which as shown in this review can be reinforced by peer pressure and seeking friend approval. Research has shown such approval among adolescent males through 'macho' and sexist behaviour (Kilmartin *et al.*, 2008). Such a mechanism can be more prominent within immigrant youths, who have to deal with this ordeal of identity formation while navigating their own cultural patriarchy and expectations of masculinity, in addition to the challenges of migration such economic hardship, prejudice, social exclusion and experience of cultural threat (Go and Le, 2005; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013).

In terms of social economic status (SES), in their study, Duinhof *et al.* (2020) found that a low SES and family affluence cannot always fully account for the higher delinquency levels among immigrant youths. Despite non-Western immigrant adolescents appearing to be at a higher risk of and

reporting higher levels of conduct problems than non-immigrant Dutch adolescents, the relationship between immigrant background and adolescent conduct problems was independent of SES and education level. The study found that SES only had a relationship with conduct problems among native youths, and not among non-Western immigrant youths (Duinhof *et al.*, 2020). The result that immigration background, through family affluence, has an indirect effect on youth's internalizing and social problems, but not on their externalizing problems is consistent with previous literature not included in this systematic review (Stevens *et al.*, 2015).

In summary, patriarchal ideologies and traditional gender role orientations were found to be associated with higher levels of immigrant youth offending and aggression (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). These findings are in line with previous literature outside of Europe and presented in Chapter 2. As mentioned above, different to the risk domain in Chapter 2, social cognition and moral neutralisation of aggression were not included in the studies included in this systematic review. With regards to SES, findings showed that a low SES on its own does not account for differences in aggression between immigrant and native youths (Duinhof *et al.*, 2020). Table 3.4 shows a summary of the studies included in the systematic review that considered individual-level factors, namely patriarchy and SES.

Table 3.4: Individual factors domain

Authors/year	Sample	Participants	Age	Country	Study design	Comparison	Variables	Relevant outcome measures	Findings
Lahlah <i>et al.</i> (2013)	Data taken from a school survey and a youth probation office survey	364 Dutch (295) and Moroccan Dutch (69) boys in five schools and 113 Dutch (70) and Moroccan Dutch (43) boys from a probation centre	15-18 years	Netherlands	Cross-sectional	Native Dutch and Moroccan Dutch adolescents	Ethnicity, gender role orientations, social structural factors, social desirability	Violent delinquency	Ethnic minority background is associated with higher prevalence rates in serious violent offending; the prevalence of violent offending is about two to nine times higher for Moroccan Dutch boys compared to Dutch boys. Significant differences in gender role orientations between the two ethnic groups are found, with Moroccan Dutch boys having more conventionally defined family roles and stereotypes compared to their Dutch peers. Direct examination of the effects of ethnicity on serious violent offending demonstrated the influential role of gender role orientations in the prevalence rates of serious violent offending. Specifically, lower class boys and Moroccan-Dutch boys reported more conventional gender role attitudes than their counterparts.
Duinhof <i>et al.</i> (2020)	Data from the 2017 Dutch Health Behavior in School-aged Children (HBSC) study were used	5283 native Dutch adolescents and 1054 non-Western immigrants	11-16 years	the Netherlands	Cross-sectional	Native Dutch and non-western immigrants	Immigrant background, family affluence, education level	Conduct problems, peer relationship problems	Non-western immigrant adolescents were at a higher risk for conduct problems and peer relationship problems than native Dutch adolescents, but family affluence and educational level explained only a very small proportion of these differences. With two exceptions, differences in the mental health problems of non-western immigrants and natives were highly comparable for different family affluence levels, educational levels, and for boys and girls. Only for natives, a higher family SES was related to less conduct problems.
Rabold and Baier (2011)	Data were taken from a survey conducted among all schools in Hanover in 2006	1,967 students	Mean age 15 years	Germany	Cross-sectional	Students of German and different immigrant backgrounds	Migration background, friendship network composition, acceptance/denial of violent norms, violence disapproval in friendship network/clique, parental violence, social status, social disorganisation	Violent behaviour	With regard to violent behaviour, non-German juveniles showed violent behaviour more frequently than their German counterparts. However, after controlling for network characteristics, ethnic differences in violent behaviour disappeared. Furthermore, the results show that the friendship network's ethnic composition also depends on community characteristics.

3.5.6 Migration process and experience

Five studies aimed to portray and explain other patterns and risk factors of aggression between immigrant and native youths (Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010; Thommessen *et al* (2012); Chun and Mobley, 2014; Paalman *et al.*, 2015; Killias and Lukash, 2020). The studies discussed the harmful process of migration itself (Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010; Thommessen *et al* (2012); Killias and Lukash, 2020), the differences in associations between internalising and externalising problems for native and immigrant youths (Paalman *et al.*, 2015), and the effect of generational status (Chun and Mobley, 2014).

The study by Killias and Lukash (2020) showed that migration itself, rather than migrants is the 'problem', and that the process of migration could be a risk factor for delinquency. The study had a sample of adolescents from, and living in, four ex-Yugoslavian countries and native Swiss and immigrant (ex-Yugoslavian and other backgrounds) adolescents living in Switzerland. Results showed that native Swiss adolescents had lower delinquency rates than immigrant adolescents, but those from and living in the ex-Yugoslav countries had extremely low rates of delinquency too. This suggests that the process of migration itself, rather than ethnic background, is a risk factor for delinquent behaviour. A similar pattern on the potentially harmful effect of migration was observed with regards to parental physical punishment; physical abuse and maltreatment was more common among immigrant parents than parents born in Switzerland, or among parents living in ex-Yugoslavia. Adolescents with higher levels of parental maltreatment and punishment were found to have more contact with delinquent peers and hence partake in more delinquent behaviour (Killias and Lukash, 2020). The increased rates of parental maltreatment and physical punishment were attributed to migration, where parents would find difficulty bringing up their children in a positive way in a new country, and without the support of their extended family during difficult times (Killias and Lukash, 2020). Furthermore, the authors found that children born in Switzerland (the host country) or who had at least one Swiss-born parent exhibited lower rates of delinquency and parental physical abuse. This supports the idea that the family history of migration is a risk factor to youth delinquency, and that gradual integration, through birth in the host country and the origin of at least one parent, greatly alleviates challenges linked to migration (Killias and Lukash, 2020). In addition to that, the study conducted by Thommessen *et al* (2013) explored the prevalence of emotional and behavioural problems in unaccompanied refugee male adolescents living in Italy. Findings indicated that refugee adolescents reported a significantly higher level of problems than their Italian peers on all accounts investigated. Such problems can be due to the pre-, during-, and post-migration experiences faced by

unaccompanied refugee adolescents, such as barriers in language and access to social care, separation from their families and difficulties in adaptation (Thommessen *et al.*, 2013).

Consistent with the above-mentioned studies on peer relations (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Jonsdottir, 2012; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Korol and Stattin, 2021), Killias and Lukash (2020) found that having delinquent peers was positively associated with higher delinquency rates across all sub-samples (Killias and Lukash, 2020). This result is also consistent with that of Killias *et al.* (2010), where self-reported delinquency was compared among adolescents who were grouped as 'Swiss', 'migrants – from the Balkan region', 'migrants – from all other regions' and 'juveniles living in Bosnia and Herzegovina'. Adolescents from the 'migrants from the Balkan region' group reported significantly higher levels of delinquency compared to native and other migrant adolescent groups. Adolescents living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, however, reported significantly lower rates of delinquency than those living in Switzerland (all ethnic groups) (Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010). This again, suggests that migration itself is a risk factor for aggression.

An explorative study by Paalman *et al.* (2015) aimed to compare the relationships between internalising and externalising problems among Moroccan and native Dutch youths over four years. The study found that immigrant adolescents reported lower rates of externalising problems than their native peers. Moreover, there was no significant difference in the average co-occurrence between internalising and externalising problems between immigrant and native youths, though ethnic differences were found over time. The study found that for Dutch adolescents, the relationships between internalising and externalising problems were stable over time, while the strength of the relationship increased for Moroccan adolescents (Paalman *et al.*, 2015). The authors attributed this to migration-related factors. To begin with, in the Netherlands, Moroccans belong to the most disadvantaged ethnic minority group and prior research has found Moroccan youths to be over-represented in crime (Junger-Tas, 2004; Veen, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013, 2014; Paalman *et al.*, 2015). Moreover, the authors argued that during adolescence, individuals go through identity issues, and that it can be harder for migrant youths as they would become more aware, and possibly find the surrounding and cultural norms different to their own. Moreover, immigrant adolescents can also experience discrimination and ethnic harassment, which again, can contribute to increasing co-occurring problems for migrant youths (Paalman *et al.*, 2015).

Finally, the study by Chun and Mobley (2014) investigated the effect of generational status on the effect of risk factors on White native, minority native, first-generation and second-generation immigrant adolescents. The study found that first-generation immigrant adolescents had the lowest level of aggressive behaviour across the groups. Interestingly, the authors found that first-generation

immigrants' perceived connectedness and positive bonds with their family were stronger than those of native and second-generation immigrant adolescents. The authors also found that the majority of the relationships between the risk factors (e.g. family connectedness, SES, school belonging) and problem behaviours were equivalent across immigrant and native adolescents, though each of the immigrant or native groups were more susceptible to specific types of problem behaviour/risk factors. White native adolescents were more susceptible to low SES and poor family relationships and were hence more prone to academic failure and substance use. Similarly, second-generation adolescents were susceptible to poor family relations (but not lower SES) and were more likely to partake in substance use. First-generation immigrant youths, on the other hand, were less susceptible to these risk factors as they reported stronger family cohesion and tighter bonds to their parents (Chun and Mobley, 2014).

In summary, this domain showed that higher levels of aggression among immigrant youths were attributed to the harmful process of migration itself (Killias, Maljević and Lucia, 2010; Killias and Lukash, 2020). Moreover, significant ethnic differences in the co-occurrence between externalising and internalising problems between immigrant and native adolescents were found over time (Paalman *et al.*, 2015), and finally the study by Chun and Mobley (2014) found that first-generation immigrant youths were less vulnerable to risk factors, such as SES and poor family relations, than second-generation and native youths. Table 3.5 shows a summary of the studies included in the systematic review that considered the experience of migration, the co-occurrence between externalising and internalising problems between immigrant and native adolescents.

Table 3.5: Migration process and experience domain

Authors/year	Sample	Participants	Age	Country	Study design	Comparison	Variables	Relevant outcome measures	Findings
Paalman et al (2015)	ongoing longitudinal RADAR study***	159 Moroccan and 159 Dutch adolescents	Average age of 13 years	the Netherlands	Longitudinal	Native Dutch and Moroccan students	Immigrant status	Externalising behaviour: Rule-breaking behaviours and Aggression	Lower levels of externalizing problems were reported by Moroccan adolescents as compared to Dutch adolescents. No differences in strength of co-occurring problems were found between Moroccan and Dutch adolescents. However, for Moroccan adolescents, associations between problems increased over time, whereas in Dutch adolescents, associations remained stable.
Chun and Mobley (2014)	Wave I In-Home Interview data of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health	5,972 adolescents (1,157 first-generation, 1,498 second-generation, and 3,316 White and minority third or higher generations)	10-19 (Mean age 15.2 years)	Norway	Cross-sectional	First-generation, second-generation, White and minority third or higher generations	Generational status, SES, Physical aggression, family relationship, school belonging, academic failure		The pattern of lowest to highest level of physical aggression was found among 1st G immigrants, 2nd G immigrants and White natives (no statistical difference), and then minority natives. Most of the associations between risk factors and problem behaviours were equivalent across immigrant and native groups. Each of the immigrant and native groups has a certain type of problem behaviour to which they are more susceptible than are other groups in relation to SES, family relationship and school belonging (risk factors addressed in this study): White natives for Academic Failure and Substance Use, Minority natives for Physical Aggression, and 2nd G immigrants for Substance Use
Thommessen et al (2012)	Refugee adolescents sample from a refugee shelter in Rome	60 male unaccompanied refugee adolescents and 60 male native Italian adolescents	17-18 years	Italy	Cross-sectional	Unaccompanied refugee minors and Italian adolescents	Migration status	Externalising problems	Unaccompanied refugee adolescents were reported significantly higher levels of emotional and behavioural externalising problems than their native counterparts.
Killias, Almir and Sonia (2010)	Switzerland: randomly selected 72 schools across the entire country, interviewed in spring 2006 Bosnia-Herzegovina: national random sample of 37 schools	Switzerland: 3,468 students Bosnia-Herzegovina: 1,756 students	Switzerland: grades 7 to 9 Bosnia-Herzegovina: grades 7 and 8	Switzerland and Bosnia-Herzegovina	Cross-sectional	Youth in Switzerland and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and juveniles of a Swiss background vs of migrant background living in Switzerland	Country of residence, migration status	Delinquency	Adolescents from the Balkan region living in Switzerland admit significantly more often than juveniles of Swiss origin to having committed assault, robbery, mugging and theft of vehicles. Regarding victimisation including bullying, differences between adolescents from Swiss and Balkan backgrounds are relatively modest, whereas juveniles from other migrant backgrounds have far higher rates. Adolescents living in Switzerland (from all ethnic backgrounds) reported significantly higher levels of delinquency than those living in Bosnia-Herzegovina with the exception of group fights (where rates are lower) and robbery and assault (where rates are similar).
Killias and Lukash (2020)	ISR03*	6269 students from four ex-Yugoslavian countries, 4158 students from Switzerland: 2096 Native Swiss, 1979 either born abroad or had at least one foreign-born parent, of which 441 had ex-Yugoslavia roots. 83 did not indicate parental birthplace.	12-16 years	Switzerland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia	Cross-sectional	Native and immigrant adolescents in Switzerland and ex-Yugoslavia	Parental control, gender, delinquent peers, self control, religious affiliation and minor physical punishment and maltreatment by parents	Delinquency: Violent, property and minor offences	Family history of migration, gender, parental control, self-control and having delinquent friends all contribute to the explanation of violence, property and minor offences across all sub-samples. Native adolescents in Switzerland report fewer offences than their immigrant peers, and adolescents in ex-Yugoslavia report lower offending rates than immigrants of the same age in Switzerland. Further, rates of physical punishment and maltreatment are higher among immigrants than among non-migrants in Switzerland and in ex-Yugoslavia. Cultural background is unrelated to delinquency and parental punishment, but the experience of migrating goes along with violence within the family and self-reported offending

3.6 Conclusion

This systematic review aimed to answer two research questions.

1) Are immigrant adolescents in Europe more or less likely than their native peers to display conduct problems and/or aggressive / delinquent behaviour?

The results of the studies included in this review were inconsistent in terms of whether immigrant adolescents displayed more or less externalising problems and aggressive/violent behaviour than native adolescents in Europe. While eight studies found no difference in delinquency between immigrant and native adolescents, thirteen studies reported immigrant adolescents to be more delinquent than native adolescents, and three studies reported natives to be more delinquent. Moreover, one study by Strohmeier et al. (2012), showed that an immigrant status was associated with higher levels of bullying others in Norway, but that not in Austria (Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012). This result is in line with that found by Mood et al. (2016), which showed that the levels of externalising and internalising behaviour of immigrant children was influenced by their host country, for example, children settled in Sweden exhibited lower levels of externalising problems than those settled in England. Furthermore, Borraccino et al. (2018) found that the risk of taking part in bullying behaviours and physical fights was greater in first-generation immigrants and decreased in the second generation, regardless of their ethnic background.

This mixed result found in this systematic review is in line with the findings presented in the systematic reviews of emotional and behavioural problems in migrant children and adolescents in Europe (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014) and America (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2015). The literature review by Dimitrova et al. (2017), however, found evidence to support the migration morbidity perspective, where immigrant adolescents were more likely to show behavioural problems than their native peers (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017).

The mixed findings of this systematic review can be explained since the studies included have been conducted in different countries in Europe, with different study designs, and samples. Therefore, it is not feasible to obtain homogenous results for immigrant adolescents in Europe. As reported in the results section, the studies by Strohmeier et al. (2012) and Mood et al. (2016) show immigration country-specific differences in delinquency. This finding was explored by the literature review by Dimitrova et al. (2017), but no clear evidence of country-specific differences was found. More research needs to be conducted in order to obtain a more definitive reason for these differences. However, a possible explanation can be attributed to the migration policies of integration and biculturalism of the host countries, where it is possible that in countries with more positive and welcoming settings,

adolescents with an immigrant background fare better emotionally and behaviourally than those settled in less welcoming countries (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017). Finally, as discussed in Chapter 2 and in this systematic review, aggression is likely to be affected by several other factors beyond migration, for example, parental/familial, peer, acculturation, and individual-level factors. The next question this systematic review aimed to answer, considers these risk domains and their relationship to migrant adolescent aggression.

2) What are the risk factors behind immigrant adolescent problem behaviour and delinquency in Europe?

This systematic review showed mixed results in relation to the levels of aggressive behaviour and externalising between immigrant and native adolescents in Europe. This is in line with other systematic reviews comparing behavioural problems among migrant children set in Europe and the United States (Belhadj Kouider, Koglin and Petermann, 2014, 2015). Nevertheless, risk factors for higher levels of aggression among migrant youths were found and categorised into five risk domains, namely, family / parental domain, peer / friend domain, acculturation domain, individual factors domain, and migration process and experience. These domains were in line with the ones identified in the narrative literature review in Chapter 2 and were used to account for the aggression differences among immigrant youths in Europe. Each domain was discussed, and findings from similar reviews and studies were drawn upon.

As shown in the systematic review above, ten studies investigated the influence of parental and familial factors on immigrant adolescent aggression and delinquency levels. Results showed that positive parental factors such as parental warmth, tight family bonds, attachment to parents, parental support, parental monitoring / knowledge of the child's whereabouts, and family cohesion were associated with lower levels of externalising problems and delinquency. In contrast, negative parental and familial factors such as weak parental control and generational conflict were associated with higher levels of aggression and delinquency. These results are in line with previous literature (Buehler, 2006; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Titzmann, Raabe and Silbereisen, 2008; Titzmann, Silbereisen and Mesch, 2014; Yang and McLoyd, 2015; Baldwin-White *et al.*, 2017; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017; Wheeler *et al.*, 2017).

With regards to the second risk domain found in this review, thirteen studies explored the effects of peer/friends on immigrant adolescent aggression levels. The first finding in this domain was that for immigrant youths, aggression was driven by the need for belonging and affiliation, whereas

for native youths, the motivation behind aggression was power and status related. Moreover, studies in this review have shown that immigrant youths were more likely to take part in aggressive behaviours if their friendship network engaged in these behaviours than native youths. Furthermore, studies in this review reported that higher levels of classroom heterogeneity were associated with higher levels of aggressive and delinquent behaviours among youths, regardless of their immigrant background. Finally, friend support was found to be a protective factor against adolescent aggression and conduct problems and that higher levels of aggression and conduct problems among adolescents could be attributed to low levels of friend and classmate support, regardless of immigration background. These results are in line with previous literature not included in this systematic review (Ojanen, Grönroos and Salmivalli, 2005).

The influence of acculturation on aggression was explored in five studies in this systematic review. While findings indicated that separated youths exhibited a higher level of externalising problems and aggressive behaviour than more acculturated youths, two studies reported that acculturation and cultural alignment on their own did not explain the differences in aggressive behaviour between native and immigrant adolescents. Moreover, the fifth study by Özdemir et al. (2019) reported that although separated youths were the most likely to take part in aggressive behaviours, integration did not have an effect on youth's engagement in aggressive behaviour (Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019). The mixed results for the effect of acculturation on adolescent aggression and delinquency in this review are in line with other literature on acculturation and adolescent aggression (Wong, 1999; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017; Toro and Nieri, 2018; Fenimore, Perez and Jennings, 2019; Klein *et al.*, 2020; Cuevas *et al.*, 2021).

Five studies aimed to portray and explain other risk factors of aggression and delinquency between immigrant and native youths. Higher levels of aggression and delinquency were attributed to the harmful process of migration itself (Killias and Lukash, 2020). Moreover, the study by Paalman et al. (2015) found that significant ethnic differences in the co-occurrence of externalising and internalising problems between immigrant and native adolescents were found over time. The study found that for native Dutch adolescents, the relationships between internalising and externalising problems were stable over time, while the strength of the relationship increased for Moroccan adolescents (Paalman *et al.*, 2015). The authors attributed this to migration-related factors, such as belonging to a disadvantaged ethnic minority group, acculturation challenges and ethnic harassment.

Finally, studies in this review found traditional gender role orientations and norms of masculinity to be associated with higher levels of immigrant youth offending and aggression. These

findings are in line with previous literature not included in this review (Pleck and O'Donnell, 2001; Kulis, Marsiglia and Nagoshi, 2010; Stevens *et al.*, 2015; Cuevas *et al.*, 2021).

As mentioned above, the risk domains identified were still relevant and similar in Chapter 3. It is noteworthy, however, that moral neutralisation of aggression was identified to be a major risk factor to higher levels of aggression among immigrant youths in Chapter 2, but was not included in this chapter. As mentioned above, this is likely to be because the studies included in this review were investigating specific outcomes, more often directly related to immigrant adolescent aggression and delinquency. Studies investigating migrant aggression and moral neutralisation of aggression are very scarce, and this systematic review was limited to set criteria (for example, a certain timeframe, only in Europe, only certain ages, etc). It should be noted, however, that the importance of moral neutralisation of aggression is still significant and will be considered in the rest of the thesis going forward. The next chapter will offer theoretical perspectives based on the risk domains identified in Chapters 2 and 3, followed by the methodology section (Chapter 5), results (Chapters 6A,7A), discussion (Chapters 6B-7B), and conclusion (Chapter 8).

Chapter FOUR: Theoretical frameworks

4.1 Introduction

In line with the risk domains identified and discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, four theoretical approaches resonate with the kind of research being undertaken in this Ph.D., namely attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition, and social learning theory.

These theories were used to guide the study and offer a context for the way the work has been approached and the methodology selected. Moreover, the research draws upon ideas and themes from these theoretical perspectives and will also 'feed back' into theory in discussing the results when possible. As such, this is a pragmatic, reflexive approach to theory: theory is used to guide the research, but it is not followed dogmatically.

4.2 Attachment theory

As presented in the parental/familial risk domain in the narrative review in Chapter 2 and the systematic review in Chapter 3, aspects such as low parental attachment, warmth, and involvement, can be significant risk factors to higher levels of aggression among immigrant adolescents (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Walsh, Harel-Fisch and Fogel-Grinvald, 2010; Korol and Bevelander, 2021). Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 2, an acculturation gap can occur between children and their parents, and this too, can affect the parent-child attachment (Go, 1999; Ho, 2010). Accordingly, attachment theory was chosen as the first theoretical perspective to guide the research and was used to develop hypotheses *H13*, *H19*, and *H21*, and will therefore aid in answering the research questions posed in Chapter 1 (Qs 2, 3, 4, and 5).

4.2.1 Overview and rationale

Bowlby's attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1988) highlights the importance of the interaction between parents and children in determining how the child will attach to their parents, and how this ultimately affects the child's social, emotional and cognitive development. Bowlby described attachment as a 'lasting psychological connectedness between human beings' (Bowlby, 1988). Inspired by the work of Lorenz (1935), Bowlby's suggestion that a child's tie to their mother occurs

without the motivation of food came as an opposition to theorists stating that children were only attached to their mothers due to their dependency for sustenance. Bowlby (1988) suggested that attachment can be understood within an evolutionary framework where the caregiver provides care and protection for the child and that in stressful situations, children seek proximity to their primary caregiver for safety and care. Accordingly, he stated that attachment is an innate dependency that helps enhance the child's chances of survival. The explanation of this instinctive tendency to seek the caregiver is what brought about the term 'attachment behaviour', in which Bowlby refers to behaviours that result in an individual pursuing, attaining, or preserving proximity to another, who is regarded as more able to cope with the world (Bowlby, 1988).

In his work, Bowlby (1988) discussed the principles of attachment: To begin with, attachment relationships are based on a need for proximity and security where people are biologically driven to form attachments with others. Bowlby emphasised that the mechanism of establishing attachments is affected by learning experiences in which emotional development is instilled in a stable and safe environment and that a child's internal working model, i.e. how a child will perceive themselves, the world, or others, is based on their attachment to their primary caregiver. According to Bowlby (1988), the internal working models that anchor various attachment types are dynamic and can be altered when individuals form new relationships or face attachment-relevant experiences that strongly contradict their current internal working models.

Another aspect he discussed is that a child's need for attachment often triggers certain behaviours. When children are stressed, upset or overwhelmed, they display 'attachment behaviour' by seeking proximity to the primary caregiver, in search of comfort and security. Patterns of these behaviours echo the child's expectations of their caregiver's responses to their upset. These expectations steer the child's mechanisms for coping with stress and thus affect their subsequent behaviours. A sensitive caregiver recognizes the child's emotions and conveys this understanding by providing comfort to reduce the child's anxiety. Bowlby also expands that various types of attachment are built dependent on the child's perception of the relationship. These perceptions lead the child to develop mental representations of themselves and others in attachment relationships (Melges and Bowlby, 1969). Finally, Bowlby stresses the importance of the caregiver's sensitivity and stability within the relationship, to form healthy relationships which can positively influence the child's emotional and mental wellbeing. Figure 4.1 shows a diagram I developed for the purposes of this thesis outlining the principles of attachment according to Bowlby's Attachment Theory.

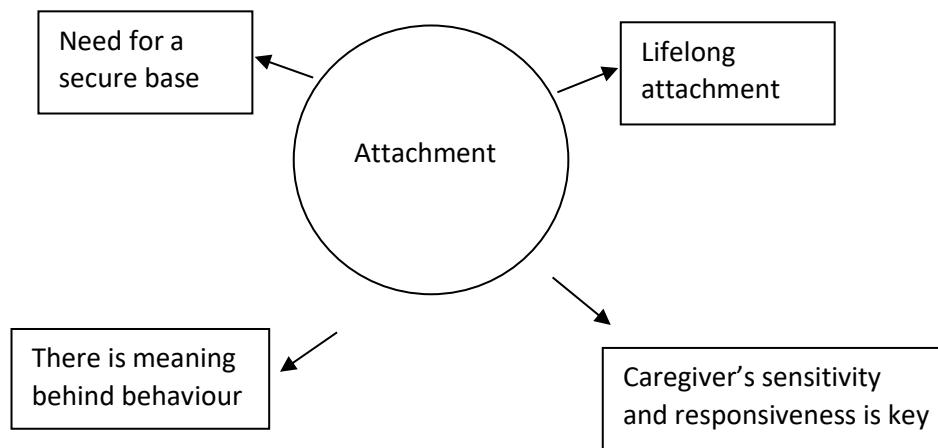


Figure 4.1: Visual representation of attachment theory

Building on Bowlby's attachment model, Ainsworth carried out the 'Strange Situation' study (Ainsworth et al., 1978). In this study, the researchers observed mother-infant attachments and relationships through instances where the child (aged 12-18 months) was left in a strange setting (clinic) by the mother. The child's behaviour and interactions with the mother upon her return were observed and reported. According to this experiment, Ainsworth (1978) proposed three attachment types for infants: secure attachment, insecure/avoidant attachment, and insecure/ambivalent attachment. Main and Solomon (1990) subsequently proposed a fourth type of attachment, disorganised/disorientated attachment.

Ainsworth reported that infants with a secure attachment to their mother viewed her as a 'secure base' for further exploration, and that the mothers were greeted happily upon return. Mother-child interactions in a secure attachment are positive, with mothers showing higher levels of sensitivity and responsiveness to the child's needs. Infants with insecure/avoidant attachment showed a lack of interest in their mother's separation, happily explored their surroundings with little reference to her and avoided her upon reunion. Mothers of children with insecure/avoidant attachment are less likely to be sensitive and responsive to their children's needs. Alternatively, infants with an insecure/ambivalent attachment showed high levels of distress on separation, exhibited minimal levels of exploration and greeted their mothers with a mixture of clinging and anger (Ainsworth et al., 1978). Finally, infants with disorganised/disorientated attachments showed conflicting strategies when interacting with the caregivers, such as high levels of clinginess followed by avoidance and resistance (Main and Solomon, 1990). Children with a history of maltreatment or repeat exposure to

traumatic events or behaviours displayed by their caregivers have been reported to have disorganised/disorientated attachment to their caregivers (Juang et al., 2018). These four attachment categories have been observed within children of various cultures and backgrounds (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Main and Solomon, 1990; Juang et al., 2018).

The significance of attachment goes beyond infancy and early childhood. In a review by Zimmer-Gembeck et al. (2017) that included 23 studies, the authors found links between attachment and signs of coping in middle childhood. The review also concluded that compared to anxious or avoidant attachment, secure attachment was related to better emotional regulation and coping skills among toddlers, school children and adolescents (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2017). In a study by Dykas et al. (2012) among 189 adolescents (mean age 16.5 years), the authors assessed whether attachment type has an effect on how adolescents have reconstructed the memory of an initial interaction with a stranger. Participants rated their perceptions of their interactions with an unknown peer, and this perception was reported two weeks later. There was no difference of initial perception between securely and insecurely attached adolescents, however, both securely and insecurely attached adolescents perceived the interaction as less positive. There were significant differences in the participants' memory of the interaction depending on their attachment type; insecurely attached adolescents remembered the interaction as more negative and hostile than they initially perceived it two weeks earlier, whereas negative or hostile perceptions of the securely attached group remained stable (Dykas et al., 2012). In addition to that, previous studies have shown that attached adolescents display better social and communication skills compared to avoidantly attached youths (Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2017).

4.2.2 Attachment theory and refugee/migrant communities

Attachment theory can be key in predicting the continuity or discontinuity of a person's internal working models from infancy to adulthood based on the stability of their environment (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008). Previous longitudinal literature has shown evidence of discontinuity among high-risk participants who have suffered negative life events, such as bereavement, divorce and illnesses (Hamilton, 2000; Waters et al., 2000; Weinfield, Sroufe and Egeland, 2000). In line with this, several studies with refugee/migrant samples have drawn upon attachment theory (Daud, Skoglund and Rydelius, 2005; Han, 2005; Ee, Kleber and Mooren, 2012; Juang et al., 2018), as it can help understand and identify the reasons behind differences in social and emotional development of adolescents who have experienced migration. Bowlby's (1988) notion of internal working models, and

their dynamic nature, can explain the change in attachment patterns in the life course from early childhood to adolescence to adulthood (Allen and Manning, 2007), and can also explain changes in attachment patterns amongst migrants and refugees, whose individual circumstances could have exposed them to war, violence, loss and separation (Juang et al., 2018). This active nature of internal working models can be dependent on several factors in the context of migration, such as current age, age during migration, cause, and reason behind migration, which can lead to differences in attachment patterns.

Alternatively, traumatised parents' or primary caretakers' ability to form secure attachments to their children can be diminished as an effect of their trauma. According to Janoff-Bulman's shattered assumptions theory (Janoff-Bulman, 1989, 2010), traumatic events generate changes in an individual's thoughts and beliefs. Following the social cognition viewpoint (Epstein, 1985), people hold particular, stable and positive perceptions and beliefs about themselves and the world. According to Janoff-Bulman (1989, 2010), being exposed to a traumatic event may shatter an individual's beliefs and assumptions about themselves, the world, and their relationship with others. This theory has been supported in several research articles that showed that individuals exposed to traumatic events were more likely to hold negative world assumptions (Rodríguez-Muñoz et al., 2010), develop psychological problems (Mollica et al., 1992), and have trouble forming secure attachments to their offspring (Han, 2005) than individuals who were not exposed to traumatic life events.

In a study by Han (2005) among 188 South East Asian undergraduate students living in the United States with a refugee background, the participants were mostly second-generation immigrants born in the United States or had migrated with their families before the age of 5. The author found that there was a negative relationship between the participants' perception of their parents' trauma and their feeling of attachment to their parents and sense of coherence. The author attributed this adverse effect on parent-child attachment and coherence to the shattered assumptions theory (Janoff-Bulman, 1989) and the reduced capacity of parents to form secure attachments to their children due to their history of trauma (Han, 2005). Despite giving an interesting outlook into the effect of trauma on parenting, the study has limitations. To begin with, the sample was not particularly large or diverse, as it was a convenience sample of only undergraduate university students. For more generalised results, participants needed to be recruited from different SES and educational backgrounds. In addition to that, as opposed to a longitudinal study that could follow the participants and attempt to look at causation, this was a cross-sectional study which made it difficult to draw definite conclusions and directionality in the relationships between the variables. Finally, self-reported responses can be inaccurate due to factors such as social desirability or inaccurate perceptions of parental levels of trauma.

4.2.3 Critique of the attachment theory

Bowlby's groundbreaking work on attachment theory initially emphasized the significance of the mother in providing a secure base for infants to explore the world and develop emotional bonds. However, subsequent research has expanded upon Bowlby's original formulation to acknowledge the crucial roles played by fathers and other primary caregivers in fostering healthy attachment relationships. While Bowlby himself primarily focused on the mother's role, he later acknowledged the importance of other caregivers in his later writings, such as "Attachment and Loss: Volume 2, Separation: Anxiety and Anger" (1973), where he discussed the broader range of attachment figures beyond the mother.

Research by Lamb (2010) has been instrumental in highlighting the distinct contributions of fathers to child development and attachment. Fathers often engage in different but complementary caregiving behaviours compared to mothers, contributing to children's emotional security and social competence. Moreover, studies by Grossmann, Grossmann, and Waters (2006) have emphasized the significance of the father-infant attachment relationship in shaping children's socioemotional development, challenging the notion of maternal centrality in attachment theory.

Furthermore, Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine (1987) provided a biosocial perspective on paternal involvement, highlighting the biological and social factors that influence fathers' caregiving behaviours and their impact on child attachment. This perspective underscores the importance of considering the diverse caregiving roles within families and the unique contributions of fathers and other primary caregivers to children's attachment security.

In summary, subsequent to Bowlby's original formulation of attachment theory, there has been a paradigm shift towards recognising the importance of fathers and other primary caregivers in fostering secure attachment relationships with children. This expanded understanding not only enriches attachment theory but also promotes more inclusive and holistic approaches to supporting child development within diverse family structures.

Moreover, Bowlby's Attachment theory was rejected and criticized by psychoanalytical researchers for being mechanistic and non-dynamic (Slater, 2007). Psychoanalytic researchers said that in his theory, Bowlby placed all the weight on a reductionist evolutionary element, and disregarded several facets of the psychoanalytic theory such as drives, the Oedipal unconscious processes, fantasy, secondary drive, and the richness of human emotions (Slater, 2007).

The psychoanalytic theory originated by Sigmund Freud in the late 19th century and has undergone many modifications since his work was proposed. It came to full prominence in the late

20th century, and has been used in clinical psychology for decades (Henley and Thorne, 2005). Psychoanalytic theory concentrates on the role of an individual's unconscious as well as early childhood experiences. Several researchers proposed explanations in defence of Bowlby's Attachment theory. Cortina and Marrone (2003) stated that at that time, psychoanalysis was heavily influenced by Freud's subjective recollection of his early childhood, and was thus deficient in aspects of normal and abnormal development. Breger (2000) stated that Freud's interpretation of his own traumatic childhood and ties to attachment figures in a sexual manner (using the Oedipus Rex) metaphorically turns Freud from a small child to an adult, thus falsely giving protection from his traumatic past (Breger, 2000).

Despite evidence showing that adolescents with securely attached relationships to their parents show less aggression (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Li et al., 2015; Juang et al., 2018), there could be additional factors at play. Bowlby's Attachment Theory has a restricted view that lacks insight into an individual's ecological and historical factors, and only focuses on their relationship with a primary caregiver in childhood. It makes sense, that a person's psychological and emotional wellbeing and development is guided by several factors, such as their internal personality traits and norms, home, school and wider society, rather than just one of these aspects.

4.2.4 Summary of attachment theory

To summarise, attachment theory was proposed by Bowlby (1969; 1988) and it emphasises the significance of parent-child interactions in defining the way in which the child will attach to their parent, which in turn, has an effect on the child's social, emotional and cognitive development. Previous studies have shown that the attachment style has an effect on the child as they go from infancy to middle childhood and adolescence. Studies among children from refugee and migrant communities were discussed and have signified the importance of parent-child attachment among children.

This Ph.D. thesis will consider attachment theory when investigating the variable parental involvement. Therefore, in line with attachment theory, it is hypothesised that there will be differences in parental involvement between the three groups (H13), and that there will be a relationship between parental involvement and self-reported aggression (H19). Finally, it is hypothesised that parental involvement will play a mediating role in the relationship between migration background and self-reported aggression (H21).

4.3 Patriarchal ideology

As shown in both the narrative review in Chapter 2 and the systematic review in Chapter 3, migrant youths are more likely to hold norms of masculinity that potentially condone violence against women (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah et al., 2013). Moreover, masculinity norms and positive attitudes towards violence against women were also found to be related to higher levels of aggression amongst immigrant and refugee youths (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah et al., 2013).

Accordingly, patriarchal ideologies were chosen as the next theoretical perspective to guide the research and was used to develop hypotheses *H1, H4, H7, H9, H20, and H21*, and will therefore aid in answering the research questions posed in Chapter 1 (Qs 2, 3, 4, and 5).

4.3.1 Overview and rationale

Patriarchal societies are societies where certain cultural norms, beliefs and institutions support the notion of male supremacy and female subordination. In patriarchal societies where men are violent towards their partners, violence against women is generally condoned and is even an inherent part of the culture (Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016; Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Accordingly, the concept of patriarchy can be used to explain attitudes in support of violence against women, since it highlights aspects such as dominance, gender and power imbalance (Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019).

From a feminist viewpoint, the main cause of violence against women is patriarchy, which is a social system involving a deep social and economic power imbalance between men and women (Ali and Naylor, 2013). This also includes values and beliefs that advocate the control and supremacy of men over women (Yllo and Straus, 1990).

Recently, researchers have argued that ideologies of masculinity, that are characterised by certain standards, rules and expectations that guide masculine behaviour (Mahalik, Good and Englar-Carlson, 2003), are rooted and moulded by particular demands of one's culture (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996). The 'culture of honour', which is argued to be a strong driving force of violence was introduced by Nisbett and Cohen (1996). This theory highlights a substantial emphasis on maintaining and preserving the reputation of oneself and one's family (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). According to Nisbett and Cohen (1996), in cultures of honour, the adoption of violence in order to defend and protect is not only culturally acceptable but can also be considered a necessity (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). Conservative gender role orientations are most common in cultures of honour,

and strict definitions of masculinity and what it means to be a man are employed (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013).

4.3.2 Patriarchy from a feminist perspective

The feminist model is based on the notion that intimate partner violence is the product of male domination over women within a patriarchal system in which men are the main perpetrators of violence and women are the main victims (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Mcphail Beverly A. et al., 2007). According to the model, intimate partner violence perpetrated by men against women is a result of historic and modern-day power disparities that maintain female inferiority. That happens through the use of control, including physical, sexual, economic, and psychological abuse, in addition to strategies of intimidation and isolation (Mcphail et al., 2007).

Accordingly, the notion of patriarchy is a focal point in feminist research, and is commonly used by scholars to highlight and explain gender inequality, violence against women and hierarchal social systems in which men are placed in higher more privileged positions than women in society (Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016). This gender power imbalance places women in a subordinate position in both public and private spheres, i.e. both at home/within the family unit, and in society/at the workplace. Accordingly, it is argued that violence against women is therefore a result of this gendered social hierarchy and unequal power structures (Yllo and Straus, 1990; Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016). Moreover, feminist literature has offered two main components in the explanation of patriarchy: structure and ideology (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016).

Patriarchal structure describes a gendered and hierarchal social system where men are superior and dominant over both women and children, and therefore have more privilege and power than women (Yllo and Straus, 1990). This results in women being subordinate to male authority and control (Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016). The second component of patriarchy as offered by the feminist perspective is patriarchal ideology, which legitimises patriarchal structure. Patriarchal ideology is made up of the norms and beliefs that justify and condone the patriarchal structure (Yllo and Straus, 1990). Norms and beliefs of a patriarchal ideology play a major role in grounding women as weak, passive and submissive, therefore maintaining a patriarchal structure (Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016).

Some scholars have also expanded that the notion of patriarchy can be further broken down into 'social' and 'familial' patriarchy (Smith, 1990; Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019). As their names imply, social patriarchy refers to male dominance and female subordination within society, while familial patriarchy refers to male dominance within the family unit (Smith, 1990). The concept of familial

patriarchy implies that wife beating is acceptable in instances where the wife fails to conform to traditional, cultural and behavioural norms (Dobash and Dobash, 1979). Dobash and Dobash (1979) have argued that marriage was a means for men to continue their power over women (Dobash and Dobash, 1979). They stated that patriarchy produces gender inequality in marriage and the family setting, and that patriarchal norms are often linked to wife assault and beating (Dobash and Dobash, 1979).

The influence of marriage on maintaining a patriarchal power structure is evident in different cultures, including South Asian and Arab cultures (Haj-Yahia and Uysal, 2011; Chaudhuri, Morash and Yingling, 2014; Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016; Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019; Schuster et al., 2020). For example, within the South Asian culture, women are required to follow gender role expectations, such as obedience, maintaining the family honour and looking after their husbands and children, while men are expected to be the providers and the heads of the family (Chaudhuri, Morash and Yingling, 2014; Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019). Accordingly, South Asian immigrant women can still hold on to these patriarchal ideologies within their marital families in their host country (Tonsing and Tonsing, 2019), and any deviations or challenges to these ideologies can result in marital violence (Chaudhuri, Morash and Yingling, 2014). Similarly, this patriarchal power structure is acutely mirrored in marital relationships in Palestinian communities, where women are considered subordinate to men, and where failure to comply with the traditional gender expectations can lead to wife beating as a means of punishment and control (Haj-Yahia and Uysal, 2011; Zaatut and Haj-Yahia, 2016). Moreover, rigid sex-role stereotypes, sexual conservatism and traditional familial patriarchal beliefs and expectations have been significantly correlated to attitudes in support of wife beating and victim blaming (Haj-Yahia, 1998).

4.3.3 The culture of honour

Just like an individual can have a certain psychological phenotype and a tendency to react to certain incidents with a distinctive cognitive, emotional or behavioural response, a population can also share a cultural phenotype as a whole (Linguist, 2016). This includes certain social norms and beliefs that have been historically transmitted and shared among the population. Accordingly, while individual psychological phenotypes are led by both genetically and socially transmitted factors, cultural phenotypes are only influenced by social transmission.

The concept of honour cultures was first introduced by Nisbett and Cohen (1996) in a series of experiments within the United States of America, between the American South and North. Their work showed significant differences in attitudes towards being insulted between Southerners and

their Northern counterparts. For example, they found that Southern parents taught their children to respond to bullying with violence, whereas Northern parents encouraged their children to walk away. Moreover, they found that the 'fight or flight' reaction was much more prevalent among insulted Southern men than Northern men. In addition to that, Southerners reported increased levels of subjective anger and a readiness for violence in comparison to Northerners, who exhibited a very different psychological phenotype, showing no strong fight or flight response or, no violent retaliation and anger and a tendency to shrug off insults with humour (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996). In honour cultures, aggression and violence are not only permitted, but promoted as a response to honour-threats, as honour is closely related to the individual's social standing (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Linquist, 2016). Moreover, the concepts of shame and the responsibility for maintaining the family honour are often employed as a tool of control to keep women from pursuing help when they experience abuse (Gill, 2004).

4.3.4 Patriarchy and violence among refugee and migrant youths

The association between a culture of honour and violence has been extensively documented (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). Relevant to this study, violence among immigrant youths has been linked to the culture of honour (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). For example, in a study by Lahlah *et al.* (2013) among a sample of nearly 500 Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch boys, the authors found serious violent offending, such as hurting someone with a weapon, to be more prevalent among Moroccan-Dutch boys than native Dutch boys. The driving force behind this, however, was found to be holding traditional and conservative gender role orientations. Once the gender role attitudes were controlled for, there was no difference in violence between Moroccan-Dutch and native Dutch boys (Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, in a study by Baier and Pfeiffer (2008), the authors explored violence among native German, Russian and Turkish youths in Germany. The authors found that 23.7 percent of all Turkish boys endorsed violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity, and a further 56.8 percent endorsed them to some degree (part approval). The percentage of Russian boys explicitly endorsing these norms amounted to 9.2 percent (64.7 percent part approval), and that of native Germans was 3.9 percent (40.0 percent part approval). Among other factors, the higher levels of violence amongst immigrant (Turkish and Russian) youths than their native German counterparts was attributed to these violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). Similarly, in a study by Rabold and Baier (2011), the authors found higher levels of legitimising masculinity roles among immigrant youths compared to their native German

counterparts. This was one of the factors that accounted for higher levels of violence among immigrant groups (Rabold and Baier, 2011).

Despite the significance of patriarchal norms and their predictive effect on aggression and attitudes to violence against women, research has shown that moral neutralisation of aggression (discussed below in social cognition) can have a stronger predictive effect, and can therefore nullify the significant effect of patriarchy on attitudes that are supportive of violence against women (Poteat, Kimmel and Wilchins, 2011; Puy, Hamby and Lindemuth, 2014; Schuster *et al.*, 2021). For example, Puy et al. (2014) found that holding attitudes generally in support of violence was the strongest predictor to using physical and psychological aggression within dating relationships amongst adolescents in Switzerland. Moreover, Poteat et al. (2011) also found that attitudes in support of violence in general had a moderating role on the relationship between normative masculine attitudes and aggressive and homophobic behaviour among adolescent boys and girls (Poteat, Kimmel and Wilchins, 2011). Accordingly, as important as the patriarchal theory is, greater emphasis will be placed on moral neutralisation of aggression as a potential predictor of violence against women attitudes.

4.3.5 Summary of patriarchal ideology

To summarise, patriarchal ideologies consist of a set of values and norms that place men and women in a hierarchical power imbalance. Such ideologies deem males to be dominant and superior and women as weak and inferior. Patriarchy has been extensively explained from a feminist perspective, in addition to a so-called 'culture of honour'. In patriarchal, honour-societies, women are prone to be subordinate to men, and both men and women are likely to hold values and beliefs supporting wife beating as a deterrent and a means to keep the status quo.

This Ph.D. thesis will consider patriarchal ideologies when investigating the variables violence legitimising norms of masculinity and attitudes towards violence against women. Therefore, in line with patriarchal ideologies, it is hypothesised that there will be differences in levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity and violence against women attitudes between the groups (*H1*, *H4*), and that there is a relationship between violence legitimising norms of masculinity with adolescent support for violence against women (*H7*) a relationship between violence legitimising norms of masculinity/violence against women attitudes and self-reported aggression (*H20*), in addition to these ideologies playing a mediating role in the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes (*H9*)/self-reported aggression (*H21*).

4.4 Social Cognition

As shown in the narrative review in Chapter 2, moral neutralisation of aggression is a significant risk factor to adolescent aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Schuster *et al.*, 2020, 2021). Moreover, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, social cognition, and specifically moral neutralisation of aggression encompass a set of beliefs of when it is justifiable to use violence in general. Therefore, general justification of violence is very likely to be associated with attitudes towards violence against women. Accordingly, social cognition was chosen as the next theoretical perspective used to guide the research and answer the research questions posed through testing hypotheses *H2*, *H6*, *H9*, *H11*, *H12*, *H15*, *H16*, and *H21*.

4.4.1 Overview and rationale

Attitudes supporting violence against women demonstrate a series of justifications of why and when it is acceptable for a man to be violent to or abusive to a woman. Such attitudes may be part of a broader set of beliefs, norms and values that legitimize the use of violence and aggression against others in general. Ribeaud and Eisner's (2010a) moral neutralisation of aggression will be used to examine the social cognition element of legitimising violent norms in general, and more specifically, attitudes towards violence against women among immigrant and native Swiss adolescents.

Moral neutralisation is grounded by three main theories: Moral disengagement (Bandura *et al.*, 1996), neutralisation theory (Sykes and Matza, 1957), and self-serving cognitive distortions (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996). Furthermore, moral neutralisation signifies a set of processes led by these three concepts, by which a person justifies violence against others, including, for example, the perception that the victim is to blame and is deserving of the aggression, and that other individuals would behave in the same way (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a). The processes behind moral disengagement assist an individual to self-justify behaviours that are generally against their moral beliefs. This can give an important insight for understanding violent and aggressive behaviour stemming from individuals that perceive themselves as rule-abiding and conforming with common moral standards (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a).

4.4.2 Neutralisation theory – Sykes and Matza (1957)

Sykes and Matza's research was motivated by their disagreement with Cohen's subculture theory (Cohen, 1955), which explains working-class youths' delinquency as a consequence of perceived deprivation. To begin with, Sykes and Matza argued that many delinquent and non-delinquent youths of a middle-class background share similar moral beliefs. This observation led Sykes and Matza to explore the cognitive processes needed to surmount the dissonance between internalized norms and beliefs and aggressive/delinquent behaviour (Sykes and Matza, 1957). The researchers proposed that these processes would take place ahead of delinquent behaviour and correspond to five techniques of neutralisation: 1) Denial of responsibility, in which the delinquent individual denies their own personal responsibility for their deviant actions, for example, the aggression can be conveyed as an accident, triggered by the victim, or be a result of peer influence and pressure. 2) Denial of injury, in which delinquent individuals rationalise that the consequences of their behaviour are not detrimental to the victim. For example, the emotional outcome of verbal abuse and bullying might not be considered harmful. 3) Denial of the victim, in which the perpetrator accepts that their behaviour is harmful and can involve injury to the victim, but the victim is redefined in a way where, for example, they deserve this treatment. 4) Condemnation of the condemners, which entails moving the focus from the delinquent act to the motivations and behaviours of those who condemn such acts, for example, depicting authorities as duplicitous or corrupt. 5) The appeal to higher loyalties, by which "internal and external social controls may be neutralized by sacrificing the demands of the larger society for the demands of the smaller social groups to which the delinquent belongs such as the sibling pair, the gang, or the friendship clique" (Sykes and Matza, 1957).

4.4.3 Moral disengagement - Bandura et al. (1996)

Similar to Sykes and Matza (1957), Bandura's starting point for his moral disengagement theory is that "people do not ordinarily engage in reprehensible conduct until they have justified to themselves the rightness of their actions" (Bandura et al. 1996, 365). Also, in line with Sykes and Matza's neutralisation theory (1957), Bandura emphasised that certain processes of moral disengagement take part ahead of immoral acts, and are therefore, a main cause of these acts (Bandura *et al.*, 1996). In fact, the two concepts, neutralisation (Sykes and Matza, 1957) and moral disengagement (Bandura *et al.*, 1996) share a great deal of similarities and overlap.

According to Bandura (1996), moral disengagement can be divided into four facets: 1) cognitive restructuring, 2) techniques that intend to shift or disseminate responsibility for harmful and

delinquent acts 3) ignoring and discounting the consequences of reprehensible behaviour, and a biased view/opinion of the victim (Bandura *et al.*, 1996). Cognitive restructuring is the first facet of moral disengagement, where inappropriate behaviour is reframed as socially acceptable behaviour (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a). Bandura and colleagues (1996, 365) distinguish three processes of cognitive restructuring: 1) Moral justification – where through moral justification harmful behaviour becomes personally and socially appropriate by portraying as servicing highly regarded social or moral principles (Bandura *et al.*, 1996). This principle is equivalent to Sykes and Matza's (1957) appeal to higher loyalties described above. 2) Euphemistic language, which has been described as a "tool masking reprehensible activities or even conferring a respectable status upon them" (Bandura *et al.*, 1996). Despite euphemistic language not overtly being discussed by Sykes and Matza (1957), euphemisation is implicit in their theory of neutralisation (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a). 3) Exploiting advantageous comparisons with more reprehensible activities to neutralize harmful behaviour or make it to seem of little consequence. The second facet of Bandura's moral disengagement (1996) entails an array of disengagement practices in which the responsibility for reprehensible behaviour is shifted or scattered away from the offending individual (Bandura *et al.*, 1996). Again, this principle is perfectly congruent with Sykes and Matza's concept of denial of responsibility described above. The third facet of Bandura's moral disengagement is aimed at ignoring and discounting the consequences caused by reprehensible behaviour. This notion is in line with Sykes and Matza's notion of denial of injury discussed above. Finally, the fourth facet of Bandura's moral disengagement theory is related to a biased view/opinion of the victim. This type of disengagement can occur in two ways: dehumanisation of the victim, and attribution of blame. Dehumanisation of the victim involves dissociating the victim of human qualities, until they are no longer perceived as a fellow person, while through attribution of blame the offending individuals perceive *themselves* as faultless victims, made to engage in reprehensible behaviour by forcible provocation by the victim (Bandura *et al.*, 1996). Once again, parallels could be made to Sykes and Matza's neutralization technique of denial of the victim discussed above.

Overall, moral disengagement (1996) and neutralization techniques (1957) seem to be largely comparable. The major differences between the two theories involve the wider focus on moral justification compared to the narrower concept of the appeal to higher loyalties in the moral disengagement theory, the absence of a counterpart to advantageous comparisons in the neutralization theory, and condemnation of the condemners in the moral disengagement framework (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a).

4.4.4 Self-serving cognitive distortions - (Barriga & Gibbs, 1996)

The third framework of Ribeaud and Eisner's (2010a) moral neutralisation stems from the notion of cognitive distortions or thinking errors (Ellis, 1962; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a), and was formulated by Barriga and Gibbs (1996) with regards to rehabilitation among young offenders (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a). Their framework particularly focused on self-serving distortions rather than Ellis's self-debasing distortions, and they introduced primary and secondary distortions: "Primary cognitive distortions are self-centered attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs" (Barriga and Gibbs 1996, 334) and involve "according status to one's views, expectations, needs, rights, immediate feelings and desires to such a degree that the legitimate views, etc. of others (or even one's own long-term best interest) are scarcely considered or are disregarded altogether" (334). Secondary distortions serve to support the primary distortions and "have been characterized as pre- or post-transgression rationalizations that serve to 'neutralize' conscience or guilt" (334). Barriga and Gibbs framework of cognitive distortions (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996) is in line with Sykes and Matza's neutralisation (1957) and Bandura's moral disengagement (1996), Barriga and Gibbs (1996) suggest that cognitive distortions occur in advance of aggressive or antisocial behaviour. The first cognitive distortion involves the offender's propensity to blame others for their actions (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996), which corresponds to Bandura's (1996) moral disengagement mechanism of diffusion and displacement of responsibility discussed above. The second mechanism of cognitive distortions involves minimising or mislabelling the offending behaviour, in which it is portrayed as causing no real harm, being condoned, commendable even, or dehumanising the victim (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996). This cognitive distortion corresponds to Bandura's (1996) philosophies of moral justification, euphemistic language, advantageous comparisons, disregarding or distorting consequences, and dehumanization all discussed above. The third mechanism of cognitive distortions is assuming the worst, in which the offender unnecessarily attributes aggressive intentions to others and believes that the worst-case scenario is unavoidable. This cognitive distortion is in line with both Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralisation processes and Bandura's (1996) concept of attribution of blame (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a).

These three main concepts: moral disengagement (Bandura *et al.*, 1996), neutralisation (Sykes and Matza, 1957) and self-serving cognitive distortions (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996) have a high level of similarity, therefore Ribeaud and Eisner (2010a) argued that they share the same processes that are very likely to cluster within the same people (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a). Accordingly, they developed the moral neutralisation scale, which is a unified measure suitable for preadolescents and youths and specifically focuses on the neutralization of aggression and violence (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a).

4.4.5 Moral neutralisation – Ribeaud and Eisner 2010

Ribeaud and Eisner's (2010a) moral neutralisation theory refers to the self-justifications of moral transgressions and is comprised of four main processes: 1) cognitive restructuring or reframing of reprehensible behaviour, 2) diminishing a person's own responsibility, 3) discounting or distorting the harmful effect of detrimental behaviour, and 4) blaming, dehumanizing, or denying the victim (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a).

In support of this theoretical reasoning, a growing body of research has demonstrated that morally disengaged youths are less likely to follow ethical social norms (Almeida, Correia and Marinho, 2009) and more likely to view their victims as at fault (Bayram Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2021). Previous research has shown a significant relationship between moral neutralisation and aggressive attitudes and behaviour among adolescents (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a, 2015; Obermann, 2011; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Schuster *et al.*, 2020, 2021). A study by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) examined attitudes of 856 Jordanian adolescents towards honour killings. The authors found that about 40% of boys and 20% of girls in the sample justified the killing of a sister, daughter or wife if she has dishonoured her family. Predictors of attitudes in support of honour killings included patriarchal ideologies, the importance of female chastity, parental corporal punishment (mixed results between boys and girls), and moral neutralisation (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). These findings suggest that attitudes in support of honour killings can be an outcome of a wider cognitive process of moral disengagement as proposed by Bandura (1996). It was discussed that mechanisms proposed by Bandura (1996) such as moral justification (honour killings are a way of a privately administered capital punishment), euphemistic labelling (honour killings are not perceived as crimes, but as an act done to right a wrong, or cleanse/purify the family name again), and displacement and diffusion of responsibility (when the wider culture and authorities condone these acts, then a personal sense of responsibility is reduced), make it likely that honour killings are not perceived as a crime, but as a reasonable response to the victim's behaviour (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). The authors also found that the effect of gender on attitudes toward honour crimes was mediated through moral neutralisation; boys were more likely to morally neutralise aggressive behaviour than girls, and this was associated to a higher degree of attitudes in support of honour killings (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). Moral neutralisation also acted as a predictor of attitudes towards wife beating among the same Jordanian adolescent sample (Schuster *et al.*, 2020). The same reasoning of Bandura's moral disengagement mechanisms (1996) was given to explain how moral neutralisation predicted attitudes in support of wife beating (Schuster *et al.*, 2020).

Moreover, in another longitudinal study by Schuster et al. (2021), data from the z-proso study among adolescents in Switzerland was used to examine moral neutralisation of aggression and the justification of violence against women, as predictors of physical dating violence perpetration and monitoring/controlling behaviours, a psychological form of violence and emotional abuse. With regards to moral neutralisation, the authors found that higher levels of moral neutralisation were related to a higher chance of subsequent physical dating violence in the next wave of data collection for both boys and girls (Schuster *et al.*, 2021). Similarly, in a study by Cuadrado-Gordillo et. al. (2020), moral disengagement was found to be correlated with the acceptance of violence. Moreover, both these factors and their interaction showed a mediating effect by changing the perception of victimisation. The victim's levels of moral disengagement corresponded to their acceptance of violence and failure to acknowledge their abuse (Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020).

4.4.6 Moral disengagement among immigrant youths

With regards to moral disengagement and immigrant youths, a growing body of research also implies that disengagement from moral standards and values could affect positive interactions in ethnically varied social settings (Bayram Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2021). For example, moral disengagement has been associated with the expression of racist (Faulkner and Bliuc, 2016) and anti-immigrant attitudes on social media (D'Errico and Paciello, 2018), and to apathy towards racist behaviours among adults in Italy (Passini, 2019). These findings are in line with ones among adolescents living in Sweden. For example, in a study among 949 adolescents residing in Sweden, Bayram Özdemir et al. (2020) investigated antecedents to engagement in ethnicity- and non-ethnicity-based victimization. The authors found that morally disengaged adolescents were more likely to engage in both forms of victimization (Bayram Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2020). Moreover, in another study among Swedish adolescents by Özdemir et al. (2021), the authors found that moral disengagement, along with negative attitudes towards immigrants and the propensity to be aggressive among youths were positively associated with engagement in ethnic victimization among both immigrant and native adolescents (Bayram Özdemir, Giles and Özdemir, 2021).

4.4.7 Summary of social cognition

Social cognition is the way in which an individual processes, remembers, and uses information in social contexts to justify and predict their own behaviour and that of others. Support of violence against women can be linked to a higher level of acceptance of violence in general, in certain situations. Moral neutralisation, in which processes behind moral disengagement help an individual to self-justify behaviours that are normally against their moral beliefs, and aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies were chosen to measure social cognition in this Ph.D. A summary of the three main theories grounding moral neutralisation was presented: moral disengagement (Bandura *et al.*, 1996), neutralisation theory (Sykes and Matza, 1957), and self-serving cognitive distortions (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996). Based on these theoretical frameworks, Ribeaud and Eisner's (2010a) moral neutralisation theory refers to the self-justifications of moral transgressions and includes four core processes: 1) cognitive restructuring or reframing of reprehensible behaviour, 2) diminishing an individual's own responsibility, 3) disregarding or distorting the hurtful effect of detrimental behaviour, and 4) blaming, dehumanizing, or denying the victim (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a).

This Ph.D. thesis will consider social cognition when investigating the variables aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression. Therefore, in line with social cognition, it is hypothesised that there will be differences in levels of moral neutralisation of aggression (*H2*, *H11*) and aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies between the groups (*H12*). Additionally, it is also hypothesised that there is a relationship between moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes (*H6*) and moral neutralisation of aggression (*H16*) / aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies (*H15*) and levels of self-reported aggression among adolescents. Finally, it is hypothesised that social cognition will play a mediating role in the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes (*H9*)/self-reported aggression (*H21*).

4.5 Social Learning Theory

As shown in both the narrative and systematic reviews in Chapters 2 and 3, experience of corporal punishment and peer/friend factors, such as having delinquent peers and the need for affiliation are significant risk factors to immigrant adolescent aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women (Walsh, Harel-Fisch and Fogel-Grinvald, 2010; Regev, Gueron-Sela and Atzaba-Poria, 2012; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Alink *et al.*, 2013; Zhu *et al.*, 2017; Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020). These factors operate on the basis of social learning, where adolescents learn the

behaviour of their parents or peers and copy them in order to deal with problems or achieve social standing. Accordingly, social learning theory was chosen as the next theoretical perspective used to guide the research and answer the research questions posed through testing hypotheses *H3, H8, H9, H13, H17, H18, and H21*.

4.5.1 Overview and rationale

According to social learning theory (Bandura, 1973, 1977), aggressive behaviour and attitudes in support of aggression are learned through socialization processes starting in early childhood. Social learning theory can be broken down into four principles: differential association, definitions, differential reinforcement, and imitation. The first principle, differential association refers to the connections and interactions with individuals who endorse norms, values and attitudes that justify certain behaviours (Sutherland, Cressey and Luckenbill, 1992). According to social learning theory, the higher the level of interaction a person has with others involved in criminal behaviour, the higher the chance that they will also engage in criminal behaviour (Akers, 2017). Exhaustive literature has found that association with criminal and deviant peers is linked to future criminal behaviour (Price and Dodge, 1989; Go, 1999; Nijhof *et al.*, 2010; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Keijsers *et al.*, 2012). This principle can also explain why immigrant adolescents who originate from households that hold traditional gender roles and a strong patriarchal ideology are likely to have the same views and take part in aggressive activities themselves (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). The second principle of social learning theory is definitions, and that refers to the attitudes and connotations a person attaches to a certain behaviour (Burgess and Akers, 1966). Learnt by socialisation processes, these definitions are what causes a person to perceive certain acts or values as moral/immoral, right/wrong. The third principle of social learning theory is differential reinforcement, which represents the balance of actual or expected rewards and penalties for acting, or not acting, in a certain way (Burgess and Akers, 1966). Social learning theory suggests that the likelihood that a person will abstain from or take part in criminal or deviant behaviour is contingent on the balance of past, present, and expected future rewards and penalties for their behaviour (Fox, 2017). The fourth and final principle of social learning theory is imitation, which depicts a person's participation in behaviour after witnessing this behaviour committed by an admired person. The probability of someone modelling another's behaviour is influenced by the characteristics of the models, the behaviour observed, and the observed consequences of this behaviour (Bandura, 1973, 1977). Social learning theory suggests that if a person witnesses a positive outcome resulting from an admired person's criminal behaviour, then they are more likely to model and carry out this behaviour themselves. Imitation is deemed to be one of the

most prominent principles in the social learning theory model (Fox, 2017). By evaluating the extent and direction of these four fundamental principles, social learning theory has consistently found moderate to strong associations between social learning theory variables and a person's criminal and delinquent behaviour, in the theoretically expected direction (Akers and Jensen, 2011; Akers, 2017; Fox, 2017).

4.5.2 Social learning research among adolescents

Social learning theory has often been employed in research among adolescents to explain their delinquent behaviour (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010b; Boxer *et al.*, 2013; Chen and Zhong, 2013; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021) and attitudes in support of violence against women (Kulis, Marsiglia and Nagoshi, 2010; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). In a nutshell, social learning theory posits that people, especially children and adolescents are active learners. They constantly interact with their proximal environment and learn how to act through social observation and mimicking. In environments such as the children's households and schools, their interactions with their family members, friends and teachers determine their attitudes and behaviours, and social learning theory suggests that violent acts and attitudes are learnt just like other forms of behaviour, and witnessing and/or experiencing violence in the household can support the view that using violence can help solve problems (Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Furthermore, compared to non-aggressive children, aggressive children report more hostile characteristics, higher self-efficacy for aggressive behaviour, and higher expectations of rewards for engaging in aggressive behaviour (Crick and Dodge, 1996; Marsee and Frick, 2007; Su, Mrug and Windle, 2010).

Previous research has found a positive relationship between exposure to family violence, such as household violence, parental harsh discipline in childhood and adolescence and approval of violence against women (Herrenkohl *et al.*, 2003; Haj-Yahia and Uysal, 2011; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). In the study among Jordanian adolescent boys and girls by Schuster *et al.* (Schuster *et al.*, 2020), rates of acceptance of wife beating ranged between 6.1% and 50.5%. For example, 50.5% of the total sample (boys and girls) stated it was acceptable for a wife to be beaten if she was unfaithful, 17.7% supported wife beating if the wife disrespected her husband's parents or siblings, and 6.1% stated that it is sometimes okay for a husband to beat his wife. Results showed that only paternal harsh discipline predicted supportive attitudes of wife beating among the whole sample, but when the sample was analysed by gender, paternal harsh discipline was found to be a significant predictor of supporting attitudes for boys only, while maternal harsh discipline was a significant predictor for girls only. These

gender differences were explained by social learning theory, where girls would imitate their mothers and look up to them as role models, whereas boys would look up to their fathers. The children would also believe that violence is an appropriate solution to a problem, as this mimics the behaviour they witness their primary care givers, and role models do (Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Moreover, previous research has shown that adolescents exposed to parental harsh and corporal punishment are less exposed to non-violent problem-solving techniques and are more liable to justify marital violence as a way of problem-solving (Straus and Yodanis, 1996).

4.5.3 Reactive and proactive aggression

Youths' aggression has been known to be a multidimensional construct, and over the years many researchers have aimed to define subtypes of aggression to reach a practical definition (Hartup, 2005). Some researchers have suggested characterising aggression based on form, for example, overt and relational aggression (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995) or physical and non-physical aggression (Tremblay, 2000). Other researchers suggested subtypes of aggression to be based on the fundamental underlying goal behind this behaviour. Accordingly, the distinction between two main underlying mechanisms, reactive and proactive aggression has gained increased attention for several decades (Dodge, 1991; Vitaro *et al.*, 2006; Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). Reactive aggression has been linked to the frustration-anger theory (e.g., Berkowitz, 1989, 1993; Fandrem, 2009). Reactive aggression is a retaliation which takes part as a reaction to a perceived threat or intimidation. It is impulsive in nature and is often combined with feelings of rage and anger (Fandrem 2009). Words used to describe reactive aggression include 'angry', 'hot-blooded' and 'impulsive' (Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017). On the other hand, proactive aggression is based on social learning theory (Bandura 1973) and is said to be a goal-oriented, deliberate action committed to reach a certain reward by the use of aggression. In contrast to reactive aggression, proactive aggression is not impulsive, and is led by emotions of pleasure and stimulation (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Skripkauskaitė *et al.*, 2015). Researchers have determined that ultimately, both reactive and proactive aggression are mostly influenced by socialisation processes and experiences (Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017). Research has found that although both forms of aggression coexist within the same person (Dodge *et al.*, 1997; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017), they manifest different outcomes. While reactive aggression was associated with social rejection (Price and Dodge, 1989), negative affect and internalizing problems in later years (Card and Little, 2006; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017), proactive aggression has been linked to higher levels of delinquency into adulthood (Raine *et al.*, 2006; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017).

With regard to proactive aggression, it was suggested that this should be comprised of two subtypes itself, power-related proactive aggression and affiliation related proactive aggression (Roland and Idsøe, 2001). As its name implies, power-related proactive aggression is driven by the desire to exert power over or dominate others. In contrast, affiliation-related proactive aggression is driven by a need to belong and be accepted. Research has shown that affiliation-related proactive aggression is related to higher levels of bullying among immigrant adolescents, more so than their native counterparts (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017).

4.5.4 Reactive and proactive aggression among migrant adolescents

Reactive and proactive types of aggression have been extensively explored among immigrant and refugee youths (Fandrem, Strohmeier and Erling, 2009; Hamner, Latzman and Chan, 2015; Mueller-Bamouh *et al.*, 2016; Augsburg *et al.*, 2017; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). It has been found that immigrant youths have a stronger need for belonging and affiliation, and are more likely to engage in affiliation-related proactive aggression, while native youths are more likely to engage in power-related proactive aggression (Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). This outcome presents the question of whether immigrant adolescents have a greater need for belonging and affiliation than their native peers, and if this could be the cause of aggressive behaviour. Previous literature has shown that ethnic harassment and perceived discrimination among immigrant adolescents are significant predictors of violent and aggressive behaviours (Özdemir, Özdemir and Stattin, 2019; Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020; Korol and Bevelander, 2021; Korol and Stattin, 2021), but that factors such as friend support and peer acceptance can buffer this negative effect by fulfilling the need for a social connection and affiliation (Strohmeier *et al.*, 2012; Korol, Bayram Özdemir and Stattin, 2020).

4.5.5 Summary of social learning theory

Social learning theory was first presented by Bandura (1973, 1977). According to this theory, aggressive behaviour and attitudes condoning aggression are learned through socialisation processes beginning in early childhood. Social learning theory is comprised of four principles: differential association, definitions, differential reinforcement, and imitation.

This Ph.D. thesis will consider social learning when investigating the variables experience of corporal punishment and having delinquent peers. Therefore, in line with social learning, it is hypothesised that there will be differences in levels of experience of corporal punishment between the groups (*H3*, *H13*). Additionally, it is also hypothesised that there is a relationship between experience of corporal punishment and attitudes in support of violence against women (*H6*), and experience of corporal punishment and self-reported aggression among adolescents (*H17*). Moreover, it is also hypothesised that there will be a relationship between having delinquent peers and self-reported aggression (*H18*). Finally, it is hypothesised that social learning will play a mediating role in the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes (*H9*)/self-reported aggression (*H21*).

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided four theoretical perspectives in line with the risk domains, literature presented in Chapters 2 and 3, namely attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition, and social learning theory. The theories were used to guide the methodology (Chapter 5), analysis (Chapters 6a-7a) and discussion (Chapters 6b-7b).

In summary, attachment theory highlights the importance of parent-child relations in defining the way in which the child will attach to their parent, which in turn, has an influence on the child's psychosocial wellbeing and development. Previous studies presented in this chapter and previous chapters (Chapters 2 and 3) have shown that the attachment style can influence the child as they move from infancy to middle childhood and adolescence, and literature on children with refugee and migrant backgrounds was presented and discussed in this chapter, highlighting the significance of parent-child attachment among immigrant children (Han, 2005; Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Janoff-Bulman, 2010; Juang *et al.*, 2018). In the following chapters, this Ph.D. will consider attachment theory in the variable parental involvement. The variable will be introduced in the methodology section in Chapter 5, and used in the analyses regarding self-reported aggression in Chapter 7a, followed by a discussion of the results (Chapter 7b).

The second theoretical perspective introduced and discussed in this chapter was patriarchal ideologies. To summarise, patriarchal ideologies entail a set of beliefs and standards that place men and women in a hierarchical power imbalance, where men are regarded to be dominant over women. Patriarchy has been extensively discussed from a feminist perspective, in addition to the so-called 'culture of honour' (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996). Previous literature showed that immigrant adolescents

are more likely to hold norms of masculinity that justify violence against women (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah et al., 2013). In addition to that, masculinity norms and attitudes in support of violence against women were also identified as risk factors for higher levels of aggression amongst immigrant and refugee youths (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah et al., 2013). This Ph.D. thesis will consider patriarchal ideologies when investigating the variables violence legitimising norms of masculinity and attitudes towards violence against women.

The third theoretical perspective presented in this chapter was social cognition. As discussed in this chapter, social cognition refers to the way in which a person processes, recalls, and uses information in social contexts to rationalise and predict their own behaviour and that of others. Also as discussed in previous chapters (Chapters 2 and 3), justification of violence against women can be associated to justification of violence in general. This chapter offered an overview of the three key theories grounding moral neutralisation: Moral disengagement (Bandura *et al.*, 1996), neutralisation theory (Sykes and Matza, 1957), and self-serving cognitive distortions (Barriga and Gibbs, 1996). This was followed by an overview and discussion of Ribeaud and Eisner's (2010a) moral neutralisation theory. Social cognition was considered in relation to the variables moral neutralisation of aggression and aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies.

The final theoretical perspective offered and discussed in this chapter was social learning theory (Bandura, 1973, 1977). According to social learning, aggressive behaviour and attitudes are learnt through socialisation processes from early childhood. Social learning theory consists of four chief tenets: differential association, definitions, differential reinforcement, and imitation. As shown in this and previous chapters, experience of corporal punishment and engaging with delinquent peers are significant risk factors to immigrant adolescent aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women (Walsh, Harel-Fisch and Fogel-Grinvald, 2010; Regev, Gueron-Sela and Atzaba-Poria, 2012; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Alink *et al.*, 2013; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; Zhu *et al.*, 2017; Schuster *et al.*, 2021). This Ph.D. thesis considered social learning in the variables experience of corporal punishment and having delinquent peers.

The variables discussed above will be introduced in the methodology section in Chapter 5, and used in the analyses regarding attitudes towards violence against women (Chapter 6A) and self-reported aggression (Chapter 7A), followed by a discussion of the results (Chapters 6B, 7B), and a final conclusion (Chapter 8).

Chapter FIVE: Methodology

5.1 Overview

The following chapter will start by introducing the Zurich Project on the Social Development of Children and Youths (z-proso) study, as it is the source of data used in this thesis, its sample, design and methodology. This will be followed by an account of how the refugee/migrant/native subsamples were extracted from the z-proso dataset. This will then be followed by some descriptive statistics on each of the migrant groups, namely information on the participants' gender, country of origin and maximum parental education level. Following that, the chapter will then introduce and elaborate on the measures used in the analyses included in Chapters 6A and 7A.

5.2 Zurich Project on the Social Development of Children and Youths (z-proso)

The analyses are based on secondary data drawn from an ongoing combined longitudinal and intervention study, the Zurich Project on the Social Development of Children and Youths (z-proso), with a diverse cohort of children and youths in Zurich Switzerland ($N = 1,675$ in the target sample; ~50% female) (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). The primary aims of the project were to add to evidence-based developmental violence prevention and to further the knowledge of the life-course development of social skills and antisocial behaviour (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). The study started in 2004 when the participants were 7 years old ($N=1,360$) and has tracked the children's development to age 20 ($N = 1,180$). Data collection took place in ten waves at ages 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, and 20, with the most recent wave of data collection being in 2018 (i.e. at 20 years old). This large-scale study employs a multi-method layout that integrates teacher, child, and parent reports with experimental and developmental and biological measures, functional imaging, and ecological momentary assessment (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). Findings from this study have been extensively published in more than 90 peer-reviewed papers in fields such as criminology, psychiatry, and epidemiology. Journal articles span a wide array of topics such as risk factors of aggression among youths (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010b), bullying and victimisation (Averdijk *et al.*, 2011), sex differences in ADHD trajectories across childhood and adolescence (Murray *et al.*, 2019), substance use (Quednow *et al.*, 2021), and many more.

The z-proso study was conceptualised in 2001, when Zurich, Switzerland's biggest city (population ~400,000) and among the wealthiest cities globally, encountered heightened levels of youth violence in low-income, multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. Accordingly, the Council of the City of Zurich conducted a study to evaluate the levels of violence and preventative structures and resources

in Zurich, in which findings showed a deficiency in early-prevention support for schools and families (Eisner *et al.*, 2003). Moreover, a longitudinal study was advised to assess intervention outcomes and associated dynamics in youth' behaviour over time. The interventions chosen were the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program (Sanders, 1999) and the school-based intervention Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies – PATHS (Kusché, Greenberg and Anderson, 1994). The z-proso study was hence developed and led by Professor Manuel Eisner and Dr Denis Ribeaud.

Accordingly, the z-proso study had four main objectives. It first aimed to depict the social development of youths from childhood to adolescence in a diverse metropolitan sample, with a specific emphasis on aggressive and non-aggressive behavioural issues. Secondly, the study aimed to add to the understanding of the ramifications of victimisation and risk factors related to aggressive behaviour. Thirdly, the study aimed to investigate possible protective factors that could help to reinforce violence-prevention strategies taking place among families, schools, and neighbourhoods. Finally, the study aimed to appraise both the short- and long-term efficacy of the interventions Triple-P (Sanders, 1999) and PATHS (Kusché, Greenberg and Anderson, 1994) that were employed by the Council of the City of Zurich (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021).

5.2.1 z-proso sample overview

Data collection started in August 2004. Data from 1675 first grade children (approximately 7 years of age), across 116 classes, and from 56 large and small schools across a number of districts were collected, resulting in a sample consisting of a small overrepresentation of low SES schools (Eisner and Ribeaud, 2007; Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021).

Participants were recruited to the study in three main stages: At the beginning of the study in 2004 when the children were aged around 7 years, and when the children were aged 13 and 15 years. In the first wave of data collection, the parent questionnaires were mainly answered by the children's biological or adoptive mothers (93.9%), and only small percentages of fathers (5.2%) or foster/step-parents (0.9%). This pattern continued throughout the data collection waves, where mothers/female primary care givers answered the parental questionnaires (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). The research team took several steps to recruit non-German speaking immigrant-background families such as offering all contact materials and questionnaires in nine languages, employing bilingual interviewers for all main language groups, and referring to community representatives to discuss likely apprehensions that related to taking part in the study (Eisner and Ribeaud, 2007; Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). Participants (and their parents) gave informed consent and were told they could opt out of the study at any point (Eisner

and Ribeaud, 2007). The sample was extremely varied with regard to origin-countries and native languages of the parents (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). The percentage of mothers who were not born in Switzerland in the z-proso study was high (58%) and they came from over 80 different countries including former Yugoslavia, Germany, Portugal, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Italy (Averdijk, Ribeaud and Eisner, 2015; Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). As a result, 53% of the primary care givers were not native German-speakers with Albanian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Portuguese, Turkish, Spanish, Tamil, and Italian being their main languages (Eisner and Ribeaud, 2007). The multicultural variety in the z-proso sample mirrors the significant percentage of second-generation immigrant youths in Switzerland, and the city of Zurich in particular (Fibbi *et al.*, 2015).

5.2.2 Parental questionnaire overview

Parental interviews took place in the participant's home, using computer-aided personal interviewing (CAPI) and took about an hour to complete. Parents were interviewed when the target child was aged 7, 8, 9 and 11 years (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). Due to the high level of cultural diversity in the sample, the parent questionnaire was available in 10 languages: German, Albanian, Portuguese, Serbian, Tamil, Spanish, Turkish, Italian, Croatian and English (Eisner and Ribeaud, 2007) in order to avoid missing out on data from significant portions of the target population.

The questionnaires were very extensive with a wide array of instruments used. These instruments include the Social Behaviour Questionnaire (SBQ), which measures child prosocial behaviour, aggressive and non-aggressive behaviour problems, internalising symptoms such as anxiety and depression, and symptoms of attention-deficit/hyperactivity (ADHD) disorder (Murray *et al.*, 2019; Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021), the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire (APQ) (Shelton, Frick and Wootton, 1996), an instrument that assesses parenting behaviour, for example, the use of corporal punishment, parental warmth, erratic parenting, and other parenting practices, a family climate scale, and other parental variables such as pre- and perinatal circumstances, social behaviour, migration history, childhood memories, moral values, acculturation, friendship network and many more (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021).

5.2.3 Child questionnaire overview

For ages 7, 8, and 9, the interviews with children took place at school, were administered via CAPI, and took about 45 minutes to complete. After that, at ages 11, 13, 15, and 17, participants

completed standardised paper questionnaires, administered in group settings at their schools. Finally, at age 20, participants completed computer-assisted questionnaires (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021).

Similar to the parent interviews, the child questionnaires assessed an extensive range of topics. These include the SBQ, impulsivity and risk taking, sensation-seeking, bullying victimisation and perpetration, self-control, conflict coping strategies, aggressive decision-making, delinquency, measures of legal cynicism and police legitimacy, moral neutralisation of violence, guilt, shame, media use, substance use, dating/sexual violence, norms of masculinity and many more. The measures were adapted to be age-appropriate in order to be administered to the children at various points of their lives (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021).

5.2.4 Teacher questionnaire overview

Teacher questionnaires were administered in the target children's classes using paper and pencil questionnaires. For children who had two teachers in class, the main teacher was asked to complete the assessments. The questionnaires consisted of a child assessment form, a whole class assessment form and instructions (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021).

Child-level assessments included instruments that measure the child's social behaviour such as ADHD, non-aggressive externalising problem behaviour and aggression, the child's school achievement, relationship to child and parents and many others, from the perspective of the teacher. Examples of class-level assessments include measures of class cohesion, juvenile behaviour and problem behaviour in school (Eisner and Ribeaud, 2007).

5.3 Ethics

Ethical approval was gained by the z-proso team in accordance with the requirements for ethical conduct in survey-based research with human subjects in Switzerland, as defined by the Association of the Swiss Ethics Committee (2009).

The z-proso team conducted data collection for this study. Prior to participation, informed consent was obtained from both parents and/or adolescents, adhering to national regulations. All data handling procedures complied with data protection laws. Adolescents aged 7 to 11, whose parents consented but chose not to participate themselves, were given the option to decline involvement. Due to the non-invasive nature of the study's design, inquiries, and interventions, ethical clearance

was initially unnecessary under Swiss regulations. However, since 2017, the main study has obtained ethical approval from the Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Zurich. Additional studies led by collaborating research teams obtained separate approvals (Ribeaud et al., 2021). In addition to that, a further ethics application for this specific research was submitted by me to the University of Sheffield, and ethical approval was obtained. Following the successful ethics application, I signed a confidentiality agreement contract to protect the data.

5.4 Access to the z-proso dataset

Following numerous communications with Professor Manual Eisner (Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge) and signing a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix), access to start working with the z-proso dataset was granted.

5.5 Sample selection

During the z-proso data collection process, the children and their parents were unfortunately never asked the specific question ‘are you a refugee?’, which would have allowed migrants and refugees to be easily differentiated from one another. This meant that migration status had to be determined from other variables associated with migration status. This process was required in order to answer the research questions proposed by this thesis, all aiming to compare second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents. Several steps were carried out to identify migration group membership.

To begin with, the countries which z-proso participants originated from were examined, and those countries with a history of civil war or conflict between the years 1980 and 2003 were singled out. This was done by briefly exploring the history during 1980-2003 of every origin country in the z-proso sample. The years 1980-2003 were chosen as an initial criterion for inclusion. These years were chosen as the first wave of data collection took place in 2004, and many of the migrants – specifically those from former Yugoslavia – emigrated to Switzerland during these years when the civil war was ongoing (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021).

After initially and loosely identifying countries of interest, a 202-page German review document by the Swiss Secretariat for Migration, titled ‘Asylpraxis der Schweiz von 1979 bis 2019’ which translates to ‘Asylum practice in Switzerland from 1979 to 2019’ (Parak, 2020) was used to get

an initial understanding of the main immigration patterns into Switzerland from war zone countries. The report provided country-specific information showing the number of asylum applications from different countries of origin by year, from 1979. Despite the limited number of countries discussed in the report, those included statistically cover more than 70 percent of all asylum applications made in Switzerland from 1979 to 2019. Accordingly, the migration countries included in the report were a good starting base to compare against the participants in the z-proso sample. A summary of countries mentioned in the report of which participants' parents from the total z-proso sample originate is briefly outlined below. For some countries, asylum graphs were provided by Parak (2020), and have been used in the summary provided below.

This was followed by generating a potential list of refugee countries, based on the information gathered regarding migration patterns into Switzerland. The list was then kept aside as a reference, and data screening and sample selection was then carried out. This process required selecting certain variables and criteria to identify second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents. This process is also discussed below.

5.5.1 Patterns of asylum in Switzerland from 1980 – 2003

Afghanistan:

The recent history of Afghanistan has been characterized by internal conflicts, foreign influence, phases of upheaval and of consolidation. The 1980s and 1990s were marked with internal Afghan fighting, armed resistance against the Soviet troops, changing coalitions and the breakdown of fragile state structures (Girardet, 2012; Urban, 2016). Poverty, the turmoil of war and profound social upheavals have driven masses of people from Afghanistan to flight into other countries, including Switzerland (Parak, 2020).

Afghan asylum seekers who entered Switzerland in the years of interest belonged to various ethnic, denominational, and political groups. The majority were single young men, whose identity and nationality have in most cases not been proven and who have previously lived in Iran or Pakistan for a long time. Former high-ranking government officials and political exponents also made up some of the Afghan asylum seekers during the years 1980-2003 (Parak, 2020).

Iraq:

In the 1980s and 1990s, an average of several hundred Iraqi nationals applied for asylum in Switzerland annually. After a peak of about 2,000 applications in 1998, Iraq played a rather minor role in the following years with around 500 applications per year (Parak, 2020).

After Iraq's military defeat in the second Gulf War, the Kurds in northern Iraq revolted against the central government in Baghdad in 1991 (Goldstein and Watch, 1992). In the period that followed, the Kurdish areas gradually became separated from the Iraqi government, a northern Kurdish autonomy with state-like structures was established and de facto independence was achieved (Gunter, 1993). Since the mid-1990s, asylum applications have risen to a few hundred per year and in 1997/98 have risen markedly from around 500 to over 2000.

Iraqi asylum seekers came from a deeply politically divided country and belonged to various ethnic, religious, and political groups. The majority of Iraqi asylum seekers who sought refuge in Switzerland were Kurds, and mainly originated from Northern Iraq (Parak, 2020). Most of the asylum seekers were single young men who, when the first Gulf War broke out in 1980, were legally residing in Middle Eastern countries as guest workers and who did not want to or could not return to Iraq. The main reasons given are refusal to serve in the military and opposition to the regime of Saddam Hussein, who ruled the country from 1979 to 2003 (Parak, 2020). Figure 5.1 acquired from the Swiss Secretariat of Migration (Parak, 2020), shows patterns of asylum from Iraq into Switzerland.

Blue: Asylum requests

Grey highlighted: Granted asylum

Black line: First instance pending applications

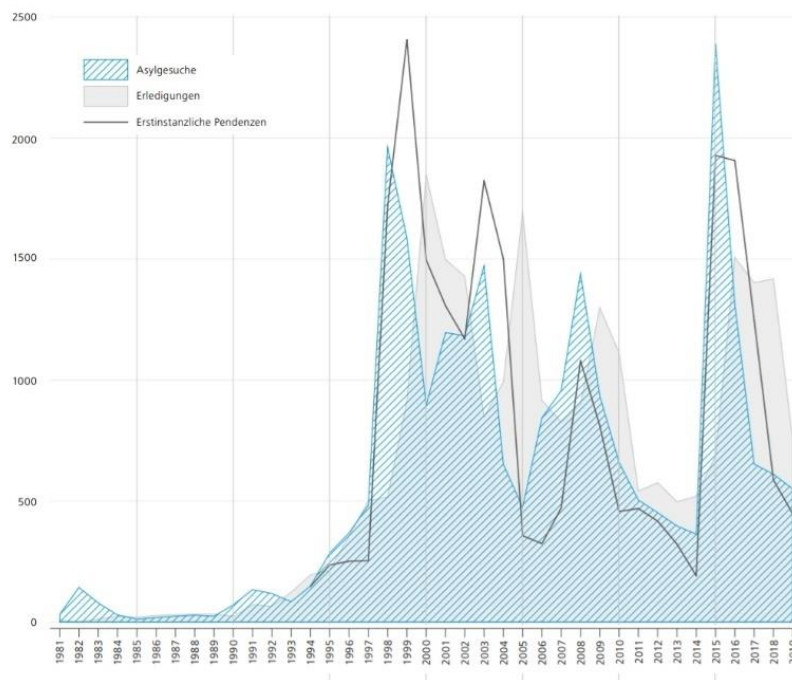


Figure 5.1: Patterns of asylum from Iraq into Switzerland

China:

Switzerland's asylum practice for Chinese nationals can be roughly split into a period before and after the first asylum law came into force at the beginning of 1981. They are each based on different legal bases and stand in a different national and international context. What both periods have in common is that most of the asylum seekers from China were Tibetans. With around 8,000 Tibetan refugees, Switzerland is the largest exile for the Tibetan community in Europe (Parak, 2020). In the 1970s, Tibetans did not go through an individual asylum procedure into Switzerland but were accepted collectively and recognized as political refugees. Things changed in the 1980s, and asylum applications submitted by Chinese nationals were individually examined based on the provisions of the Asylum Act. In the 1990s, an average of fewer than 100 applications per year were submitted (Parak, 2020).

Iran:

Following the Islamic Revolution in 1979, hundreds of thousands of Iranian people left their country (Kurzman, 2005; Parak, 2020). Reasons for fleeing include human rights violations, restriction of freedom of expression, oppression of oppositional groups, consequences of refusal to do military service, discrimination against religious, ethnic minorities, women and people on the basis of their sexual orientation or gender identity (Parak, 2020).

In the 1980s, given the high number of pending asylum applications from Iran, the Swiss authorities were unable to process all applications quickly, which led to several hunger strikes and petitions by Iranian asylum seekers (Parak, 2020). Iranian asylum seekers were heterogenous in terms of ethnicity, religion and ideology. Most of them were young, well-educated single men from the upper middle class and an urban environment (Parak, 2020). Figure 5.2 acquired from the Swiss Secretariat of Migration (Parak, 2020), shows patterns of asylum from Iran into Switzerland.

Blue: Asylum requests

Grey highlighted: Granted asylum

Black line: First instance pending applications

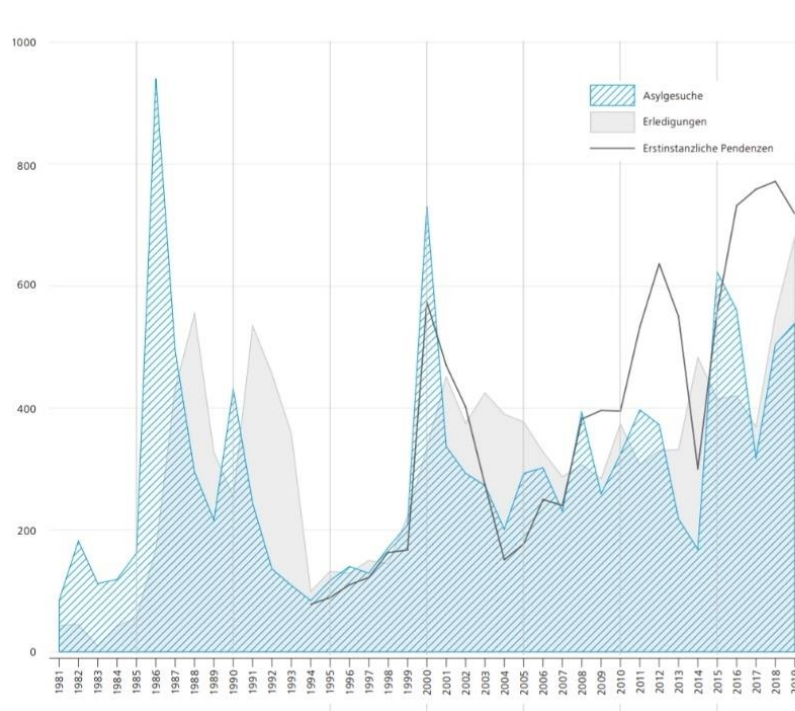


Figure 5.2: Patterns of asylum from Iran into Switzerland

Ex-Yugoslavia:

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, founded after the Second World War, is made up of the six republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia. Within Serbia, the two provinces Vojvodina and Kosovo have varying degrees of autonomy (Banac, 2009). At the beginning of the 1960s, due to the stagnant political and economic conditions, a high number of individuals migrated to Western Europe, and along with other countries, Switzerland became a destination for Yugoslav “guest workers”, a labour migration that increased sharply over the years. Workers consisted of a mix of qualified and academically trained specialists, along with less qualified individuals who originate from the economically underdeveloped province of Kosovo and took up employment in the construction, hospitality and agriculture sectors (Parak, 2020).

After Tito's death in 1980, political and ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia intensified and that led to the gradual disintegration of the state which in turn triggered politically motivated emigration (Ramet, 2018). As a result of the break-up of Yugoslavia, Switzerland saw itself in the 1990s with a large influx of refugees. By then, the categories “political refugee” and “labor migrant” were no longer easily separated (Parak, 2020).

Bosnia and Herzegovina

The armed conflicts in Slovenia and Croatia were followed by the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992-1995 (Marijan, 2004), and asylum applications by Bosnian citizens increased significantly with the first wave of refugees being mostly women and children (Parak, 2020). In 1993, the Federal Council decided to regulate the residence of Bosnian war displaced persons by means of temporary admission to Switzerland in groups. Around 18,000 people from Bosnia and Herzegovina found protection in Switzerland during the war, with around 5000 recognized as refugees (Parak, Stephan, 2020). Moreover, in the summer of 1995, Serb militias murdered more than 8,000 Bosnian Muslims in the city of Srebrenica (Zveržhanovski, 2007). Survivors of this war crime were also subject to collective persecution and asylum in Switzerland (Parak, 2020).

Kosovo

As a result of the escalating state repression in the province of Kosovo, a few Albanian-speaking Kosovars have been seeking asylum in Switzerland since the beginning of the 1980s (Parak,

2020). Asylum applications increased sharply after 1988, especially after the autonomy of the province was restricted. By the 1990s, several thousand asylum applications were submitted annually (Parak, 2020). The sharpest increase in asylum applications into Switzerland happened between the years 1998-1999 with over 50,000 applications just from Kosovo (Parak, 2020). Within these years, the violence between the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and the Serbian army escalated and tensions were very high (Perritt, 2010). At the height of the crisis there were up to 1,200 asylum applications into Switzerland a day, and in April 1999, the Federal Council decided to admit people who were last resident in Kosovo with the addition of around 2,500 Kosovar refugees who had been displaced to Macedonia. Then, in August 1999, the Swiss government lifted collective temporary admission, as the situation in Kosovo started rapidly normalizing after the military intervention of NATO and the withdrawal of the Serbian troops. By then, asylum applications from Kosovar Albanians had decreased as a result (Parak, 2020). Figure 5.3 acquired from the Swiss Secretariat of Migration (Parak, 2020), shows patterns of asylum from ex-Yugoslavia into Switzerland.

Blue: Asylum requests

Grey highlighted: Granted asylum

Black line: First instance pending applications

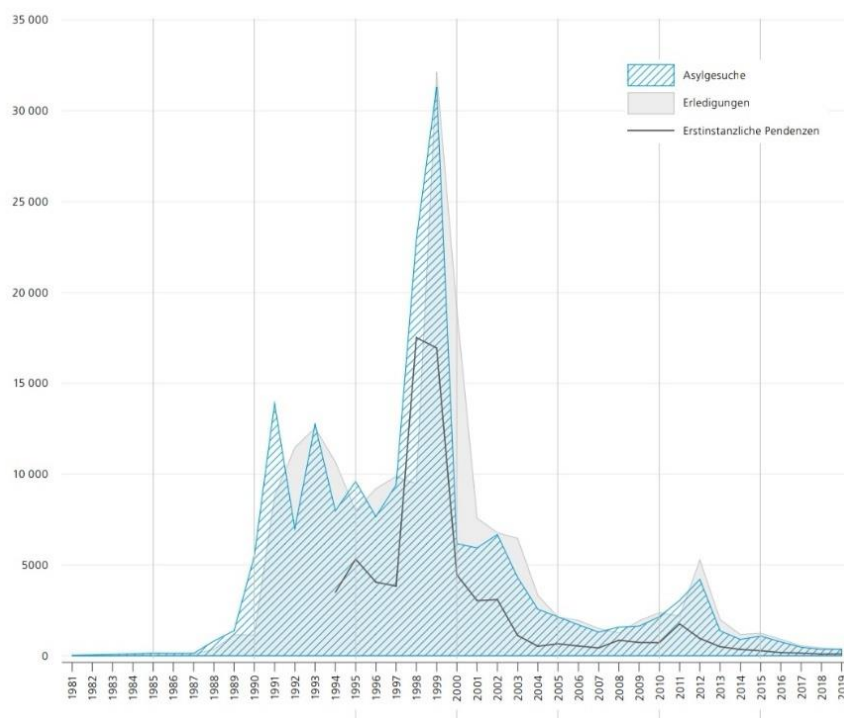


Figure 5.3: Patterns of asylum from ex-Yugoslavia into Switzerland

Maghreb:

The Maghreb (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) has traditionally been a region of emigration to Europe since the 1980s (Parak, 2020). Reasons provided for migration included poor economic and social conditions as well as persecution of oppositionists, intellectuals, human rights activists, and journalists critical of the regime, oppression of women and severe discrimination of homosexuals by repressive and authoritarian regimes (Parak, 2020). Most of the asylum seekers from the Maghreb were single young men with no professional training and no identity papers. Maghreb states are often perceived as a unit, but the migration history of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia shows country-specific peculiarities (Parak, 2020).

Algeria

Among the three Maghreb states, Algeria is the country from which most asylum seekers have migrated to Switzerland from (Parak, 2020). As a result of political unrest, Islamist terror and repression, asylum applications rose to around 500 a year in the 1990s. There was an increase in applications between 2001 and 2003, with asylum applications almost doubling (Parak, 2020).

Tunisia

The number of asylum applications by Tunisian nationals has been at a low level for a long time since the 1970s. Fewer than 200 applications are submitted each year (Parak, 2020).

Morocco

Like Tunisia, the number of asylum applications from Moroccan nationals in Switzerland has been low until its sharp increase after the Arab Spring in 2011. In the 1990s and 2000s, however, fewer than 50 applications were submitted each year with only a few Moroccan asylum seekers granted refugee status (Parak, 2020).

Nigeria:

In 1990, over 300 asylum applications were submitted to Switzerland, mostly by single young men. Due to the low recognition rate of asylum seekers from Nigeria, asylum applications granted have been low during the years 1980-2019 (Parak, 2020).

Soviet Union:

The number of asylum applications from the former socialist Soviet republic has fluctuated from year to year. Between the years 1992-2019, most asylum applications originated from Georgia and Russia, with an average of around 1200 applications per year. Most asylum seekers were single men who have stated reasons for asylum to be membership in an opposition party, desertion from military service or unfair legal proceedings (Parak, 2020).

Sri Lanka:

Following the civil war between the government of the predominantly Sinhalese country and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and other Tamil groups, nationwide persecutions against members of the Tamil minority broke out in the summer of 1983, a movement called 'Black July'. This anti-Tamil movement saw thousands of Tamil civilians attacked, burned, looted and killed by Sinhalese mobs (Yass, 2014). Hundreds of thousands of young Tamils have left Sri Lanka and fled to Europe (Parak, 2020). Figure 5.4 acquired from the Swiss Secretariat of Migration (Parak, 2020), shows patterns of asylum from Sri Lanka into Switzerland.

Blue: Asylum requests

Grey highlighted: Granted asylum

Black line: First instance pending applications

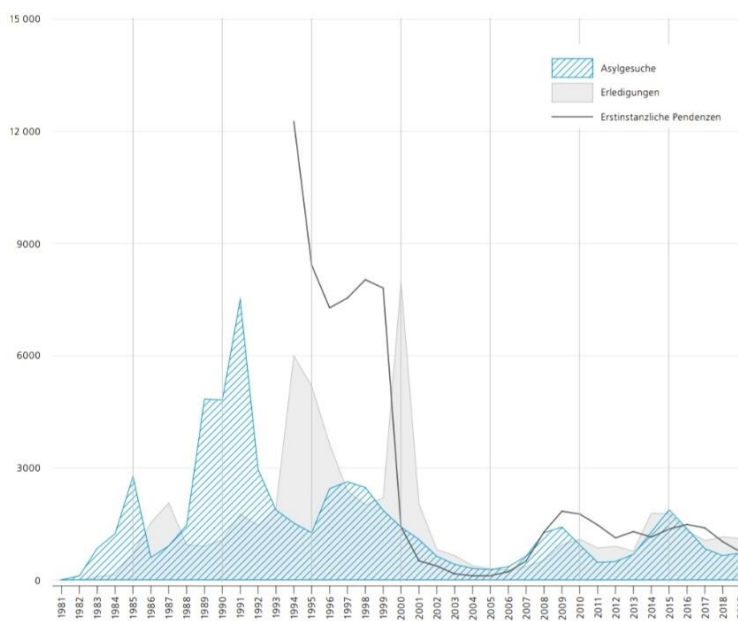


Figure 5.4: Patterns of asylum from Sri Lanka into Switzerland

Syria:

The repressive regime of Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad has been forcing many people in Syria to flee since the 1970s and Switzerland has been a target country of asylum (Parak, 2020). The outbreak of the civil war in Syria in 2011 has caused a wider global refugee movement that put the country at the centre of worldwide attention (Parak, 2020).

Turkey:

An economically motivated migration to Switzerland occurred between the years 1960-1980 as a result of the poor economic situation in Turkey and the simultaneous demand for labour in Switzerland (Parak, 2020). In 1980, a large refugee movement took place due to the repression that set in after the military coup and Turkish trade unionists, students and members of left-wing opposition groups subsequently applied for asylum (Karabelias, 1999). In 1985, almost 4,000 applications were submitted, with a sharper increase in the following years (Parak, 2020). The precarious human rights situation, the persecution of regime critics and the expansion of military conflicts between the “Kurdish Workers' Party” (PKK) and the Turkish military lead to even more migration and in 1988, almost 10,000 Turkish asylum applications were submitted, and most asylum seekers were young Kurdish men (Parak, 2020). This politically induced refugee movement from Turkey, however, was overlaid by labour migration (Parak, 2020). Figure 5.5 acquired from the Swiss Secretariat of Migration (Parak, 2020), shows patterns of asylum from Turkey into Switzerland.

Blue: Asylum requests

Grey highlighted: Granted asylum

Black line: First instance pending applications

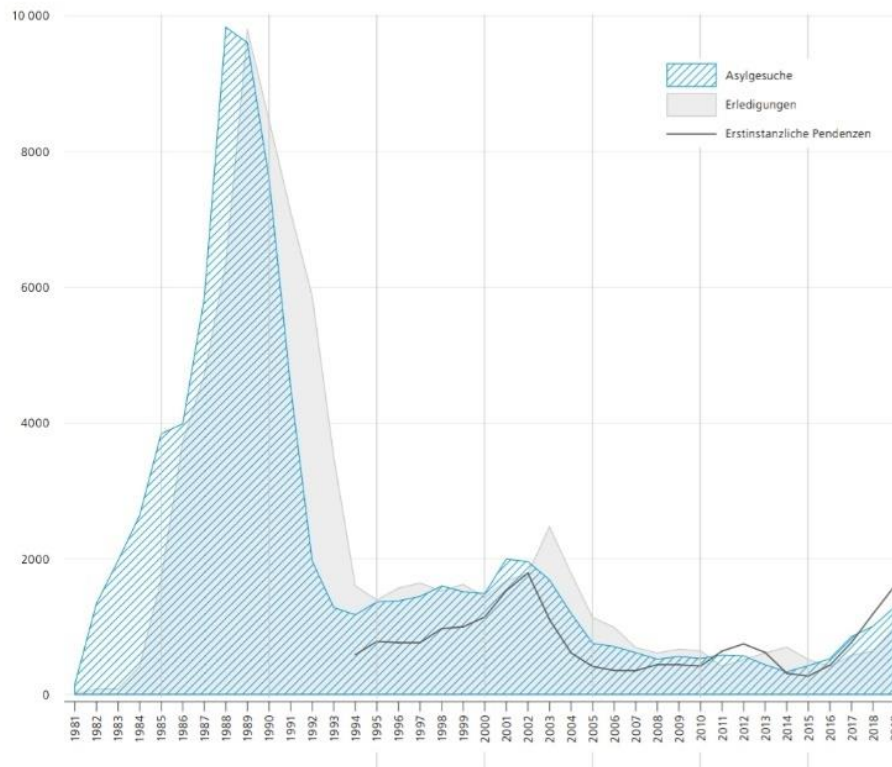


Figure 5.5: Patterns of asylum from Turkey into Switzerland

Examination of Zurich's statistical yearbooks for migration

After studying the document by the Secretariat of the Swiss office of Migration (Parak, Stephan, 2020), a closer, in-depth examination of the statistical yearbooks for migration into the city of Zurich, Switzerland during the years 1980 – 2003 was conducted. Similar to the migration document discussed above, the yearbooks were all in German, with an average of 300 pages per yearbook. Upon reviewing the yearbooks, refugees from the following countries stood out to have entered Zurich in the specified time: Afghanistan, Angola, Former Yugoslavia, Iran, Somalia, Turkey, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and other countries (with less frequencies) that were labelled as 'other states'.

At this point, after combining the findings from both document sources, a list of countries was generated as highly possible refugee countries for the research, namely: Afghanistan, Angola, Former Yugoslavia, Iran, Somalia, Turkey, Iraq, China, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and the Soviet Union. This list was then kept aside as the next stage took place: data screening and sample selection.

5.5.2 Data screening and sample selection

The variables used to identify second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents were parental countries of birth, year of emigration, reason for emigration, the type of immigration permit the parents have, specific cities the parents left from, and parental main language. No one variable alone could be used to ascertain migration background as the dataset was very large, and there were many missing data points in many of the variables and years assessed. Moreover, because this is a longitudinal study, responses were recorded over the years. Therefore, in many cases, the origin country was recorded as Switzerland in the first year of the study, but checking the other variables or the origin country in further years, a different response was given consistently for a different country of origin, for example. Accordingly, the very large dataset had to be scrutinised on a case by case / variable after variable basis to identify the groups.

Based on the reports studied above, a clear picture of migration patterns into Zurich was established. Over the years, participants stated their parental countries of origin, and where there were inconsistencies, the other variables mentioned above were examined. The variables for 'reason for emigration' were filled in by the parents at the first year of the study. These consisted of four questions, an open-ended question of 'Why did you leave your home country?', and three tick-box questions with reasons being civil-war/ethnic/religious persecution, political persecution and other dangers to life. Again, this variable alone was not enough to ascertain a refugee migration background as there were a lot of missing data, so it was important to consider several more variables in the dataset. Another straight-forward variable, also with a lot of missing data, was the permit type the mother held at the time of being questioned (first year of the study). Participants who stated they held 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker' permits were included in the second-generation refugee group, in addition to those stating their reasons for emigration as dangers to life, civil-war, and ethnic/religious/political persecution. Afterwards, for the cases where participants stated they come from 'refugee countries' identified in the reports but did not provide a reason for emigration or permit type, the specific cities the participants came from were examined, and cross-checked with the year the participant left their home country. For example, if a participant stated they originally came from Sarajevo, and entered Switzerland during the years of the Bosnian war (1992-1995), then they were identified as second-generation refugees. Moreover, maternal and paternal main languages were examined, to further select refugee cases. For example, Turks who entered Switzerland during conflict years and whose mother tongue was Kurdish were considered Kurdish refugees, as were those who came from Iraq but also spoke Kurdish. Finally, upon further research, it was decided that all participants entering Switzerland from Somalia and Sri Lanka were to be considered refugees. This

decision was made as literature and immigration yearbooks support the theory that entry into Switzerland in the 80s and 90s from these countries is mostly by refugees (Moret, 2006; Velamati, 2009). Some example cases marked as refugees are outlined below:

- Case 987: Mother from Angola, father from Congo, left Kinshasa in Congo in 1991 and entered Switzerland in 1995. Other variables such as permit type and reasons for emigration were missing.
- Cases 1673 and 486: Come from Ferizaj (Kosovo), dates leaving country coincide with Kosovo war. All other variables missing.
- Cases 1470 and 301 are from Adiyaman, a province in Turkey, which is considered part of Turkish Kurdistan. Dates to leave Turkey coincide with civil war. Parental main languages stated as Kurdish. Permit type and reasons for emigration data missing. These cases are most likely refugee Kurdish Turks.
- Case 346: Mother from Maras Pazarcik, another region in Turkey, 90% of which are of Kurdish origin. The city/dates are in line with other definite Turkish refugees who have provided reasons for emigration as civil war/political persecution, permit type as asylum and main language as Kurdish. All other information missing for these cases, but it can be inferred that they were also Kurdish Turk refugees.
- Case 267: both parents born in Prizren, Kosovo. Again, Prizren is a confirmed city which refugees fled from. The dates of leaving Prizren aligned with confirmed refugees in the sample, who escaped during the Kosovo war. All other information was missing.
- Cases 878 and 246 from Tehran. Left home country 1994 and 1989 respectively. This corresponds to the Iran-Iraq war.
- Case 1384: Mother stated she is Swiss but has left Vietnam in 1979. Father politically persecuted, entered Switzerland in 1986 – despite stating the country of origin as Switzerland, other variables, including the four reasons for emigration variables and permit type, confirmed a refugee status.
- Case 1196: Mother's birth country stated as Angola. Father's birth country stated as Portugal. Mother left Angola in 1975, entered Switzerland in 1996. In the open question, the reason for leaving home country was stated as 'Escaping the war in Angola'.
- Case 1327: Parental origin country given as Pakistan – no civil war, but the stated reason to emigrate was political persecution in the tick-box question, and 'political problems' in the

open-ended questions. Moreover, Pakistan was one of the countries identified in the migration reports discussed above.

- Case 929: Parental origin country given as Angola, dates fit with civil war. Permit type stated as 'Asylum'. All other information was missing.
- Case 556: Mother's birth country stated as Kurdistan, and maternal language given as Kurdish. All other information, including paternal information, was missing, but it could be inferred that the mother was a Kurdish Turk, therefore a likely refugee.
- Case 1539 : Stated mother as Swiss, but stated reason for migration to be dangers to life and permit type as 'asylum'. All other information was missing.
- Only one case from Sarajevo was not considered a refugee, as parents entered Switzerland/left Sarajevo in 1986, and the Bosnian war was between 1992 – 1995. This is likely labour migration, so this case was not included in the analysis. All other cases from Sarajevo were confirmed refugees as dates aligned with war/other refugee-related variables.

After including all Sri Lankans and Somalis and going through the specific variables specified above, all other cases from identified 'refugee countries' were dropped from the analysis, as the migration motive was not clearly established. Anyone who could not be clearly assigned to one of the groups was excluded (e.g., parental country set as Turkey with no further information provided). Accordingly, to avoid missclassification, i.e. falsely identify refugees as migrants or vice versa, all other participants from the 25 identified refugee countries, except for participants who said their mothers come from Germany, Hungary, and Switzerland were not included in the analysis.

Similar criteria were applied to conceptualise second-generation migrants, and these include adolescents with at least one voluntary (not war-related) migrant parent'. The second parent could be a Swiss native but could not be a refugee, because children with one refugee parent and one voluntary migrant parent were categorised as second-generation refugees. A similar selection procedure happened where the variables of parental countries of origin were cross-checked across the years, and other variables such as reasons for emigration and main languages were considered. For example, it was common for participants to state the parental origin country to be Switzerland, but further scrutiny of the dataset showed a different country to be the origin country. For example, where a year of emigration, city of origin, or main languages spoken at home confirmed the country of origin being Brazil, even though the participants originally stated Switzerland to be the country of origin.

Finally, the variable 'Migration Status' was created, with three categories: second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants – not war related, and Swiss native mothers. The maternal birth

country was considered for this variable due to several reasons. To begin with, the vast majority of responses by parents for the z-proso study were completed by the mothers (93.9%) rather than the fathers (5.2%) or other primary care givers (0.9%). Moreover, there was a lot of missing data with regards to the fathers' birth countries in comparison to the mothers. Also, there was a lot of missing data with regards to the information relating to the father throughout the dataset. Finally, since traditionally, and within this dataset, the main caregiver was the mother, it made sense to base migration status on the mother, as her experiences/feelings would influence the children.

Accordingly, the total sample consisted of 1230 adolescents, with 445 participants from the original z-proso dataset being removed from the analysis as the migration status was not clear. Second-generation refugees made up 16.5% of the sample, voluntary second-generation migrants made up 40.6%, and native Swiss adolescents made up 42.9% of the sample. The breakdown of the migration status variable is shown in Table 5.1. Apart from the parent variables utilised in conjunction with child variables to develop the migration status variable, all other variables in this thesis and analyses were chosen from the child-reported surveys.

Table 5.1: Breakdown of the Migration Status variable

Migration status	Frequency	Percent
Refugee	203	16.5
Migrant – not war related	499	40.6
Native Swiss	528	42.9

5.6 Adolescent sample profile: Second-generation- refugees, -migrants and native Swiss adolescents

As presented in Table 5.2, for all three categories, there are similar numbers of males and females. The sample of refugee adolescents is made up of 98 males (48.3%) and 105 females (51.7%). For adolescents with a migrant background (not war-related), the sample is comprised of 248 males (49.7%) and 251 females (50.3%). Finally, the sample of native Swiss adolescents is comprised of 289 males (54.7%) and 239 females (45.3%). With regards to their countries/regions of origin, the majority of the refugee subsample originally come from Sri Lanka ($N=97$, 45.3%), followed by Ex-Yugoslavian countries ($N= 44$, 21.8%), Somalia ($N=17$, 8.4%) and other countries/regions ($N= 45$, 22.2%)– see Table 5.3. Alternatively, most adolescents with a migrant background originally came from Western Europe ($N=318$, 63.8%), followed by Southeast Asia ($N=40$, 8%), Eastern Europe ($N=34$, 6.8%), North America ($N=31$, 6.2%) and other regions ($N=76$, 15.2%) as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.2: Gender breakdown of the refugee, migrant and native sub-samples

Gender	Refugee total number (%)	Migrant total number (%)	Native total number (%)
Male	98(48.3)	248(49.7)	289(54.7)
Female	105(51.7)	251(50.3)	239(45.3)

Table 5.3: Countries/regions of origin of adolescents with refugee and migrant backgrounds

Country/region of origin	Refugee frequency (%)	Migrant frequency (%)
Sri Lanka	92(45.3)	N/A
Ex-Yugoslavia	44(21.6)	N/A
Somalia	17(8.4)	N/A
Turkey	11(5.4)	N/A
Middle East	11(5.4)	5(1.0)
Southern Africa	8(3.9)	2(0.4)
South/Southeast Asia	7(3.5)	40(8.0)
Western Europe*	4(2.0)	318(63.8)
South America	3(1.5)	35(7.0)
Eastern Europe	3(1.5)	34(6.8)
West Africa	2(1.0)	6(1.2)
East Africa	1(0.5)	2(0.4)
East Asia	N/A	9(1.8)
North Africa	N/A	17(3.4)
North America	N/A	31(6.2)
Total	203	499

*For refugee adolescents, despite having Germany(N=2), Portugal(N=1) and Switzerland (N=1) as a stated country of origin, all other selection variables indicated a refugee migration status.

Parental level of education was measured as the highest level of education obtained between the primary male and female caregivers (usually father and mother). The amount of missing data was 31 cases (15.3%) for adolescents with a refugee background, 58 cases (11.6%) for adolescents with a migrant background, and 47 cases (8.9%) for native Swiss adolescents. Of the remaining cases, 41.8% of refugee parents either did not complete ($N=19$, 11%) or just completed compulsory school

education ($N=53$, 30.8%), as opposed to 29.7% of migrants ($N=35$, 7.9% incomplete, $N=96$, 21.8% completed compulsory school education) and 8.3% of native Swiss parents ($N=4$, 0.8% incomplete, $N=36$, 7.5% completed compulsory school education). In contrast, for refugees, only 14% (24 cases) completed vocational high school/ higher specialized school ($N=2$, 1.2%) or university/Swiss Federal Institute of Technology ($N=22$, 12.8%) as opposed to 26.3% for migrants, and 33.5% for natives. In other words, refugee parents reported the lowest level of education, followed by migrant parents and native parents, who reported the highest level of education. The breakdown of highest parental education levels among second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents is shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Highest level of parental education among second-generation refugee, migrant, and native Swiss adolescents

Highest level of parental education	Refugee frequency (%)	Migrant frequency (%)	Native frequency (%)
Incomplete compulsory school	19(11)	35(7.9)	4(0.8)
Compulsory school/elementary vocational training	53(30.8)	96(21.8)	36(7.5)
Domestic science course, 1-year school of commerce	6(3.5)	6(1.4)	8(1.7)
Apprenticeship	26(15.1)	89(20.2)	141(29.3)
Full time vocational school	7(4.1)	17(3.9)	22(4.6)
A-levels	27(15.7)	52(11.8)	74(15.4)
Vocational high education	7(4.1)	20(4.5)	16(3.3)
Technical school or vocational college	3(1.7)	10(2.3)	19(4.0)
Vocational high school, higher specialized school	2(1.2)	15(3.4)	23(4.8)
University, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology	22(12.8)	101(22.9)	138(28.7)
Total	172	441	481

5.7 Measures

Based on the risk domains (familial/parental domain, peer/friend domain, acculturation domain, individual factors (patriarchy/social cognition) domain, and migration process and experience domain) identified in Chapters 2 and 3, and the theoretical perspectives offered in Chapter 4

(attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition, and social learning), several variables were chosen from the z-proso dataset.

As mentioned above, all the data used in the analyses are self-reported by participating adolescents who were guided through the survey by two or three qualified staff members. All measures were administered in German, which is the official language of the study location: Zurich, Switzerland. Adolescents were provided with paper-and-pencil questionnaires to complete in their classrooms, over 90-minute sessions of groups consisting of 5 to 15 participants at a time. A summary of the measures used is presented below. Participants were given a cash incentive for every data collection wave they participated in.

5.7.1 Demographics

Participants reported demographic information, both regarding themselves and their parents or primary caregivers. This ensured data gathering among families where the primary caregivers did not participate in the study themselves. Items included gender, religion, participant's place of birth, parents' place and year of birth, parental marital status, household members/income, parental employment and educational status, social economic status (SES) and many more. In this study, demographic variables used were gender, participant migration status (as identified in the steps discussed above), parental education, and SES.

5.7.1.1 Gender

Participants were asked their gender. Responses were coded in two options, 1 for Males and 2 for Females.

5.7.1.2 Migration background

As discussed above only participants for whom a clear migration status could be identified are included in the analysis for this Ph.D. Unlike the other variables which were part of the original z-proso study, I have derived the migration background variable from various variables within the z-proso study. Migration background has been divided into three groups, second-generation refugees (coded 1), second-generation migrants (coded 2), and native Swiss adolescents (coded 3). Accordingly, 1230

adolescents were included in the study, 203 of which had a refugee background, 499 a migrant background and 528 a Swiss native background.

5.7.1.3 Parental education level

In order to measure parental education level, the highest level of education obtained by either the male or female primary caregiver was used (i.e. father, mother, legal guardian). Primary caregivers provided information on their field of study, their current and their highest level of education. Responses ranged from 1-10, with 1 being 'incomplete compulsory school', 2 'compulsory school, elementary vocational training', 3 'domestic science course, 1-year school of commerce', 4 'apprenticeship', 5 'full time vocational school', 6 'A-levels', 7 'vocational high education', 8 'technical school or vocational college', 9 'vocational high school, higher specialized school' and 10 'university, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology'.

5.7.1.4 Social economic status

In order to determine the participants' socio-economic status, the International Socio-Economic Index of parental occupational status (ISEI) was used. Parental occupation was first coded according to Elias and Birch (1994) and then transformed into the ISEI, which was derived from the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), using comparably coded data on education, occupation, and income (Ganzeboom, De Graaf and Treiman, 1992). Final ISEI scores (based on the parent with the highest score) were standardised by the z-proso team for further analysis (Neaverson *et al.*, 2020).

5.7.2 Parental variables

Alabama Parenting Questionnaire

This scale was used to measure the parenting practices of the children's primary caregivers. Data on parenting practices, such as parental involvement and corporal punishment were based on self-reported measures. The instrument used in this study is an adaptation and combination of items from the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire (Shelton, Frick and Wootton, 1996) and the Parenting Scale from the Criminological Research Institute of Lower Saxony (KFN) (Wetzels *et al.*, 2001).

The main instrument included eight subdimensions of parenting: parental involvement, parental monitoring (including parental supervision and child disclosure), positive parenting, parental conflict, authoritarian parenting, corporal punishment, inconsistent discipline, and “other” punishment practices. This study included the subscales parental involvement, positive parenting, authoritarian parenting, and corporal punishment. Parental questions were removed from the questionnaires after K7 (age 17) due to its decreasing importance with regards to the participants’ age (Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021).

5.7.2.1 Parental Involvement

Parental involvement reflects the degree to which parents are involved in a young person’s everyday life. The scale contained six items, measuring how often an adolescent’s parents engage with them and support them in times of need. Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = “never” to 4 = “very often/always”. Items include, for example, “Your parents show interest in what you do”, “When you have problems, you can go to your parents”, and “Your parents talk to you about your friends or about the other students in your class”. Mean scores were computed by Ribeaud and Eisner (2021) to achieve a final score for each participant. Parental involvement was measured in waves 5 (age 13), 6 (age 15), and 7 (age 17) and was reliable ($\alpha = .75$, $\alpha = .77$, and $\alpha = .77$), as calculated in a reliability analysis performed by me using SPSS.

5.7.2.2 Corporal Punishment

The corporal punishment subscale included four items, namely “Your parents slap you”, “Your parents spank you with their hand”, “Your parents hit you with a belt, staff, or other object”, and “Your parents pull your hair or ears”. Answers were based on experience of corporal punishment in the 12-months prior to answering the questionnaire. Responses were measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = “never” to 4 = “very often/always”. Mean scores were computed by Ribeaud and Eisner (2021) to achieve a final score for each participant. Corporal punishment was measured in waves 5 (age 13), 6 (age 15), and 7 (age 17) and was reliable ($\alpha = .75$, $\alpha = .74$, and $\alpha = .75$ as calculated in a reliability analysis performed by Ribeaud and Eisner (for the original z-proso dataset, $N=1675$) and again by me using SPSS (for the data utilised in this study, $N=1230$).

5.7.3 Moral neutralisation of aggression

To determine the degree to which participants justified aggressive behaviour, the moral neutralisation of aggression scale (Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010b; Ribeaud, 2012) was used. The scale covered the domains of 1) cognitive restructuration (for example, 'It is okay to bully others', (2) distorting consequences (for example 'Bullying is important to teach someone a lesson', (3) blaming the victim (for example 'Some kids deserve to be bullied', (4) assuming the worst (for example, 'It is okay to taunt others, they taunt you too', and (5) minimizing agency (for example 'It is okay to fight back when you are being attacked'). The scale consisted of 18 items in which responses were given on a four-point Likert scale and ranged from 1 "strongly disagree" to 4 "strongly agree". Mean scores were computed to achieve a final score for each participant. Cronbach's alpha was calculated upon the construction of the scale by Ribeaud and Eisner (for the total z-proso sample) and again by me (for the sample of second-generation refugee, migrant and native adolescents) using SPSS and was $\alpha = .90$ at waves 5 and 6 (13 and 15 years old), $\alpha = .91$ at wave 7 (17 years old), and $\alpha = .90$ at wave 8 (20 years old) (Ribeaud, 2012; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2015; Schuster *et al.*, 2021).

5.7.4 Competent/aggressive conflict coping strategies

An eight-item scale was used to measure competent (four items)/aggressive (four items) conflict coping strategies. The scale was based on items from the Kriminologisches Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen (KFN) (Wetzels *et al.*, 2001) which were adapted by the z-proso team and was administered in waves 4-8. Participants were provided with a list of likely reactions to a conflict situation and asked how often they act in that way. Items included aggressive and socially competent strategies for conflict coping. The scale was based on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "never" to "very often", and included items such as 'I threaten the other person with punches', 'I go ballistic and shout or scream at the other person' and 'I punch them so that they respect me' for aggressive conflict coping strategies, and 'I try to put myself in the position of the other person, to try and understand him/her', 'I listen very carefully so that there are no misunderstandings' and 'I try to control my anger' for competent conflict coping strategies. Cronbach's alphas for both aggressive and competent conflict coping were calculated by Ribeaud and Eisner in the construction of the scales and again a reliability analysis was performed by me on SPSS. For aggressive conflict coping strategies, Cronbach's

alphas were $\alpha = .73$ at wave 5 (13 years old), $\alpha = .69$ at wave 6 (15 years old), $\alpha = .68$ at wave 7 (17 years old), and $\alpha = .66$ at wave 8 (20 years old). Cronbach's alphas for the competent conflict coping strategies scale were $\alpha = .71$ at waves 5 and 6 (13 and 15 years old), $\alpha = .72$ at wave 7 (17 years old), and $\alpha = .74$ at wave 8 (20 years old).

5.7.5 Peer delinquency

Participants indicated whether they had up to two 'best friends' and responded whether or not these friends engaged in six delinquent behaviours provided, namely how often each of their best friends have hit/kicked and injured somebody, stole something from a shop/kiosk, played truant, drank alcohol, smoked cigarettes, and taken illegal drugs in the past year. For each best friend a mean score of the six items was constructed (range 0–1). If the respondent indicated two best friends, these two scale scores were combined into one measure by taking the mean of the two scores. When respondents specified that they did not have at least one best friend, they scored a missing value on the peer delinquency variable, albeit this was a very small percentage of participants (4%). Cronbach's alphas calculated by me using SPSS for the peer delinquency variable were $\alpha = .83$ at wave 5 (13 years old), $\alpha = .79$ at wave 6 (15 years old), $\alpha = .76$ at wave 7 (17 years old), and $\alpha = .70$ at wave 8 (20 years old).

5.7.6 Violence legitimising norms of masculinity

Masculinity norms were measured on a three-item scale based on Nisbett and Cohen's (1996) 'Culture of Honour'. Items in the scale were 1) 'A real man should be able to strike when he's insulted', 2) 'A real man protects his family', and 3) 'A real man must defend himself'. Responses were given on a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "fully untrue" to 4 "fully true". Mean scores were calculated to achieve a final score for each participant. Chronbach's alphas were calculated by Ribeaud and Eisner in the constructed of the scale and again by me using SPSS. They were $\alpha = .69$ at wave 5 (age 13 years), $\alpha = .73$ at wave 6 (age 15 years), $\alpha = .76$ at wave 7 (age 17 years), and $\alpha = .79$ at wave 8 (age 20 years).

5.7.7 Violence against women attitudes

A three-item scale was used to measure attitudes in support of violence against women. The scale was developed by the z-proso team and was based on Saunder's (1987) Inventory of Beliefs

about Wife Beating (Schuster *et al.*, 2020) and was administered at waves 6 (15 years), 7 (17 years) and 8 (20 years). The three items included in the scale were: 1) 'A man is allowed to beat his wife/female partner if she doesn't do what he wants', 2) 'Women only have themselves to blame when they are beaten by their husband/male partner', and 3) 'If a woman insults her husband/male partner, he is allowed to beat her'. Responses were based on a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "fully untrue" to 4 "fully true". Mean scores were calculated to achieve a final score for each data wave for each participant. Cronbach's alphas of the scale were calculated by Ribeaud and Eisner in the construction of the scale and again by me using SPSS and were $\alpha = .66$ at wave 6 (15 years old) and $\alpha = .67$ at wave 7 (17 years old), and $\alpha = .76$ at wave 8 (20 years old).

5.7.8 Self-reported aggression

A self-reported measure of aggression was employed by the z-proso team following the reasoning that as children get older, they have less contact time with their parents due to the increased time spent with their friends and outside of their home, resulting in parents seeing less of the child's behaviour with each year of adolescence (Marcus, 2017). Accordingly, self-reported data was believed to give a more accurate picture of the participant's level of aggression as compared parental or teacher accounts. Aggression was measured using the Social Behaviour Questionnaire SBQ (Tremblay, 2000) adapted for adolescents. The scale included nine items: three items measured reactive aggression, for example 'In the last 12 months, you hit someone after they insulted you', three items measured proactive aggression, for example 'In the last 12 months, you ordered others around', and three items measured physical aggression, for example 'In the last 12 months, you physically attacked other people'. Responses were based on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 "never" to 5 "very often". Mean scores were calculated to achieve a final score for each data wave for each participant. Cronbach's alphas of the scale were calculated by Ribeaud and Eisner in the construction of the scale and again by me using SPSS (for the sample in this study). They were $\alpha = .87$ at waves 5 (13 years old) and 6 (15 years old), $\alpha = .81$ at wave 7 (17 years old), and $\alpha = .80$ at wave 8 (20 years old).

5.8 Analytic plan

The study comprised 1230 participants who were identified as second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants, and native Swiss adolescents. Analyses for violence against women

attitudes were explored over two years, at the sixth wave (15 years old) and at the seventh wave (17 years old). Self-reported aggression analyses were conducted over four years, at ages 13, 15, 17 and 20 years. The analyses are cross sectional providing snapshots of the data at different points in time and this thesis will investigate whether the results are the same or different at the different time points. However, the PhD does not seek to provide a longitudinal study of the extent or significance of change over time.

For the violence against women analyses, of the 1230 participants, the amount of missing data in the key variables was 11% or less for the analyses at 15 years old, and 17.7% for analyses at 17 years old. In relation to the aggression analyses, of the 1230 participants, the amount of missing data in the key variables was 19% or less for the analyses at 13 years old, 11.6% for analyses at 15 years old, 25.2% for analyses at 17 years old and 33.1% for analyses at 20 years old. Assuming a missing at random (MAR) mechanism, the missing data were handled by listwise deletion.

Effect sizes were obtained using Cohen's *d* calculated with the Campbell Collaboration Calculator. The interpretation of effect sizes follows the rule of thumb criteria set out by Cohen (1988). The first step was to identify risk factors related to violence against women and aggression among refugee, migrant and native adolescents. This was established by conducting correlations and ANOVAs for violence against women attitudes and related variables, and correlations and separate ANOVAs for self-reported aggression and related variables. Predictors of violence against women attitudes and aggression were identified for the whole sample and for each subsample, i.e. refugees, migrants and natives. This was done by employing hierarchical regression analyses. After predictors of violence against women and aggression were determined, mediation analyses were performed to assess what variables mediated the relationship between migration status and violence against women attitudes/self-reported aggression, with natives being the reference group. For the mediation analyses, Hayes' (2017) PROCESS macro for SPSS was used as it enables the testing of mediators in parallel as well as the assessment of indirect effects. To test the significance of the indirect effects, 95% confidence intervals were calculated through 5,000 bias-corrected bootstrap replications.

Prior to conducting any analyses on violence against women attitudes and its predictors, bivariate correlations were conducted between the variables 'violence legitimising norms of masculinity', 'violence against women attitudes' and the mother's birth country gender inequality index. This step was taken to eliminate any doubt that any significant predictors or results will be due to the country the participant originated from. As can be seen from Table 5.5, correlations were significant but weak, therefore, it is fair to assume that any differences in predictors are not just country-specific. Pearson correlation results for ages 15 and 17 are shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Correlations between the mothers' birth country Gender Inequality Index and violence legitimising norms of masculinity and violence against women attitudes

	Correlation at age 15	Correlation at age 17
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.234**	.260**
Violence against women attitudes	.137**	.135**

**correlations significant at $p < .001$

5.9 Methodological limitations

It is important to consider some of the limitations of the current study. First, despite conducting a very thorough, stepwise approach to identify/infer the likely nature of the sample in terms of their migration status, there was no consistent question that could clearly identify refugees, migrants and natives with complete accuracy. Accordingly, participants were placed in likely migration groups, and 445 participants from the original 1675 z-proso dataset had to be dropped from the analyses. Despite this limitation, due to the thorough selection criteria, likely group membership can be fairly certain.

Moreover, while the purpose of this study was to examine potential risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women attitudes and aggression among second-generation-refugees, migrant and native Swiss youths cross-sectionally, analysis with the intention of looking at the pattern longitudinally could have also given insight about how specific respondents changed over time and would have allowed for the consideration of temporal order of predictors and risk factors. Additionally, using longitudinal data analyses would have allowed the measurement of the variables, for example, corporal punishment, and aggression/violence against women attitudes concurrently, which would have helped establish causal effects.

Also, data were overtly collected, and measuring attitudes in this way could have affected the internal validity of the results. Asking participants to respond directly can influence responses, especially around sensitive topics such as attitudes towards violence against women. However, the method of grouping respondents into likely migration groups was done so post hoc and, therefore, the data are unlikely to have been systematically affected and, as a result, should not affect the patterns within the data set. Moreover, this research has measures of attitudes and, while attitudes can be good indicators of behavioural intention (Pease and Flood, 2008), there were no objective

direct measures of behaviour. Data relating to criminal offences of participants were investigated, but the sample size was too small to analyse any patterns in a way that would offer any degree of external validity.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the z-proso study and dataset. In addition, the chapter gave an overview of the identification and creation of the migration status variable and provides a summary of the variables that will be examined. This was followed by an analytical plan, and methodological limitations. The following two chapters will utilise the dataset presented in this chapter, including the subsamples and measures presented. Each of these chapters will be broken down into two parts: Chapter 6A investigates risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women attitudes among refugee, migrant and native adolescents, and Chapter 7A follows the same structure as 6A, and considers the risk factors, predictors and mediators of self-reported aggression among refugee, migrant and native adolescents. For each of these Chapters, sections 6B and 7B will discuss the results obtained. The combined results of the empirical chapters are then concluded in Chapter 8, where the research questions of this thesis are answered by expanding where the proposed hypotheses were supported or not. Finally, the strengths and original contributions of this thesis will be presented, and future research directions and policy implications will be discussed.

Chapter SIX: Attitudes towards violence against women

This chapter will present the results and discussion for attitudes towards violence against women. The chapter is broken down into two sections. Section 6A will include the analyses and results regarding risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women attitudes among refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents, followed by a conclusion containing a summary of the findings. The second section, 6B, will include a discussion of the findings obtained in 6A. This chapter aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1) Are there differences in violence against women attitudes among second-generation- - refugee, -migrant and native Swiss adolescents at ages 15 and 17 years?
- 2) What are the risk factors associated with higher levels of attitudes in support of violence against women among second-generation refugee youths?
- 3) What are the predictors of attitudes that support violence against women among the second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents?
- 4) What factors mediate the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes?

6A: Violence against women attitudes results

6A.1 Introduction

This section will examine attitudes in relation to violence against women among adolescents in the z-proso sample. This is the first study to ever explore differences in the prevalence of, and predictors of attitudes in support of violence against women among adolescents of three different migration backgrounds, i.e. second-generation refugee, second-generation migrant, and native Swiss adolescents. Analyses were conducted at ages 15 and 17. Moreover, the study aimed to compare attitudes of adolescents with a refugee background to their second-generation migrant and native counterparts.

6A.2 Main hypotheses

According to the summary of the theoretical frameworks presented in Chapter 4 and based on previous literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the following hypotheses were generated:

- H1)* There will be differences in levels of attitudes towards violence against women between the groups.
- H2)* There will be differences in levels of moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.
- H3)* There will be differences in levels of experience of corporal punishment between the groups.
- H4)* There will be differences in levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity between the groups.
- H5)* There will be a relationship between migrant status and violence against women attitudes.
- H6)* There will be a relationship between moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes.
- H7)* There will be a relationship between violence legitimising norms of masculinity and violence against women attitudes.
- H8)* There will be a relationship between experience of corporal punishment and violence against women attitudes.
- H9)* The effects of migrant status on violence against women attitudes will be mediated through social learning (experience of corporal punishment), social cognition (moral neutralisation of aggression) and patriarchal ideologies (violence legitimising norms of masculinity).

6A.3 Wave 6 analysis at age 15

6A.3.1 Risk factors of violence against women attitudes at age 15

Differences in means between the second-generation- -refugees, -migrants and native Swiss adolescents have been explored to identify potential risk factors that are associated with attitudes in support of violence against women. This was done by conducting a series of one-way ANOVAs for the independent variables.

Prior to conducting the ANOVAs, a series of Pearson correlations were performed between all the dependent variables. Bivariate correlations between the variables are depicted in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Bivariate correlations of all key variables at age 15

	1	2	3	4
1 Violence against women attitudes	1			
2 Corporal punishment experience	.271**	1		
3 Moral neutralisation	.342**	.190**	1	
4 Violence legitimizing norms of masculinity	.218**	.144**	.618**	1

**correlations significant at $p < .001$

As shown in Table 6.1 violence against women attitudes had a positive, weak correlation with experience of corporal punishment ($r(1114)=.27, p < .001$). Moreover, attitudes towards violence against women were also weakly correlated with violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($r(1106)=.22, p < .001$), and moderately correlated with moral neutralisation of aggression ($r(1114)=.34, p < .001$). Furthermore, the highest correlation found was between moral neutralisation of aggression and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($r(1109)=.62, p < .001$).

Table 6.2: Mean scores, standard deviations, and effect sizes for violence against women attitudes between migration groups at age 15

Migration Background	M(SD)	d(95% CI)
Native Swiss	1.12(.32)	
Second-generation migrant	1.15(.33)	.093(-.035-.221)
Second-generation refugee	1.22(.67)	.257(.084-.430)

Mean scores of attitudes towards violence against women were compared between second-generation refugee and second-generation migrant adolescents (with native Swiss migration background being the control group). It was found that second-generation refugee adolescents scored higher, with a small effect size, compared to their native Swiss counterparts. In order to test whether these differences are significant, an ANOVA was conducted next.

Assumptions of ANOVA are that the responses for each factor level should have a normal distribution, the data are independent and that the distributions have the same variance (Field, 2017). The assumption of univariate normality of each dependent variable was first tested. As shown in Figures 6.1-6.4 below, normality can be assumed for the variables ‘moral neutralisation of aggression’ and ‘violence legitimising norms of masculinity’. It was found, however, that the variables ‘violence against women attitudes’ and ‘experience of corporal punishment’ had outliers, deeming the

distribution skewed and not normally distributed. Despite this, it has been argued that significance tests of skewness and kurtosis should not be used in larger samples, because they are likely to be significant even when skewness and kurtosis are not too different from normal (Field, 2017; Piovesana and Senior, 2018). A recent study by Piovesana and Senior (2018) considered normative test data with differing level of skewness, in order to assess the influence of skewness in relation to sample size. The authors determined that at sample sizes of more than 85, the means and standard deviations were stable and remained within the 90% confidence intervals surrounding the population estimates regardless of the level of skewness (Piovesana and Senior, 2018). Following this reasoning, and that of Field (2017), and given the size of the current dataset (1230), the particular assumption of univariate normality can be dismissed. Accordingly, it has been deemed appropriate to proceed with the ANOVAs. The second assumption of the data being independent has also been met.

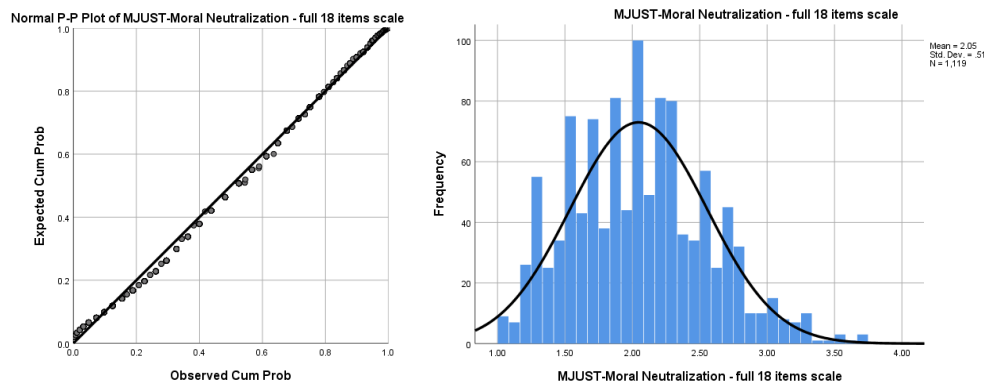


Figure 6.1: Normality plots for moral neutralisation of aggression at age 15

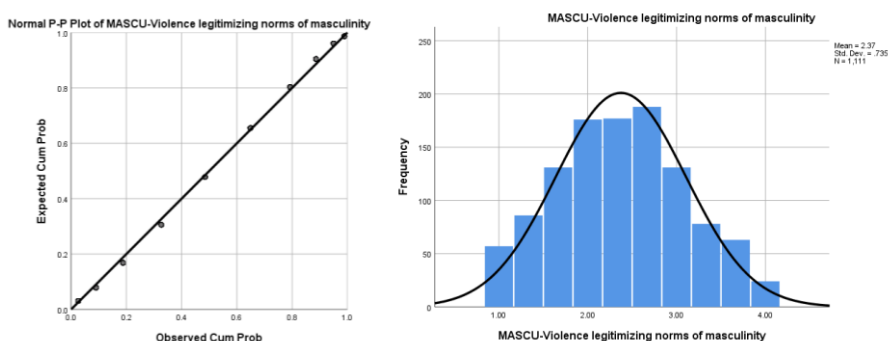


Figure 6.2: Normality plots for violence legitimising norms of masculinity at age 15

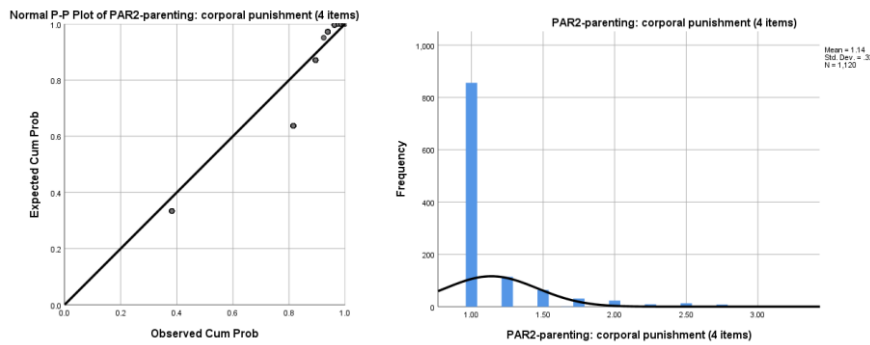


Figure 6.3: Normality plots for experience of corporal punishment at age 15

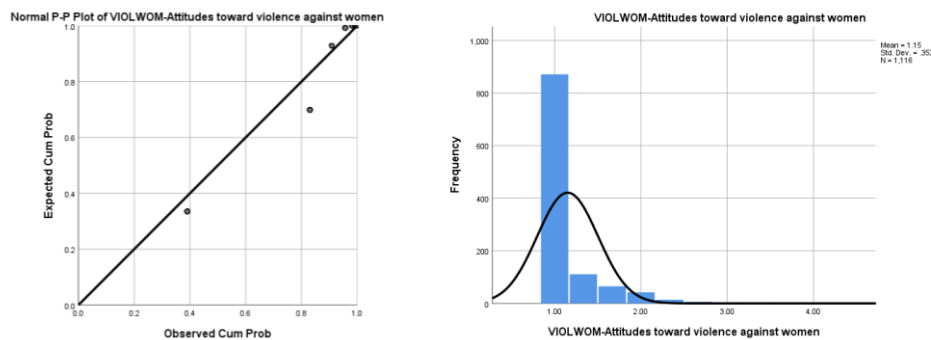


Figure 6.4: Normality plots for attitudes towards violence against women at age 15

With regards to homogeneity of variance, despite this assumption not being met as indicated by a significant Levene's test, steps can be taken to rectify this. It should be noted that, when sample sizes are not equal (for example, refugees are a smaller sample than migrants and natives), care should be taken in the interpretation of the F -ratio. That is because when groups with larger sample sizes have larger variance than the groups with smaller sizes, the resulting F -ratio tends to be conservative. In other words, it is then likely for a test result to show as non-significant, even if the actual mean differences are significant (Field, 2017). Likewise, when groups with a larger sample size have smaller variances than the smaller groups, the F -ratio could be too liberal and show significance where there is none (Field, 2017). To deal with the unequal variances, two alternative F -ratios can be considered; Brown and Forsythe F or Welch's F . Both these alternatives adjust F and the residual degrees of freedom to rectify issues that arise from the violation of the homogeneity of variance assumption

(Field, 2017). Welch's F will be used in the analyses in this thesis when this assumption is violated since both techniques control the Type 1 error rate well, but Welch's F is more powerful (Field, 2017).

Once these steps were taken to test for the above-mentioned assumptions, a series of one-way ANOVAs was conducted with violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity, experience of corporal punishment and moral neutralisation of aggression set as dependent variables, and migration status set as the fixed factor. Table 6.2 shows the results of the ANOVAs with alternative Welch's- F values where homogeneity of variance was not assumed.

Table 6.3: One-way ANOVAs with violence against women attitudes, experience of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation, and violence legitimising norms of masculinity as dependent variables and migration status as the independent variable at age 15

	Levene's		ANOVAs			
	F	p	F	p	Welch's F	p
Violence against women attitudes	13.350	<.001			3.380	.035
Experience of corporal punishment	26.416	<.001			10.786	<.001
Moral neutralisation of aggression	5.889	.003			5.259	.006
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	0.54	0.947	34.311	<.001		

As can be seen in Table 6.3, all the ANOVAs were statistically significant; ($F(2,1113)= 3.380$, $p = .035$) for 'Attitudes towards violence against women', ($F(2,1107)= 10.786$, $p < .001$) for 'Experience of corporal punishment', ($F(2,1116)= 5.259$, $p = .006$) for 'Moral neutralisation of aggression', and ($F(2,1108)= 34.311$, $p < .001$) for 'Violence legitimising norms of masculinity'. In other words, there are individual differences in all the variables across second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants, and native Swiss adolescents.

Individual ANOVAs were followed by running a series of *post-hoc* tests. *Post-hoc* tests consist of pairwise comparisons that are devised to compare all different combinations of the treatment groups (Field, 2017). *Post-hoc* tests were conducted to examine the individual main difference comparisons across all three categories of migration status (refugee/migrant/native) and all four dependent variables (violence against women attitudes, experience of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation, and violence legitimising norms of masculinity). Care was taken to ensure the appropriate *post-hoc* tests were chosen, since the sample sizes between the migration groups were unequal (176 refugees, 447 migrants and 485 natives). Despite *Hochberg's GT2* and *Gabriel's* pairwise *post-hoc* tests being designed to manage instances in which sample sizes are different, a close

examination of the data and population variances shown above was considered before choosing a test. Accordingly, *Gabriel's* pairwise comparison was chosen since it is the most powerful of the two (Field, 2017). In addition to this, *Gabriel's* was also chosen due to *Hochberg's GT2* being very unreliable when population variances are different (i.e. equal variance is not assumed), and should therefore only be used when it is certain that the population variances are similar. Following this reasoning, *Games-Howell* pairwise comparison was chosen for instances in which equal variance is not assumed, since it is the most powerful and accurate in instances where sample sizes are not equal, therefore, is likely to offer the best performance (Field, 2017).

Upon conducting the ANOVAs, the homogeneity of variance was tested for all variables. Based on a series of Levene's *F* tests, the homogeneity of variance assumption was only considered satisfied for the variable 'violence legitimising norms of masculinity' (Levene statistic = .075, *p* = .928). This implies that equal variance is assumed and the appropriate post-hoc procedure was *Gabriel's*. The three other Levene's *F* statistics for 'violence against women attitudes', 'experience of corporal punishment' and 'moral neutralisation of aggression' were statistically significant. This implied that for these variables, the homogeneity of variance assumption has been violated, and the appropriate post-hoc test was the *Games-Howell* procedure. Table 6.3 shows the appropriate post-hoc procedure chosen for each variable with the comparisons between the migration groups.

Table 6.4: Pairwise comparisons at age 15

Dependent Variable		Migration status	Migration status	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Attitudes toward violence against women	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	0.062	0.038	0.231	-0.027	0.152
			Native	0.093*	0.038	0.037	0.004	0.182
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.062	0.038	0.231	-0.152	0.027
			Native	0.030	0.021	0.330	-0.02	0.081
		Native	Refugee	-0.093*	0.038	0.037	-0.182	-0.004
			Migrant	-0.030	0.022	0.330	-0.081	0.02
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	Gabriel	Refugee	Migrant	0.263***	0.063	<.001	0.115	0.411
			Native	0.498***	0.063	<.001	0.352	0.643
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.263***	0.063	<.001	-0.411	-0.115
			Native	0.235***	0.047	<.001	0.123	0.347
		Native	Refugee	-0.498***	0.063	<.001	-0.643	-0.352
			Migrant	-0.235***	0.047	<.001	-0.347	-0.123
Experience of corporal punishment	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	0.055	0.033	0.233	-1.334	0.242
			Native	0.122***	0.032	<.001	0.047	0.197
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.055	0.033	0.233	-0.133	0.024
			Native	0.067**	0.020	0.002	0.209	0.114
		Native	Refugee	-0.122***	0.032	<.001	-0.197	-0.047
			Migrant	-0.067**	0.020	0.002	-0.114	-0.209
Moral neutralisation of aggression	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	0.121**	0.049	0.037	0.006	0.237
			Native	0.160**	0.049	0.004	0.044	0.276
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.121*	0.049	0.037	-0.237	-0.006
			Native	0.038	0.032	0.459	-0.037	0.113
		Native	Refugee	-0.160**	0.049	0.004	-0.276	-0.044
			Migrant	-0.038	0.032	0.459	-0.113	0.037

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

As shown in Table 6.4, with regards to violence against women attitudes, post-hoc mean differences were only significant between refugees and natives ($p=.037$). In terms of 'violence legitimising norms of masculinity', significant mean differences were found between all migration groups ($p < .001$). In addition to that, significant mean differences in terms of 'experience of corporal punishment' were found between refugees and natives ($p < .001$) and between migrants and natives ($p=.002$). Finally, post-hoc analyses of moral neutralisation of aggression showed statistically significant mean differences to only occur between refugees and migrants ($p=.037$) and refugees and natives ($p=.004$).

In other words, the results imply that significant differences in the extent to which participants support violence against women were shown between refugees ($M=1.22$) and natives ($M=1.12$), but not migrants ($M=1.15$). With regards to violence legitimising norms of masculinity, as shown above, significant mean differences were found between all three groups, with refugees ($M=2.7$) scoring the highest, followed by migrants ($M=2.43$) and natives ($M=2.2$). Furthermore, as shown above, significant mean differences in experience of corporal punishment were only present between natives ($M=1.07$) and refugees ($M=1.21$) and natives and migrants ($M=1.14$), with refugees experiencing the highest level of corporal punishment. Finally, refugees ($M=2.16$) scored significantly higher on the moral neutralisation of aggression scale than migrants ($M=2.04$) and natives ($M=2.01$).

6A.3.2 Predictors of Violence Against Women Attitudes among 15-year-old adolescents

Prior to conducting a hierarchical multiple regression, the relevant assumptions of this statistical analysis were tested. Firstly, the sample size was regarded to be acceptable given that more than three independent variables will be included in the analysis (Tabachnick, Fidell and Ullman, 2019). The assumption of singularity was also met as the independent variables (moral neutralisation of aggression, experience of corporal punishment and violence legitimising norms of masculinity) were not a combination of other independent variables (Tabachnick, Fidell and Ullman, 2019). Moreover, the assumption of multicollinearity was met since an examination of correlations revealed that none of the independent variables were highly correlated and the collinearity statistics were all within accepted limits (Hair *et al.*, 2006; Field, 2017), see Table 6.4. It was very important to check for collinearity as higher collinearity can lead to untrustworthy beta values; an increase in collinearity leads to an increase in the standard errors of the b coefficients, meaning the b values are more likely to vary across samples, therefore, less likely to be representative of the population. Moreover, a greater correlation between predictor variables can limit the size of R , which is the measure of the multiple correlation between the predictor and outcome variables. Therefore, increased collinearity will not provide an accurate R^2 , which is the variance in the outcome for which the predictors account. Finally, higher levels of correlations between predictors makes it difficult to evaluate which of them are important. In other words, when the predictor variables are highly correlated and each accounts for a similar variance in the outcome variable, it is then hard to know which one actually has an effect on the outcome variable (Field, 2017). Multicollinearity exists when the correlation between any two of the predictor variables is very high, i.e. above .80, when the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) – a measure that shows whether a predictor variables has a strong linear relationship with the other predictors – is greater than 10 (Field, 2017), and when the tolerance statistic – which is reciprocal

1/VIF - is below 0.1 for a serious problem, and below 0.2 for a potential problem (Field, 2017). As seen in Table 6.1 above, all correlations between the variables are well below .80. Moreover, Table 6.4 below shows the VIF and tolerance statistics for the regression analysis. Finally, an examination of the Mahalanobis distance scores indicated no multivariate outliers. Residual and scatter plots indicated the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity were all satisfied (Hair *et al.*, 2006).

Table 6.5: Collinearity statistics at age 15

Model		Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	0.860	1.163	0.504
	Experience of corporal punishment	0.969	1.032	0.513
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	0.847	1.181	0.512
2	Experience of corporal punishment	0.958	1.044	0.504
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	0.567	1.762	0.503

Prior to conducting the regression analysis, the dummy variables ‘Refugee and ‘Migrant’ were created, since the variable ‘Migration Status’ is a categorical variable consisting of three categories: refugee, migrant and native. Native status was chosen as the reference category since it is then possible to compare how predictors among refugees and migrants are different or similar to the ‘untreated’ native sample.

A three-stage hierarchical linear regression was then conducted to identify predictors of violence against women attitudes in the sample. The model controlled for relevant sociodemographic factors (gender, social economic status, maximum level of parental education, and migration status) in the first step, introduced violence legitimising norms of masculinity in the second step, and added the other predictors (moral neutralisation of aggression, and experience of corporal punishment) in the third step. Table 6.5 shows the regression results for the whole sample and separately for each migration group. The decision to look at the sample as a whole was made as this was the only way to compare the three migration groups having taken account of other factors. In addition, predictors for each migration group were investigated in order to examine what predicts attitudes for the individual groups.

Table 6.6: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 15 with attitudes towards violence against women set as the outcome variable

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE) / β	B _{Refugee} b(SE)/ β	B _{Migrant} b(SE)/ β	B _{Native} b(SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	1.43(.048)***	1.704(.124)***	1.408(.065)***	1.372(.067)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.123(.021) / -.178***	-.212(.069) / -.235**	-.089(.033)/-.131**	-.119(.028) / -.197***
	Max parental education	-.012(.004) / -.105**	-.01(.014) / -.065	-.009(.007)/-.087	-.015(.006) / -.141*
	Social economic status	-.001(.001) / -.068	-.004 [^] (.002) / -.141	-.001(.001)/-.084	<.001(.015) / .015
	Refugee	.044(.034) / .046			
	Migrant	.023(.023) / .033			
	R ²	.063***	.104**	.042***	.057***
Step 2	Constant	1.227(.067)***	1.498(.195)***	1.197(.105)***	1.127(.090)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.101(.004) / -.145***	-.204(.069) / -.226**	-.065 [^] (.034)/-.095	-.092(.028) / -.152***
	Max parental education	-.011(.011) / -.101**	-.009(.014) / -.058	-.008(.007) / -.078	-.015(.006) / -.142**
	Social economic status	-.001(.001) / -.042	-.004(.002) / -.141	-.001(.001) / -.059	.001(.001) / .041
	Refugee	.021(.034) / .022			
	Migrant	.010(.023) / .015			
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.068(.015) / .144***	-.066(.048) / .106	.062(.025) / .129*	.081(.020) / .187***
	ΔR^2	.018***	0.011	.015*	.032***
	Constant	.679(.021)***	.726(.216)***	.645(.121)***	.726(.114)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.052(.021) / -.075*	-.09(.067) / -.099	-.036(.033) / -.052	-.049(.029) / -.080
Step 3	Max parental education	-.008(.004) / -.073*	-.003(.013) / -.020	-.005(.007) / -.049	-.014(.006) / -.128*
	Social economic status	-.001(.001) / -.052	-.004 [^] (.002) / -.158	-.001(.001) / -.071	.001(.001) / .043
	Refugee	.005(.032) / .005			
	Migrant	.011(.022) / .016			
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	-.023(.018) / -.048	-.094(.055) / -.152	-.019(.027) / -.040	.009(.025) / .021
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.202(.026) / .294***	.308(.075) / .390***	.196(.04) / .278***	.155(.037) / .254***
	Experience of corporal punishment	.239(.031) / .222***	.286(.078) / .260***	.257(.047) / .247***	.156(.05) / .138**
	ΔR^2	.110***	.175***	.124***	.057***

Whole sample N=1033, Refugee N= 159, Migrant N=420, Native N=454

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

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, $F(5,1027) = 13.814$, $p < .001$. This first step showed that male sex ($\beta = -.178$, $p < .001$) and having parents with a lower educational level ($\beta = -.105$, $p =$

.008) were associated with more supportive attitudes toward violence against women, whereas the other sociodemographic variables (social economic status and migration status) were not significant.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model, $F(1,1026) = 15.061, p < .001$. This step showed male gender and lower parental education to still be significant predictors of violence against women attitudes, and also showed that having higher levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity were associated with supportive attitudes of violence against women.

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant overall model $F(2,1024) = 30.204, p < .001$. With the addition of the moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment, male gender ($\beta = -.075, p = .014$) and lower parental education ($\beta = -.073, p = .046$) remained significant predictors of attitudes in support of violence against women, whereas violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = -.048, p = .197$) ceased to be a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes. As expected, greater moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .294, p < .001$) and higher experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .222, p < .001$) were associated with a higher tendency to justify violence against women.

As stated above, whether the predictors of violence against women attitudes differ between different migrant groups was then examined in additional regression analyses separately for each migration group. Results of these analyses are also presented in Table 6.5.

Regression results for adolescents with a refugee background

With regards to the refugee group, the first step of the model was significant, $F(3,155) = 5.995, p = .001$. However, male sex ($\beta = -.235, p < .001$) was the only variable associated with more supportive attitudes toward violence against women. The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model, $F(1,154) = 4.992, p = .001$. Even when violence legitimising norms of masculinity were added in this step, the only significant predictor of violence against women attitudes among refugees was being male. However, once moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment were added in step 3, the overall model fit was significant $F(2,152) = 10.339, p < .001$. In this step, being male ceased to be associated with higher support of violence against women attitudes ($\beta = -.099, p = .181$), but greater levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .390, p < .001$) and more experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .260, p < .001$) were significant predictors of attitudes in support of violence against women, with moral neutralisation of aggression being the strongest predictor, i.e. largest β value. The fact that gender ceased to be significant once

moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment entered the model suggests that moral neutralisation and experience of corporal punishment are mediators of the relationship with gender.

Regression results for adolescents with a migrant background

Results of the regression analysis for migrants in the sample showed a significant Step 1 $F(3,416) = 6.088, p < .001$. Similar to the refugee group, being male was the only predictor of attitudes in support of violence against women attitudes ($\beta = -.131, p = .007$).

The addition of Step 2 showed a significant overall model $F(1,415) = 6.222, p < .001$, and the results demonstrated that gender ceased to predict violence against women attitudes, whereas the variable 'violence legitimising norms of masculinity' ($\beta = .129, p = .012$) was the only predictor of attitudes in support of violence against women. These results indicate that violence legitimising norms of masculinity is probably a mediator of the relationship with gender, but this is out of the scope of this thesis.

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant overall model $F(2,413) = 15.214, p < .001$, but the addition of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .278, p < .001$) and experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .247, p < .001$) showed significant associations of these variables with higher levels of violence against women attitudes. The predictive effect of violence legitimising norms of masculinity disappeared in this third step of the regression analysis once moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment were added to the model. As above, these variables are probable mediators of the relationship with violence legitimising norms of masculinity, which is outside the scope of this thesis. The largest β value was that of moral neutralisation of aggression, implying it is the strongest predictor of having attitudes that justify violence against women.

Regression results for native adolescents

Among native adolescents in the sample, Step 1 showed a significant model ($F(3,450)=9.129, p < .001$), with male gender ($\beta = -.197, p < .001$) and a lower level of parental education ($\beta = -.141, p = .012$) being significant predictors of attitudes in support of violence against women.

The addition of the Step 2 showed a significant overall model $F(1,449)=11.041, p < .001$, and while gender ($\beta = -.152, p < .001$) and parental education ($\beta = -.142, p = .010$) remained significant predictors of violence against women, the variable ‘violence legitimising norms of masculinity’ ($\beta = .187, p < .001$) was also a significant predictor.

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant overall model $F(2,447) = 12.794, p < .001$ once all the independent variables were included in the model. This step saw that significant predictors of violence against women attitudes were lower parental education ($\beta = -.128, p = .018$), higher levels of moral neutralisation of violence ($\beta = .254, p < .001$) and a greater experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .138, p = .002$). Moreover, the predictive effect of violence legitimising norms of masculinity ceased once all the variables were included in the model, which suggests a mediation effect. Moral neutralisation of aggression was the strongest predictor of violence against women attitudes, followed by experience of corporal punishment and parental educational levels respectively.

As presented above, male gender was a significant predictor of violence against women for all the groups in the first step in the regression models. Moreover, it was found that moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment were important for all the groups, while gender was not for any of the groups individually. As mentioned above, this indicates that the relationship with gender is mediated through moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment, but this is outside the scope of this thesis. A summary of significant predictors of violence against women found in the above analyses (based on step 3) is presented in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Summary of predictors of violence against women attitudes at age 15

Variable	Whole sample	Refugee	Migrant	Native
Gender	✓	x	x	x
Parental education	✓	x	x	✓
Experience of corporal punishment	✓	✓	✓	✓
Moral neutralisation of aggression	✓	✓	✓	✓

6A.3.3 Mediation analysis

In addition to risk factors and predictors, the Ph.D. explored whether experience of corporal punishment and moral neutralisation of aggression would mediate the relationship between migration status and attitudes toward violence against women. In this instance, however, there was

no significant relationship between having a refugee or migrant background and attitudes in support of violence against women after sociodemographic variables had been controlled for. Accordingly, a mediation analysis for these variables was not justified, and other mediation analyses mentioned above are outside the scope of this thesis (for example, split by gender, as there may be an interaction effect with relationships different for males and females, or to look at whether moral neutralisation and corporal punishment mediated the relationship between gender and attitudes towards violence against women). It would also make sense to consider males on their own to investigate whether these variables mediate any relationship found with migration status, if there is a significant relationship between migration status and violence against women for males.

6A.4 Wave 7 analysis at age 17

6A.4.1 Risk factors of violence against women attitudes between adolescents at age 17

Like the analysis conducted at age 15, a series of one-way ANOVAs followed by post-hoc tests were conducted to explore whether or not there would be significant mean differences between migration background (refugee, migrant, native) and the dependent variables (violence against women, legitimising norms of masculinity, moral disengagement and legitimising violent norms of masculinity).

As above, prior to conducting the ANOVAs, the first two assumptions were checked and met – see analysis at age 15. Similar to the data analysed at age 15 above, normality can be assumed for the variables ‘moral neutralisation of aggression’ and ‘violence legitimising norms of masculinity’. The variables ‘violence against women attitudes’ and ‘experience of corporal punishment’, however, had outliers, deeming the distribution skewed and not normally distributed. Following the reasoning offered above (Field, 2017; Piovesana and Senior, 2018), the ANOVAs can be conducted as significance tests of skewness and kurtosis should not be used in larger samples, as they are likely to be significant even when skewness and kurtosis are not too different from normal. Therefore, given the size of the sample (1230). With regards to homogeneity of variance. As above, where that assumption has not been met, Welch’s F has been used. Moreover, a series of Pearson correlations were also conducted among all the dependent variables. Table 6.8 shows the means, standards deviations, and bivariate correlations between all key variables.

Table 6.8: Bivariate correlations of all key variables at age 17

	1	2	3	4
1 Violence against women attitudes	1			
2 Corporal punishment experience	.207**	1		
3 Moral neutralisation	.395**	.174**	1	
4 Violence legitimizing norms of masculinity	.304**	.174**	.673**	1

**correlations significant at $p < .001$

As shown in Table 6.8, violence against women attitudes had positive moderate correlations with moral neutralisation of aggression ($r(1023)=.39, p < .001$) and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($r(1019)=.30, p < .001$). Moreover, attitudes towards violence against women were also weakly correlated with experience of corporal punishment ($r(1008)=.21, p < .001$).

Table 6.9: Mean scores, standard deviations, and effect sizes for violence against women attitudes between migration groups at age 17

Migration Background	M(SD)	d(95% CI)
Native Swiss	1.09(.28)	
Second-generation migrant	1.12(.29)	.111(-.023-.245)
Second-generation refugee	1.22(.42)	.394(.214-.574)

Attitudes toward violence against women were assessed among second-generation refugee and second-generation migrant adolescents, with native Swiss adolescents serving as the control group. The study revealed that second-generation refugee adolescents exhibited slightly higher scores compared to their native Swiss counterparts, the effect size is small. To determine the significance of these differences, an ANOVA analysis was conducted subsequently.

ANOVA results

After confirming that all the relevant assumptions have been met, a series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted. Violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity, experience of corporal punishment and moral neutralisation of aggression were set as the dependent variables, and migration status set as the fixed factor. Results of the individual one-way ANOVAs are shown in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10: One-way ANOVAs with violence against women attitudes, experience of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation, and violence legitimising norms of masculinity as Dependent variables and migration status as the independent variable at age 17

	Levene's		ANOVAs			
	F	p	F	p	Welch's F	p
Violence against women attitudes	23.782	<.001			6.748	.001
Experience of corporal punishment	11.328	<.001			9.851	<.001
Moral neutralisation of aggression	3.822	.022			1.493	.226
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	0.341	0.711	29.713	<.001		

As can be seen in Table 6.10, the ANOVAs showed significant group differences for the variables 'violence against women' ($F(2,1022) = 6.748, p = .001$), 'experience of corporal punishment' ($F(2,1003) = 10.598, p < .001$), and 'violence legitimising norms of masculinity' ($F(2,1020) = 29.713, p < .001$). The variable 'moral neutralisation of aggression', however, showed no significant group differences ($p = .226$).

Post-hoc tests were then conducted following the significant ANOVAs to examine the individual main comparisons across all three groups. Similar to the reasoning applied in the analysis conducted at age 15 (see above), Gabriel's pairwise comparison was the chosen post-hoc test for instances where equal variance is assumed, and Games-Howell was chosen for instances where equal variance was not assumed.

Upon conducting the ANOVAs, the homogeneity of variance was tested for all variables. Based on a series of Levene's F tests, equal variance could not be assumed for any of the dependent variables apart from the variable 'violence legitimising norms of masculinity' (Levene statistic $F = .341, p = .711$). Accordingly, the appropriate post-hoc procedure is Gabriel's. The three other Levene's F statistics for 'violence against women attitudes', 'experience of corporal punishment' and 'moral neutralisation of aggression' were statistically significant, therefore the homogeneity of variance assumption has been violated, and the appropriate post-hoc test would be Games-Howell. Table 6.10 shows the appropriate post-hoc procedure chosen for each variable with the comparisons between the groups.

Table 6.10: Pairwise comparisons at age 17

Dependent Variable		Migration status	Migration status	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Attitudes toward violence against women	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	0.095*	0.036	0.022	0.011	0.179
			Native	0.127**	0.036	0.001	0.044	0.210
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.095*	0.036	0.022	-0.179	-0.011
			Native	0.031	0.019	0.239	-0.014	0.077
		Native	Refugee	-0.127**	0.036	0.001	-0.210	-0.044
			Migrant	-0.031	0.019	0.239	-0.077	0.014
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	Gabriel	Refugee	Migrant	0.316***	0.068	<.001	0.157	0.480
			Native	0.511***	0.067	<.001	0.355	0.666
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.316***	0.068	<.001	-0.476	-0.157
			Native	0.194**	0.050	<.001	0.074	0.315
		Native	Refugee	-0.511***	0.067	<.001	-0.666	-0.339
			Migrant	-0.194**	0.050	<.001	-0.315	-0.074
Experience of corporal punishment	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	0.071	0.042	0.211	-0.028	0.170
			Native	0.141**	0.04	0.002	0.046	0.235
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.071	0.042	0.211	-0.170	0.028
			Native	0.070**	0.021	0.003	0.020	0.120
		Native	Refugee	-0.141**	0.04	0.002	-0.235	-0.046
			Migrant	-0.070**	0.021	0.003	-0.120	-0.020
Moral neutralisation of aggression	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	0.071	0.050	0.329	-0.046	0.188
			Native	0.086	0.050	0.199	-0.032	0.205
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.071	0.050	0.329	-0.188	0.046
			Native	0.015	0.034	0.895	-0.065	0.096
		Native	Refugee	-0.086	0.050	0.199	-0.205	0.032
			Migrant	-0.015	0.034	0.895	-0.096	0.065

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

As shown in Table 6.10, with regards to violence against women attitudes, post-hoc mean differences were significant between refugees and both migrants ($p=.022$) and natives ($p=.001$). There were no significant mean differences between native and migrant adolescents ($p=.239$). Moreover, violence legitimising norms of masculinity showed significant mean differences across all three migration groups ($p < .001$). Experience of corporal punishment, however, showed no difference between refugees and migrants, but the natives were different from both the refugee ($p=.002$) and migrant ($p=.003$) groups. Finally, there were no significant mean differences in moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.

Upon considering the means shown in Table 6.7, it can be surmised that for violence against women attitudes, mean differences between refugees and both migration groups are significant, with refugees holding a higher level of support ($M=1.22$) than migrant ($M=1.12$) and native ($M=1.09$) adolescents. With regards to violence legitimising norms of masculinity, as mentioned above significant mean differences were found between all three migration groups, with refugees ($M=2.57$) holding the highest level of violence legitimising norms of masculinity, followed by migrants ($M=2.25$) and natives ($M=2.07$). Furthermore, as shown above, significant mean differences in experience of corporal punishment were only present between natives ($M=1.07$) and refugees ($M=1.21$) and natives and migrants ($M=1.14$). In other words, refugee and migrant adolescents reported higher levels of experiencing corporal punishment than their native peers. Finally, as shown above, no significant mean differences were found in the adolescents' moral neutralisation of aggression levels (refugee $M=1.98$, migrant $M=1.91$ and native $M=1.90$). These results imply that violence legitimising norms of masculinity and experience of corporal punishment are risk factors for higher support of violence against women for adolescents with a refugee background.

6A.4.2 Predictors of Violence Against Women Attitudes among 17-year-old adolescents

Like for the regression analyses conducted at age 15, checks of all relevant assumptions were carried out before conducting the regression analyses to identify significant predictors to violence against women amongst the 17-year-old adolescents. As for the analyses conducted at age 15, the sample size was deemed acceptable, given that more than three independent variables were to be included in the analysis (Tabachnick, Fidell and Ullman, 2019). Moreover, similar to the analysis of the data at age 15, the assumption of singularity was met as the independent variables (moral neutralisation of aggression, experience of corporal punishment and violence legitimising norms of masculinity) are not a combination of other independent variables (Tabachnick, Fidell and Ullman, 2019). Moreover, the assumption of lack of multicollinearity was met since an inspection of correlations showed that none of the independent variables were highly correlated to each other and the collinearity statistics were all within accepted limits (Hair et al., 2006; Field, 2017). As mentioned above, multicollinearity occurs when the correlation between any two of the predictor variables is very high ($>.80$), when the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is greater than 10 (Field, 2017), and when the tolerance statistic ($1/VIF$) is below 0.1 or below 0.2 (Field, 2017). As seen in Table 6.7, all correlations between the variables are well below .80. Moreover, Table 6.11 below shows acceptable VIF and tolerance statistics for the regression analysis. Finally, an examination of the Mahalanobis

distance scores indicated no multivariate outliers. Residual and scatter plots indicated the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity were all satisfied (Hair et al., 2006).

Table 6.11: Collinearity statistics at age 17

Model		Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	0.818	1.223	0.490
	Experience of corporal punishment	0.971	1.029	0.501
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	0.807	1.239	0.499
2	Experience of corporal punishment	0.957	1.045	0.489
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	0.486	2.056	0.486

In line with the regression analysis conducted at age 15, the dummy variables ‘Refugee’ and ‘Migrant’ were first created, since the variable ‘Migration Status’ is a categorical variable consisting of three categories: refugee, migrant and native. Like the above analysis, native status was chosen as the reference category since it is then possible to compare how predictors of violence against women attitudes among the refugee and migrant groups are different or similar to the ‘untreated’ native group.

A three-step hierarchical linear regression was then conducted, with gender, maximum parental education level, social economic status and migration status (refugee or migrant background) being introduced in the first step, violence legitimising norms of masculinity added in the second step and moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment added in the third step. Table 6.12 shows the regression results for the whole sample and separately for each migration group. As above, the regression analyses for the complete sample in addition to each migration group were conducted to explore whether a migrant or refugee background were significant predictors of violence against women attitudes, and to assess any similarities and differences in the predictors of violence against women among the groups.

Table 6.12: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 17

		Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
	Predictor variable	b (SE) / β	B _{Refugee} b(SE)/ β	B _{Migrant} b(SE)/ β	B _{Native} b(SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	1.321(.043)***	1.467(.121)***	1.302(.061)***	1.351(.057)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.096(.019)/ -.162***	-.0136(.069)/ -.170*	-.078(.030)/ -.135**	-.099(.028)/ -.196***
	Max parental education	-0.01(.004)/ -.112*	<.001(.014)/ -.003	-.010(.006)/ -.113	-.015(.005)/-.169**
	Social economic status	<.001(.001)/ -.028	-.001(.002)/ -.065	<.001(.001)/ -.007	<.001(.001)/ -.025
	Refugee	.096(.031)/ .116**			
	Migrant	.028(.021)/ .047			
	R ²	.061***	.037	.032**	.072***
Step 2	Constant	1.033(.061)***	.940(.193)***	1.016(.031)***	1.128(.081)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.056(.020)/ -.094**	-.080(.068)/ -.100	-.041(.031)/ -.071	-.065(.025)/ -.130*
	Max parental education	-.010(.004)/ -.105*	.001(.013)/ .010	-.010(.006)/ -.115	-.014(.005)/ -.159**
	Social economic status	<.001(.001)/ .018	<.001(.002)/ -.019	.001(.001)/ .050	<.001(.001)/ .003
	Refugee	.064*(.031)/ .078*			
	Migrant	.015(.021)/ .025			
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.090(.014)/ .227***	.154(.045)/ .294***	.085(.022)/ .216***	.070(.018)/.197***
Step 3	ΔR^2	.042***	.077***	.040***	.033***
	Constant	.620(.071)***	.509(.206)*	.564(.109)***	.790(.100)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.006(.020)/ -.010	.023(.067)/ .028	-.007(.030)/ -.013	-.027(.026)/ -.053
	Max parental education	-.010(.004)/ -.107**	-.003(.013)/ -.025	-.013(0.006)/ -.142*	-.013(.005)/ -.145**
	Social economic status	<.001(.001)/ .015	<.001(.002)/ -.019	.001(.001)/ .071	<.001(.001)/ -.010
	Refugee	.070(.029)/ .085*			
	Migrant	.016(.020)/ .026			
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	-.006(.017)/ -.015	-.031(.060)/ -.059	-.005(.026)/ -.013	<.001(.023)/<.001
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.204(.025)/ .351***	.345(.083)/ .503***	.201(.04)/ .326***	.148(.033)/.303***
	Experience of corporal punishment	.145(.026)/ .169***	.074(.062)/ .095	.191(.040)/ .230***	.139(.046)/ .138**
	ΔR^2	.093***	.127***	.113***	.062***

Whole sample N=914, Refugee N= 138, Migrant N=368, Native N=408

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

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, $F(5,908) = 11.767$, $p < .001$. This step showed that male sex ($\beta = -.162$, $p < .001$), having parents with a lower educational level ($\beta = -.112$, $p = .011$), and coming from a refugee background ($\beta = .0116$, $p = .002$), were associated with attitudes that justify

violence against women. Moreover, it was found that social economic status (SES) was not a significant predictor to justification of violence against women.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model, $F(1,907) = 11.767, p < .001$. This step showed that gender ($\beta = -.094, p = .004$), lower parental education levels ($\beta = -.105, p = .013$) and coming from a refugee background ($\beta = .078, p = .038$) with the addition of violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = .227, p < .001$) were significant predictors of attitudes in support of violence against women.

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant overall model $F(2,905) = 27.599, p < .001$. Upon the introduction of moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment to the model, being male and holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity ceased to be predictive of attitudes in support of violence against women. On the other hand, lower parental education ($\beta = -0.107, p = 0.007$), having a refugee background ($\beta = 0.085, p = 0.017$), greater moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .351, p < .001$) and higher experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .169, p < .001$) were associated with a higher tendency to justify violence against women. These results show that the strongest predictor to violence against women among the whole sample was having higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, followed by experience of corporal punishment, lower parental education and coming from a refugee background. As mentioned above, it would be interesting to investigate whether there is an interaction of moral neutralisation of aggression and violence legitimising norms of masculinity split by gender, but this is outside the scope of the thesis.

Whether the predictors of violence against women attitudes differ between different migrant groups was then assessed in additional regression analyses separately for each migration group. Results of these analyses are also presented in Table 6.12.

Regression results for adolescents with a refugee background

With regards to the refugee group, the first step of the model was not significant, $F(3,134) = 1.719, p = .166$. Only male gender in this first step of the model was significant ($\beta = -.170, p = .05$). Upon the addition of violent legitimising norms of masculinity to the model in the second step, the overall model was then significant $F(1,133) = 4.297, p = .003$. Gender was no longer a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes but having a higher level of violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = .294, p < .001$) was found to be a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes. Moreover, once moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment were added in step 3, the overall model fit was significant $F(2,131) = 6.942, p < .001$. In this step, gender

($\beta = .028$, $p = .737$) and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = -.059$, $p = .608$) ceased to be associated with higher support of violence against women attitudes, but greater levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .503$, $p < .001$) was a significant predictor, with a large effect size. Experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .095$, $p = .238$) was not associated with attitudes supporting violence against women.

Regression results for adolescents with a migrant background

Results of the regression analysis for migrants in the sample were similar, with a significant Step 1 $F(3,364) = 3.966$, $p = .008$. Like the refugee group, the only predictor of violence against women attitudes in the first step was being male ($\beta = -.135$, $p = .009$). Also similar to the results of the refugee group, once violence legitimising norms of masculinity were added in the second step, the overall model was significant ($F(1,363) = 6.989$, $p < .001$), but gender ceased to be a predictor of violence against women attitudes ($\beta = -.071$, $p = .182$), and the only significant predictor was violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = .216$, $p < .001$).

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant overall model $F(2,361) = 13.622$, $p < .001$. At this last step of the regression, it was found that significant predictors for violence against women attitudes for migrant adolescents were lower levels of parental education ($\beta = -.142$, $p = .032$), higher levels of experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .230$, $p < .001$), and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .326$, $p < .001$). The regression analysis, therefore, showed that the strongest predictor to violence against women attitudes among migrant adolescents was moral neutralisation of aggression, followed by experience of corporal punishment and lower parental education.

Regression results for native adolescents

The regression analysis for native adolescents showed a significant first step ($F(3,404) = 10.419$, $p < .001$). In this step, male gender ($\beta = -.196$, $p < .001$) and a lower level of parental education ($\beta = -.169$, $p = .005$) were significant predictors of violence against women attitudes. The addition of the Step 2 showed a significant overall model ($F(1,403) = 11.820$, $p < .001$) and while gender ($\beta = -.130$, $p = .010$) and parental education ($\beta = -.159$, $p = .006$) remained significant predictors of violence against women, higher levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = .197$, $p < .001$) were also associated with violence against women attitudes. Finally, the addition of the third step also showed

a significant overall model ($F(2,401)=13.401$, $p < .001$) once all the independent variables were included. In this final step, significant predictors to violence against women attitudes for native adolescents were lower levels of parental education ($\beta = -.145$, $p = .01$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .138$, $p < .001$) and moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .303$, $p < .001$). Gender and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ceased to have a predictive effect on violence against women attitudes. Similar to the migrant sample, the strongest predictor to violence against women attitudes among native adolescents was having higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression. The second strongest predictor was lower levels of parental education, followed by experience of corporal punishment.

It can be deduced from Table 6.11 that the variables likely to affect adolescent beliefs on violence against women seem to have a larger effect on adolescents from a refugee background than their migrant or native counterparts. In other words, they are stronger predictors for refugee youths than for migrant and native youths. As can be seen in the regression analyses, the effect size (b and β values) were highest among adolescents with a refugee background than their migrant and native counterparts for all significant predictors.

A summary of significant predictors of violence against women at age 17 found in the above analyses (based on final step of regression analyses) is presented in Table 6.12. Similar to the results shown at age 13, moral neutralisation of aggression and corporal punishment were significant predictors of violence against women attitudes across all groups. Moreover, at age 17, having a refugee background was a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes, and lower levels of parental education were a significant predictor for the sample as a whole, and for native adolescents and those with a migrant background.

Table 6.13: Summary of predictors of violence against women attitudes at age 17

Variable	Whole sample	Refugee	Migrant	Native
Parental education	✓	x	✓	✓
Refugee background	✓			
Experience of corporal punishment	✓	✓	✓	✓
Moral neutralisation of aggression	✓	✓	✓	✓

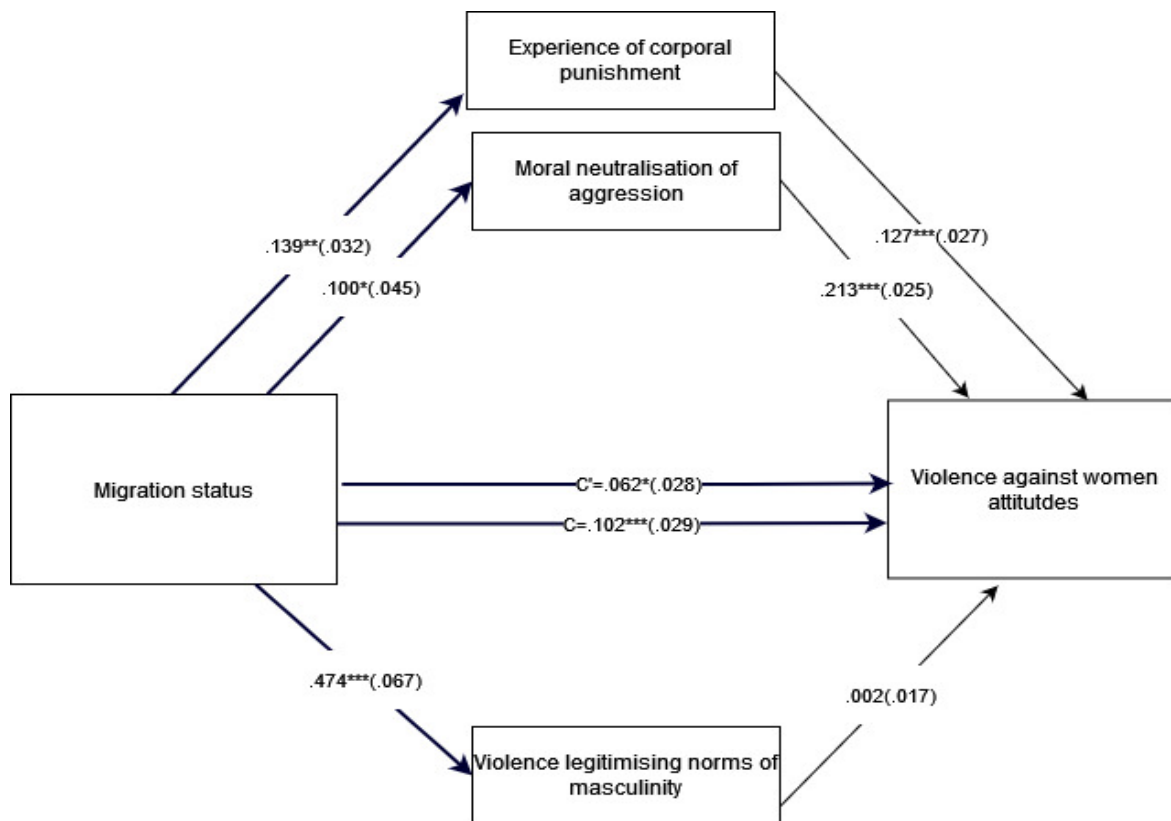
6A.4.3 Mediation analysis

Since there was a relationship between having a refugee background and higher levels of violence against women attitudes after controlling for gender and parental education, a mediation

analysis was then conducted using PROCESS to investigate whether experience of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation of aggression and violence legitimising norms of masculinity would mediate the relationship between migration status and attitudes toward violence against women for the whole sample. Natives were set as the reference group, and gender and parental education were controlled for.

The mediation analysis showed that the direct effect of migration status on violence against women attitudes was significant for adolescents with a refugee background ($b = .102$, $t(962) = 3.487$, $p < .001$). Once the mediators entered the model, the effect of having a refugee status remained significant but dropped ($b = .062$, $t(962) = 2.214$, $p = .027$). Upon analysis of the indirect effects, a refugee background was indirectly linked to more supportive attitudes to violence against women through higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression (indirect = .068, SE = .035, 95% CI [.001, .140]) and experience of corporal punishment (indirect = .057, SE = .028, 95% CI [.012, .121]), but not through violence legitimising norms of masculinity (indirect = .0007, SE = .009, 95% CI [-.016, .018]). These results can be confirmed since the confidence intervals for mediated models did not span zero.

In other words, the results indicate that the relationship between having a refugee background and attitudes condoning violence against women operated at least in part through moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment. Refugees are more likely to morally neutralise aggression and experience corporal punishment by their parents and this is associated with greater support for violence against women. The relationship between migration status and attitudes condoning violence against women does not fully operate via the mediators as there is still a significant relationship between migration status and attitudes supporting violence against women after the mediators have been entered into the model. With regards to violence legitimising norms of masculinity, as discussed above, it would be interesting to investigate this split by gender. Moreover, moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes are probable mediators of this relationship, but this is outside the scope of this thesis. Results of the mediation analysis are shown in Figure 6.5.



Note: N=1006, *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Figure 6.5: Mediation analysis between migration status and attitudes towards violence against women at age 17

6A.5 Summary of findings

Three types of analyses were conducted per age group to identify significant risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women attitudes among second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents at ages 15 and 17 years. The hypotheses presented at the beginning of this section were partly supported by the findings.

A series of independent one-way ANOVAs was first conducted to check for differences in violence against women attitudes ($H1$), moral neutralisation of aggression ($H2$), experience of corporal punishment ($H3$), and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($H4$). Results at age 15 showed support for $H1$ (second-generation refugee adolescents were significantly more likely to support violence against women than native adolescents); $H2$ (second-generation refugees were significantly more likely to morally neutralise than second-generation migrants and natives); $H3$ (significant differences were found between natives and second-generation refugees and natives and second-

generation migrants, with refugees experiencing the highest level of corporal punishment); and *H4* (significant mean differences in violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found between all three groups, with second-generation refugees scoring the highest, followed by second-generation migrants and natives).

Moreover, results at age 17 showed support for *H1* (second-generation refugees were significantly more likely to have attitudes in support of violence against women attitudes than second-generation migrants and natives); *H3* (significant mean differences in experience of corporal punishment were only present between natives and second-generation refugees and natives and second-generation migrants. In other words, refugee and migrant adolescents reported higher levels of experiencing corporal punishment than their native peers); and *H4* (significant mean differences in violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found between all three groups, with second-generation refugees holding the highest level of violence legitimising norms of masculinity, followed by second-generation migrants and natives). Finally, *H2* was not supported as there were no significant mean differences found in moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.

In terms of predictors to violence against women attitudes, the regression analyses at age 15 showed that once gender and parental education levels were controlled for, there was no relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes (no support for *H5*). There was, however, a relationship between having a refugee background and violence against women attitudes at age 17 even after other variables were controlled for (support for *H5*).

Moreover, *H6* was not supported in either age, as violence legitimising norms of masculinity was not a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes. As discussed above, this is possibly because there is a relationship between violence legitimising norms of masculinity and gender, but this is outside the scope of this thesis.

Hypotheses *H7* and *H8* were both supported by the findings, as at both ages 15 and 17, moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment were significant predictors of violence against women attitudes for all groups.

It should be noted that at age 15, youths with refugee and migrant backgrounds shared the same predictors of violence against women attitudes (moral neutralisation of aggression and corporal punishment), whereas native youths' predictors also included parental education level. By age 17, the only significant predictor of violence against women attitudes was moral neutralisation of aggression, while the migrant and native samples shared the same predictors (moral neutralisation, corporal punishment, and parental education level).

Finally, the mediation analysis conducted at age 17 showed that the relationship between migration status and violence against women attitudes was partially mediated by moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment for adolescents with a refugee background, but violence legitimising norms of masculinity did not mediate the relationship. As mentioned above, this is possibly due to the relationship with gender, which is outside the scope of this thesis (partial support for *H9*).

In summary, the findings support the theoretical perspectives provided in Chapter 4. As shown above, factors depicting social learning, social cognition, and patriarchal ideologies acted as risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women attitudes. These findings will be discussed in section 6B.

6B Discussion of violence against women attitudes among second-generation refugee, migrant and native adolescents

6B.1 Introduction

Research on violence against women attitudes within migrant communities is scarce (El-Abani *et al.*, 2020), and that of migrant adolescents' attitudes is even more limited. To address this gap, this PhD. aimed to explore a combined set of predictors of attitudes toward violence against women derived from three theoretical perspectives (social cognition, social learning and patriarchal ideologies) over two years, among a sample of second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants and Swiss native adolescents living in Zurich Switzerland. Within an integrative theoretical framework, the aim of the present study was to explore the roles of violence legitimising norms of masculinity, moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment on attitudes towards violence against women, while controlling for relevant sociodemographic variables, namely gender, parental education level, socioeconomic status and migration background. Separate analyses were conducted at age 15 years and age 17 years.

6B.2 Summary of results at age 15

Analyses at age 15 showed that with respect to attitudes justifying violence against women, the mean score across the complete sample was low (sample mean = 1.15 on a 1-4 scale ranging from 1(No support) to 4(High support) – see Table 6.2). However, the mean scores for second-generation refugees ($M = 1.22$) were marginally higher than those of migrant ($M = 1.15$) and native ($M=1.12$) adolescents. Significant differences in violence against women attitudes, however, were only found between refugee and native adolescents ($p = .04$), but these differences were not significant once gender and parental education were controlled for in the regression analysis.

With regards to predictors of violence against women attitudes for the whole sample, the regression analysis showed that lower levels of parental education, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and a higher experience of corporal punishment were significantly associated with more supportive attitudes to violence against women.

Upon conducting separate analyses for each migrant group, significant predictors of violence against women attitudes for adolescents with refugee and migrant backgrounds were higher levels of

moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment. In the case of native adolescents, higher levels of moral neutralisation, experience of corporal punishment, and lower levels of parental education were significantly associated with attitudes in support of violence against women.

6B.3 Explanation of results at age 15

With regards to violence against women attitudes among the adolescents at age 15, despite the scores being generally low within the complete sample, second-generation refugees scored very marginally higher than migrant and native adolescents, but this difference was not significant once gender and parental education were controlled for. Since literature exploring adolescent attitudes toward violence against women within similar countries and/or context is limited, comparisons will be drawn with literature exploring violence against women attitudes in refugee-equivalent / non-Western home countries. For example, in a study exploring Jordanian adolescent wife beating attitudes by Schuster et al. (2020), prevalence of acceptance levels of wife beating was high and ranged between 6.1% to 50.1% across a multi-item wife beating scale (with a mean score of 3.16 of a scale of 1-7) (Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Moreover, similar high scores for attitudes justifying wife beating among a sample of male adolescents living in South Asia were found in a study by Dalal et al. (2012). The study reported wife beating justification levels at 51% in India, 42% in Bangladesh, and 28% in Nepal (Dalal, Lee and Gifford, 2012). These figures can help explain the results of the current study: second-generation refugees showed a higher level of acceptance of violence against women attitudes than their migrant and native counterparts, however, support, overall, is very low. It is important to emphasize that at age 15, the difference is slight and not significant. This result, however, paints a picture of successful assimilation into the host country, where adolescents with a refugee background are adopting the beliefs and norms of the host country.

As mentioned above, social economic status was not a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes among adolescents of different migration backgrounds living in Zurich. As shown in the systematic review in Chapter 3, results of the effect of social economic status on aggression/delinquency among immigrant adolescents in Europe are mixed. For example, in the study by Chun and Mobley (2014) despite having a lower SES, first-generation immigrant adolescents did not report higher levels of delinquency than their native counterparts (Chun and Mobley, 2014). Moreover, Duinhof et al. (2020) found that a low SES and family affluence cannot always fully account for higher levels of delinquency among immigrant adolescents. Furthermore, the authors found that

SES was associated with conduct problems among native youths, and had an indirect effect on immigrant youth's internalising, but not externalising problems (Duinhof *et al.*, 2020), a result consistent with previous literature (Stevens *et al.*, 2015). Other studies, however, found that a lower SES was associated with violence against women attitudes. For example, a qualitative study exploring attitudes towards violence against women among low-income young (14-30 year old) men and women in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, found that males were much more likely to support attitudes towards violence against women when they resided in low-income, marginal areas (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). The study also found that males in support of these attitudes were more likely to hold strong 'machista' traditional masculine norms, and that those who questioned such norms held strong meaningful relationships with positive role models who hold non-traditional gender norms (Barker and Loewenstein, 1997). Moreover, in a study investigating attitudes toward intimate partner violence against women in 39 low income countries, the authors found that such attitudes were associated with people living in rural areas, with limited formal education and a lower social economic status (Tran, Nguyen and Fisher, 2016).

Despite these findings in previous literature, the result obtained in the current study that SES did not predict the adolescent's violence against women attitudes was consistent with the previous literature discussed in the systematic review of adolescents within Europe (see Chapter 3), for example (Chun and Mobley, 2014; Stevens *et al.*, 2015; Duinhof *et al.*, 2020). It can be argued that SES was found not to be a predictor of violence against women in the current study due to the slight overrepresentation of low socio-economic status school districts in the z-proso sample (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021), in which most adolescents' socio-economic circumstances were similar across migration groups.

Moreover, in this study, gender, specifically being male, was associated with violence against women attitudes only at the first and second steps of the regression analyses, but not once moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment were included in the model. As mentioned above, studies exploring attitudes towards violence against women, and specifically refugee or migrant adolescent attitudes are scarce. In a study by El-Abani *et al.* (2020), the authors explored patterns and predictors of attitudes to domestic violence against women within a sample of Libyan adult men and women living in the United Kingdom. The study found that only gender and levels of education were significantly correlated to attitudes that justify domestic violence against women. Moreover, the study found that gender was the strongest predictor of these attitudes, and that the length of stay in the UK had no significance (El-Abani *et al.*, 2020). Additionally, in a study by Odwe, Undie and Obare (2018) that explored attitudes towards help-seeking for/and sexual and gender-based violence among Rwandan refugees in Uganda, women (56%) were more likely than men

(20%) to express regressive attitudes towards sexual and gender-based violence and a negative attitude towards seeking help. The study also showed that women who did not condone such violence within the community were significantly more likely to convey positive attitudes towards seeking help than those who were more supportive of such violence (Odwe, Undie and Obare, 2018). Moreover, the study investigating attitudes towards wife beating among male and female adolescents in Jordan (Schuster *et al.*, 2020) found that boys held more supportive attitudes toward wife beating than girls, and that gender, specifically being male, predicted wife beating attitudes in the sample (Schuster *et al.*, 2020).

In the current study, gender ceased to be a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes for all migrant groups (refugee, migrant and native) once moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment were included in the model. The non-significant effect of gender as a predictor of violence against women attitudes was also shown in a study by Arnoso *et al.* (2021) which aimed to explore the role of culture in the shaping of attitudes towards violence against women. The sample included a group of native Spanish and immigrant Moroccan participants. When looking at differences of the relationship between sexism and intimate partner violence between the migrants and natives, the study found that despite the levels of sexism being higher among men and Moroccan immigrants, there were no differences in the perpetration of intimate partner violence based on gender or migration status (Arnoso, Arnoso and Elgorriaga, 2021).

A possible explanation for gender not being predictive of violence against women attitudes in the current study once moral neutralisation of aggression can be attributed to several factors. To begin with, the initial significance of gender on attitudes towards violence against women is likely to be the result of males being more prone to morally neutralise than females (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Schuster *et al.*, 2021). Accordingly, moral neutralisation of aggression will probably work as a mediator for the relationship between gender and violence against women attitudes in this sample. This mediating effect of moral neutralisation of aggression is consistent with previous literature (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Kim *et al.*, 2014). For example, the study by Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) that investigated attitudes towards honour killing among a sample of adolescent boys and girls in Jordan showed that the effect of gender on honour killing attitudes is mainly mediated through moral neutralisation of aggression. Boys, in the study, were more likely to morally neutralise, and this, therefore was related to a higher support of honour killing attitudes (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013). Similarly, in the current study, boys are more likely to morally neutralise than girls, and this therefore, was associated with a higher support of violence against women attitudes, and that explains why gender ceased to be a significant predictor once moral neutralisation of aggression was included in the model.

Moreover, adolescents of all migration backgrounds (refugee, migrant and native) are likely to have adopted higher levels of egalitarian views and beliefs in the empowerment of women. For example, in the study by Arnoso et al. (2021) mentioned above, the authors attributed the results among Moroccan participants to positive acculturation, with an openness towards more egalitarian relations and chances of empowerment for Moroccan women (Arnoso, Arnoso and Elgorriaga, 2021). On a similar note, a recent study by Bornatici et al. (2020) investigated the trends in Swiss men and women's gender attitudes in the period 2000-2017 by using the Swiss Household Panel data. Results showed that attitudes towards gender roles have become more egalitarian during this period for both men and women (Bornatici, Gauthier and Le Goff, 2020). Similarly, in a longitudinal study among Mexican-origin adolescents (aged 10 to 16 years) living in the United States, the authors found that both boys and girls trended toward egalitarian gender role attitudes across adolescence (Schroeder, Bámaca-Colbert and Robins, 2019). The authors also found that adolescents' level of egalitarian attitudes depended on their SES, level of ethnic pride, and their parents' level of traditionalism (Schroeder, Bámaca-Colbert and Robins, 2019). Based on these studies, it can be argued that the non-significant effect of gender once moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment are entered, can be attributed to the higher likelihood of males morally neutralising aggression than females (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Schuster et al. 2021),

Findings of the current study at age 15 showed that migration background was not a predictor of violence against women attitudes after controlling for sociodemographic variables. Again, positive acculturation among young refugee and migrant adolescents can explain this result. Alternatively, previous literature has shown the effect of peer relations on adolescent delinquent behaviour and attitudes (Maxwell, 2002; Pardini, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005; Buehler, 2006; Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Dipietro and McGloin, 2012). It can be, that when immigrant adolescents are younger, they feel the need to belong (Baldwin-White *et al.*, 2017; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021) and conform with their native peers, and are therefore influenced by their peers' values and attitudes.

The final control variable, parental education level was a significant predictor only to native 15-year-olds, but not for refugee and migrant adolescents in this study. The significance of parental education is consistent with previous literature, where lower parental education was related to higher levels of violence against women attitudes among adolescents (Dalal, Lee and Gifford, 2012; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Moreover, in addition to being associated to attitudes in support of wife beating and violence against women, lower levels of education have also been associated with a higher likelihood of actually perpetrating marital violence (Owusu Adjah and Agbemafle, 2016; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Findings of this study showed that at age 15, refugee and migrant groups were very similar in terms of their attitudes towards violence against women and experience of corporal punishment. Therefore,

it is likely that at that young age, parental education had no effect on the migrant and refugee adolescents' attitudes as they were more shaped by factors such as their degree of acculturation, traditionalism, and migration-related challenges that native adolescents did not have to deal with.

In addition to the control variables discussed above, regression analyses showed that moral neutralisation of aggression was the strongest significant predictor of violence against women attitudes among the adolescents at 15 years of age of all three migration groups. Moreover, violence legitimising norms of masculinity were a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes among migrants and natives in the second step of the regression, but once moral neutralisation of aggression was included in the model, the significant effect of violence legitimising norms of masculinity disappeared. This interesting result is supported by a study conducted by Poteat et al. (2011) that showed that beliefs that justify the use of violence (i.e. moral justification / neutralisation of violence) had a moderating role on the relationship between normative masculine attitudes and aggressive and homophobic behaviour among adolescent boys and girls. Like the results presented in the current study, to begin with, masculine role attitudes were significantly associated with bullying, homophobic language and attitudes in support of aggression among boys and attitudes in support of aggression among girls. Once beliefs that justify violence were included, the authors reported a significant moderating effect on the role of masculine norms on beliefs justifying aggression (Poteat, Kimmel and Wilchins, 2011). This result highlights the importance of the role of moral neutralisation of aggression in adolescent attitudes towards violence against women and violence use in general and is possibly the mechanism through which violence legitimising norms of masculinity operates. Moreover, a longitudinal study by Schuster et al. (2021) was conducted among the z-proso sample, and investigated the role of moral neutralisation of aggression and justification of violence against women in predicting physical teen dating violence perpetration and monitoring. This was the first longitudinal study aiming to document the role of moral neutralisation of aggression in predicting physical teen dating violence (Schuster et al., 2021). The authors found that moral neutralisation of aggression at age 15 was positively associated with perpetrating physical dating violence two years later for both boys and girls. Moreover, the authors found that adolescents who cognitively neutralised aggression were more likely to use violent means, physical violence and exhibited higher levels of monitoring behaviours (Schuster *et al.*, 2021). Moreover, a study by Puy et al. (2014) investigated the relationships between attitudes to and experiences of dating violence and the effect of gender within a sample of school pupils in Switzerland. The authors found that the most significant and consistent predictor of physical and psychological aggression within dating relationships was holding attitudes that support violence in general (Puy, Hamby and Lindemuth, 2014). The predictive effect of moral neutralisation of aggression found in the current study is supported by the social

cognition theoretical framework and the moral neutralisation theory by Ribeaud and Eisner (2010): attitudes in support of violence against women can be part of a wider set of attitudes and beliefs that justify violent and aggressive means towards others in general.

As expected, the other variable found to predict (and be a risk factor for) supportive attitudes of violence against women among all three migrant groups in this study was experience of corporal punishment. This result is in line with previous literature (Straus and Yodanis, 1996; Pardini, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005; Flood and Pease, 2009; Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Morris, Mrug and Windle, 2015; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Based on Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, adolescents who experience higher levels of harsh discipline by their parents are more likely to adopt violent attitudes and ideologies as a means to deal with conflict (Pardini, Loeber and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2005). Adolescents who have experienced harsh parental discipline (i.e. by their primary care givers in childhood) may have internalised that violence is the acceptable and proper way to deal with or solve problem situations. They may have even internalised that the victim, woman in this instance, is to blame, and that aggression is the right means to 'correct' her behaviour, just like they had their behaviour corrected by corporal punishment (Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Moreover, adolescents who have experienced corporal punishment may view abusive interactions as a normal aspect of relationships, as well as a means of obtaining submission and compliance from others (Morris, Mrug and Windle, 2015). In addition to that, previous research has shown that adolescents who are exposed to corporal punishment are less likely to be exposed to other non-violent conflict-resolving techniques and are therefore more likely to endorse marital violence as a means of conflict resolution (Straus and Yodanis, 1996; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Moreover, in line with this study, higher levels of corporal punishment have been shown to be a risk factor to both attitudes in support of as well as the perpetration of violence against women (Flood and Pease, 2009; Owusu Adjah and Agbemaflle, 2016; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Furthermore, there is extensive literature on the co-occurrence of corporal punishment and interparental violence (McDonald *et al.*, 2009; Jouriles *et al.*, 2012; Temple *et al.*, 2013; Morris, Mrug and Windle, 2015).

6B.4 Summary of results at age 17

Similar to the results shown at age 15, analyses at age 17 still showed that attitudes in support of violence against women were low across the complete sample (sample $M = 1.12$ on a 1-4 scale ranging from 1(No support) to 4(High support) – see Table 6.7). Like the patterns found at age 15, mean scores for adolescents of a refugee background ($M = 1.22$) were marginally higher than those of

adolescents with a migrant ($M = 1.12$) and native ($M = 1.09$) migration background. Significant differences in violence against women attitudes were only found between refugee and migrant adolescents ($p = .011$) and refugee and native adolescents ($p = .001$). An important finding is that the difference between second-generation refugee and migrant/native adolescents were significant at this age, after controlling for gender and parental education level. Risk factors associated with violence against women attitudes among adolescents with a refugee background were higher levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity, moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment.

With regards to predictors of violence against women attitudes for the whole sample, the regression analysis showed that having a refugee background, lower levels of parental education, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and a higher experience of corporal punishment were significant predictors of attitudes that condone violence against women.

Upon conducting separate analyses for each migrant group, the only significant predictor of violence against women attitudes for adolescents with a refugee background was higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression. Adolescents with a migrant and native background had the same predictors of violence against women attitudes: lower levels of parental education, higher moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment.

Mediation analysis at age 17 showed that the relationship between migration background and attitudes condoning violence against women operated at least in part through moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment for second-generation refugees.

6B.5 Explanation of results at age 17

Unlike the results observed at age 15 at which point there was no significant difference between the groups once gender and parental education were controlled for, the levels of violence against women attitudes among adolescents with a refugee background were now *significantly* marginally higher than those of their migrant and native counterparts, and the effect size of having a refugee background has increased from $d=.257$ at age 15 to $d=.394$ at age 17. It should be noted though, that at both ages, the effect size of having a refugee background is small and support for violence against women was still low when the adolescents were 17 years old. The same reasons provided at age 15 can explain this finding; despite support levels being higher among refugee adolescents, they are still very low and are close to the support levels of native adolescents. As explained above, this implies ongoing successful acculturation and assimilation into the host country

for refugee adolescents. While the observed increase in the levels of violence against women attitudes among adolescents with a refugee background may seem concerning, it's essential to contextualise these findings by comparing them to attitudes prevalent among adolescents in countries equivalent to those the second-generation refugees originate from. For example, justification of wife beating was found to be high at 51% in India, 42% in Bangladesh, and 28% in Nepal (Dalal, Lee and Gifford, 2012). It is interesting though, why the differences between second-generation refugees and migrants/native were not significant at age 15, but have become significant at age 17, and considerations need to be made as to why that is the case. It is likely that during mid-adolescence (age 15), adolescents are more driven by their peers and have a bigger need to belong (Maxwell, 2002; Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). It is also likely, that in late adolescence (age 17), cultural and family norms have a larger impact on beliefs and worldviews. Therefore, the significant effect of having a refugee background can be due to the indirect effect of traditional gender and cultural norms adopted at home and within the family, such as the culture of honour and male dominance. These values would potentially get more instilled in the adolescents as they approach adulthood, and influence them more than their peers would (Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021). A refugee rather than a migrant background was associated with higher level of violence against women attitudes, since migrants' countries of origin were more heterogeneous, including Western countries with less emphasis on ideologies such as patriarchy and the 'culture of honour', such as Germany, Hungary and the United Kingdom.

This result supports the patriarchal ideology discussed, as the majority of adolescents with a refugee background originate from countries that hold on to these patriarchal norms and values (e.g. Sri Lanka and Somalia). The study by Arnoso *et al.* (2021) also portrayed the importance of traditional cultural and gender norms, the culture of honour, religiosity and social economic status for Moroccan immigrants in the context of intimate partner violence (Arnoso, Arnoso and Elgorriaga, 2021). This study was in line with that conducted by Bhanot and Senn (2007) which explored the relationship between acculturation and violence against women in a sample of South Asian university students residing in Canada. Results showed that the relationship between acculturation and attitudes towards violence against women was fully mediated by traditional gender role attitudes (Bhanot and Senn, 2007). Similarly, in a longitudinal study examining the association between gender role attitudes and physical dating violence perpetration among adolescent boys, the authors found that injunctive normative beliefs (i.e., the acceptance of dating violence) moderated the association (Reyes *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, there is evidence to show that existing or traditional norms and gender roles may persist within migration contexts and justify violence against women (Kandiyoti, 1998; Bui and Morash, 1999). These explanations can also account for the finding in this current study, where

violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found to be a significant risk factor of violence against women attitudes among youths with a refugee background.

Moreover, in line with the results found at age 15, social economic status was still not a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes in this study at age 17. Again, the same reasons can be given to explain this result, where the majority of second-generation refugee adolescents had a lower SES than second-generation migrants and natives in the sample, who had a more equal distribution between higher and lower SES levels (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). As stated above though, the sample as a whole had a lower SES, as areas of lower SES were selected for the study (Ribeaud *et al.*, 2021). Furthermore, the financial situation of adolescents in the sample did not change between the ages of 15 and 17. Similarly, gender was still not associated to violence against women attitudes at age 17 once other variables entered the model. The same explanations given for age 15 can be provided; where moral neutralisation is likely to be a mediator for the relationship between gender and violence against women attitudes, and the adolescents are likely to have adopted more egalitarian attitudes about gender role orientations (see above).

The last control variable, parental education level, was found to be associated with violence against women attitudes at age 17 for migrant and native adolescents. Lower parental education was not a predictor of attitudes in support of violence against women for migrant adolescents at age 15 but was significant two years later at age 17. Since migrant adolescents in the sample come from diverse countries (lower income, non-Western, higher income, and Western countries), acculturation processes might have happened quicker than they have for adolescents with a refugee background. This could make migrant and native adolescents share more similar characteristics and share the same set of predictors of violence against women attitudes. It is likely then, that parental education had no effect on shaping the refugee adolescents' attitudes towards violence against women as these attitudes were more influenced by factors such as their degree of acculturation, traditionalism, and migration-related challenges. Moreover, the refugee parents in the sample generally had a significantly lower education level than migrants (many of which have entered Switzerland on a work or study visa/settlement) and natives – See Chapter 5.

In addition to the control variables discussed above, regression analyses showed that moral neutralisation of aggression was still the strongest significant predictor of violence against women attitudes among all the adolescents at 17 years of age. Moreover, moral neutralisation of aggression is likely to be the mechanism through which violence legitimising norms of masculinity operates for all adolescents. Therefore, violence legitimising norms of masculinity were not a significant predictor once moral neutralisation of aggression entered the model. Again, as discussed above, this result

signifies the importance of moral neutralisation of aggression in shaping adolescents' attitudes towards violence against women. The same explanations offered at age 15 can be discussed regarding moral neutralisation of aggression (see above). Results do show, however, that for adolescents with a refugee background, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression were the only significant predictor of such attitudes supporting violence against women. Migrant and native adolescents' attitudes, however, were shaped by moral neutralisation of aggression, corporal punishment experience and parental education levels. Once again, this can show that migrant and native adolescents were more similar to each other through acculturation processes as discussed above. Experience of corporal punishment, however, ceased to be a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes among adolescents with a refugee background at age 17. This result can have several explanations. To begin with, following on to the strong effect of moral neutralisation of aggression discussed above, the effect of moral neutralisation of aggression on refugee adolescents is very likely deeming experience of corporal punishment to be not significant anymore, as experience of corporal punishment could be mediated by moral neutralisation of aggression for youths with a refugee background. Table 6.11 supports this explanation as the effect of moral neutralisation of aggression is much higher for adolescents with a refugee background ($\beta = .503$) than their migrant ($\beta = .326$) and native counterparts ($\beta = .303$). Another explanation is that the process of violence normalisation may occur across different settings (i.e., aggressive treatment originally experienced within the family context is also accepted in romantic relationships) but not across victim types (i.e., abuse of a daughter (girls/children) does not expand into accepting aggression towards women (Debowska *et al.*, 2021).

Finally, it was shown that the relationship between having a refugee background and violence against women attitudes was partially mediated by moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment. In other words, having a refugee background was associated with more supportive attitudes towards violence against women through greater levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment. The relationship between having a refugee background and attitudes condoning violence against women, however, does not fully operate via the mediators as there is still a significant relationship between migration status and attitudes supporting violence against women after the mediators have been entered into the model.

It makes sense for moral neutralisation of aggression to mediate the relationship between having a refugee background and violence against women attitudes, as adolescents from a refugee background have refugee parents who have experienced war trauma and have likely adopted a higher justification of violence and revenge (Posada and Wainryb, 2008) than migrant and native youths. Moreover, as shown by the ANOVA analysis, second-generation refugees reported significantly higher levels of corporal punishment than their native and migrant peers. The mediating effect of corporal

punishment is supported by previous research that showed that experience of corporal punishment had a mediating effect between its acceptability and future use (Bower-Russa, 2005; Walker, Stearns and McKinney, 2021). In other words, the results indicate that second-generation refugees are more likely to morally neutralise aggression and experience corporal punishment by their parents and this is associated with greater support for violence against women. These results are consistent with previous literature discussed above (e.g. Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013 and Walker, Stearns and McKinney, 2021), and highlight the importance of social cognition and social learning among adolescents with a refugee background. With regards to violence legitimising norms of masculinity, as discussed above in the results, it would be of interest to investigate this split by gender. Moreover, moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes are probable mediators of this relationship, but this is outside the scope of this thesis.

6B.6 Summary

Overall, the results suggest that patriarchal ideology, social learning, and social cognitions play a key role in understanding supportive attitudes toward violence against women in terms of risk factor, predictors and mediators. At the same time, however, the findings indicate that moral neutralisation of aggression (i.e. social cognition) is the biggest predictor of such attitudes among adolescents with a refugee background especially, and that a further understanding of these cognitions can help influence these attitudes. The findings also indicate that although adolescents with a refugee background displayed higher levels of support for violence against women than their native and migrant counterparts, that level was still very small. This paints a positive picture of successful acculturation and integration into the mainstream culture.

6B.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter was divided into two parts: 6A which included the analyses and results for risk factors, predictors and mediators of violence against women among second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents, and 6B which offered a discussion and explanation of these results. Findings indicated that despite adolescents with a refugee background reporting higher levels of support for violence against women, the levels were still very low and the effect size of having a refugee background is small. Findings indicated that risk factors associated with violence against women attitudes among adolescents with a refugee background were higher levels of violence

legitimising norms of masculinity, moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment.

An interesting finding was that at age 15, significant differences in violence against women attitudes were only found between second-generation refugee and native adolescents, but these differences were not significant once gender and parental education were controlled for in the regression analysis. There was, however, a relationship between having a refugee background and violence against women attitudes at age 17 even after other variables were controlled for, and adolescents with a refugee background reported significantly higher levels of support of violence against women than both their migrant and native peers (though the levels were still very low). This result paints a picture of successful acculturation and assimilation of adolescents with a migrant and refugee background into the Swiss culture.

Possible explanations were offered as to why having a refugee background was not a significant predictor of violence against women attitudes at age 15, but significant at age 17. This finding was attributed to the possibility that individuals are likely to be influenced by their friends and peers during mid-adolescence (age 15) but be more susceptible to their families' traditional and patriarchal worldviews as they near late adolescence/adulthood (age 17).

At age 15, adolescents with refugee and migrant backgrounds shared the same predictors of violence against women attitudes (moral neutralisation of aggression and corporal punishment), with the addition of parental education for native adolescents. At age 17, however, it was found that for adolescents with a refugee background, the only significant predictor of violence against women attitudes was moral neutralisation of aggression. On the other hand, adolescents with migrant or native backgrounds shared the same predictors (moral neutralisation, corporal punishment, and parental education level). As discussed above, the similarity between migrant and native adolescents was attributed to positive and speedy acculturation and assimilation into the Swiss culture. This finding emphasises the importance of social cognitions in adolescent attitudes towards violence against women, particularly those with a refugee background.

Finally, the mediation analysis conducted at age 17 showed that the relationship between migration status and violence against women attitudes was partially operated by moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of corporal punishment for second-generation refugee youths. Findings indicated that second-generation refugees were more likely to morally neutralise aggression and experience corporal punishment by their parents and this was related to higher levels of support for violence against women. These results are in line with previous literature (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013

and Walker, Stearns and McKinney, 2021), and also highlight the key role of social cognition and social learning among youths with a refugee background.

The next chapter will also be divided into two parts, 7A where the analyses and results for risk factors, predictors, and mediators of self-reported aggression among second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents; and 7B where these findings are discussed. This will be followed by Chapter 8, which will offer analytical conclusions, strengths and original contributions of this thesis, future research directions, and policy recommendations.

Chapter SEVEN: Self-reported aggression among refugee, migrant and native adolescents at ages 13, 15, 17 and 20

This chapter will examine differences in self-reported aggression between adolescents and young adults in the z-proso sample of different migration backgrounds at ages 13, 15, 17 and 20. Risk factors, predictors, and mediators of aggression among the three migration groups will be examined and reported in section 7A, and the findings will be discussed in section 7B. This chapter aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1) Are there differences in aggression among second-generation- -refugee, -migrant and native Swiss adolescents from ages 13-20 years?
- 2) What are the risk factors associated with higher levels of aggression among second-generation refugee youths?
- 3) What are the predictors of aggression among the second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents?
- 4) What factors mediate the relationship between migration status and levels of self-reported aggression?

7A: Self-reported aggression results

7A.1 Introduction

This section will examine attitudes in relation to levels of self-reported aggression among adolescents in the z-proso sample. Differences in the prevalence of, predictors, and mediators of self-reported aggression among adolescents with refugee, migrant, and native Swiss migration backgrounds were explored. Analyses were conducted at ages 13, 15, 17 and 20 years. Moreover, the study aimed to compare attitudes of adolescents with a refugee background to their second-generation migrant and native counterparts.

7A.2 Main hypotheses

Following from the summary of the theoretical frameworks presented in Chapter 4 and based on previous literature discussed (Chapters 2 and 3), the following hypotheses were generated:

- H10)* There will be differences in levels of self-reported aggression between the groups.
- H11)* There will be differences in moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.
- H12)* There will be differences in aggressive conflict coping strategies between the groups.
- H13)* There will be differences in parental involvement and experience of corporal punishment between the groups.
- H14)* There will be a relationship between migration status and self-reported aggression.

Social cognition

- H15)* There will be a relationship between aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies and self-reported aggression.
- H16)* There will be a relationship between moral neutralisation of aggression and self-reported aggression.

Social learning

- H17)* There will be a relationship between experience of corporal punishment and self-reported aggression.

H18) There will be a relationship between having delinquent peers and self-reported aggression.

Attachment

H19) There will be a relationship between parental involvement and self-reported aggression.

Patriarchal ideologies

H20) There will be a relationship between legitimising norms of masculinity / attitudes towards violence against women and self-reported aggression.

H21) The effects of refugee background on self-reported aggression will be mediated through patriarchal ideologies (violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity), social learning (experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers), social cognition (aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression), and attachment theory (parental involvement).

7A.3 Wave 5 analysis at age 13

7A.3.1 Descriptive statistics

A series of Pearson correlations was first conducted between all the independent variables (see Chapter 5) to test for multicollinearity and explore what variables are significantly associated with each other. Results of the bivariate correlations are shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Correlations between Aggression and key variables at age 13

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Aggression	1							
2 Parental involvement	-.305**	1						
3 Experience of corporal punishment	.312**	-.338**	1					
4 Deviant peers	.399**	-.180**	.070*	1				
5 Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.712**	-.230**	.290**	.425**	1			
6 Competent conflict coping strategies	-.360**	.259**	-.121**	-.227**	.337**	1		
7 Moral neutralisation of aggression	.616**	-.338**	.225**	.374**	.540**	-.329**	1	
8 Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.444**	-.272**	.197**	.244**	.386**	-.212**	.670**	1

**correlations significant at $p < .01$ level, * correlations significant at $p < .05$ level.

As shown in Table 7.1, self-reported aggression had a strong correlation with aggressive conflict coping strategies ($r(1054) = .71, p < .001$). Moreover, aggression was also strongly correlated

with moral neutralisation of aggression ($r(1059) = .62, p < .001$). Furthermore, aggression is moderately correlated with having violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($r(1061) = .44, p < .001$), having deviant peers ($r(991) = .40, p < .001$), and experience of corporal punishment ($r(1058) = .31, p < .001$). Moreover, there was a moderate negative association between self-reported aggression and parental involvement ($r(1057) = -.30, p < .001$), and self-reported aggression and competent conflict coping strategies ($r(1059) = -.36, p < .001$).

Table 7.2: Mean scores, standard deviations, and effect sizes for self-reported aggression between migration groups at age 13

Migration Background	M(SD)	d(95% CI)
Native Swiss	1.69(.56)	
Second-generation migrant	1.74(.56)	.089(-.043-.220)
Second-generation refugee	1.82(.67)	.225(.050-.400)

Mean scores of self-reported aggression were compared between second-generation refugee and second-generation migrant adolescents (with native Swiss migration background being the control group). It was found that second-generation refugee adolescents scored higher, with a small effect size, compared to their native Swiss counterparts. In order to test whether these differences are significant, an ANOVA was conducted next.

7A.3.2 Risk factors of aggression among 13-year-old adolescents

Differences in means between the three adolescent groups (second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants and natives) have been examined in order to investigate differences in self-reported aggression, parental involvement, experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers, aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and violence legitimising norms of masculinity. To do so, separate ANOVAs were conducted for each of the independent variables. The first two assumptions of the ANOVA have been checked and met. As was done for the previous analyses, with regards to homogeneity of variance, Welch's F was used where this assumption was violated. Table 7.3 shows the means and results of the ANOVAs with alternative Welch's- F values where homogeneity of variance was not assumed.

Table 7.3: Means and one-way ANOVAs with self-reported aggression, parental, peer and individual level variables as Dependent variables and migration status as the independent variable at age 13

	Levene's		ANOVAs				$M_{total\ sample}(SD)$	$M_{refugee}(SD)$	$M_{migrant}(SD)$	$M_{native}(SD)$
	F	p	F	p	Welch's F	p				
Aggression	3.906	0.02			2.892	0.056	1.73(.58)	1.82(.67)	1.74(.56)	1.69(.56)
Parental involvement	11.067	<.001			26.703	<.001	3.10(.58)	2.93(.65)	3.02(.60)	3.24(.50)
Experience of corporal punishment	6.677	0.001			2.923	.055	1.17(.38)	1.25(.46)	1.16(.33)	1.15(.38)
Deviant peers	2.977	0.051	1.898	0.15			.14(.21)	.11(.17)	.15(.21)	.15(.22)
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	5.158	0.006			.270	.764	1.63(.66)	1.66(.74)	1.61(.57)	1.63(.68)
Competent conflict coping strategies	1.898	0.15	11.593	<.001			3.26(.85)	3.01(.93)	3.23(.84)	3.37(.81)
Moral neutralisation of aggression	3.095	0.046			4.342	0.014	2.05(.53)	2.13(.52)	2.07(.49)	2.00(.56)
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	0.46	0.631	27.538	<.001			2.35(.74)	2.59(.71)	2.45(.72)	2.17(.72)

As shown in Table 7.3, one-way ANOVAs revealed that there were statistically significant differences in parental involvement ($F(2,1056)=26.703, p < .001$), competent conflict coping strategies ($F(2,1053)=11.593, p < .001$), moral neutralisation of aggression ($F(2,1058)=4.342, p = .014$) and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($F(2,1060)=27.538, p < .001$) between the migration groups. With regards to aggression, there were no statistically significant differences between second-generation refugee, migrant and native Swiss adolescents.

The ANOVAs were then followed up by a series of post-hoc tests to examine the individual main difference comparisons across all three categories of migration status (refugee/migrant/native) and the dependent variables where the ANOVA found significant mean differences between groups, i.e. parental involvement, competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and violence legitimising norms of masculinity. As the sample sizes were not equal between the groups (the refugee group was smaller than the migrant and native groups), Gabriel's pairwise comparison was chosen for instances where equal variance is assumed since it is recommended for samples of unequal size, and is considered a powerful test (Field, 2017). For instances where equal variances is not assumed, Games-Howell pairwise comparison was chosen since it is the most powerful and accurate test to use with unequal sample sizes (Field, 2017). Table 7.4 shows the appropriate post-

hoc procedure chosen for each significant ANOVA with the comparisons between the migration groups.

Table 7.4: Pairwise comparisons at age 13

Dependent Variable		Migration status	Migration status	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Parental involvement	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-0.09	0.058	0.266	-0.226	0.046
			Native	-0.313***	0.055	<.001	-0.443	-0.183
		Migrant	Refugee	0.09	0.058	0.266	-0.046	0.226
			Native	-0.223***	0.038	<.001	-0.311	-0.135
		Native	Refugee	0.313***	0.055	<.001	0.183	0.443
			Migrant	0.223***	0.038	<.001	0.135	0.311
Competent conflict coping strategies	Gabriel's	Refugee	Migrant	-0.228**	0.078	0.007	-0.406	-0.049
			Native	-0.36***	0.076	<.001	-0.535	-0.185
		Migrant	Refugee	0.228**	0.078	0.007	0.049	0.407
			Native	-0.132	0.057	0.058	-0.268	0.003
		Native	Refugee	0.36***	0.076	<.001	0.185	0.535
			Migrant	0.132	0.057	0.058	-0.003	0.268
Moral neutralisation of aggression	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	0.056	0.046	0.446	-0.053	0.166
			Native	0.13*	0.047	0.018	0.018	0.242
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.056	0.046	0.446	-0.166	0.053
			Native	0.074	0.035	0.093	-0.009	0.157
		Native	Refugee	-0.13*	0.047	0.018	-0.242	-0.018
			Migrant	-0.074	0.035	0.093	-0.157	0.009
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	Gabriel's	Refugee	Migrant	0.14	0.065	0.08	-0.012	0.291
			Native	0.414***	0.064	<.001	0.266	0.563
		Migrant	Refugee	-0.14	0.065	0.08	-0.291	0.012
			Native	0.274***	0.048	<.001	0.159	0.39
		Native	Refugee	-0.414***	0.064	<.001	-0.563	-0.266
			Migrant	-0.274***	0.048	<.001	-0.39	-0.159

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

As shown in Table 7.4, in terms of parental involvement, Games-Howell pairwise comparisons revealed significant mean differences between natives and both migrant and native groups ($p < .001$). There were no significant mean differences between the migrant and refugee groups with regards to parental involvement. Moreover, for competent conflict coping strategies, significant mean differences were only found between refugees and both the migrant and native group ($p = .007$ and p

< .001 respectively). Furthermore, with regards to moral neutralisation of aggression, significant mean differences were only found between refugee and native adolescents ($p=.018$). Finally, mean differences in violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found between the native and both migrant and refugee groups ($p < .001$ for both groups).

In other words, the results imply that there are significant differences in parental involvement between native ($M=3.24$) and both migrant ($M=3.02$) and refugee ($M=2.93$) adolescents, i.e. native parents are significantly more involved with their children than both migrant and refugee parents. Moreover, as suggested by the means in Table 7.2, refugee adolescents ($M = 3.01$) use competent conflict coping strategies significantly less than both migrant ($M = 3.23$) and native ($M = 3.37$) adolescents. Furthermore, adolescents with a refugee background ($M = 2.13$) have a significantly higher level of moral neutralisation of aggression than their native counterparts ($M = 2.00$). Finally, it was found that native adolescents ($M = 2.17$) are significantly less likely to hold violence legitimising norms of masculinity than their migrant ($M = 2.45$) and refugee ($M = 2.59$) peers.

7A.3.3 Predictors of self-reported aggression among 13-year-old adolescents

Before performing a hierarchical multiple regression to uncover the predictors of aggression among the sample, an examination of the test's assumptions was conducted. As mentioned previously in the violence against women analyses, the sample size was considered to be acceptable given that the analyses are comprised of several independent variables (Tabachnick, Fidell and Ullman, 2019). Moreover, no multivariate outliers were found, and residual and scatter plots showed that the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity were all satisfied (Hair *et al.*, 2006). Additionally, the assumption of singularity was also met as the independent variables (parental involvement, experience of corporal punishment, peer delinquency, aggressive conflict coping strategies, competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and violence legitimising norms of masculinity) were not a combination of other independent variables (Tabachnick, Fidell and Ullman, 2019). Finally, the assumption of multicollinearity was met since an examination of correlations revealed that none of the independent variables were highly correlated and the collinearity statistics were all within accepted limits (Hair *et al.*, 2006; Field, 2017), see Table 7.5.

Table 7.5: Collinearity statistics at age 13

Model		Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	Parental involvement	.882	1.133	.507
	Experience of corporal punishment	.982	1.018	.510
	Peer delinquency	.972	1.078	.509
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.929	1.076	.510
	Competent conflict coping strategies	.951	1.051	.509
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.895	1.118	.509
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.842	1.187	.503
2	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.741	1.350	.504
	Competent conflict coping strategies	.872	1.147	.504
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.739	1.353	.504
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.769	1.300	.496

Prior to conducting the regression analysis, the dummy variables 'Refugee' and 'Migrant' were created, as the variable 'Migration Status' is a categorical variable containing three categories: refugee, migrant and native. Native status was chosen as the reference category in order to compare how predictors among refugees and migrants (involuntarily/voluntarily migrated groups) differ from natives (no migration group).

A three-stage hierarchical linear regression was then conducted to identify predictors of aggression among the 13-year-old adolescents across the whole sample. The model controlled for pertinent sociodemographic factors (gender, social economic status, maximum level of parental education, and migration status (refugee/migrant)) in the first step, then added parental (involvement, experience of corporal punishment) and peer (delinquent peers) variables in the next step, and finally added individual/personal factors in the third step (aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and violence legitimising norms of masculinity). Table 7.6 shows the regression results for the whole sample in addition to separate regression analyses conducted for each migration group. The decision to look at the sample as a whole was made as this is the only way to compare the three migration groups having taken account of other factors. In addition, predictors for each migration group were investigated to examine what factors predict self-reported aggression for the individual groups.

Table 7.6: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 13 with self-reported aggression set as the dependent variable

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE)/ β	b _{Refugee} (SE)/ β	b _{Migrant} (SE)/ β	b _{Native} (SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	2.307(.081)***	2.351(.181)***	2.363(.110)***	2.305(.123)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.321(.035)/ -.286***	-.317(.101)/ -.260***	-.333(.056)/ -.298***	-.311(.051)/ -.287***
	Max parental education	-.018(.008)/ -.099*	-.030(.021)/ -.139	-.008(.012)/ -.048	-.023(.011)/ -.117*
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.024	.001(.003)/ .034	-.002(.002)/ -.067	<.001(.002)/ -.012
	Refugee	.061(.057)/ .039			
	Migrant	.033(.039)/ .029			
	R ²	.100***	.86**	.101***	.097***
Step 2	Constant	1.909(.141)***	1.778(.290)***	1.936(.209)***	2.145(.239)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.190(.033)/ -.169***	-.141(.092)/ -.115	-.209(.052)/ -.187***	-.178(.049)/ -.164***
	Max parental education	-.011(.007)/ -.058	-.014(.018)/ -.064	-.005(.011)/ -.026	-.013(.010)/ -.068
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.038	-.001(.003)/ -.034	-.002(.002)/ -.082	-.001(.002)/ -.017
	Refugee	.054(.052)/ .035			
	Migrant	.017(.036)/ .015			
	Parental involvement	-.093(.031)/ -.096**	-.116(.076)/ -.121	-.049(.045)/ -.053	-.159(.054)/ -.146**
	Experience of corporal punishment	.298(.046)/ .193***	.410(.103)/ .2498***	.203(.082)/ .115*	.280(.069)/ .190***
	Delinquent peers	.906(.080)/ .336***	1.462(.286)/ .371***	1.032(.126)/ .391***	.693(.112)/ .280***
	ΔR^2	.172***	.250***	.168***	.169***
Step 3	Constant	.539(.135)***	.617(.316)	.635(.219)**	.352(.207)
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.055(.025)/ -.049*	-.090(.070)/ -.074	-.050(.043)/ -.044	-.042(.034)/ -.039
	Max parental education	-.007(.005)/ -.038	-.024(.014)/ -.114	.002(.009)/ .012	-.010(.007)/ -.049
	Social economic status	<.001(.001)/ <.001	<.001(.001)/ -.006	-.001(.001)/ -.041	.001(.001)/ .026
	Refugee	.036(.039)/ .023			
	Migrant	.020(.027)/ .017			
	Parental involvement	-.009(.024)/ -.009	.026(.062)/ .028	-.008(.036)/ -.009	-.003(.038)/ -.003
	Experience of corporal punishment	.086(.035)/ .056*	.205(.081)/ .149*	.089(.065)/ .051	.016(.049)/ .011
	Delinquent peers	.164(.065)/ .061*	.356 (.246)/ .090	.343 (.108)/ .130**	-.030(.083)/ -.012
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.435(.024)/ .494***	.474(.068)/ .511***	.401(.042)/ .424***	.460(.032)/ .567***
	Competent conflict coping strategies	-.039(.016)/ -.058*	-.039(.038)/ -.057	-.064(.025)/ -.096*	-.005(.024)/ -.007
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.277(.035)/ .258***	.195(.100)/ .158	.276(.062)/ .243***	.320(.045)/ .326***
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.019(.023)/ .025	.053(.060)/ .062	.030(.039)/ .039	.002(.032)/ .003
	ΔR^2	.337***	.295***	.293***	.400***

Whole sample N=916, Refugee N= 140, Migrant N=364, Native N=412, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, $F(5,910) = 20.114, p < .001$. This step showed that male sex ($\beta = -.286, p < .001$) and lower parental education levels ($\beta = -.099, p = .017$) were significantly associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression, while the other sociodemographic variables (social economic status and migration status) were not.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model, $F(8,907) = 42.185, p < .001$. In this step, gender remained a significant predictor of higher levels of aggression ($\beta = -.169, p < .001$), in addition to parental involvement ($\beta = -.096, p = .003$), higher experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .193, p < .001$), and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .336, p < .001$). Once these variables entered the model, parental education levels ceased to be a predictor of higher levels of aggression across the sample.

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant overall model $F(12,903) = 116.696, p < .001$. Upon the addition of the individual-level variables, significant predictors of self-reported aggression were male gender ($\beta = -.049, p = .029$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .056, p = .015$), having delinquent peers ($\beta = .061, p = .011$), higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .494, p < .001$), lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies ($\beta = -.058, p = .013$), and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .258, p < .001$). Aggressive conflict coping strategies was the strongest predictor of aggression, followed by moral neutralisation of aggression, having delinquent friends, lower competent conflict coping strategies, experience of corporal punishment and gender.

As stated above, whether the predictors of self-reported aggression differ between different migrant groups was then examined in additional regression analyses separately for each migration group. Results of these analyses are also presented in Table 7.5.

Regression results for adolescents with a refugee background

With regards to the refugee group, the first step of the model was significant, $F(3,136) = 4.284, p = .003$. This step showed that being male ($\beta = -.260, p = .002$) was the only variable associated with higher levels of aggression.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model, $F(6,133) = 11.251, p < .001$. In this step, gender ceased to be a predictor of higher levels of

aggression. Significant predictors associated with higher levels of aggression were experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .298, p < .001$), and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .371, p < .001$).

When individual-level variables were added in the third step, the overall model was still significant with a significant change ($F(10,129) = 22.103, p < .001$). This step showed that experience of corporal punishment remained a significant predictor of self-reported aggression ($\beta = .149, p = .013$), in addition to higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .511, p < .001$), the latter being the strongest predictor of aggression.

Regression results for adolescents with a migrant background

Results of the regression analysis for migrants in the sample showed a significant Step 1 ($F(3,360) = 13.430, p < .001$). Like the refugee group, being male was the only predictor of higher levels of aggression ($\beta = -.298, p < .001$).

The addition of Step 2 showed a significant overall model ($F(6,357) = 21.864, p < .001$), and while gender remained a significant predictor of higher levels of aggression ($\beta = -.187, p < .001$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .115, p = .014$) and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .391, p < .001$) were also significant predictors of aggression among 13-year-old adolescents with a migrant background.

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(10,353) = 45.325, p < .001$). This step showed the strongest predictor of aggression among youths with a migrant background to be aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .424, p < .001$), followed by higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .243, p < .001$), having delinquent peers ($\beta = .130, p = .002$), and lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies ($\beta = -.096, p = .012$).

Regression results for native adolescents

Among native adolescents in the sample, the first step showed a significant model ($F(3,408) = 14.614, p < .001$), with male gender ($\beta = -.287, p < .001$) and a lower level of parental education ($\beta = -.117, p = .044$) being significant predictors of higher levels of aggression.

The addition of the second step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(6,405) = 24.442, p < .001$). In this step, variables associated with higher levels of aggression were

gender ($\beta = -.164, p < .001$), lower parental involvement ($\beta = -.146, p = .003$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .190, p < .001$), and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .280, p < .001$).

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model $F(10,401) = 79.827, p < .001$ once all the independent variables were included in the model. This step showed that for native Swiss adolescents, the only variables associated with higher levels of aggression were aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .567, p < .001$) and moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .326, p < .001$), with the former being the strongest predictor of higher levels of aggression.

As shown in the analyses above, aggressive coping strategies were a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for all the groups at age 13. Moreover, gender was a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for the sample as a whole, but not for individual groups. Moreover, experience of corporal punishment was a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample and for the refugee group only. Furthermore, having delinquent peers and competent conflict coping strategies were significant predictors of aggression for the whole sample and for adolescents with a migrant background. Finally, moral neutralisation of aggression was a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample, and native and second-generation migrants. These results are summarised in Table 7.7 below.

Table 7.7: Summary of regression analyses with self-reported aggression as the outcome variable at age 13

Variable	Whole sample	Refugee	Migrant	Native
Gender	✓	x	x	x
Corporal punishment	✓	✓	x	x
Delinquent peers	✓	x	✓	x
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Competent conflict coping strategies	✓	x	✓	x
Moral neutralisation of aggression	✓	x	✓	✓

7A.3.4 Mediation analysis

Since the relationship between migration status and self-reported aggression was not significant at age 13 in any stage of the analyses above, a mediation analysis cannot be justified and conducted.

7A.4 Wave 6 analysis at age 15

7A.4.1 Descriptive statistics

A series of bivariate Pearson correlations was conducted between all the independent variables to test for multicollinearity and explore what variables are significantly associated with each other. Results of the bivariate correlations are shown in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8: Correlations between Aggression and key variables at age 15

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Aggression	1								
2 Parental involvement	-.253**	1							
3 Experience of corporal punishment	.260**	-.297**	1						
4 Deviant peers	.265**	-.087**	.025	1					
5 Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.671**	-.166**	.167**	.265**	1				
6 Competent conflict coping strategies	-.336**	.224**	-.103**	-.128**	-.362**	1			
7 Moral neutralisation of aggression	.611**	-.294**	.190**	.252**	.564**	-.306**	1		
8 Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.407**	-.189**	.144**	.149**	.421**	-.267**	.618**	1	
9 Violence against women attitudes	.290**	-.179**	.271**	.064*	.210**	-.151**	.342**	.218**	1

**correlations significant at $p < .01$ level, * correlations significant at $p < .05$ level.

As shown in Table 7.8, strong correlations were found between aggression and aggressive conflict coping strategies ($r(1115)=.67, p < .001$) and moral neutralisation of aggression ($r(1117)=.61, p < .001$). Moreover, moderate positive correlations were found between aggression and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($r(1109)=.41, p < .001$), violence against women attitudes ($r(1114)=.29, p < .001$), deviant peers ($r(1084)=.26, p < .001$), and experience of corporal punishment ($r(1117)=.26, p < .001$). Moderate negative correlations were found between aggression and competent conflict coping strategies ($r(1115)=-.34, p < .001$) and parental involvement ($r(1117)=-.25, p < .001$).

Table 7.9: Mean scores, standard deviations, and effect sizes for self-reported aggression between migration groups at age 15

Migration Background	M(SD)	d(95% CI)
Native Swiss	1.61(.50)	
Second-generation migrant	1.64(.50)	.064(-.063-.192)
Second-generation refugee	1.80(.67)	.353(.180-.526)

Average scores of self-reported aggression were contrasted between second-generation refugee and second-generation migrant adolescents, with native Swiss adolescents serving as the reference group. The analysis revealed that second-generation refugee adolescents scored higher than their native Swiss counterparts, but the effect size is small. To ascertain the significance of these distinctions, an ANOVA analysis was subsequently performed.

7A.4.2 Risk factors of aggression among 15-year-old adolescents

As in the analysis above, mean differences among the three migrant groups were examined to identify potential risk factors for higher levels of aggression. In line with the analysis above, mean differences were explored through a series of one-way ANOVAs, and as above, all assumptions were checked and met. In terms of homogeneity of variances, Welch's F was used in instances where this assumption has not been met.

As above, it was first examined whether there were any significant mean differences between the migration groups with regards to self-reported aggression. The result of this ANOVA in addition to others concerning all the parental, peer and individual-level variables are shown in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10: Means and one-way ANOVAs with self-reported aggression, parental, peer and individual level variables as Dependent variables and migration status as the Independent variable at age 15

	Levene's		ANOVAs				M_{total} sample(SD)	$M_{refugee}(SD)$	$M_{migrant}(SD)$	$M_{native}(SD)$
	F	p	F	p	Welch's F	p				
Aggression	12.909	<.001			6.135	.002	1.65(.53)	1.80(.67)	1.64(.50)	1.61(.50)
Parental involvement	18.699	<.001			17.226	<.001	3.03(.62)	2.86(.71)	2.98(.65)	3.14(.53)
Experience of corporal punishment	26.416	<.001			10.786	<.001	1.14(.32)	1.21(.39)	1.16(.34)	1.09(.26)
Deviant peers	1.295	.274	9.035	<.001			.34(.25)	.27(.23)	.33(.25)	.36(.24)
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	10.090	<.001			1.437	.239	1.60(.60)	1.69(.78)	1.58(.54)	1.58(.57)
Competent conflict coping strategies	1.090	.337	3.087	.046			3.36(.78)	3.25(.82)	3.34(.78)	3.41(.77)
Moral neutralisation of aggression	5.889	.003			5.259	.006	2.05(.51)	2.16(.58)	2.04(.48)	2.01(.50)
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.054	.947	34.311	<.001			2.37(.73)	2.70(.73)	2.43(.71)	2.20(.71)
Violence against women attitudes	13.530	<.001			3.380	.035	1.15(.35)	1.22(.46)	1.15(.33)	1.12(.32)

To begin with, the ANOVAs showed that there were significant differences in aggression across the three migration groups ($F(2,1116)=6.135, p = .002$). Moreover, there were also statistically significant differences in parental involvement ($F(2,1117)=17.226, p < .001$), experience of corporal punishment ($F(2,1117)=10.786, p < .001$), having deviant peers ($F(2,1084)=9.035, p < .001$), competent

conflict coping strategies ($F(2,1114)=3.087$, $p = .046$), moral neutralisation of aggression ($F(2,1116)=5.259$, $p = .006$), violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($F(2,1108)=34.311$, $p < .001$), and attitudes towards violence against women ($F(2,1113)=3.380$, $p = .035$).

Significant ANOVAs were subsequently followed up by a series of post-hoc pairwise comparisons. As above, Gabriel's pairwise comparison was chosen for instances where homogeneity of variance was assumed, and Games-Howell was chosen for instances where this assumption has been violated. Table 7.11 shows the appropriate post-hoc procedure chosen for each significant ANOVA with the comparisons between the migration groups.

Table 7.11: Pairwise comparisons at age 15

Dependent Variable		Migration status	Migration status	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Aggression	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.161*	.055	.011	.030	.291
			Native	.193**	.055	.002	.063	.323
		Migrant	Refugee	-.161*	.055	.011	-.291	-.030
			Native	.032	.032	.585	-.044	.108
		Native	Refugee	-.193**	.055	.002	-.322	-.063
			Migrant	-.032	.032	.585	-.108	.044
Parental involvement	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.113	.062	.161	-.258	.032
			Native	-.284***	.059	<.001	-.422	-.146
		Migrant	Refugee	.113	.062	.161	-.032	.258
			Native	-.171***	.039	<.001	-.262	-.080
		Refugee	Native	.284***	.059	<.001	.146	.422
			Migrant	.171***	.039	<.001	.080	.262
Experience of corporal punishment	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.055	.033	.233	-.024	.133
			Native	.122***	.032	<.001	.047	.197
		Migrant	Refugee	-.055	.033	.233	-.133	.024
			Native	.067**	.020	.002	.021	.114
		Refugee	Native	-.122***	.032	<.001	-.197	-.047
			Migrant	-.067**	.020	.002	-.114	-.021
Delinquent peers	Gabriel's	Refugee	Migrant	-.062*	.022	.011	-.114	-.011
			Native	-.093***	.022	<.001	-.143	-.042
		Migrant	Refugee	.062*	.022	.011	.011	.113
			Native	-.030	.016	.173	-.069	.008
		Native	Refugee	.093***	.022	<.001	.042	.143
			Migrant	.030	.016	.173	-.008	.069
Competent conflict coping strategies	Gabriel's	Refugee	Migrant	-.089	.069	.468	-.250	.073
			Native	-.164*	.068	.041	-.323	-.005
		Migrant	Refugee	.089	.069	.468	-.073	.250
			Native	-.075	.051	.363	-.197	.046
		Native	Refugee	.164*	.068	.041	.005	.323
			Migrant					

			Migrant	.075	.051	.363	-.046	.197
Moral neutralisation of aggression	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.121*	.049	.037	.006	.237
			Native	.160**	.049	.004	.044	.276
		Migrant	Refugee	-.121*	.049	.037	-.237	-.006
			Native	.038	.032	.459	-.037	.113
		Native	Refugee	-.160**	.049	.004	-.276	-.044
			Migrant	-.038	.032	.459	-.113	.037
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	Gabriel's	Refugee	Migrant	.263***	.063	<.001	.115	.411
			Native	.498***	.063	<.001	.352	.643
		Migrant	Refugee	-.263***	.063	<.001	-.411	-.115
			Native	.235***	.047	<.001	.123	.347
		Native	Refugee	-.498***	.063	<.001	-.643	-.352
			Migrant	-.235***	.047	<.001	-.347	-.123
Violence against women attitudes	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.062	.038	.231	-.027	.152
			Native	.093*	.038	.037	.004	.182
		Migrant	Refugee	-.062	.038	.231	-.152	.027
			Native	.030	.021	.329	-.020	.081
		Native	Refugee	-.093*	.038	.037	-.182	-.004
			Migrant	.030	.021	.329	-.081	.020

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

As shown in Table 7.11, post hoc analyses revealed that significant mean differences in aggression only exist between refugees and both migrants ($p=.011$) and natives ($p=.002$). In terms of risk factors, significant mean differences in parental involvement are only present between natives and both refugees ($p < .001$) and migrants ($p < .001$). Moreover, significant mean differences in corporal punishment are only present between natives and both migrants ($p = .002$) and refugees ($p < .001$). With regards to having delinquent peers, significant mean differences were found between refugees and both migrants ($p = .011$) and natives ($p < .001$). Additionally, with regards to competent conflict coping strategies, significant mean differences were found between refugees and natives ($p = .041$). Moreover, significant mean differences in moral neutralisation of aggression were found between refugees and both migrants ($p = .049$) and natives ($p = .004$). Also, significant mean differences in violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found between all groups ($p < .001$). Finally, in terms of violence against women attitudes, significant mean differences were found between refugee and native adolescents ($p=.037$).

In other words, the results imply that adolescents with a refugee background ($M=1.80$) significantly reported on average, higher levels of aggression than their migrant ($M=1.64$) and native ($M=1.61$) counterparts. Moreover, like the results shown at age 13, native adolescents ($M=3.14$) reported a significantly higher level of parental involvement than their refugee ($M=2.86$) and migrant ($M=2.98$) peers. Moreover, native parents ($M=1.09$) on average, are less likely to carry out corporal

punishment than refugee ($M=1.21$) and migrant ($M=1.16$) parents. Results also imply that refugees ($M=.27$), on average, have fewer delinquent friends than both migrants ($M=.33$) and natives ($M=.36$) in the sample. Additionally, adolescents with a refugee background have scored significantly lower on the competent conflict coping strategy scale ($M=3.25$) than their native ($M=3.41$) peers and have reported a significantly higher level of moral neutralisation of aggression ($M=2.16$) than migrant ($M=2.04$) and native ($M=2.01$) youths. Likewise, refugee youths were found to hold the strongest violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($M=2.7$), followed by migrant ($M=2.43$) and native ($M=2.20$) youths. Finally, refugee adolescents report, on average a significantly higher level of attitudes in support of violence against women ($M=1.22$) than native ($M=1.12$) adolescents, albeit it being a low level. Similar to the above analysis, risk factors of higher levels of aggression among refugee adolescents are therefore lower levels of parental involvement and competent conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation of aggression, violence legitimising norms of masculinity and violence against women attitudes.

7A.4.3 Predictors of self-reported aggression among 15-year-old adolescents

Again, it was checked that all assumptions have been met prior to conducting the hierarchical regression analyses. As above, all assumptions have been met and it was deemed appropriate to proceed with the regression analyses as the sample size was appropriate, there were no multivariate outliers, and the assumptions of singularity, normality, linearity and homoscedasticity and multicollinearity were all satisfied. Table 7.12 shows the collinearity statistics for the following analyses.

Table 7.12: Collinearity statistics at age 15

Model		Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	Parental involvement	.939	1.065	.513
	Experience of corporal punishment	.966	1.036	.514
	Peer delinquency	.952	1.051	.512
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.934	1.071	.513
	Competent conflict coping strategies	.969	1.032	.509
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.845	1.183	.513
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.857	1.166	.505
	Violence against women attitudes	.939	1.065	.513

2	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.854	1.171	.509
	Competent conflict coping strategies	.919	1.088	.505
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.754	1.326	.509
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.822	1.216	.500
	Violence against women attitudes	.866	1.154	.509

The dummy variables 'refugee' and 'migrant' were created to check whether migration status is associated with higher levels of aggression. The native group was used as a reference category as before, since it is the largest group and is the 'no migration' group.

Following the checks and recoding of the dummy variables, a three-step hierarchical linear regression was conducted to investigate predictors of aggression among 15-year-old adolescents across the sample. The sociodemographic variables gender, parental education level, social economic status and migration status were controlled for in the model and included in the first step. Following that, the second step introduced parental (parental involvement, experience of corporal punishment) and peer (delinquent peers) variables, and the third step introduced individual-level variables (aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, violence legitimising norms of masculinity, and violence against women attitudes) into the model. Table 7.13 shows the regression results for the whole sample in addition to separate regression analyses conducted for each migration group.

Table 7.13: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 15

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE)/ β	b _{Refugee} (SE)/ β	b _{Migrant} (SE)/ β	b _{Native} (SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	2.088(.070)***	2.491(.188)***	1.970(.091)***	2.167(.104)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.253(.031)/ -.249***	-.428(.102)/ -.327***	-.153(.046)/ -.162***	-.287(.043)/ -.304***
	Max parental education	-.001(.007)/ -.007	-.018(.020)/ -.083	-.00(.010)/ -.010	.008(.009)/ .049
	Social economic status	-.002(.001) -.078	.001(.003)/ -.039	-.002(.002)/ -.090	-.004(.002)/ -.120*
	Refugee	.167(.050)/ .118***			
	Migrant	.027(.034)/ .026			
	R ²	.084***	.117***	.036**	.100***
Step 2	Constant	1.752(.124)***	1.767(.336)***	1.906(.169)***	1.737(.198)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.203(.029)/ -.200***	-.379(.102)/ -.290***	-.127(.043)/ -.135**	-.216(.041)/ -.229***
	Max parental education	.003(.006)/ .017	-.013(.020)/ -.057	.001(.009)/ .004	.014(.009)/ .081
	Social economic status	-.002(.001) -.083*	<.001(.003)/ -.003	-.002(.001)/ -.083	-.004(.002)/ -.122*
	Refugee	.151(.047)/ .106**			
	Migrant	.013(.032)/ .013			
	Parental involvement	-.092(.025)/ -.110***	.037(.076)/ .041	-.145(.035)/ -.195***	-.102(.040)/ -.112*
	Experience of corporal punishment	.325(.048)/ .201***	.347(.130)/ .212**	.262(.068)/ .183***	.393(.080)/ .212***
	Delinquent peers	.477(.061)/ .230***	.521(.229)/ .177*	.413(.087)/ .219***	.499(.085)/ .254***
	ΔR^2	.122***	.071**	.159***	.135***
Step 3	Constant	.335(.130)*	.710(.360)*	.284(.204)	.370(.194)
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.012(.023)/ -.012	-.115(.079)/ -.088	.020(.034)/ .021	-.006(.033)/ -.006
	Max parental education	.005(.005)/ .031	-.007(.015)/ -.033	.006(.007)/ .040	.011(.007)/ .062
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.024	<.001(.003)/ .008	-.001(.001)/ -.022	-.001(.001)/ -.044
	Refugee	.085(.036)/ .060*			
	Migrant	.015(.024) .014			
	Parental involvement	-.022(.019)/ -.027	.056(.056)/ .061	-.021(.028)/ -.028	-.073(.032)/ -.080*
	Experience of corporal punishment	.174(.037)/ .108***	.165(.098)/ .101	.129(.054)/ .090*	.227(.062)/ .122***
	Delinquent peers	.113(.047)/ .054*	.091(.171)/ .031	.082(.069)/ .044	.137(.067)/ .070*
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.405(.023)/ .458***	.408(.062)/ .481***	.400(.039)/ .437***	.402(.035)/ .463***
	Competent conflict coping strategies	-.043(.015)/ -.067**	-.090(.047)/ -.112	-.049(.023)/ -.081*	-.017(.022)/ -.027
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.291(.032)/ .284***	.362(.105)/ .313***	.258(.049)/ .259***	.297(.046)/ .305***
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	-.030(.020)/ -.042	-.116(.065)/ -.130	-.012(.029)/ -.016	-.010(.029)/ -.015
	Violence against women attitudes	.102(.034)/ .069**	.029(.094)/ .019	.205(.052)/ .149***	.023(.054)/ .015
	ΔR^2	.358***	.399***	.352***	.339***

p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, Whole sample N=1000, Refugee N= 150, Migrant N=409, Native N=441

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant ($F(5,994) = 18.338, p < .001$) and showed gender, i.e. being male, ($\beta = -.249, p < .001$) and having a refugee migration background ($\beta = .118, p < .001$) to be associated with higher levels of aggression.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(8,991) = 32.178, p < .001$). Upon the addition of parental and peer factors, gender ($\beta = -.200, p < .001$) and refugee status ($\beta = .106, p = .002$) remained significant predictors of self-reported aggression. Additionally, lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.110, p < .001$), higher levels of experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .201, p < .001$) and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .230, p < .001$) were significantly associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression.

Finally, once individual-level variables were added to the model, the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(13,986) = 98.132, p < .001$). In this step, gender and parental involvement ceased to be associated with higher levels of aggression, while a refugee background remained a significant predictor of self-reported aggression ($\beta = .060, p = .018$). Additional significant predictors were experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .108, p < .001$), having delinquent peers ($\beta = .054, p = .017$), higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .458, p < .001$), lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies ($\beta = -.067, p = .004$), and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .284, p < .001$) and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .069, p = .003$). Like the results shown at age 13, aggressive conflict coping strategies were the strongest predictor to self-reported aggression among the adolescents at age 15.

Regression results for adolescents with a refugee background

With regards to the refugee group, the first step of the model was significant, $F(3,146) = 6.437, p < .001$. In this step, the only predictor to higher levels of aggression was male gender ($\beta = -.327, p < .001$). The second step in the model was also significant $F(6,143) = 5.520, p < .001$, and had gender ($\beta = -.290, p < .001$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .212, p = .008$), and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .177, p = .024$), as the only predictors to higher levels of aggression. Finally, when the individual-level variables were added in the third step, there was a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,138) = 17.867, p < .001$). In this final step, the only variables associated with higher levels of aggression among adolescents with a refugee background were higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .481, p < .001$) and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .313,$

$p < .001$). Again, aggressive conflict coping strategies were found to be the strongest predictor of aggression.

Regression results for adolescents with a migrant background

The first step in the regression analysis was significant ($F(3,405) = 5.033, p = .002$) and like the analysis at age 13, gender was the only significant predictor to higher levels of aggression among migrant adolescents ($\beta = -.162, p < .001$). The addition of Step 2 showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(6,402) = 16.182, p < .001$). Male gender ($\beta = -.135, p = .003$) remained a significant predictor of aggression, in addition to lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.195, p < .001$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .183, p < .001$), and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .219, p < .001$).

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,397) = 32.812, p < .001$). This step showed that when migrant adolescents are 15 years old, experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .090, p = .016$), higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .437, p < .001$) and lower level of competent ($\beta = -.081, p = .030$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .259, p < .001$), and attitudes that justify violence against women ($\beta = .149, p < .001$) are associated with higher levels of aggression.

Regression results for native adolescents

Among native adolescents in the sample, the first step showed a significant overall model ($F(3,437) = 16.095, p < .001$) in which male gender ($\beta = -.304, p < .001$), and a lower SES ($\beta = -.120, p = .013$) were associated with higher levels of aggression. The addition of the second step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(6,434) = 22.155, p < .001$). Results showed that being male ($\beta = -.229, p < .001$), a lower SES ($\beta = -.122, p = .018$), lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.112, p = .012$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .212, p < .001$), and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .254, p < .001$) were significant predictors of aggression among native youths.

Finally, the addition of the third step in which the individual-level variables were introduced also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,429) = 52.541, p < .001$). The final predictors of higher levels of aggression were lower parental involvement ($\beta = -.070, p = .042$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .122, p < .001$), having delinquent friends ($\beta = .083, p = .018$),

aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .463, p < .001$), and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .305, p < .001$).

As shown in the analyses above, unlike the analysis at age 13, having a refugee background was a significant predictor of aggression at age 13. Like the analyses at age 13, aggressive conflict coping strategies were a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for all the groups at age 15. Moreover, moral neutralisation of aggression was also a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for all the groups. Furthermore, experience of corporal punishment was a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample and for the migrant and native groups, and having delinquent peers was a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample and for native adolescents. Moreover, similar to the analysis at age 13, lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies were a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample and for adolescents with a migrant background. Finally, violence against women attitudes were a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for the whole sample and for adolescents with a migrant background. These results are summarised in Table 7.14 below. The table only includes variables that are significant for at least one of the groups, and the results are based on step 3 of the regression analyses.

Table 7.14: Summary of regression analyses with self-reported aggression as the outcome variable at age 15

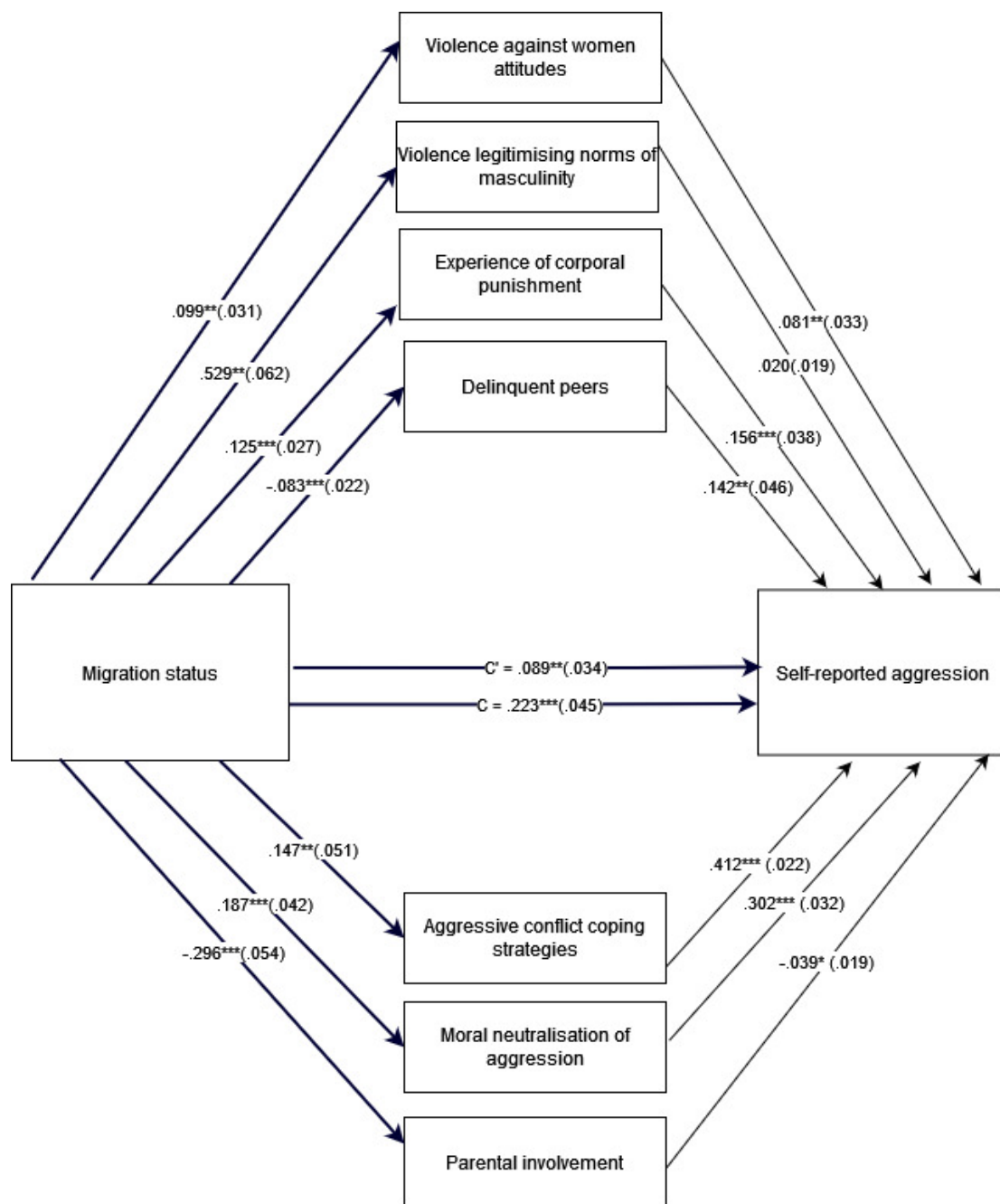
Variable	Whole sample	Refugee	Migrant	Native
Refugee background	✓			
Parental involvement	x	x	x	✓
Corporal punishment	✓	x	✓	✓
Delinquent peers	✓	x	x	✓
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Competent conflict coping strategies	✓	x	✓	x
Moral neutralisation of aggression	✓	✓	✓	✓
Violence against women attitudes	✓	x	✓	x

7A.4.4 Mediation analysis

Considering the relationship between having a refugee status and self-reported aggression, a mediation analysis was performed using the PROCESS macro on SPSS. The outcome variable was self-reported aggression. The predictor variable was migration status. Mediator variables were chosen to be inputted in the model lead by the theoretical perspectives offered in Chapter 4. Mediator variables

were violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity (patriarchal ideology), experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers (social learning), aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression (social cognition), and parental involvement (attachment theory). Gender was controlled for, and natives were set as the reference group.

The mediation analysis showed a direct relationship between having a refugee migration background and self-reported aggression ($b = .223$, $t(1069) = 4.937$, $p < .001$). Once the mediators entered the model, the effect of having a refugee migration background dropped ($b = .089$, $t(1062) = 2.666$, $p = .008$). Analysis of the indirect effects showed that migration status was indirectly associated with higher levels of aggression through higher levels of corporal punishment for refugee youths (indirect effect = $.019$, $SE = .008$, 95% $CI [.007, .036]$), having delinquent peers (indirect effect = $-.012$, $SE = .005$, 95% $CI [-.023, -.003]$), aggressive conflict coping strategies (indirect effect = $.061$, $SE = .023$, 95% $CI [.011, .114]$), moral neutralisation of aggression (indirect effect = $.056$, $SE = .016$, 95% $CI [.027, .090]$), and parental involvement (indirect effect = $.011$, $SE = .006$, 95% $CI [<.001, .025]$). These results can be confirmed since the confidence intervals for mediated models do not span zero. In other words, the results imply that the relationship between having a refugee background and levels of self-reported aggression is partially mediated by experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent friends, aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and parental involvement, as there was still a direct significant relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression after the mediators have entered the model. Results of the mediation analysis are shown in Figure 7.1.



Note: N=1073, *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Figure 7.1: Mediation analysis between migration status and self-reported aggression at age 15

7A.5 Wave 7 analysis at age 17

7A.5.1 Descriptive statistics

A series of bivariate Pearson correlations was conducted between all the independent variables to test for multicollinearity and explore what variables are significantly associated with each other. Results of the bivariate correlations are shown in Table 7.15.

Table 7.15: Correlations between Aggression and key variables at age 17

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Aggression	1								
2 Parental involvement	-.228**	1							
3 Experience of corporal punishment	.259**	-.226**	1						
4 Deviant peers	.254**	-.117**	.025	1					
5 Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.671**	-.200**	.200**	.232**	1				
6 Competent conflict coping strategies	-.272**	.196**	-.133**	-.002	-.306**	1			
7 Moral neutralisation of aggression	.550**	-.277**	.174**	.256**	.546**	-.251**	1		
8 Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.417**	-.189**	.174**	.076*	.425**	-.221**	.673**	1	
9 Violence against women attitudes	.289**	-.147**	.207**	.043	.210**	-.115**	.395**	.304**	1

**correlations significant at $p < .01$ level, * correlations significant at $p < .05$ level

As can be seen in Table 7.15, similar to the results yielded at age 15, strong correlations were found between aggression and aggressive conflict coping strategies ($r(1017)=.67, p < .001$) and moral neutralisation of aggression ($r(1025)=.55, p < .001$). Also similar to the correlations yielded at age 15, moderate negative correlations were found between aggression and parental involvement ($r(1023)=-.23, p < .001$) and competent conflict coping strategies ($r(1016)=-.27, p < .001$). Positive moderate correlations were found between aggression and experience of corporal punishment ($r(1010)=.26, p < .001$), deviant peers ($r(917)=.25, p < .001$), violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($r(1021)=.42, p < .001$), and violence against women attitudes ($r(1023)=.29, p < .001$).

Table 7.16: Mean scores, standard deviations, and effect sizes for self-reported aggression between migration groups at age 17

Migration Background	M(SD)	d(95% CI)
Native Swiss	1.50(.40)	
Second-generation migrant	1.56(.43)	.114(-.020-.248)
Second-generation refugee	1.68(.56)	.385(.206-.564)

Mean scores of self-reported aggression were compared between second-generation refugee and second-generation migrant adolescents (with native Swiss migration background being the control group). It was found that second-generation refugee adolescents scored higher, with a small effect size, compared to their native Swiss counterparts. In order to test whether these differences are significant, an ANOVA was conducted next.

7A.5.2 Risk factors of aggression among 17-year-old adolescents

As conducted in the analyses above for 13- and 15-year-old adolescents, mean differences among the refugee, migrant and native groups were examined to distinguish potential risk factors for elevated levels of aggression. Like the analyses above, mean differences were explored through a series of one-way ANOVAs, and as above, all assumptions were checked and met. Also following the reasoning offered in the previous analyses, Welch's F was used in instances where homogeneity of variances was not met. The results of the ANOVAs and means for dependent (aggression) and independent (parental, peer, individual) variables are shown in Table 7.17.

Table 7.17: Means and one-way ANOVAs with self-reported aggression, parental, peer and individual level variables as Dependent variables and migration status as the Independent variable at age 17

	Levene's		ANOVAs				$M_{\text{total sample}}(SD)$	$M_{\text{refugee}}(SD)$	$M_{\text{migrant}}(SD)$	$M_{\text{native}}(SD)$
	F	p	F	p	Welch's F	p				
Aggression	8.615	<.001			6.905	.001	1.55(.44)	1.68(.56)	1.56(.43)	1.50(.40)
Parental involvement	8.753	<.001			13.749	<.001	2.97(.63)	2.78(.72)	2.93(.64)	3.07(.57)
Experience of corporal punishment	34.992	<.001			9.851	<.001	1.12(.34)	1.21(.49)	1.14(.35)	1.07(.26)
Deviant peers	5.702	.003			11.539	<.001	.45(.22)	.36(.25)	.44(.22)	.48(.21)
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	1.807	.165	1.419	.243			1.44(.48)	1.49(.55)	1.44(.46)	1.42(.46)
Competent conflict coping strategies	6.228	.002			3.523	.030	3.57(.76)	3.43(.85)	3.57(.79)	3.63(.69)
Moral neutralisation of aggression	3.822	.022			1.493	.226	1.92(.52)	1.98(.56)	1.91(.48)	1.90(.53)
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.341	.711	29.713	<.001			2.22(.76)	2.58(.76)	2.26(.74)	2.06(.73)
Violence against women attitudes	23.782	<.001			6.748	.001	1.12(.31)	1.22(.42)	1.12(.29)	1.09(.28)

Results yielded from the ANOVAs showed that there were significant mean differences in aggression between the migration groups ($F(2,1024)=6.905, p = .001$). In addition to that, there were also significant mean differences in parental involvement ($F(2,1022)=13.749, p < .001$), experience of corporal punishment ($F(2,1009)=9.851, p < .001$), having deviant peers ($F(2,996)=11.539, p < .001$), competent conflict coping strategies ($F(2,1015)=3.523, p = .030$), violence legitimising norms of

masculinity ($F(2,1020)=29.713, p < .001$), and violence against women attitudes ($F(2,1022)=6.748, p = .001$) between the migration groups.

Significant ANOVAs were subsequently followed up by a series of post-hoc pairwise comparisons to find out where the significant mean differences lie. As above, Gabriel's pairwise comparison was chosen for cases where homogeneity of variance was assumed, and Games-Howell was chosen for cases where this assumption has not been met. Table 7.18 shows the appropriate post-hoc procedure chosen for each significant ANOVA with the appropriate pairwise comparisons.

Table 7.18: Pairwise comparisons at age 17

Dependent Variable		Migration status	Migration status	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Aggression	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	1.259*	.484	.027	.012	.240
			Native	1.731**	.475	.001	.061	.285
		Migrant	Refugee	-.126*	.048	.027	-.240	-.012
			Native	.047	.028	.219	-.019	.114
		Native	Refugee	-.173**	.047	.001	-.285	-.061
			Migrant	-.047	.028	.219	-.114	.019
Parental involvement	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.153*	.064	.047	-.306	-.001
			Native	-.296***	.062	<.001	-.442	-.149
		Migrant	Refugee	.153*	.064	.047	.001	.306
			Native	-.142**	.042	.002	-.240	-.045
		Refugee	Refugee	.296***	.062	<.001	.149	.442
			Migrant	.142**	.042	.002	.045	.240
Experience of corporal punishment	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.071	.042	.211	-.028	.170
			Native	.141**	.040	.002	.046	.235
		Migrant	Refugee	-.071	.042	.211	-.170	.028
			Native	.070**	.021	.003	.020	.120
		Native	Refugee	-.141**	.040	.002	-.235	-.046
			Migrant	-.070*	.021	.003	-.120	-.020
Delinquent peers	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.079**	.024	.004	-.136	-.021
			Native	-.114***	.024	<.001	-.171	-.057
		Migrant	Refugee	.079**	.024	.004	.021	.136
			Native	-.035	.015	.061	-.071	.001
		Refugee	Refugee	.114***	.024	<.001	.057	.171
			Migrant	.035	.015	.061	-.001	.071
Competent conflict coping strategies	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.136	.077	.185	-.319	.046
			Native	-.194*	.074	.025	-.369	-.020
		Migrant	Refugee	.136	.077	.185	-.046	.319
			Native	-.058	.051	.492	-.178	.062
		Refugee	Refugee	.194*	.074	.025	.020	.369
			Migrant	.058	.051	.492	-.062	.178
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	Gabriel's	Refugee	Migrant	.316***	.068	<.001	.157	.475
			Native	.511***	.067	<.001	.355	.667
		Migrant	Refugee	-.316***	.068	<.001	-.475	-.157
			Native	.194***	.068	<.001	.074	.315
		Native	Refugee	-.511***	.067	<.001	-.666	-.355
			Migrant	-.194***	.050	<.001	-.315	-.074
Violence against women attitudes	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.095*	.036	.022	.011	.179
			Native	.127**	.035	.001	.044	.210
		Migrant	Refugee	-.095*	.036	.022	-.179	-.011
			Native	.031	.019	.239	.014	.077
		Native	Refugee	-.127**	.035	.001	-.210	-.044
			Migrant	-.031	.019	.239	-.078	.014

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

In line with the analysis conducted at age 15, the post-hoc test shows that there was a mean difference in aggression between refugee and both migrant ($p=.027$) and native ($p=.001$) adolescents. In other words, refugee adolescents ($M=1.68$) reported, on average higher levels of aggression than native ($M=1.50$) and migrant ($M=1.56$) adolescents. With regards to risk factors, significant mean differences in parental involvement were found between all migrant groups (refugee $M=2.78$, migrant $M=2.93$, native $M=3.07$). Furthermore, similar to the results obtained at age 15, significant mean differences in corporal punishment were present between natives and both migrants ($p=.003$) and refugees ($p=.002$), i.e. native adolescents ($M=1.07$) have, on average, experienced a lower level of corporal punishment than migrants ($M=1.14$) and refugees ($M=1.21$). Also, in line with the previous analysis, with regards to having delinquent peers, significant mean differences were found between refugees and both migrants ($p=.004$) and natives ($p < .001$). In other words, results imply that refugees ($M=.36$), on average, have fewer delinquent friends than both migrants ($M=.44$) and natives ($M=.48$) in the sample. Additionally, with regards to competent conflict coping strategies, again, similar to the previous analysis, significant mean differences were only found between refugees and natives ($p=.025$). This implies that refugees ($M=3.43$) are on average significantly less likely to use competent conflict coping strategies than their native counterparts ($M=3.63$). Additionally, significant mean differences in violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found between all groups ($p < .001$, refugee $M=2.58$, migrant $M=2.26$, native $M=2.06$), and mean differences in justifying violence against women were found between refugee and both migrant ($p=.022$) and native adolescents ($p=.001$). In other words, refugee adolescents were on average more likely to endorse attitudes that justify violence against women ($M=1.22$) than migrant ($M=1.12$) and native ($M=1.07$) adolescents.

7A.5.3 Predictors of self-reported aggression among 17-year-old adolescents

As was done in previous analyses, assumptions for the regression analyses were checked. Upon ensuring all the assumptions have been met (see previous analyses, and Table 7.19 for the collinearity statistics), it was deemed appropriate to conduct a three-step hierarchical regression to identify predictors of aggression among the 17-year old adolescents.

Table 7.19: Collinearity statistics at age 17

Model		Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	Parental involvement	.929	1.077	.489
	Experience of corporal punishment	.970	1.031	.489
	Peer delinquency	.921	1.070	.489
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.939	1.062	.490
	Competent conflict coping strategies	.967	1.034	.487
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.827	1.210	.488
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.842	1.188	.480
	Violence against women attitudes	.944	1.059	.490
2	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.864	1.157	.486
	Competent conflict coping strategies	.939	1.065	.483
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.740	1.352	.483
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.817	1.225	.475
	Violence against women attitudes	.895	1.118	.486

Prior to conducting the analysis, two dummy variables were created, namely 'refugee' and 'migrant' with natives being the reference group. Gender, parental education level, SES, and migration status were controlled for in the model and included in the first step. Parental and peer variables were added in the second step of the regression, followed by individual-level variables that entered the model in the third step. An analysis of the complete sample was conducted first, followed by separate analyses per migration group. Results of the regression analyses are presented in Table 7.20.

Table 7.20: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 17

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE)/ β	b _{Refugee} (SE)/ β	b _{Migrant} (SE)/ β	b _{Native} (SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	1.835(.066)***	1.981(.168)***	1.887(.093)***	1.813(.096)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.187(.029)/ -.220***	-.242(.094)/ -.233*	-.158(.046)/ -.186***	-.198(.039)/ -.252***
	Max parental education	-.001(.001)/ -.016	-.002(.020)/ -.013	-.005(.010)/ -.037	.002(.009)/ -.012
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.043	.001(.003)/ .021	-.001(.002)/ -.068	-.001(.002)/ -.028
	Refugee	.107(.047)/ .089*			
	Migrant	.056(.032)/ .065			
	R ²	.059***	.054	.043**	.072***
Step 2	Constant	1.427(.108)***	1.004(.246)***	1.619(.169)***	1.597(.167)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.148(.027)/ -.174***	-.203(.088)/ -.195*	-.142(.044)/ -.167***	-.142(.037)/ -.180***
	Max parental education	-.003(.006)/ -.020	-.010(.019)/ -.057	-.004(.009)/ -.033	<.001(.008)/ .003
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.045	<.001(.003)/ .008	-.001(.002)/ -.063	<.001(.001)/ -.017
	Refugee	.110(.045)/ .092*			
	Migrant	.052(.030)/ .059			
	Parental involvement	-.050(.023)/ -.074*	.120(.065)/ .162	-.067(.045)/ -.106	-.105(.035)/ -.150**
	Experience of corporal punishment	.256(.040)/ .208***	.353(.081)/ .363***	.245(.065)/ .198***	.159(.072)/ .103*
	Delinquent peers	.491(.064)/ .254***	.532(.174)/ .253**	.349(.104)/ .176***	.571(.091)/ .303***
	ΔR^2	.124***	.218***	.092***	.063***
Step 3	Constant	.250(.120)*	.143(.238)	.310(.212)	.435(.179)*
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	.002(.022)/ .002	-.011(.063)/ -.010	.020(.038)/ .024	-.012(.031)/ -.015
	Max parental education	.004(.004)/ .032	-.008(.013)/ -.042	-.004(.008)/ -.028	.012(.006)/ .089*
	Social economic status	<.001(.001)/ -.012	.002(.002)/ .056	.001(.001)/ .042	-.002(.001)/ -.069
	Refugee	.077(.034)/ .065*			
	Migrant	.030(.023)/ .034			
	Parental involvement	-.009(.018)/ .013	.083(.047)/ .113	-.028(.028)/ -.044	-.030(.027)/ -.043
	Experience of corporal punishment	.127(.031)/ .103***	.196(.057)/ .202***	.110(.055)/ .089*	.067(.055)/ .043
	Delinquent peers	.174(.050)/ .090***	.195(.126)/ .093	.100(.085)/ .051	.222(.071)/ .118**
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.481(.027)/ .507***	.564(.067)/ .529***	.422(.048)/ .433***	.484(.038)/ .558***
	Competent conflict coping strategies	-.032(.014)/ -.057*	-.097(.033)/ -.168**	-.030(.024)/ -.055	-.004(.022)/ -.007
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.143(.033)/ .165***	.038(.087)/ .039	.228(.057)/ .251***	.118(.045)/ .151**
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	-.005(.020)/ -.009	-.032(.052)/ -.048	.004(.033)/ .007	.008(.027)/ .014
	Violence against women attitudes	.198(.040)/ .131***	.380(.087)/ .270***	.140(.069)/ .093*	.091(.060)/ -.057
	ΔR^2	.352**	.405***	.337***	.354***

Whole sample N=838, Refugee N= 124, Migrant N=335, Native N=379, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, $F(5,832) = 10.439, p < .001$. Male gender ($\beta = -.220, p < .001$) and a refugee migration background ($\beta = .089, p = .024$) were associated with higher levels of aggression in this step of the model.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model, $F(8,829) = 15.187, p < .001$. Variables significantly associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression were gender ($\beta = -.174, p < .001$), a refugee migration background ($\beta = .092, p = .014$), lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.074, p = .028$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .208, p < .001$), and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .254, p < .001$).

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model $F(13,824) = 73.056, p < .001$. Once individual-level variables entered the model, significant predictors of higher levels of aggression were a refugee migration background ($\beta = .065, p = .025$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .103, p < .001$), having delinquent friends ($\beta = .090, p < .001$), using more aggressive ($\beta = .507, p < .001$) and less competent ($\beta = -.057, p = .026$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .165, p < .001$) and attitudes in support of violence against women ($\beta = .131, p < .001$).

Regression results for adolescents with a refugee background

With regards to the refugee group, the first step of the model was not significant, $F(3,120) = 2.288, p = .082$. In this step being male was the only predictor of higher levels of self-reported aggression. Upon the addition of the parental and peer variables in the second step, there was a significant change and a significant overall model $F(6,117) = 7.307, p < .001$. In this step, gender ($\beta = -.195, p = .023$) remained a significant predictor of aggression, in addition to corporal punishment ($\beta = .363, p < .001$), and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .253, p = .003$).

Finally, the addition of the individual-level variables also yielded a significant change and significant overall model ($F(11,112) = 21.433, p < .001$). This step showed the final predictors of higher levels of aggression for adolescents with a refugee background to be higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .529, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.198, p = .004$) conflict coping strategies, experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .202, p < .001$), and attitudes that condone violence against women ($\beta = .270, p < .001$). Similar to previous analyses, aggressive conflict coping strategies was the strongest predictor of self-reported aggression.

Regression results for adolescents with a migrant background

The first step in the regression analysis was significant ($F(3,331) = 4.986, p = .002$) and in line with the previous analyses at age 13 and 15, gender was the only significant predictor to higher levels of aggression among migrant adolescents ($\beta = -.186, p < .001$). The second step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(6,328) = 8.523, p < .001$). Gender ($\beta = -.167, p < .001$) remained a significant predictor of aggression, in addition to higher levels corporal punishment ($\beta = .198, p < .001$) and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .349, p < .001$). Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,323) = 26.277, p < .001$). This step showed that at 17-years of age, higher levels of corporal punishment ($\beta = .089, p = .044$), aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .422, p < .001$), moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .251, p < .001$) and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .093, p = .043$) are associated with higher levels of aggression among adolescents with a migrant background.

Regression results for native adolescents

Among native adolescents in the sample, the first step showed a significant overall model ($F(3,375) = 8.464, p < .001$) in which male gender ($\beta = -.252, p < .001$) was the only significant predictor of higher levels of aggression.

The addition of the second step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(6,372) = 16.667, p < .001$). Results showed that being male ($\beta = -.180, p < .001$), lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.150, p = .003$), experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .103, p = .028$), and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .303, p < .001$) were significant predictors of aggression among native youths.

Finally, the addition of the third also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,367) = 43.549, p < .001$). The final predictors of higher levels of aggression for native youths were levels of parental education ($\beta = .089, p = .045$), having delinquent friends ($\beta = .118, p = .002$), aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .558, p < .001$), and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .151, p = .009$).

As shown in the analyses above, like the analysis at age 15, having a refugee background was a significant predictor of aggression at age 17, and aggressive conflict coping strategies were a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for all the groups. Moreover, at age 17, moral neutralisation of aggression was also a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for adolescents

with a migrant background and native adolescents. Furthermore, experience of corporal punishment was a significant predictor of aggression for adolescents with a migrant and refugee background. Moreover, like the analyses at age 13, having delinquent peers was a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample and for native adolescents. Additionally, lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies were a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample and for adolescents with a refugee background. Finally, violence against women attitudes were a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for the whole sample and for adolescents with refugee and migrant backgrounds. These results are summarised in Table 7.21 below. The table only includes variables that are significant for at least one of the groups, and the results are from step 3 of the regression analyses.

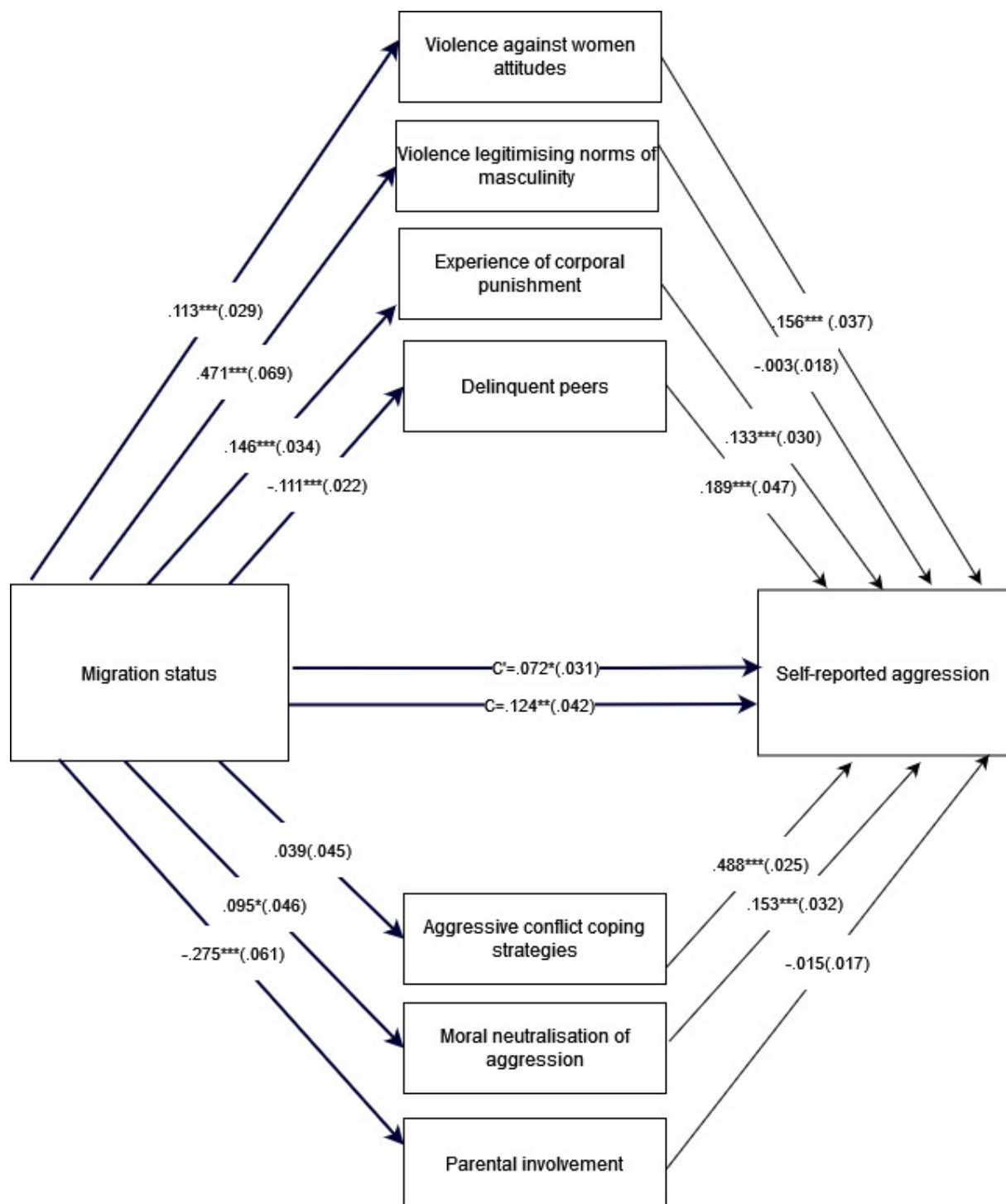
Table 7.21: Summary of regression analyses with self-reported aggression as the outcome variable at age 17

Variable	Whole sample	Refugee	Migrant	Native
Refugee background	✓			
Parental education	x	x	x	✓
Corporal punishment	✓	✓	✓	x
Delinquent peers	✓	x	x	✓
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Competent conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	x	x
Moral neutralisation of aggression	✓	x	✓	✓
Violence against women attitudes	✓	✓	✓	x

7A.5.4 Mediation analysis

Due to the relationship between having a refugee migration background and self-reported aggression, a mediation analysis was conducted, in line with that conducted at age 15 using PROCESS on SPSS. Again, the outcome variable was self-reported aggression, predictor variable was migration background and mediators were chosen in line with the four theoretical backgrounds presented in Chapter 4. Accordingly, the mediator variables included in the model were violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity, experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers, aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and parental involvement. Again, in line with the analysis conducted at age 15, gender was controlled for, and natives were set as the reference group.

The mediation analysis showed a direct relationship between having a refugee migration background and self-reported aggression ($b = .124$, $t(890) = 2.953$, $p = .003$). Once the mediators entered the model, the effect of having a refugee migration background dropped ($b = .072$, $t(883) = 2.296$, $p = .022$). Moreover, analysis of the indirect effects showed that having a refugee background was indirectly associated with higher levels of aggression through having attitudes in support of violence against women (indirect = .018, $SE = .008$, 95% $CI [.005, .036]$), higher experience of corporal punishment (indirect = .019, $SE = .009$, 95% $CI [.005, .040]$), and having delinquent peers (indirect = -.021, $SE = .007$, 95% $CI [-.037, -.008]$). These results can be confirmed since the confidence intervals for mediated models do not span zero. In other words, the results indicate that the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression operated at least in part through holding attitudes in support of violence against women, experience of corporal punishment, and having delinquent friends. This relationship does not fully operate via the mediators though, as there is still a significant relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression after the mediators have been entered into the model. Results of the mediation analysis are shown in Figure 7.2.



Note: N=894, *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05.

Figure 7.2: Mediation analysis between migration status and self-reported aggression at age 17

7A.6 Wave 8 analysis at age 20

7A.6.1 Descriptive statistics

A series of bivariate Pearson correlations was conducted between all the independent variables to test for multicollinearity and explore what variables are significantly associated with each other. Since data for parental involvement and experience of corporal punishment were not collected at age 20, parental data collected at ages 13, 15 and 17 were used. This was done to assess whether early childhood parenting practices at different ages/stages influence adult aggression. All other variables were recorded at age 20. Results of the bivariate correlations are shown in Table 7.22.

As can be seen in Table 7.22, and in line with previous ages, the strongest correlation with aggression at age 20 is aggressive conflict coping strategies ($r(939)=.62, p < .001$). Also, in line with previous analyses, moderate positive correlations were found between aggression and moral neutralisation of aggression ($r(940)=.48, p < .001$), violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($r(940)=.44, p < .001$), violence against women attitudes ($r(940)=.35, p < .001$), and experience of corporal punishment at ages 13 ($r(883)=.24, p < .001$), 15 ($r(928)=.22, p < .001$) and 17 ($r(885)=.28, p < .001$). Moreover, moderate negative correlations were found between aggression and competent conflict coping strategies ($r(939)=-.32, p < .001$), and parental involvement at ages 13 ($r(882)=-.24, p < .001$), 15 ($r(928)=-.23, p < .001$), and 17 ($r(982)=-.24, p < .001$). Finally, weak positive correlations were found between aggression and deviant peers ($r(821)=.10, p = .003$).

Table 7.22: Correlations between Aggression and key variables at age 20

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1 Aggression	1												
2 Parental involvement (age 13)	-.238**	1											
3 Experience of corporal punishment (age 13)	.236**	-.338**	1										
4 Parental involvement (age 15)	-.229**	.614**	-.198**	1									
5 Experience of corporal punishment (age 15)	.221**	-.224**	.375**	-.297**	1								
6 Parental involvement (age 17)	-.239**	.528**	-.147**	.656**	-.197**	1							
7 Experience of corporal punishment (age 17)	.284**	-.169**	.331**	-.159**	.489**	-.226**	1						
8 Deviant peers	.105**	-.030	.017	-.009	.026	-.067	.005	1					
9 Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.623**	-.170**	.219**	-.165**	.178**	-.174**	.229**	.160**	1				
10 Competent conflict coping strategies	-.316**	.141**	-.105**	.148**	-.089**	.178**	-.161**	.081*	-.262**	1			
11 Moral neutralisation of aggression	.497**	-.240**	.143**	-.248**	.090**	-.266**	.142**	.184**	.470**	-.168**	1		
12 Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.442**	-.263**	.175**	-.210**	.141**	-.205**	.200**	.067	.378**	-.179**	.685**	1	
13 Violence against women attitudes	.352**	-.116**	.055	-.121**	.106**	-.133**	.166**	.005	.272**	-.178**	.461**	.343**	1

**correlations significant at p < .01 level, * correlations significant at p < .05 level

Table 7.23: Mean scores, standard deviations, and effect sizes for self-reported aggression between migration groups at age 20

Migration Background	M(SD)	d(95% CI)
Native Swiss	1.36(.33)	
Second-generation migrant	1.42(.39)	.161(.020-.301)
Second-generation refugee	1.58(.47)	.587(.400-.774)

Mean scores of self-reported aggression were compared between second-generation refugee and second-generation migrant adolescents (with native Swiss migration background being the control group). It was found that second-generation refugee adolescents scored higher, with a medium effect size, compared to their native Swiss counterparts. In order to test whether these differences are significant, an ANOVA was conducted next.

7A.6.2 Risk factors of aggression among 20-year-old young adults

As conducted in the analyses above, mean differences among the refugee, migrant and native groups were examined to distinguish potential risk factors for the different migration groups with regards to aggression. Like the analyses above, mean differences were explored through a series of one-way ANOVAs, and as above, all assumptions were checked and met. Also following the reasoning offered in the previous analyses, Welch's *F* was used in instances where homogeneity of variances was not met. The results of the ANOVAs and means for all dependent (aggression) and independent (parental, peer, individual) variables are shown in Table 7.24.

Table 7.24: Means and one-way ANOVAs with self-reported aggression, parental, peer and individual level variables as Dependent variables and migration status as the Independent variable at age 20

	Levene's		ANOVAs				$M_{\text{total sample}}(SD)$	$M_{\text{refugee}}(SD)$	$M_{\text{migrant}}(SD)$	$M_{\text{native}}(SD)$
	F	p	F	p	Welch's F	p				
Aggression	11.410	<.001			14.608	<.001	1.418(.387)	1.579(.474)	1.417(.389)	1.360(.331)
Parental involvement (age 13)	11.067	<.001			26.703	<.001	3.099(.585)	2.926(.654)	3.016(.604)	3.239(.504)
Experience of corporal punishment (age 13)	6.677	.001			2.923	.055	1.171(.378)	1.246(.459)	1.160(.329)	1.153(.384)
Parental involvement (age 15)	18.699	<.001			17.226	<.001	3.033(.618)	2.863(.715)	2.976(.647)	3.147(.526)
Experience of corporal punishment (age 15)	26.416	<.001			10.786	<.001	1.138(.320)	1.213(.393)	1.158(.338)	1.091(.262)
Parental involvement (age 17)	8.573	<.001			13.749	<.001	2.970(.634)	2.777(.722)	2.931(.644)	3.073(.568)
Experience of corporal punishment (age 17)	34.992	<.001			9.851	<.001	1.120(.344)	1.210(.490)	1.139(.348)	1.069(.257)
Deviant peers	.715	.490	12.047	<.001			.442(.199)	.373(.208)	.437(.190)	.470(.197)
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	8.404	<.001			.840	.433	1.305(.370)	1.345(.444)	1.293(.378)	1.300(.340)
Competent conflict coping strategies	5.999	.003			4.846	.008	3.705(.777)	3.506(.923)	3.724(.774)	3.760(.709)
Moral neutralisation of aggression	4.145	.016			2.127	.121	1.606(.496)	1.674(.560)	1.571(.474)	1.611(.488)
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	2.685	.069	19.788	<.001			1.915(.732)	2.196(.730)	1.953(.749)	1.782(.685)
Violence against women attitudes	12.398	<.001			2.721	.067	1.097(.268)	1.148(.363)	1.098(.267)	1.078(.008)

As observed in Table 7.24, significant mean differences between the migration groups were found in aggression ($F(2,939)=14.608$, $p < .001$); parental involvement at ages 13 ($F(2,1056)=26.703$, $p < .001$), 15 ($F(2,1117)=17.226$, $p < .001$), and 17 ($F(2,1022)=13.749$, $p < .001$); experience of corporal punishment at ages 15 ($F(2,1117)=10.786$, $p < .001$) and 17 ($F(2,1009)=9.851$, $p < .001$); having deviant peers ($F(2,820)=12.047$, $p < .001$); competent conflict coping strategies ($F(2,938)=4.846$, $p = .008$); and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($F(2,939)=19.788$, $p < .001$).

As above, significant ANOVAs were then followed up by a series of post-hoc pairwise comparisons to identify where the significant mean differences lie. Again, Gabriel's pairwise comparison was chosen for cases where homogeneity of variance was assumed, and Games-Howell was chosen for cases where this assumption has not been met. Table 7.25 shows the appropriate post-hoc procedure chosen for each significant ANOVA with the appropriate pairwise comparisons.

Table 7.25: Pairwise comparisons at age 20

Dependent Variable		Migration status	Migration status	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Aggression	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.162**	.043	.001	.060	.264
			Native	.220***	.041	<.001	.122	.317
		Migrant	Refugee	-.162**	.043	.001	-.264	-.060
			Native	.058	.026	.069	-.003	.119
		Native	Refugee	-.220***	.041	<.001	-.317	-.122
			Migrant	-.058	.026	.069	-.119	.003
Parental involvement (age 13)	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.090	.058	.266	-.226	.046
			Native	-.313***	.055	<.001	-.443	-.183
		Migrant	Refugee	.090	.058	.266	-.046	.226
			Native	-.223***	.038	<.001	-.311	-.135
		Refugee		.313***	.055	<.001	.183	.443
			Migrant	.223***	.038	<.001	.135	.311
Parental involvement (age 15)	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.113	.062	.161	-.258	.032
			Native	-.284***	.059	<.001	-.422	-.146
		Migrant	Refugee	.113	.062	.161	-.032	.258
			Native	-.171***	.039	<.001	-.262	-.080
		Native	Refugee	.284***	.059	<.001	.146	.422
			Migrant	.171***	.039	<.001	.080	.262
Parental involvement (age 17)	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.153*	.065	.047	-.306	-.001
			Native	-.296***	.062	<.001	-.442	-.149
		Migrant	Refugee	.153*	.064	.047	.001	.306
			Native	-.142**	.042	.002	-.240	-.045
		Refugee		.296***	.062	<.001	.149	.442
			Migrant	.142**	.042	.002	.045	.240
Experience of corporal punishment (age 15)	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	.055	.033	.233	-.024	.133
			Native	.122***	.032	<.001	.047	.197
		Migrant	Refugee	-.055	.033	.233	-.133	.024
			Native	.067**	.020	.002	.021	.114
		Refugee		-.122***	.032	<.001	-.197	-.047
			Migrant	-.067**	.020	.002	-.114	-.021
Experience of corporal punishment (age 17)		Refugee	Migrant	.071	.042	.211	-.028	.170
			Native	.141**	.040	.002	.046	.235
	Games-Howell	Migrant	Refugee	-.071	.042	.211	-.170	.028
			Native	.070**	.021	.003	.020	.120
		Native	Refugee	-.141**	.040	.002	-.235	-.046
			Migrant	-.070**	.021	.003	-.120	-.020
Delinquent peers		Refugee	Migrant	-.064**	.020	.004	-.111	-.016
			Native	-.097***	.020	<.001	-.144	-.051
	Gabriel's	Migrant	Refugee	.064**	.020	.004	.016	.111
			Native	-.033	.015	.073	-.069	.002
		Native	Refugee	.097***	.020	<.001	.051	.144

			Migrant	.033	.015	.073	-.002	.069
Competent conflict coping strategies	Games-Howell	Refugee	Migrant	-.218*	.085	.029	-.417	-.018
			Native	-.254**	.082	.006	-.447	-.061
		Migrant	Refugee	.218*	.085	.029	.018	.417
			Native	-.036	.053	.774	-.162	.089
		Native	Refugee	.254**	.082	.006	.061	.447
			Migrant	.036	.053	.774	-.089	.162
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	Gabriel's	Refugee	Migrant	.242**	.069	.001	.081	.404
			Native	.414***	.067	<.001	.258	.570
		Migrant	Refugee	-.242**	.069	.001	-.404	-.081
			Native	.172**	.051	.003	.049	.294
		Refugee	Refugee	-.414***	.067	<.001	-.570	-.258
			Native	-.172**	.051	.003	-.294	-.491

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

In line with the previous analyses, adolescents with a refugee background ($M=1.58$) still reported significantly higher levels of aggression than their migrant ($p=.001$, $M=1.42$) and native ($p < .001$, $M=1.36$) peers. Moreover, significant mean differences in parental involvement at ages 13 and 15 were found between native Swiss adolescents ($M_{age13}=3.24$, $M_{age15}=3.15$, $M_{age17}=3.07$) and both adolescents with a refugee ($M_{age13}=2.93$, $M_{age15}=2.86$, $M_{age17}=2.78$) and migrant ($M_{age13}=3.02$, $M_{age15}=2.98$, $M_{age17}=2.93$) background. Furthermore, significant mean differences in parental involvement between migrant ($M_{age17}=2.93$) and refugee ($M_{age17}=2.78$) adolescents were only found at age 17. In other words, at 13 and 15 years of age, adolescents with a native Swiss background reported a significantly higher level of parental involvement than their migrant and refugee counterparts, and at age 17, migrant adolescents also reported a significantly higher level of parental involvement than refugee adolescents. Moreover, adolescents with a native Swiss background reported significantly less experience of corporal punishment than adolescents with a refugee background at ages 15 ($M_{native}=1.09$, $M_{refugee}=1.21$) and 17 ($M_{native}=1.07$, $M_{refugee}=1.21$) and than adolescents with a migrant ($M=1.14$) background at age 17. Furthermore, adolescents with a refugee background ($M=.37$) reported a significantly lower level of having delinquent friends than migrant ($M=.44$) or native ($M=.47$) adolescents. Moreover, refugees reported significantly lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies ($M=3.51$) than their migrant ($M=3.72$) and native ($M=3.76$) counterparts. Finally, significant mean differences in violence legitimising norms of masculinity were found between all three groups, with refugees holding the highest level ($M=2.20$), followed by migrants ($M=1.95$) and natives ($M=1.78$).

7A.6.3 Predictors of self-reported aggression among 20-year-old young adults

Upon confirming that all the assumptions have been met (see previous analyses), it was deemed appropriate to conduct a series of three-step hierarchical regressions to finally choose the most appropriate model. In order to identify significant predictors of aggression among second-generation refugees, second-generation migrants, and Swiss native 20-year-olds, three regression models were ran for each of the groups. The first model included parenting variables reported at age 13, the second included parental variables reported at age 15, the third model included parental variables reported at age 17, and the final model did not include any parental variables as at this point, the participants are adults themselves, and a closer examination of peer/individual level variables was considered. For all regression modes, natives were set as a reference group, and dummy variables for refugees and migrants were created. Moreover, as previously, gender, parental education level, SES, and migration status were controlled for in the models and were included in the first step. Parental and peer variables were included in the second step, and individual-level variables were included in the third step for Models 1-3. Model 4 consisted of two steps, demographics in Step 1, and peer/individual-level variables in Step 2. Also, in line with the previous analyses, predictors of the complete sample were identified first, followed by separate analyses per migration group. Results of the regression analyses are presented in Tables 7.26- 7.29.

(Model 1- parental variables at age 13)

The first regression model ran included demographics in the first step, and other parental, peer, and individual factors in the second step. The parental variables used in this model are those reported at age 13. Table 7.26 shows the regression results for the whole sample and for the separate migration groups.

Table 7.26: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 20
(Model 1: parental variables at age 13)

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE)/ β	b _{Refugee} (SE)/ β	b _{Migrant} (SE)/ β	b _{Native} (SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	1.631(.061)***	2.062(.148)***	1.772(.093)***	1.342(.077)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.096(.026)/-.133***	-.247(.083)/-.271**	-.087(.045)/-.113	-.054(.031)/-.096
	Max parental education	-.007(.006)/-.062	.022(.017)/.144	-.024(.010)/-.199*	-.004(.007)/-.045
	Social economic status	-.002(.001)/-.098	-.006(.003)/-.256*	-.002(.002)/-.095	.002(.007)/.096
	Refugee	.180(.042)/.179***			
	Migrant	.062(.029)/.083*			
	R ²	.087***	.125**	.084***	.016
Step 2	Constant	1.400(.115)***	1.600(.276)*	1.407(.184)***	1.385(.154)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.073(.026)/-.101**	-.176(.081)/-.193*	-.082(.045)/-.107	-.022(.030)/-.040
	Max parental education	-.004(.006)/-.038	.027(.017)/.174	-.023(.010)/-.192*	<.001(.007)/.003
	Social economic status	-.002(.001)/-.104*	-.008(.003)/-.310**	-.002(.002)/-.105	.002(.001)/.086
	Refugee	.180(.042)/.179***			
	Migrant	.058(.029)/.077*			
	Parental involvement (age13)	-.031(.024)/-.050	-.056(.067)/-.080	.038(.038)/.061	-.097(.034)/-.162**
	Experience of corporal punishment (age 13)	.164(.038)/.157***	.294(.108)/.243**	.184(.067)/.163**	.096(.046)/.116*
	Delinquent peers	.206(.066)/.111**	.488(.197)/.221*	.076(.118)/.038	.204(.078)/.141**
	ΔR^2	.043***	.121**	.026	.073***
Step 3	Constant	.404(.157)*	.757(.316)*	.544(.209)*	.456(.173)**
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	.001(.004)/.003	-.077(.070)/-.084	-.010(.039)/.012	.049(.028)/.089
	Max parental education	<.001(.004)/.003	.022(.013)/.144	-.013(.008)/-.109	.004(.005)/.036
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/-.069	-.004(.002)/-.170	-.002(.001)/-.084	.001(.001)/.055
	Refugee	.144(.033)/.143***			
	Migrant	.050(.023)/.067*			
	Parental involvement (age 13)	.006(.020)/.010	-.035(.054)/-.049	.062(.031)/.100*	-.035(.028)/-.059
	Experience of corporal punishment (age 13)	.072(.031)/.069*	.155(.089)/.128	.098(.055)/.087	.047(.037)/.057
	Delinquent peers	.084(.054)/.045	.216(.167)/.098	.037(.097)/.018	.087(.064)/.060
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.450(.034)/.424***	.502(.088)/.472***	.396(.059)/.380***	.406(.048)/.406***
	Competent conflict coping strategies	-.053(.014)/-.109***	-.048(.038)/-.095	-.072(.025)/-.139**	-.040(.018)/-.098*
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.093(.035)/.122**	-.054(.114)/-.062	.119(.060)/.145*	.127(.042)/.209**
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.033(.020)/.065	.101(.068)/.166	-.016(.033)/-.031	.050(.027)/.115
	Violence against women attitudes	.179(.046)/.124***	.161(.105)/.132	.294(.086)/.189***	.083(.067)/.057
	ΔR^2	.334***	.297***	.338***	.344***

Whole sample N=723, Refugee N= 111, Migrant N=280, Native N=332, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, $F(5,717) = 13.594, p < .001$, and similar to the results presented at age 17, a male gender ($\beta = -.133, p < .001$) and having a refugee ($\beta = .179, p < .001$) and migrant ($\beta = .083, p = .033$) were significantly associated with higher levels of aggression.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model, $F(8,714) = 13.279, p < .001$ as well. Variables found to be significantly associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression at age 20 were gender ($\beta = -.101, p = .005$), a lower SES ($\beta = -.104, p = .040$), and a refugee ($\beta = .179, p < .001$) and migrant ($\beta = .077, p = .046$) migration background, parental corporal punishment ($\beta = .157, p < .001$), and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .111, p = .002$).

Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(13,709) = 47.144, p < .001$). This showed the final variables identified to be associated with higher levels of aggression to be a refugee ($\beta = .143, p < .001$) and migrant ($\beta = .067, p = .030$) background, experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .069, p = .019$), higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .424, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.109, p < .001$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .122, p = .007$) and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .124, p < .001$).

Regression results for young adults with a refugee background

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,107) = 5.118, p = .002$), and showed that variables associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression were male gender ($\beta = -.271, p = .004$) and a lower SES ($\beta = -.256, p = .023$). The second step of the model was significant ($F(6,104) = 5.665, p < .001$), but did not have a significant change, and found male gender ($\beta = -.193, p = .033$) and a lower SES ($\beta = -.310, p = .005$) to still be significantly associated with higher levels of aggression, in addition to experience of corporal punishment at age 13 ($\beta = .243, p = .008$). and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .221, p = .015$).

Finally, the final step of the model showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,99) = 10.690, p < .001$). This step showed that for adolescents with a refugee background, the only significant predictor of aggression was higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .472, p < .001$).

Regression results for young adults with a migrant background

Among the migrant group, the first step of the model was significant ($F(3,276) = 8.448, p = .002$), with a lower parental education ($\beta = -.199, p = .016$) being the only significant predictor of aggression. The second step was significant ($F(6,273) = 5.607, p < .001$), but had no significant change. Variables associated with higher levels of aggression in this step were lower levels of parental education ($\beta = -.192, p = .019$) and experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .163, p = .007$). Finally, the addition of the third step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,268) = 19.741, p < .001$). The final step of the model showed that for the migrant group, significant predictors of aggression were parental involvement ($\beta = .100, p = .045$), higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .380, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.139, p = .005$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .145, p = .047$), and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .189, p < .001$).

Regression results for native young adults

Among native adolescents in the sample, the first step of the model was not significant ($F(3,328) = 1.795, p = .148$). The addition of the second step showed a significant overall model ($F(6,325) = 5.305, p < .001$). Lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.162, p = .005$) and higher levels of corporal punishment ($\beta = .116, p = .036$) and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .141, p = .009$) were associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression. Finally, the addition of the final step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,320) = 22.254, p < .001$), and identified higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .406, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.098, p = .029$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .209, p = .003$) to be significant predictors of aggression among the native Swiss youths.

(Model 2- parental variables at age 15)

The second regression model ran also included demographics in the first step, and other parental, peer, and individual factors in the second step. The parental variables used in this model are those reported at age 15. Table 7.27 shows the regression results for the whole sample and for the separate migration groups.

Table 7.27: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 20
(Model 2: parental variables at age 15)

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE)/ β	b _{Refugee} (SE)/ β	b _{Migrant} (SE)/ β	b _{Native} (SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	1.665(.059)***	2.100(.144)***	1.808(.089)***	1.365(.076)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.114(.025)/ -.156***	-.280(.080)/-.309***	-.101(.043)/-.130*	-.074(.031)/ -.128*
	Max parental education	-.006(.006)/ -.053	.021(.016)/ .142	-.021(.009)/-.175*	-.003(.007)/ -.026
	Social economic status	-.002(.001)/ -.103	-.006(.003)/ -.258*	-.002(.002)/ -.123	.002(.001)/ .096
	Refugee	.164(.041)/ .161***			
	Migrant	.059(.028)/ .079*			
	R ²	.085***	.146**	.090***	.024*
Step 2	Constant	1.456(.111)***	1.633(.263)***	1.725(.178)***	1.131(.157)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.098(.025)/ -.134***	-.233(.078)/ -.257**	-.101(.043)/-.130*	-.049(.030)/ -.086*
	Max parental education	-.003(.005)/ -.023	.026(.016)/ .174	-.020(.009)/-.168*	.003(.007)/ .026
	Social economic status	-.002(.001)/ -.108*	-.007(.003)/ -.282**	-.002(.002)/ -.107	.001(.001)/ .068
	Refugee	.142(.041)/ .139***			
	Migrant	.050(.028)/ .068			
	Parental involvement (age15)	-.045(.022)/ -.074*	-.037(.060)/ -.057	-.029(.036)/ -.047	-.057(.031)/ -.098
	Experience of corporal punishment (age 15)	.210(.044)/ .172***	.271(.097)/ .248**	.135(.074)/ .106	.256(.065)/ .210***
	Delinquent peers	.166(.064)/ .090*	.432(.192)/ .199*	-.007(.114)/ -.003	.197(.077)/ .133*
	ΔR^2	.050***	.116**	.016	.086***
Step 3	Constant	.567(.119)***	.727(.284)*	.782(.209)***	.339(.163)*
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.012(.022)/ -.017	-.117(.064)/ -.129	-.018(.038)/ -.023	.031(.027)/ .053
	Max parental education	.003(.004)/ .024	.023(.012)/ .153	-.011(.008)/ -.095	.006(.005)/ .061
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.063	-.003(.002)/ -.113	-.001(.001)/ -.062	.001(.001)/ .043
	Refugee	.123(.032)/ .120***			
	Migrant	.048(.022)/ .065*			
	Parental involvement (age 15)	-.015(.018)/ -.024	-.058(.047)/ -.089	.015(.029)/ .024	-.022(.025)/ -.038
	Experience of corporal punishment (age 15)	.080(.035)/ .066*	.102(.078)/ .093	.063(.059)/ .049	.112(.054)/ .092*
	Delinquent peers	.029(.052)/ .015	.093(.154)/ .043	-.042(.095)/ -.021	.069(.062)/ .046
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.439(.033)/ .413***	.496(.083)/ .472***	.388(.057)/ .365***	.422(.047)/ .420***
	Competent conflict coping strategies	-.060(.014)/ -.121***	-.041(.038)/ -.075	-.081(.024)/ -.157***	-.038(.018)/ -.091*
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.099(.034)/ .127**	-.028(.105)/ -.031	.138(.059)/ .166*	.120(.043)/ .192**
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.039(.019)/ .077*	.118(.062)/ .189	-.003(.032)/ -.006	.050(.026)/ .113
	Violence against women attitudes	.210(.046)/ .138***	.259(.105)/ .186*	.259(.085)/ .162**	.100(.065)/ .069
	ΔR^2	.344***	.336***	.336***	.345***

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, ($F(5,757) = 14.013, p < .001$). Male gender ($\beta = -.156, p < .001$), a lower SES ($\beta = -.106, p = .032$) and having a refugee ($\beta = .161, p < .001$) or migrant ($\beta = .059, p = .036$) were significantly associated with higher levels of aggression.

The addition of the second step contributed to a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(8,754) = 14.638, p < .001$), and male gender ($\beta = -.134, p < .001$), lower SES ($\beta = -.108, p = .027$), and having a refugee background ($\beta = .139, p < .001$) remained significantly associated to higher levels of aggression in addition to lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.074, p = .045$), higher levels of corporal punishment at age 15 ($\beta = .172, p < .001$) and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .090, p = .010$). Finally, the addition of the third step also showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(13,749) = 52.808, p < .001$). In this step, the final variables identified to be associated with higher levels of aggression were having a refugee ($\beta = .120, p < .001$) or migrant ($\beta = .065, p = .027$) background, higher levels of corporal punishment at age 1 ($\beta = .066, p = .021$), higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .413, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.121, p < .001$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .127, p = .004$), violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = .077, p = .046$) and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .138, p < .001$).

Regression results for young adults with a refugee background

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,110) = 6.258, p < .001$), and showed male gender ($\beta = -.309, p < .001$), and a lower SES ($\beta = -.258, p = .018$) to be significantly associated with aggression. The addition of the second step was also significant ($F(6,107) = 6.309, p < .001$) and showed a significant change. In this step, variables associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression were a male gender ($\beta = -.257, p = .003$), a lower SES ($\beta = -.282, p = .009$), experience of corporal punishment at age 1 ($\beta = .248, p = .006$), and having delinquent peers ($\beta = .199, p = .026$). Finally, the addition of the final step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,102) = 11.904, p < .001$). In this step, higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .472, p < .001$)

and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .186, p = .015$) were the only significant predictors to self-reported aggression among refugee youths.

Regression results for young adults with a migrant background

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,296) = 9.767, p < .001$). Variables associated with aggression were being male ($\beta = -.130, p = .020$) and a lower parental education level ($\beta = -.175, p = .027$). The second step was also significant ($F(6,293) = 5.790, p < .001$), but showed no significant change. Male gender ($\beta = -.130, p = .020$) and a lower parental education ($\beta = -.168, p = .033$) remained the only variables associated with higher levels of aggression. Finally, the addition of the third step showed a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,288) = 20.718, p < .001$). This step showed that for the migrant group, significant predictors of aggression were higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .365, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.157, p < .001$) conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .166, p = .019$), and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .162, p = .003$).

Regression results for native young adults

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,345) = 2.822, p = .039$), and gender was the only demographic variable associated with higher levels of aggression ($\beta = -.128, p = .017$). The addition of parental and peer variables in Step 2, resulted in a significant overall change and a significant overall model ($F(6,342) = 7.049, p < .001$). Moreover, at this step, higher levels of corporal punishment ($\beta = .210, p < .001$) and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .133, p = .011$) were significantly associated with higher levels of aggression. Finally, when the individual-level variables were entered into the model, there was a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(11,337) = 25.582, p < .001$). In this step, significant predictors of aggression among natives were higher levels of corporal punishment at age 15 ($\beta = .092, p = .037$), higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .407, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.091, p = .036$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .192, p = .005$).

(Model 3- parental variables at age 17)

The third regression model ran also included demographics in the first step, and other parental, peer, and individual factors in the second step. The parental variables used in this model are those reported at age 17. Table 7.28 shows the regression results for the whole sample and for the separate migration groups.

Table 7.28: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 20
(Model 3: parental variables at age 17)

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE)/ β	b _{Refugee} (SE)/ β	b _{Migrant} (SE)/ β	b _{Native} (SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	1.636(.061)***	2.129(.145)***	1.741(.092)***	1.349(.078)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.105(.026)/ -.146***	-.291(.083)/ -.318**	-.078(.044)/ -.103	-.068(.031)/ -.118*
	Max parental education	-.006(.006)/ -.047	.023(.017)/ .152	-.018(.009)/ -.157	-.004(.007)/ -.035
	Social economic status	-.002(.001)/ -.098	-.006(.017)/ -.252*	-.002(.002)/ -.117	.002(.001)/ .107
	Refugee	.187(.042)/ .185***			
	Migrant	.053(.029)/ .071			
	R ²	.085***	.157***	.071***	.023
Step 2	Constant	1.368(.102)***	1.607(.229)***	1.534(.166)***	1.028(.167)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.078(.025)/ -.108**	-.178(.082)/ -.194*	-.076(.044)/ -.100	-.043(.031)/ -.075
	Max parental education	-.003(.005)/ -.022	.030(.016)/ .192	-.018(.009)/ -.157*	-.001(.007)/ -.014
	Social economic status	-.002(.001)/ -.096	-.008(.003)/ -.313**	-.002(.002)/ -.092	.002(.001)/ .093
	Refugee	.144(.041)/ .143***			
	Migrant	.032(.028)/ .043			
	Parental involvement (age 17)	-.048(.021)/ -.083*	-.052(.058)/ -.081	-.020(.035)/ -.034	-.065(.029)/ -.124*
	Experience of corporal punishment (age 17)	.255(.039)/ .235***	.261(.068)/ .324***	.208(.063)/ .191**	.369(.097)/ .204***
	Delinquent peers	.187(.065)/ .102**	.489(.189)/ .223*	.013(.115)/ .007	.208(.080)/ .140*
	ΔR^2	.078***	.164***	.039**	.092***
Step 3	Constant	.549(.119)***	.957(.298)**	.731(.208)***	.294(.173)
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.003(.022)/ -.004	-.099(.071)/ -.108	-.001(.039)/ -.002	.035(.028)/ .062
	Max parental education	.003(.004)/ .030	.030(.013)/ .192*	-.007(.008)/ -.062	.003(.005)/ .027
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.071	-.005(.002)/ -.199*	-.002(.001)/ -.084	.001(.001)/ .058
	Refugee	.125(.033)/ .124***			
	Migrant	.037(.022)/ .050			
	Parental involvement (age 17)	-.014(.017)/ -.024	-.045(.048)/ -.070	-.005(.029)/ -.009	-.009(.024)/ -.017
	Experience of corporal punishment (age 17)	.123(.032)/ .114***	.150(.058)/ .186*	.075(.053)/ .069	.198(.082)/ .109*
	Delinquent peers	.063(.053)/ .034	.207(.163)/ .094	-.026(.096)/ -.013	.090(.066)/ .061
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.441(.033)/ .419***	.500(.084)/ .479***	.394(.058)/ .377***	.407(.048)/ .411***

Competent conflict coping strategies	-.053(.014)/ -.109***	-.058(.037)/ -.112	-.062(.026)/ -.121*	-.047(.018)/ -.114*
Moral neutralisation of aggression	.104(.035)/ .136***	-.066(.109)/ -.079	.157(.059)/ .193**	.136(.044)/ .217**
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.022(.020)/ .043	.074(.067)/ .121	-.024(.033)/ -.047	.035(.027)/ .078
Violence against women attitudes	.152(.046)/ .104*	.132(.101)/ .109	.245(.087)/ .152**	.062(.068)/ .043
ΔR^2	.305***	.258***	.315***	.325***

Whole sample N=728, Refugee N= 110, Migrant N=284, Native N=334; *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, ($F(5,722) = 13.401, p < .001$), with male gender ($\beta = -.146, p < .001$) and having a refugee background ($\beta = .185, p < .001$) being significantly associated with higher levels of aggression. When parental and peer level variables entered the model at Step 2, this resulted in a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(8,719) = 17.471, p < .001$). Being male ($\beta = -.108, p = .002$) and having a refugee background ($\beta = .143, p < .001$) remained significant predictors of aggression at this step, with the addition of lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.083, p = .023$), higher levels of corporal punishment ($\beta = .235, p < .001$), and having more delinquent peers ($\beta = .102, p = .004$). Finally, when all the variables were entered into the model, this resulted in a significant change and a significant overall model ($F(13,714) = 48.243, p < .001$). The final significant predictors of aggression for the whole sample were having a refugee background ($\beta = .124, p < .001$), higher experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .114, p < .001$), higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .419, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.109, p = .003$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .136, p = .003$), and attitudes in support of violence against women ($\beta = .104, p < .001$).

Regression results for young adults with a refugee background

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,106) = 6.588, p < .001$), with male gender ($\beta = -.318, p < .001$) and a lower SES ($\beta = -.252, p = .023$) being associated with aggression. Additionally, the second step showed a significant change and significant overall model ($F(6,103) = 3.471, p < .001$), and significant predictors of aggression at this point were male gender ($\beta = -.194, p = .032$), lower SES ($\beta = -.313, p = .003$), experience of corporal punishment at age 17 ($\beta = .324, p < .001$), and having delinquent

peers ($\beta = .223, p = .011$). Finally, the third step also showed a significant change and significant overall model ($F(11,98) = 12.299, p < .001$), and the final predictors of aggression among youths with a refugee background were lower parental education levels ($\beta = .192, p = .024$), higher experience of corporal punishment ($\beta = .186, p = .011$), and higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .479, p < .001$).

Regression results for young adults with a migrant background

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,280) = 7.144, p < .001$), and the second step was significant ($F(6,277) = 5.730, p < .001$) with a significant change. Variables associated with higher levels of self-reported aggression were lower parental education levels ($\beta = -.157, p = .05$) and higher levels of corporal punishment at age 17 ($\beta = .191, p = .001$). Upon the addition of all variables, there was a significant change and significant overall model ($F(11,272) = 18.282, p < .001$). Final variables associated with higher levels of aggression were lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.121, p = .016$), and higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .377, p < .001$) conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .193, p = .009$), and violence against women attitudes ($\beta = .152, p = .005$).

Regression results for native young adults

The first step of the model was not significant ($F(3,330) = 2.617, p = .051$) and gender was the only variable associated with aggression ($\beta = -.118, p = .031$). Step 2, resulted in a significant overall change and a significant overall model ($F(6,327) = 7.131, p < .001$), and variables associated with higher levels of aggression were lower levels of parental involvement ($\beta = -.124, p = .028$), higher levels of corporal punishment at age 17 ($\beta = .204, p < .001$), and having delinquent friends ($\beta = .140, p = .010$). Finally, when the individual-level variables were entered into the model, there was a significant change and significant overall model ($F(11,322) = 23.074, p < .001$), and the final significant predictors of aggression were higher levels of corporal punishment at age 17 ($\beta = .109, p = .016$), higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .411, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.114, p = .011$) conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .217, p = .002$).

(Model 4- no parental variables)

The fourth regression model ran included demographics in the first step, and peer, and individual factors in the second step. This model did not include any parental variables. Table 7.29 shows the regression results for the whole sample and for the separate migration groups.

Table 7.29: Regression analyses for the complete sample and split by migration group at age 20
(Model 4: no parental variables)

	Predictor variable	Complete sample	Analysis by migration status		
		b (SE)/ β	b _{Refugee} (SE)/ β	b _{Migrant} (SE)/ β	b _{Native} (SE)/ β
Step 1	Constant	1.662(.059)***	2.074(.143)***	1.806(.089)***	1.366(.076)***
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.108(.025)/ -.148***	-.257(.080)/ -.285**	-.099(.043)/ -.128*	-.068(.030)/ -.118*
	Max parental education	-.007(.005)/ -.063	.020(.016)/ .130	-.021(.009)/ -.177*	-.005(.007)/ -.044
	Social economic status	-.002(.001)/ -.103*	-.006(.003)/ -.254*	-.002(.002) -.123	.002(.001)/ .100
	Refugee	.164(.041)/ .161***			
	Migrant	.055(.028)/ .074*			
	R ²	.084***	.131***	.091***	.021
Step 2	Constant	.627(.099)***	.799(.267)**	.894(.165)***	.391(.132)**
	Gender (1=male, 2=female)	-.008(.022)/ -.011	-.099(.067)/ -.110	-.016(.037)/ -.021	.031(.027)/ .054
	Max parental education	.001(.004)/ .007	.017(.013)/ .116	-.011(.008)/ -.095	.003(.005)/ .031
	Social economic status	-.001(.001)/ -.063	-.004(.002)/ -.149	-.001(.001)/ -.063	.001(.001)/ .053
	Refugee	.134(.032)/ .132***			
	Migrant	.049(.022)/ .065*			
	Delinquent peers	.057(.052)/ .031	.195(.160)/ .091	-.036(.094)/ -.018	.097(.063)/ .065
	Aggressive conflict coping strategies	.453(.033)/ .426***	.524(.085)/ .498***	.392(.057)/ .369***	.432(.046)/ .430***
	Competent conflict coping strategies	-.061(.014)/ -.126***	-.044(.037)/ -.086	-.082(.024)/ -.159***	-.047(.018)/ -.112*
	Moral neutralisation of aggression	.089(.034)/ .116**	-.051(.108)/ -.060	.131(.058)/ .158*	.111(.042)/ .177**
	Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	.044(.020)/ .087*	.114(.066)/ .188	<.001(.031)/ .001	.055(.026)/ .125*
	Violence against women attitudes	.179(.045)/ .122***	.165(.102)/ .134	.258(.085)/ .162**	.120(.065)/ .083
	ΔR^2	.374***	.393***	.348***	.417***

Whole sample N=772, Refugee N= 117, Migrant N=302, Native N=353; *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Regression results for the whole sample

The first step of the model was significant, ($F(5,766) = 14.061, p < .001$), and male gender ($\beta = -.148, p < .001$), lower SES ($\beta = -.103, p = .038$), refugee ($\beta = .161, p < .001$) and migrant ($\beta = .074, p = .048$) backgrounds were associated with higher levels of aggression. When the rest of the variables were added at Step two, this resulted in a significant change and significant overall model ($F(6,760) = 87.512, p < .001$), and significant predictors of aggression among the whole sample were having a refugee ($\beta = .132, p < .001$) or migrant ($\beta = .065, p = .027$) background, higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .426, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.126, p < .001$) conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .116, p = .008$), violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = .087, p = .026$) and attitudes in support of violence against women ($\beta = .122, p < .001$).

Regression results for young adults with a refugee background

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,113) = 5.678, p = .001$), with male gender ($\beta = -.285, p = .002$), and having a lower SES ($\beta = -.254, p = .020$) being associated with higher levels of aggression. When all other variables were entered in Step, 2, this resulted in a significant change and significant overall model ($F(6,107) = 14.757, p < .001$), and the only predictor of aggression among refugees was higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies ($\beta = .498, p < .001$).

Regression results for young adults with a migrant background

The first step of the model was significant ($F(3,298) = 9.908, p < .001$), with gender ($\beta = -.128, p = .021$) and lower parental education levels ($\beta = -.177, p = .025$) being associated with higher levels of aggression. The second step of the model saw a significant change and significant overall model ($F(6,292) = 30.107, p < .001$). The final predictors of aggression among migrant young adults were higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .369, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.159, p < .001$) conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .158, p = .024$), and attitudes that justify violence against women ($\beta = .162, p = .003$).

Regression results for native young adults

The first step of the model was not significant ($F(3,349) = 2.551, p = .056$). The second step of the model resulted in a significant overall change and a significant overall model ($F(6,343) = 42.440, p < .001$). The final predictors of aggression among native Swiss young adults were higher levels of aggressive ($\beta = .430, p < .001$) and lower levels of competent ($\beta = -.112, p = .010$) conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression ($\beta = .177, p = .009$), and violence legitimising norms of masculinity ($\beta = .125, p = .034$).

Summary/comparisons between models 1-4

In summary, the different regression analyses showed that for the whole sample, having a refugee migration background was significant in all four models, while having a migrant background was significantly associated with aggression in models 1, 2, and 4. Moreover, past experience of corporal punishment was significantly associated with aggression in all models where parental variables were included (models 1-3). Furthermore, higher levels of aggressive and lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies were significantly associated with self-reported aggression in all four models, and higher levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity were associated with self-reported aggression in models 2 and 4. These results are presented in Table 7.26 below. Moreover, for youth with a refugee background, in all models, aggressive conflict coping strategies were associated with higher levels of aggression. On the other hand, for native youths and those with a migrant background, lower levels of competent and higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies, and past experience of corporal punishment were significant predictors of aggression in all models. For the migrant group, however, attitudes in support of violence against women were also significantly associated with higher levels of aggression in all four models. These results are also summarised in Table 7.30.

Table 7.30: Summary of predictors to self-reported aggression for the whole sample at age 20, models 1-4. Variables significant at the final step and significant in only one of the models are shown in this table.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Refugee background	✓	✓	✓	✓
Migrant background	✓	✓	x	✓
Corporal punishment	✓	✓	✓	N/A
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Competent conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Moral neutralisation of aggression	✓	✓	✓	✓
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	x	✓	x	✓
Violence against women attitudes	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 7.31: Summary of predictors to self-reported aggression for youths with a refugee, migrant and native background at age 20, significant predictors found in all models 1-4.

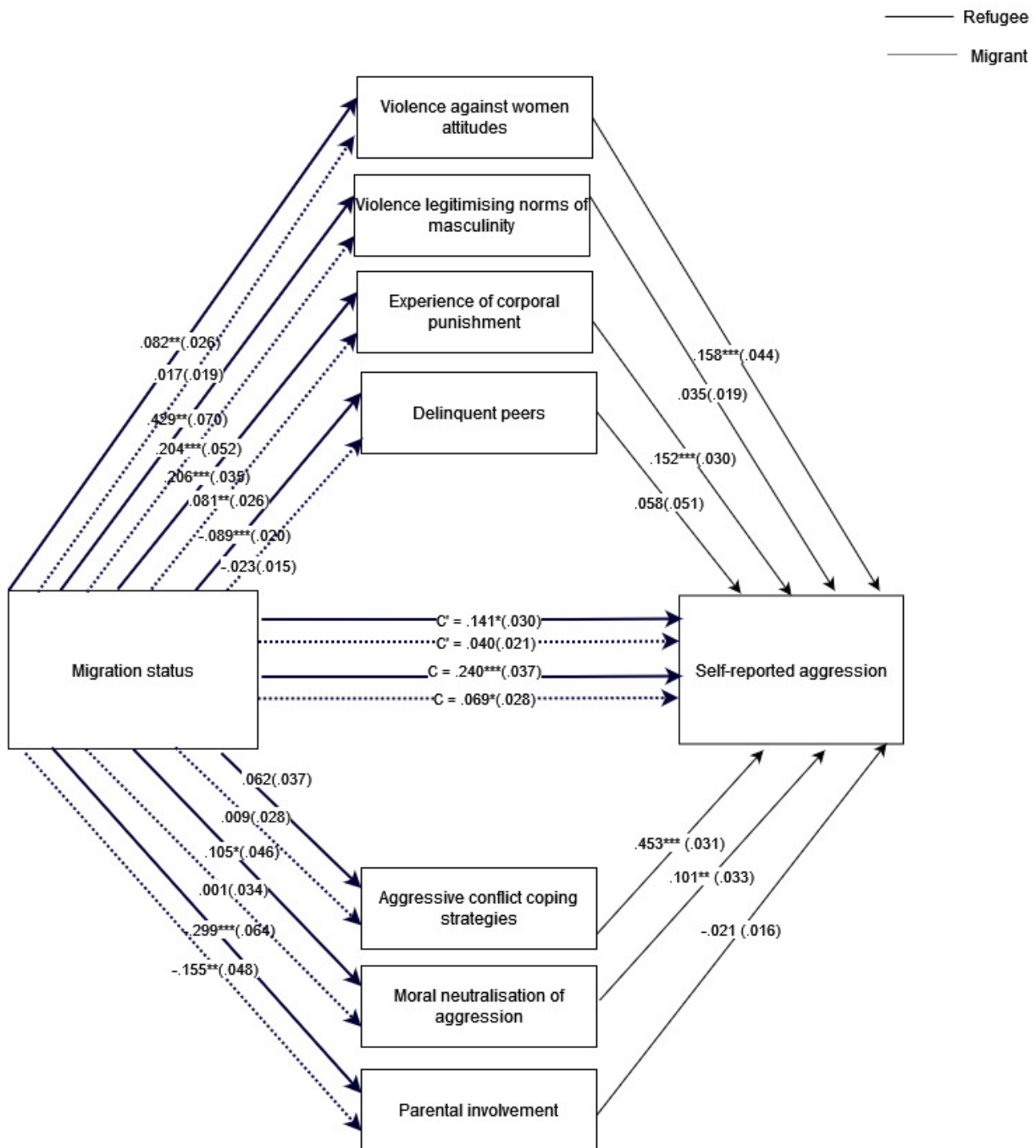
Variable	Refugee	Migrant	Native
Past-experience of corporal punishment	✓	x	✓
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓
Competent conflict coping strategies	x	✓	✓
Moral neutralisation of aggression	x	✓	✓
Violence against women attitudes	x	✓	x

7A.6.4 Mediation analysis

Following a significant relationship between migration status (both refugee and migrant) and self-reported aggression, a mediation analysis was then conducted to explore whether violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity, experience of corporal punishment (at age 17, since it is the most recent data collection point, and is closest to age 20), having delinquent peers, aggressive conflict coping strategies and parental involvement (at age 17) mediated the relationship between migration status and aggression. These variables were chosen based on the four theoretical perspectives offered in Chapter 4. Unlike the mediation analyses conducted above, the mediation effect at age 20 was investigated for both migrant and native youths since having a

migrant background was associated with higher levels of aggression. Moreover, as above, native Swiss youths were set as the reference group, and gender was controlled for in the analysis.

The mediation analysis showed a direct relationship between both having a refugee and migrant migration background with self-reported aggression (refugee $b = .240$, $t(770) = 6.442$, $p < .001$; migrant $b = .069$, $t(770) = 2.470$, $p = .014$). Once the mediators entered the model, the effect of having a refugee migration background dropped ($b = .141$, $t(763) = 4.713$, $p < .001$), while the effect of having a migrant background ceased to be significant ($b = .040$, $t(763) = 1.877$, $p = .061$). Moreover, analysis of the indirect effects showed that migration status was indirectly associated with higher levels of aggression through having attitudes in support of violence against women (indirect = .013, SE = .008, 95% CI [.0005, .031]) only for youths with a refugee background, but not for youths with a migrant background (indirect = .003, SE = .003, 95% CI [-.002, .011]). Moreover, higher experience of corporal punishment mediated the relationship between migration background and aggression for both youths with a refugee (indirect = .031, SE = .013, 95% CI [.010, .060]) and migrant background (indirect = .012, SE = .005, 95% CI [.004, .023]). Finally, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression mediated the relationship between migration status and aggression for youths with a refugee background only (indirect = .011, SE = .006, 95% CI [.0005, .026]). In other words, the relationship between having a migrant migration background and self-reported aggression was fully mediated by past experience of corporal punishment, as the relationship between having a migrant background and self-reported aggression ceased to be significant once experience of corporal punishment entered the model. With regards to youths with a refugee background, the relationship was partially mediated by holding attitudes in support of violence against women, experience of corporal punishment, and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, as a significant relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression remained after mediators were added to the model. The results of the mediation analysis are shown in Figure 7.3.



Note: N=774, *** p < .001, ** p < .01, * p < .05.

Figure 7.3 Mediation analysis between migration status and self-reported aggression at age 20

7A.7 Summary and comparison of predictors and mediators of self-reported aggression at ages 13, 15, 17 and 20

Significant predictors of self-reported aggression across all ages investigated were compared against each other. The results are shown in Table 7.32. As can be seen in Table 7.32, having a refugee migration background was a significant predictor of self-reported aggression at ages 15, 17, and 20. Moreover, the effect of having a refugee migration background increased as youths grow older ($\beta_{\text{age 15}}=.060$, $\beta_{\text{age 17}}=.065$, $\beta_{\text{age 20 model 1}}=.143$, $\beta_{\text{age 20 model 4}}=.132$). This is in line with the effect size of having a refugee background increasing from age 13-20 ($d_{\text{Age13}}=.225$, $d_{\text{Age15}}=.353$, $d_{\text{Age17}}=.385$, $d_{\text{Age20}}=.587$). Moreover, as seen in the mediation analyses conducted at ages 15, 17, and 20, the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression was only *partially* mediated through experience of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation of aggression, violence against women attitudes, aggressive conflict coping strategies and having delinquent peers. This relationship was *fully* mediated for adolescents with a migrant background at age 20, only through past-experience of corporal punishment. A summary of significant predictors across the ages 13-20 among the sample is shown in Table 7.32. The table includes variables that are from step 3. Moreover, the table includes only those variables that are significant at least one age.

Table 7.32: Summary of significant predictors of aggression across the ages 13-20 among the sample of second-generation- refugee, migrant, and native Swiss youths.

Variable	Age 13	Age 15	Age 17	Age 20
Gender	✓	x	x	x
Refugee background	x	✓	✓	✓
Migrant background	x	x	x	✓
Parental education	x	x	x	x
Corporal punishment	✓	✓	✓	✓
Parental involvement	x	x	x	x
Delinquent peers	✓	✓	✓	x
Aggressive conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Competent conflict coping strategies	✓	✓	✓	✓
Moral neutralisation of aggression	✓	✓	✓	✓
Violence legitimising norms of masculinity	x	x	x	✓
Violence against women attitudes	N/A	✓	✓	✓

7A.8 Summary of findings

The purpose of this section was to investigate the risk factors, predictors, and mediators of self-reported aggression among refugee, migrant and native youths cross-sectionally at ages 13, 15, 17 and 20. Hypotheses presented at the beginning of this section were partially supported by the findings.

In terms of self-reported aggression, no significant differences were found between the second-generation refugees, migrants and native youths at age 13. However, differences emerged at ages 15, 17, and 20, with adolescents from a refugee background reporting significantly higher levels of aggression than migrant and native youths at ages 15, 17, and 20 (support for *H10*). This emergence of a difference in early-to-mid adolescence will be addressed in the discussion.

The findings on moral neutralisation of aggression showed that adolescents from a refugee background reported higher levels than their native peers at age 13, and both their migrant and native peers at age 15. However, these differences were non-significant at ages 17 and 20 (partial support for *H11*). Moreover, there were no significant differences between the groups in terms of aggressive conduct coping strategies at any age (no support for *H12*).

In relation to parental involvement and corporal punishment, the data showed that significant differences existed between the groups with native youths reporting significantly higher levels of parental involvement and lower levels of corporal punishment than their second-generation- migrant and refugee peers (support for *H13*).

The data for violence legitimising norms of masculinity showed significant differences between all the groups at all ages (13, 15, 17, and 20). At age 13 there were significant differences between natives and both second-generation migrants and refugees, with natives reporting lower levels and no difference between second-generation migrants and refugees. From age 15 and onwards, significant mean differences across all groups were found with second-generation refugees scoring the highest levels, followed by second-generation migrant, and then native adolescents scoring significantly lower.

Finally, there were significant differences in violence against women attitudes between second-generation refugees and natives (age 15) and second-generation refugees and migrants and natives (at age 17) (support for *H1*).

With regards to predictors of self-reported aggression, having a refugee background was a significant predictor at ages 15, 17 and 20 (support for *H14*), but not at age 13. This result is in line with the attitudes toward violence against women analyses, where having a refugee status was not a significant predictor at age 15 but was a significant predictor at age 17.

Moreover, findings indicated that aggressive conduct coping strategies were the strongest predictor of aggression at all ages for the sample as a whole and for all three groups individually (support for *H15*). On the other hand, competent conflict coping strategies were also a significant predictor of aggression for the whole sample at all ages (13, 15, 17, and 20), and individually for second-generation refugees (age 17), second-generation migrants (ages 13, 15 and 20), and native adolescents (age 20) (support for *H15*).

Furthermore, moral neutralisation of aggression was also a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for the whole sample at all ages examined (support for *H16*). Individually, moral neutralisation of aggression was a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for adolescents with a refugee background at age 15, and second-generation migrant and native adolescents at ages 13, 15, 17 and 20.

Similarly, another factor that significantly predicted self-reported aggression among the adolescents at all ages was experience of corporal punishment (support for *H17*). Individually, experience of corporal punishment was a significant predictor of aggression for adolescents with a refugee background aged 13, 17 and 20 (using past-experience at age 17), for second-generation migrant adolescents at ages 15 and 17, and for native adolescents at age 15 and 20 (using past-experience at ages 15 and 17).

Moreover, having delinquent peers was found to be a significant predictor of self-reported aggression for the sample at ages 13, 15, and 17 (support for *H18*). Individually, having delinquent friends was a significant predictor of self-reported aggression among second-generation migrants at age 13, and for natives at ages 15 and 17.

In terms of violence against women attitudes and violence legitimising norms of masculinity, findings indicated that holding attitudes in support of violence against women was a significant factor in predicting self-reported aggression among youths in the total sample over all the years in which violence against women attitudes were measured (ages 15, 17, and 20). Individually, attitudes towards violence against women were a significant predictor of self-reported aggression among second-generation migrants at ages 15, 17, and 20, and among second-generation refugees at age 20. On the

other hand, violence legitimising norms of masculinity were not a significant predictor of self-reported aggression, apart from models 2 and 4 at age 20) (partial support for *H20*).

Moreover, findings indicated that there was no relationship between parental involvement and self-reported aggression for the total sample at all ages examined (no support for *H19*), although parental involvement was found to be associated with self-reported aggression for natives at age 15, and second-generation migrants at age 20 (using model 1, parental involvement at age 13).

Finally, regression analyses conducted at age 20 showed that having a migrant background was a significant predictor of self-reported aggression. However, the effect size of having a second-generation migrant background was small ($\beta = .065$) as compared to that of having a refugee status ($\beta = .132$) when it comes to predicting self-reported aggression (Model 4). Moreover, the mediation analysis showed that the relationship between having a migrant background and self-reported aggression at age 20 was fully mediated by past-experience of corporal punishment (at age 17), as it ceased to be significant once the mediator entered the model. On the other hand, mediation analyses conducted at ages 15, 17 and 20 all showed that the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression was still significant after the mediators entered the models. In other words, the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression only partially operated through experience of corporal punishment (ages 15, 17, and 20), peer delinquency (ages 15 and 17), aggressive conflict coping strategies (age 15), parental involvement (age 15), moral neutralisation of aggression (age 15 and 20), and attitudes in support of violence against women (ages 17 and 20) (support for *H21*).

7B Discussion of self-reported aggression among second-generation refugee, migrant and native adolescents

7B.1 Introduction

Risk factors, predictors, and mediators of self-reported aggression among individuals with a refugee, migrant and native Swiss background were identified in Chapter 6. Based on the theoretical framework offered in Chapter 4, and the literature and systematic reviews presented in Chapter 2 and 3, the aim of the present study was to explore the roles of violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity (patriarchal ideologies), moral neutralisation of aggression, aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies (social cognition), parental involvement (attachment theory), and experience of corporal punishment and having delinquent peers (social learning) on levels of self-reported aggression, while controlling for relevant sociodemographic variables, namely gender, parental education level, socioeconomic status and migration background. Separate analyses were conducted at age 13, 15, 17 and 20 years. The findings are discussed below.

7B.2 Correlations

An examination of correlations between aggression and all variables included in the study showed that at all ages investigated, the correlation between aggression and aggressive conflict coping strategies was the highest, followed by the correlation between aggression and moral neutralisation of aggression. Moreover, across all ages investigated, moderate correlations were found between aggression and violence legitimising norms of masculinity, having deviant peers (though this correlation is weak at age 20), experience of corporal punishment, violence against women attitudes, parental involvement, and competent conflict coping strategies. It should also be noted, that as adolescents moved from mid- to late- adolescence, correlations of aggression with peer and parental variables greatly weakened. This result is in line with previous research that suggests that the significance of familial and peer factors reduces significantly over time. As a person goes through the stages of adolescence, the need for autonomy grows from early to late adolescence, and consequently, more time is spent with friends than family (Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021). This suggests that the socialising units that could influence aggression and delinquency are not fixed, but change as adolescents grow during different periods of their development (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996). It has therefore been argued that parental influence is strongest during early adolescence (from about 12

years old), compared to middle (from about 15 years old), and late adolescence (at about 18 years old) (Agnew, 2003). Research on the time-changing influence of parental and peer factors, however, is limited and has shown mixed results. For example, according to Jang (1999), peer influence increased from early to mid-adolescence, but then decreased again, while parental and family factors continued to remain stable over time. On the other hand, in their meta-analysis of 74 published and unpublished scripts, Hoeve et. al. (2012) examined the link between parental attachment and delinquency. Their results suggested that as adolescents grow older, the relationship between parental attachment and delinquency weakened (Hoeve *et al.*, 2012). Accordingly, it is important to consider the relationship between aggression and peer delinquency as the youths move from early to mid-adolescence.

7B.3 Mean differences in aggression and risk factors

Mean scores for self-reported aggression are higher for adolescents with a refugee background, compared to native adolescents with a small effect size (ages 13,15,and 17), and a medium effect size at age 20. As shown in the ANOVA analyses above, there were no significant mean differences in aggression between the groups at age 13, but at ages 15 onwards, there were significant mean differences in self-reported aggression between second-generation refugees and both second-generation migrants and natives. To begin with, at age 13, second generation refugee ($M=1.82$), migrant ($M=1.74$) and native Swiss adolescents ($M=1.69$) all had very similar levels of aggression. As time went on, the levels of aggression among all three groups were going down, but for those with a refugee background, this decline happened at a significantly slower pace ($M_{refugee15}=1.80$, $M_{migrant15}=1.64$, $M_{native15}=1.61$; $M_{refugee17}=1.68$, $M_{migrant17}=1.56$, $M_{native17}=1.50$; $M_{refugee20}=1.58$, $M_{migrant20}=1.42$, $M_{native20}=1.36$). This decline in aggression throughout the course of adolescence towards early adulthood is in line with previous research. Extensive studies have shown that on average, the prevalence of physical aggression is highest in early childhood, and declines subsequently during adolescence (Loeber and Hay, 1997; Paciello *et al.*, 2008). The result is also in line with prevalence data from the Pittsburgh Youth Study (Loeber and Smith, 1996) where the prevalence of physical fighting decreased from early adolescence onward, with a steeper decline between the ages of 14 and 16 years. Accordingly, the interesting finding in the current study, is as mentioned above, aggression levels *are* going down for the whole sample, second-generation refugees included, but this decline is slower for them than their second-generation migrant and native peers. Considerations into why this is the case will be taken in the discussion below.

Second-generation refugees reported significantly higher levels of self-reported aggression than their second-generation migrant and native peers. This result is in line with previous literature (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Gangi, Talamo and Ferracuti, 2009; Webb *et al.*, 2016). For example, in a study that investigated the consequences of intergenerational trauma among 40 non-immigrant Italian Jews, whose parents were Holocaust survivors, the authors found offspring of Holocaust survivors to have a lower level of aggression inhibition than their no-trauma counterparts (Gangi, Talamo and Ferracuti, 2009). Another study by Webb *et al.*, (2016) aimed to compare risks of attempted suicides and violent offending among a national cohort of second-generation immigrants living in Denmark according to their parental country of origin versus their native Danish counterparts. The authors found that among nearly all subgroups examined, with regards to violent offending, the risk was elevated for male immigrants than native Dutch males and female immigrants. Moreover, the authors found that relative risks of violent offending were particularly raised for males and females who originated from the Middle East, Greenland and Africa. With regards to Greenland, the discussion provided centred around higher levels of alcohol consumption, but since the refugee or migrant subsamples in the current study do not include Greenland, or countries of high-level alcohol consumption, this discussion will not be considered. Webb *et al.* (2016) have, however, attributed the raised risks among Middle Eastern men and women to several potential factors. To begin with, the authors proposed an increased possibility of Middle Eastern and African second-generation immigrants to have experienced higher levels of violence at home and holding a higher level of violence legitimising norms of masculinity than their native counterparts. Moreover, Middle Eastern and African immigrants are more likely to be more disadvantaged and live in more destitute neighbourhoods that are sharply defined by low income, unemployment, poor housing, social exclusion, antisocial behaviour and crime (Webb *et al.*, 2016). Finally, another explanation for higher levels of violent offending reported among Middle Eastern and African second-generation immigrants could be their physical 'non-white' appearance that makes them clearly identifiable as non-natives, and could therefore be more likely to have their crimes detected and be apprehended (Webb *et al.*, 2016).

In line with this, in a study by Baier and Pfeiffer (2008), violence was compared among Turkish and Russian immigrant youths versus native German youths. Results showed that Turkish and Russian youths reported significantly higher levels of violence on aspects such as 'bodily harm', for which the percentage committed in the last year varied from 19.1% among German men, to 37.5% and 31% among Turkish and Russian youths respectively (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). The authors attributed these differences in violence to different possibilities. To begin with, Turkish youths reported significantly lower social economic status than Russian and German youths. Different to Russian and German

youths, 47.7% of Turkish parents had a school-leaving certificate not exceeding Hauptschule, as opposed to 13.1% German, and 6.3% Russian parents who have received further schooling. Moreover, despite Turkish youths in the sample having a significantly lower level of divorced parents than their German counterparts, parenting practices in Turkey are different to those in Germany, especially regarding the use of corporal punishment. Results showed that 17% of German youths reported experience of parental corporal punishment, as opposed to 29.8% of Turkish youths, and 25.4% of Russian youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). This explanation is in line with the current study, as shown in the ANOVAs, use of corporal punishment among second-generation refugee and migrant parents is significantly higher than that of their Swiss native counterparts. In addition to that, the rates of witnessing intimate partner violence among their parents is significantly higher for Turkish youths (26.1%) than their Russian (13.7%) and German (6.2%) counterparts (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). Furthermore, 23.7% of Turkish youths were found to hold violence legitimising norms of masculinity, compared to 9.2% among Russian youths and 3.9% among German youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008). Again, this result is in line with the current study, where separate ANOVAs conducted at different ages have shown that there were significant mean differences in violence legitimising norms of masculinity across all three groups, with refugee adolescents (some of whom come from Turkey) having the highest level, followed by migrants and then natives. Moreover, as mentioned previously in the literature review in Chapter 2, extensive research has shown a high incidence of family violence and child abuse within refugee families (Fazel *et al.*, 2012; Alink *et al.*, 2013; Losoncz, 2016; Sangalang, Jager and Harachi, 2017; Timshel, Montgomery and Dalgaard, 2017), with parental PTSD and past exposure to war violence and trauma being significant risk factors to a higher prevalence of domestic abuse amongst refugee children (Spencer and Le, 2006; Catani *et al.*, 2008).

For the current study, following the ANOVAs, post-hoc tests were conducted to identify potential risk factors that could cause higher levels of aggression among second-generation refugees. Risk factors identified were lower parental involvement, higher levels of corporal punishment, holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity, having higher levels of moral neutralisation and a lower degree of competent conflict coping strategies.

Again, these results are in line with previous literature and with the risk domains presented in Chapters 2 and 3. A systematic review conducted by Timshel *et al.* (2017) investigated potential risk and protective factors related to family violence amongst refugee families. The review found that parenting factors were a significant risk factor in both the individual- (e.g. parental trauma, PTSD, previous abuse) and familial- (e.g. poor parent-child interaction) levels. For example, in the study by Hinton *et al.* (2009), the authors examined family related violence among Cambodian refugees. The authors found that family-related anger among Cambodian refugees was caused by the parents'

perception of challenging behaviour by the child, such as being disrespectful, or not following instruction, and that the anger was prompted by the interactions between the family members. Moreover, if the child was perceived to be rude, this may act as a retrieval cue of past traumatic events involving shame and degradation (Hinton *et al.*, 2009). These kinds of outcomes can consequently lead to a weaker parent-child bond, and a lower level of parental involvement and engagement in the child's interests and experiences. In another study included in the systematic review (Chapter 3) by Timshel *et. al.* (2017), among Liberian refugees in South Australia, many of the women suggested that their personal experiences of war and refugee camps had caused a fracture in their traditional societal roles and standards for protecting their children. This would have led to disrupted attachment representations in both parents and children, where the children would have developed a broken sense of trust towards the adults who should protect, rather than harm them, and a decreased parental emotional availability for their children (Zannettino, 2012; Timshel, Montgomery and Dalgaard, 2017).

Refugee families have been shown to be at risk of disrupted parental practices, corporal punishment and weakened parent-child relationships (Spencer and Le, 2006; Fazel *et al.*, 2012; Losoncz, 2016; Bryant *et al.*, 2018; Reid and Berle, 2020). These effects can occur due to refugees' exposure to and experiences of war trauma and displacement, which play a role in parental PTSD and consequently intergenerational transmission of violence (Alink *et al.*, 2013; Sangalang and Vang, 2017). A study by Sangalang *el. al.*, (2017) explored the impacts of maternal traumatic distress on family functioning and child mental health and conduct problems (such as delinquency) among a U.S. sample of Southeast Asian refugee families. The study found low family-functioning (including low parental involvement) to be associated with higher levels of child depressive symptoms, antisocial behaviour and delinquency (Sangalang and Vang, 2017), which is in line with the results of the current study where lower parental involvement was found to be a risk factor related to aggression among youths with a refugee background.

The finding that violence legitimising norms of masculinity is a risk factor related to aggression is also supported by previous literature (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). As discussed in the systematic review in Chapter 3, Lahlah *et. al.*'s (2013) study investigated the relationship between gender role orientations and juvenile violent offending in a sample of nearly 500 native Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch adolescent boys. The crucial role of gender role orientations was highlighted as an explanation of differences in violence offending across ethnicities, as once gender role orientations were accounted for, ethnic differences in violent offending disappeared (Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). It does, therefore, make sense that holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity can act as a potential risk factor of aggression among youths with a refugee background.

As discussed above, in the current sample, adolescents with a refugee background originate from more patriarchal societies and so-called cultures of honour (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996). Results in this study showed significant differences in the levels of aggression between youths with a refugee background and other youths, and have also found that youths with a refugee background reported the highest levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity, followed by second-generation migrants and then natives.

In line with attachment theory, family violence (such as corporal punishment) and increased child aggression in refugee families can be associated with parental and/or child fractured mental and emotional attachment representations as a result of traumatic experiences and stress (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn, 2009). This is supported by a study conducted by Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn (2009) which used the Adult Attachment Interview in clinical samples. This study found that clinical participants demonstrated a higher level of insecure and unresolved attachment representations (particularly among adults with PTSD and trauma experiences) than the norm groups. This suggests that transgenerational transmission of attachment disorder may be associated with parental PTSD. It is therefore possible that family related violence and lower parental involvement are related to the dysfunctional interaction pattern and breakdown in the emotional bond between parent and child following traumatic events and stress.

Another risk factor related to aggression specifically among second-generation refugee youths was higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression. Extensive research has shown that increased levels of moral disengagement heightens the risk of aggression and violent behaviour (Bandura *et al.*, 1996; Almeida, Correia and Marinho, 2009; Pornari and Wood, 2010; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020; Zych *et al.*, 2021). For example, in a study by Zych *et al.* (2021) using the z-proso dataset, the authors found that higher levels of moral neutralisation increased the risk of adolescent involvement in different bullying roles. The impact of moral neutralisation of aggression impact might be stronger among youths whose parents have experienced war trauma and displacement through intergenerational transmission (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008; Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017; McEwen, Alisic and Jobson, 2022). Children will know that their parents have experienced very difficult times where they had to engage in violent and aggressive behaviour to survive. For example, resources such as food and shelter are often scarce during migration, and tensions are high, where people are often exposed to conditions of violence, poverty, lawlessness and displacement. Moreover, people often need to protect themselves and their families. Such traumatic factors could foster disengagement strategies, such as justifying violent behaviour, as a means to obtain basic needs and survival (Haskuka, Sunar and Alp, 2008). For example, in a study by Haskuka, Sunar and Alp (2008), the authors found that exposure to war had a very strong negative

effect on moral reasoning among refugees from the 1998-1999 Kosovo war. In addition to that, a study by Posada and Wainryb (2008) among Cambodian children and adolescents showed that living in a war-affected country had an impact on their moral views. Although all the participants stated that it was wrong to steal or hurt others, judgments with regard to revenge were more varied, with a large percentage who supported stealing and hurting in that condition (Posada and Wainryb, 2008). Again, this is in line with adolescents with a refugee background in the current sample having higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression. Despite the second-generation refugee children not living through these traumatic experiences themselves, they could then be taught that aggressive behaviour can be used as a means of problem solving, and their perceptions of right and wrong can be altered (Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017). Moreover, upon resettlement in a new host country, refugees face acculturation challenges and stresses which might also challenge their moral standards and lead to higher levels of moral disengagement (Gjelsvik and Solhaug, 2017) that they in turn transmit to their children.

Moreover, previous research has found that experiences of parental harsh discipline are associated with higher levels of moral disengagement. For example, in a study by Campaert et. al. (2018), the authors found that poor parental practices, such as repeated experience of corporal punishment and lower levels of supervision, were associated with higher levels of moral disengagement a year on. Moreover, it was found that these relationships were mediated by the parents' approval of aggression themselves (Campaert, Nocentini and Menesini, 2018). Again, parallels can be drawn to second-generation refugee youths, as results have shown that they have experienced greater levels of corporal punishment by their parents and have higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression than their second-generation migrant and Swiss native peers.

The final risk factor related to aggression among second-generation refugees was having lower levels of competent conflict coping skills. Adolescents who have a well-developed range of adaptive coping skills are more capable to utilise these skills to cope with a number of different stressful circumstances such as interpersonal conflicts (Unger, Sussman and Dent, 2003). Literature on conflict coping skills among migrant and refugee adolescents is very scarce, but parallels can be drawn with a study conducted by Nivette et. al. (2017) using the z-proso dataset. The study investigated the effect of collective strain on attitudes in support of violent extremism. The authors found that participants who utilised competent conflict coping strategies were less likely to be affected by collective (for example, being exposed to violent conflict) or personal strain, and were less likely to support violent extremism. The authors also found that males, and participants with higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression were more likely to support violent extremism (Nivette, Eisner and Ribeaud, 2017). It can be argued that the relationship between collective strains and

competent conflict coping strategies can be reciprocal. Just like competent conflict coping strategies can protect against collective strains, collective strains can lead to lower levels of competent coping strategies. Accordingly, the lower levels of competent coping strategies among second-generation refugees can therefore be accounted for.

Ultimately, as shown in the ANOVAs above, second-generation refugee adolescents expressed lower levels of parental involvement and competent conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of corporal punishment, violence legitimising norms of masculinity, and moral neutralisation of aggression. Therefore, the higher levels of aggression among second-generation refugees than their migrant and native counterparts can be attributed to these findings, and to them being more at risk than their counterparts as a result of their parents' trauma and experience.

The results showed adolescents with a refugee background are less likely to have delinquent friends than their migrant and native peers. It was, however, found that having delinquent peers was a risk factor for both second-generation migrant and native youths. To begin with, compared to the second-generation migrant and the native Swiss groups, the second-generation refugee group is potentially more involved in the 'adult world' and adolescents are likely to take on more 'adult responsibilities'. For example, acculturation processes for refugee parents may not be as fast as those of migrant families, who come from a more heterogeneous mix of countries (i.e. Western, non-Western, high-income, low-income countries). Accordingly, young adolescents from a refugee background may be expected to help their parents navigate legal and social challenges because they are more acculturated than their parents (acculturation gap between parent and child), and therefore not have as much free time to interact with peers (Chen and Zhong, 2013). Furthermore, there is literature to support the notion that refugee youths receive more frequent and/or serious parental supervision, and this can possibly also reduce their contact with deviant peers (Chen and Zhong, 2013). Parental supervision, however, was not measured in this study, so it can only be posed as a possible explanation of the results acquired.

With regards to parental involvement, it is worth noting that the results indicated that by age 17, there were no significant mean differences between migrant and native adolescents. There were also no significant mean differences in having delinquent peers between migrant and native youths. These results can be explained as the role and relative importance of parental and family factors change significantly over the course of adolescence, as discussed above. As a person goes through the stages of adolescence, the need for autonomy grows from early to late adolescence, and consequently, more time is spent with friends than family (Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021). This suggests that the socialising units that could influence aggression and delinquency are not fixed, but change as

adolescents grow during different periods of their development (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996). It has therefore been argued that parental influence is strongest during early adolescence (from about 12 years old), compared to middle (from about 15 years old), and late adolescence (at about 18 years old) (Agnew, 2003). Research on the time-changing influence of parental and peer factors, however, is limited and has shown mixed results. For example, according to Jang (1999), peer influence increased from early to mid-adolescence, but then decreased again, while parental and family factors continued to remain stable over time. On the other hand, in their meta-analysis of 74 published and unpublished scripts, Hoeve *et al.* (2012) examined the link between parental attachment and delinquency. Their results suggested that as adolescents grow older, the relationship between parental attachment and delinquency weakened (Hoeve *et al.*, 2012). Accordingly, it is important to consider the relationship between aggression and peer delinquency as the youths move from early to mid-adolescence.

The relationship between aggression and peer delinquency has been extensively documented (Steketee, 2012; Platje *et al.*, 2013; Pung *et al.*, 2015; Defoe *et al.*, 2021; Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021). A longitudinal study by Simons-Morton *et al.* (2004) found delinquent peers were significantly correlated to adolescent aggression at different times, indicating the crucial influence of contact with deviant peers (Simons-Morton, Hartos and Haynie, 2004; Platje *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, in another study using the z-proso dataset, Huijsmans *et al.* (2021) explored the effects of parental bonds and having delinquent peers on delinquency and self-control over time. In line with previous research (Catalano and Hawkins, 1996; Agnew, 2003), the authors found that by mid-adolescence, peers play a significant role in influencing delinquency, as opposed to parental factors. They also found the relationship between peers and delinquency to be bidirectional; where peer delinquency increases the risk of delinquency, and increased delinquency reinforces peer delinquency (Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021). Moreover, as discussed in the systematic review in Chapter 3, studies have shown that immigrant youths are more likely to take part in violent/aggressive behaviour if their friendship network engaged in violent behaviours as well (Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Svensson *et al.*, 2012; Svensson and Shannon, 2020; Korol and Stattin, 2021).

Theoretically, peer delinquency influences adolescents' own aggression through social learning (Burgess and Akers, 1966; Bandura, 1977) and the 'companions in crime' hypothesis (Warr and Warr, 2002). As discussed, according to social learning theory, aggression is learnt through witnessing and/or experiencing aggressive behaviour, and according to the hypothesis of companions in crime, committing delinquency with peers is a primary mechanism that facilitates the development of delinquency during adolescence. In other words, interactions between deviant peers can lead to co-offending during adolescence (Warr and Warr, 2002). Moreover, leaning on a social learning

perspective, adolescents are likely to model and imitate each other's aggression and delinquency, and this influence is likely to be stronger while they are in each other's company being violent and/or delinquent (Defoe *et al.*, 2021). Differential association theory is one of the most renowned theories of the social learning perspective, with great empirical validity (Chen and Zhong, 2013). Differential association theory argues that individuals are first indoctrinated into deviant behaviour by differential association with deviant peers, in other words, people develop the motivation and skills to engage in criminal activity through the people with whom they associate (Burgess and Akers, 1966). According to Akers (1966; 2017), youths learn to participate in aggression/delinquency from others (primarily peers) through three key mechanisms: reinforcement of deviant behaviour, adoption of beliefs in support of deviance, and imitation of deviant role models. These theoretical frameworks can help explain why having delinquent peers is a significant risk factor for migrant and native adolescents.

7B.4 Predictors of aggression

Regression analyses were conducted for each migration group at ages 13, 15, 17, and 20. Four regression models were proposed for age 20, but eventually Model 4 was chosen following the reasoning offered above, that toward late adolescence/early adulthood, individuals become more autonomous, and parental factors will not have such a significant effect on their aggressive or delinquent behaviours (Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021). It should be noted, however, that Model 3 showed that corporal punishment at age 17 was a strong predictor of aggression for adolescents from a refugee background ($\beta = .186$, $p = .011$).

In this study, gender was not a predictor of aggression after all the variables were entered into the regression models at all ages examined. It is likely, though, that at least some of the variables entered later in the model, such as aggressive conflict coping strategies or moral neutralisation of aggression, are mediators of the mechanism through which gender differences operate, since for all migration groups, the analyses showed male gender to be associated with higher levels of aggression at the first, and often second, steps of the regression models. An extensive body of research has considered gender differences in aggression among adolescents (Salmivalli, Kaukiainen and Lagerspetz, 2000; Card *et al.*, 2008; Estévez López *et al.*, 2008; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010b; Björkqvist, 2018; Martinelli *et al.*, 2018; Nivette *et al.*, 2019; Schuster *et al.*, 2021). Studies among adolescents have shown mixed results with regards to gender differences in aggression and dating violence perpetration. For example, the meta-analytic review by Wincentak *et. al.* (2017) found significant gender differences in perpetration of physical dating violence, with female adolescents reporting

higher levels than males. Moreover, the study by Karsberg et al. (2018) found higher rate of dating violence perpetration among male adolescents in comparison to female adolescents. On the other hand, the study by Schuster et. al. (2021) found no gender differences between male and female adolescents. Moreover, several studies have shown that male adolescents are significantly more likely to take part in physical aggression than female adolescents (Archer, 2004, 2009; Fagan and Lindsey, 2014). Specifically, gender differences in aggression were not explored in this study, but gender was not found to be a predictor of aggression once all the variables were inputted into the model. It was found, however, that in all the models at ages 13-17 and for all three migration groups, apart from second-generation refugees at age 13, male gender was a significant predictor of higher levels of self-reported aggression at Step 2, before individual-level factors were entered into the models. Moreover, the regression analysis at age 20 (Model 4) showed that it was only for the second-generation refugee group that male gender was a significant predictor of aggression before the rest of the variables were entered into the regression model. These findings can be explained by the social role theory, which posits that gender differences in aggression are an outcome of different gender-role socialisation pathways that prescribe violence and aggression differently between males and females (Eagly, 1997). Basically, it is theorised that males are more likely to exhibit higher levels of physical aggression and violence in line with societal stereotypical dominant and competitive male roles, whereas females are socialised into more compliant and gentle roles that condone the use of aggression (Eagly, 1997). Moreover, Wood and Eagly (2012) posited that physical differences between men and women can explain the stereotypical division of labour and consequently, the social roles that impact the possibility of aggression (Wood and Eagly, 2012).

Another explanation as to why male gender was partly predictive of higher levels of aggression (before all factors were included) for all adolescent groups, and especially among young adults with a refugee background at age 20, can be drawn from evolutionary models of sexual selection, in which males have more competition for reproductive success due to lower parental investment than females (Archer, 2009). Consequently, it is argued that males have evolved certain physical attributes and psychological strategies that enable them to fight over access to mates and resources (Geary *et al.*, 2003; Schaller, Simpson and Kenrick, 2013). It was also argued that among adolescent boys, physical aggression is often used as a tool to attain social dominance and efficiently compete for status and resources, such as popular peer networks, reputation and status (Pellegrini, 2008; Nivette *et al.*, 2019). This need for affiliation and belonging can be even more important for boys from a refugee background, who might feel ethnically harassed, and just want to fit with the mainstream school and class culture (Baldwin-White *et al.*, 2017; Korol and Stattin, 2021).

Regression analyses across all ages identified aggressive conflict coping strategies to be the strongest predictor across all migration groups. As mentioned above, adolescents who have developed competent conflict coping strategies are more likely to use these strategies to deal with challenging situations. On the other hand, adolescents who have developed aggressive conflict coping strategies are more likely to use aggression as a means to solve challenges they face. According to Cascardi et. al.'s (1999) review of conflict tactics, responses to interpersonal conflict clustered into several categories, including serious physical aggression, mild physical aggression, verbal/psychological aggression, and reasoning. This suggests that physical violence is only one of numerous forms of aggressive responses to interpersonal conflict. During an altercation, for example, an adolescent could employ an aggressive but nonphysical response, such as yelling, or a nonconfrontational but avoidant response, such as stomping out of the room. Although these responses are not physically aggressive, they still are maladaptive coping strategies that usually do not contribute to the resolution of the dispute that created the interpersonal conflict (Unger, Sussman and Dent, 2003). It makes sense, therefore, for aggressive conflict coping strategies to predict general aggression among adolescents of all migration backgrounds.

Although aggressive conflict coping strategies were found to be the strongest predictor of aggression among all adolescents, the effect size for adolescents with a refugee background is larger than those with a migrant and native Swiss background for age 15,17 and 20. This result is consistent with the previous literature. Studies have shown anger to play a significant role among refugee populations (Hauff and Vaglum, 1994; Hinton *et al.*, 2009). For example, in a study by Hinton et. al. (2009), profiles of family(spouse/children)-directed at traumatised Cambodian refugees, who were being treated at a psychiatric unit, were explored. Results showed that 48% of the patients reported severe anger (causing a biological reaction, such as palpitations in 91% of incidents) directed towards their family, 49% of which was directed at their children. Moreover, results showed that 68% of participants suffered from trauma-recall during anger attacks. Upon investigating some reasons behind parent-child anger, the authors found that anger was often instigated by a linguistic and cultural gap between parent and child. As discussed in previous sections, an acculturation gap occurs when the children are more adapted to the mainstream culture's language, norms and values while the parents are still lagging behind. In their study, the children spoke poor Cambodian while their parents spoke poor English. This acculturation gap, therefore, causes conflict and parental anger directed towards their children (Hinton *et al.*, 2009). Moreover, a study by Hauff and Vaglum (1994), showed that among Vietnamese refugees, of the nine items that were able to distinguish patients with and without PTSD, three were anger items (Hauff and Vaglum, 1994). These studies suggest that anger in general and family-directed anger in particular, among traumatised refugees is a serious issue in

both a clinical and non-clinical manner. Moreover, proneness to anger can lead to the use of aggressive conflict coping strategies. Accordingly, the highest predictive effect of aggressive conflict coping strategies among second-generation refugees can be explained. For one, it is possible that because acculturation processes are not happening at the same rate as those of migrant adolescents are, refugee parents and children have a wider acculturation gap (Ho, 2010), leading to more anger and aggressive coping strategies. Moreover, children with refugee parents are likely to have learned such coping strategies from their traumatised parents. Again, the influence of social learning theory plays a part here, where children are likely to adopt coping strategies they have seen their parents use (Bandura, 1977).

Regression analyses at ages 13 and 15 showed that aggressive coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression were predictors of aggression among adolescents with a refugee background. By late adolescence, at age 17, significant predictors of aggression for adolescents with a refugee background also included competent conflict coping strategies, experience of corporal punishment, and violence against women attitudes. Finally, at age 20, the only significant predictor of aggression was aggressive conflict coping strategies.

With regards to adolescents with a migrant background, regression analyses showed that at age 13, significant predictors of aggression were aggressive conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, and having delinquent peers. At age 15, significant predictors were aggressive conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes. At age 17, significant predictors were aggressive conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, and attitudes in support of violence against women. Finally, at age 20, significant predictors to aggression were aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and attitudes in support of violence against women.

Predictors of aggression among native Swiss adolescents at age 13 were higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression. At age 15, significant predictors also included lower parental involvement, higher levels of corporal punishment, and having delinquent peers. At age 17, significant predictors of aggression were higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and having delinquent peers. Finally, at age 20, significant predictors of aggression were aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression and holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity.

As can be seen from these results, despite different predictors at earlier stages, by age 20, predictors of aggression among migrant and native Swiss youths were pretty much identical:

aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes (for migrants) / violence legitimising norms of masculinity (for natives). This suggests the successful integration and acculturation of adolescents with a migrant background into the mainstream Swiss culture, where they eventually shared the same predictors of aggression as their native counterparts. As discussed above, acculturation processes for adolescents from a refugee background are likely to be slower than those of the more diverse sample of adolescents of a migrant background.

In their study on childhood risk and protective factors as predictors of bullying roles among adolescents at ages 15 and 17 years, Zych et. al. (2021) found predictors of bullying perpetration to include higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, experience of corporal punishment and weaker bonds to their class. This result is in line with the current study, as in addition to moral neutralisation of aggression being a significant predictor among youths, experience of corporal punishment was also found to be a significant predictor of aggression.

The predictive effect of moral neutralisation of aggression on youths' aggression has been extensively documented (Posada and Wainryb, 2008; Almeida, Correia and Marinho, 2009; Pornari and Wood, 2010; Ribeaud and Eisner, 2010a; Obermann, 2011; Faulkner and Bliuc, 2016; Cuadrado-Gordillo, Fernández-Antelo and Martín-Mora Parra, 2020; Schuster *et al.*, 2021). In a study by Schuster et. al. (2021), the authors found higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression to predict a higher likelihood of adolescents perpetrating physical dating violence among male and female adolescents. The authors found that youths who reported higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression reported higher levels of physical violence such as pushing or shoving. Further studies by Ribeaud and Eisner (2015) and Cuadrado-Godrillo et. al. (2020) showed strong associations between higher levels of moral neutralisation and aggression among youths. Moreover, a study by Eisner et. al. (2021) examined the degree to which poly-victimization triggers violent ideations in late adolescence and early adulthood, and found higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression to be predictive of violent ideations among youths. Moreover, in their study on the relationship between moral disengagement and different self-reported and peer-nominated positions in school bullying, Obermann (2011) found that both self-reported and peer-nominated bullying were associated with higher levels of moral disengagement, and that both pure bullies and bully-victims showed higher moral disengagement than outsiders.

In addition to that, results showed attitudes towards violence against women (refugees at age 17, and migrants at ages 15, 17 and 20) and violence legitimising norms of masculinity (natives at age 20) to be significant predictors of higher levels of aggression. This predictive effect of such patriarchal

ideologies on increased levels of aggression is in line with the previous literature (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Steinfeldt *et al.*, 2012; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013; Rizzo, Banyard and Edwards, 2021). As discussed in the systematic review in Chapter 3, in the study by Rabold and Baier (2011), the authors found that immigrant adolescents reported a greater level of violence legitimising norms of masculinity than their German counterparts. Moreover, they found in addition to violence masculinity norms, parental violence and integration into the German school system were significant predictors of violent delinquency (Rabold and Baier, 2011). Moreover, a study by Steinfeldt *et al.* (2012) investigated the role of masculinity on bullying among adolescent football players. Results showed that adolescents' adherence to male role norms significantly predicted bullying (Steinfeldt *et al.*, 2012). In addition to that, a study by Reidy *et al.* (2009) found that higher levels of hypermasculinity were significantly associated with higher levels of aggression generally, and particularly toward a female colleague who violated gender role norms. Similarly, a study by Malonda-Vidal *et al.* (2021) explored the relationship between traditional masculinity and aggression among adolescents in Spain. The authors found both reactive and proactive aggression to be positively and directly associated with traditional masculinity and negatively to femininity (Malonda-Vidal *et al.*, 2021).

Finally, regression analyses showed experience of corporal punishment to be a significant predictor of aggression for native adolescents at age 15, but not for adolescents with a migrant or refugee background. An explanation of this result could be attributed to refugees and migrants having a more cultural acceptance of corporal punishment and parental discipline which is more normalised. Previous research has shown that parenting practices such as the use of corporal punishment and child discipline are more prevalent in immigrant communities (Jambunathan, Burts and Pierce, 2000; Stevens *et al.*, 2007; Renteln, 2010). Moreover, previous research has shown migrant and refugee populations adopt a strong emphasis on the collective interest of the family and on conformity and social harmony (Yaman *et al.*, 2010; Graf *et al.*, 2014). Immigrant children have an expectation of obedience and respect for elders, and are therefore raised with more discipline than native Western children (Wang and Phinney, 1998; Shor, 1999; Stevens *et al.*, 2003, 2007; Tajima and Harachi, 2010; Salami *et al.*, 2017). Because corporal punishment is likely to be prevalent and therefore viewed as normal in immigrant families (Fontes, 2002; Jambunathan and Counselman, 2002; Tajima and Harachi, 2010; Salami *et al.*, 2017), such parental practices are likely not to be predictive of increased aggression. This assumption is supported by previous literature that shows that the relationship between parental discipline and a child's problem behaviour may be absent or limited in immigrant families (Stevens *et al.*, 2007). On the other hand, strict parental discipline has been found to be related to a greater level of child conduct problems among native or very highly acculturated immigrant adolescents (Stevens *et al.*, 2007).

Results on the effect of corporal punishment on immigrant child aggression, however, are mixed. Several studies have shown that a greater use of corporal punishment was associated with higher levels of aggression among immigrant youths (Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Regev, Gueron-Sela and Atzaba-Poria, 2012). For example, the study by Regev, Gueron-Sela and Atzaba-Poria (2012) found Former Soviet Union origin children had lower levels of prosocial behaviour, higher levels of externalising problems, and had a greater experience of corporal punishment than their native Israeli counterparts (Regev, Gueron-Sela and Atzaba-Poria, 2012). They also found that the relationship between ethnicity and child prosocial behaviour was fully mediated by experience of parental corporal punishment (Regev, Gueron-Sela and Atzaba-Poria, 2012). Accordingly, corporal punishment was inputted as a mediator in the mediation analyses conducted at ages 13, 15, and 17 years.

7B.5 Mediation analyses

Where a significant relationship was found between migration background and self-reported aggression, mediation analyses using PROCESS on SPSS were conducted. Following the four theoretical backgrounds presented in Chapter 4, violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity (patriarchal ideologies); experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers (social learning); aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression (social cognition); and parental involvement (attachment theory) were the potential mediators entered into the models. In all models, gender was controlled for, and native adolescents were set as the reference category. Due to the significant relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression, mediation analyses were conducted at ages 15, 17, and 20 years. With regards to adolescents with a migrant background, a mediation analysis was only conducted at age 20, as this was the only point in which having a non-refugee migrant background was associated with higher levels of aggression.

Findings indicated that the relationship between having a migrant background and self-reported aggression at age 20 is fully mediated by past experience of corporal punishment (at age 17). In contrast, mediation analyses conducted among adolescents with a refugee background at ages 15, 17 and 20 all showed that the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression was only partially mediated by experience of corporal punishment (ages 15, 17, and 20), having delinquent peers (ages 15 and 17), aggressive conflict coping strategies (age 15), parental involvement (age 15), moral neutralisation of aggression (age 15 and 20), and attitudes in support of violence against women (ages 17 and 20).

These different levels of mediation can be attributed to several possible reasons. To begin with, the partial mediation for youths with a refugee background and full mediation for youths with a migrant background implies that for refugee youths, there are other important factors that account for the still significant relationship between having a refugee background and aggression after the mediators have entered the model, while for migrant adolescents, the direct relationship between being a second-generation migrant and aggression ceased to be significant once corporal punishment was considered. In other words, it is likely that there are other factors that affect self-reported aggression that are only relevant for adolescents with a refugee background. Moreover, as discussed above, the migrant group is made up of a heterogeneous mix of origin countries (high-income, low-income, Western/non-Western, etc). Accordingly, acculturation processes for migrant youths are likely to be quicker than those for refugee youths who share a more homogenous country demographic and characteristics.

This explanation is in line with previous research (Berry *et al.*, 1987, 2006; Berry, 1991; Dow, 2011). As discussed before, the process of acculturation often results in acculturative stress, which is negatively associated with acculturation and can influence an individual's psychological wellbeing and violent behaviour (Berry, 1991; Dow, 2011). For example, Berry (1991) reported a relationship between acculturative stress and higher levels of anxiety and alienation. Therefore, at lower levels of acculturation, immigrant individuals face higher levels of stress that can impact their psychosocial wellbeing (Berry, 1991). Moreover, in a comparative study of acculturative stress among immigrants, refugees, sojourners, ethnic groups and native Canadian individuals by Berry *et al.* (1987), the authors found that the voluntary groups, including immigrants, reported lower levels of acculturative stress than involuntary groups, including refugees (Berry *et al.*, 1987). Similar findings were reported in the United States by Rogler (1994), where immigrants who voluntarily moved to a new country suffered lower levels of acculturative stress than refugees who were involuntarily displaced under duress (Rogler, 1994). Moreover, numerous studies have reported a link between acculturative stress and aggression (Caetano *et al.*, 2007; Messinger *et al.*, 2012; Lorenzo-Blanco *et al.*, 2016; Ward *et al.*, 2021). Furthermore, in a study investigating the longitudinal effect of acculturation stress on family functioning and youths' emotional and behaviour problems among a Hispanic sample in the United States, Lorenzo-Blanco *et al.* (2016) found that higher levels of parental acculturative stress were related to higher levels of aggression and behavioural problems among youths over time. In concordance with this, children of more acculturated parents with lower levels of acculturation stress reported lower levels of aggression and behavioural problems (Lorenzo-Blanco *et al.*, 2016).

In the mediation model for adolescents with a refugee background at age 15, lower parental involvement was found to mediate the relationship between a refugee background and aggression.

This result is in line with the study by Spencer and Le (2006) that found a relationship between parental refugee status and levels of serious violence, including assault, rape and robbery among Southeast Asian and Chinese adolescents. Unlike the results of this study, Spencer and Le (2006) found that this relationship was fully mediated by parental engagement and peer delinquency for Vietnamese adolescents only. Similarly, the relationship between acculturation and problem behaviour among youths was investigated in a longitudinal study conducted by Dinh *et al.* (2002). The authors found that parental involvement significantly mediated the relationship between acculturation and problem behaviour proneness over time (Dinh *et al.*, 2002). Comparable results were reported by Smokowski and Bacallao (2006). The authors found that higher levels of familism and lower levels of parent-adolescent conflict mediated the relationship between acculturation conflicts, involvement with parent/adolescent culture-of origin, and parental involvement in the U.S. culture with adolescent aggression (Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006).

In addition to parental involvement, experience of parental corporal punishment mediated the relationship between migration background and aggression for adolescents with a refugee background (ages 15, 17, and 20) and fully mediated this relationship for adolescents with a migrant background (age 20). As discussed previously, the relationship between corporal punishment and adolescent aggression has been extensively documented among adolescents (Mueller-Bamouh *et al.*, 2016; Sangalang and Vang, 2017). For example, in their study, Mueller-Bamouh *et al.* (2016) investigated whether exposure to organised or family violence contributed to aggressive behaviour among a sample of unaccompanied refugee minors. Results showed that organised violence was not associated with higher levels of aggression, while family violence was significantly associated with aggression among the refugee youths (Mueller-Bamouh *et al.*, 2016). The specific mediating effect of corporal punishment on adolescents from refugee and migrant backgrounds could be attributed to refugee and migrant children reporting higher levels of corporal punishment than their native peers in the current study. This result is in line with previous literature that found refugee children to be more at risk of experiencing corporal punishment than highly acculturated migrant or native children (Fazel *et al.*, 2012; Losoncz, 2016; Bryant *et al.*, 2018; Reid and Berle, 2020). Specifically for youths with a refugee background, higher levels of corporal punishment can be due to the trauma and experiences of war that the refugee parents were exposed to. Moreover, corporal punishment can be more prevalent among refugee families due to aspects such as social learning theory, where it is part of their culture and is normalised; social cognition, where because of their traumatic experiences, refugee parents would justify the use of violence in order to fix their children's behaviour; and acculturative stress and strain, where the stresses of displacement, language and the adaptation to a

different culture can cause strain on the parents, causing them to have distorted parenting practices and poor psychosocial wellbeing.

Another factor that partially mediated the relationship between having a refugee background and aggression at ages 15 and 17 is peer delinquency. This result is in line with previous literature (Spencer and Le, 2006; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Dipietro and McGloin, 2012). The study by Spencer and Le (2006) found that parental refugee status was significantly associated with family/partner violence (such as hitting and slapping), and was mediated by peer delinquency (Spencer and Le, 2006). The relationship between peer delinquency and adolescent aggression has been extensively documented (Steketee, 2012; Platje *et al.*, 2013; Pung *et al.*, 2015; Defoe *et al.*, 2021; Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021) and discussed above. Despite the results showing that refugees were less likely to have delinquent friends than their migrant and native peers, peer delinquency mediated the relationship between being a refugee and having higher levels of aggression. As discussed above, it is likely that adolescents with a refugee background are not as acculturated as their migrant peers, and therefore will have a greater need for affiliation. Accordingly, when in contact with delinquent peers, adolescents with a refugee background will be more aggressive in order to belong to their friendship network. For example, the study by Korol and Stattin (2021) investigated immigrant adolescents' affiliations with violent peers as an underlying mechanism that links ethnic harassment to violent behaviour in Sweden. The author found ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents to be more likely to partake in aggressive behaviour when they were less acculturated. Moreover, the study indicated that association with an immigrant peer crowd at school made ethnically harassed immigrant adolescents more prone to engage with violent peers and, in turn, take part in violent behaviour over time (Korol and Stattin, 2021). Parallels can be drawn to adolescents with a refugee background, who are likely to be less acculturated. Ethnic harassment has not been measured in this study, but it would be of interest to explore whether more comparisons can be drawn.

As discussed above, despite adolescents with a refugee background having *less* delinquent friends than migrant and native adolescents, having delinquent friends plays a greater role on their aggression. That can be attributed to the adolescents' need for affiliation. Adolescents with a refugee background can be more susceptible to peer pressure due to their circumstances (e.g. more traditional families, less acculturated parents, being 'non-white'), and therefore have a greater need for belonging in order to avoid actual or perceived ethnic harassment, making them more likely to adopt the aggressive behaviours of their peers (Baldwin-White *et al.*, 2017; Korol and Stattin, 2021).

Additionally, violence against women attitudes were also found to partially mediate the relationship between having a refugee background and aggression. As discussed above, previous

research has highlighted significant links between violence against women attitudes and norms of masculinity with aggression (Rabold and Baier, 2011; Lahlah *et al.*, 2013). Following on from previous literature, it makes sense for these factors to mediate the relationship between migration status and aggression levels. In addition to that, research has indicated that adolescents who hold strong norms of masculinity show restricted emotionality, which has been associated with psychological distress and maladaptive coping strategies (Oransky and Fisher, 2009). As was demonstrated above, aggressive conflict coping strategies were the strongest predictor of aggression among all migration groups. Moreover, mediation analyses also showed aggressive conflict coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression to partially mediate the relationship between having a refugee background and aggression (ages 13, and 15 and 17 respectively). Accordingly, due to conflict coping strategies being related to violence legitimising norms of masculinity, no mediation effect was reported for violence legitimising norms of masculinity. As mentioned above, this could be due to its relationship with moral neutralisation of aggression and aggressive conflict coping strategies, or its relationship to gender. This was outside the scope of this thesis. It was however, found that adolescents with a refugee background demonstrated a lower level of competent conflict coping strategies than their migrant and native peers. These findings are in line with the explanation offered above, as refugee and migrant adolescents showed higher levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity (the former being higher) than their native peers. Moreover, research has also highlighted that aggression is a crucial component of masculine gender norms in adolescent boys' social groups (Poteat and Espelage, 2005; Oransky and Fisher, 2009; Poteat, Kimmel and Wilchins, 2011).

7B.6 Summary

This section discussed the findings of 7A. Overall, the findings support the four theoretical perspectives provided in Chapter 4. Patriarchal ideologies (violence legitimising norms of masculinity, violence against women attitudes), social learning (corporal punishment, having delinquent peers), social cognition (moral neutralisation of aggression, aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies) and attachment (parental involvement) all played an important role in the differences, predictors, and mediators of aggression among youths with a refugee background. Findings showed that aggressive conflict coping strategies were associated with higher levels of aggression among all three groups but were strongest for adolescents with a refugee background at all ages investigated. This is attributed to refugee families having to adopt these strategies in order to survive traumatic events. As discussed above and for attitudes towards violence against women, social cognition appears to play a major role for adolescents with a refugee background.

7.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter was split into two parts, 7A presented the analyses and results on risk factors, predictors, and mediators of self-reported aggression among second-generation refugee, migrant, and native Swiss adolescents. As discussed above, the hypotheses tested and presented are drawn from four main theoretical perspectives (attachment, patriarchal ideologies, social cognition, and social learning). Findings indicated that all four theoretical perspectives have been supported to some extent.

For example, with regards to attachment theory, despite parental involvement not having a relationship with self-reported aggression (*H18*), results showed that native youths reported significantly higher levels of parental involvement than their second-generation migrant and refugee peers (*H13*).

Moreover, in terms of patriarchal ideologies, in addition to there being significant differences in violence against women attitudes and violence legitimising norms of masculinity between the groups (*H1, H4*), these variables were found to be significant predictors (*H20*) and mediators of the relationship between migration background and self-reported aggression (*H21*).

There was also support for social cognition theories. To begin with, despite there not being significant differences between the groups in aggressive conflict coping strategies, there were significant differences in moral neutralisation of aggression (*H11*). Moreover, aggressive conflict coping strategies were the strongest predictor of aggression among all the groups at all ages investigated (*H15*). In addition to that, lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies (*H15*) and higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression were also found to be significant predictors of self-reported aggression for the overall sample at all years investigated (*H16*). Furthermore, aggressive conflict coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression were also found to be significant mediators for the relationship between migration status and self-reported aggression (*H21*).

Finally, the findings also supported social learning theory; there were significant differences between the groups in experience of corporal punishment (*H13*), a factor which also worked as a significant predictor of self-reported aggression (*H17*). Similarly, having delinquent peers has also been found to be a significant predictor of self-reported aggression (*H18*). Findings indicated that both experience of corporal punishment and having delinquent peers acted as mediators in the relationship between migration status and self-reported aggression (*H21*).

As discussed above, adolescents with a refugee background significantly reported higher levels of aggression than their migrant and native peers, but over the years, levels were going down

for the whole sample, second-generation refugees included, although this decline seemed slower for second-generation refugees. This slower decline was attributed to several factors, including slower acculturation processes, a higher prevalence of violence (e.g. corporal punishment) and violence legitimising norms of masculinity at home, and coming from more disadvantaged backgrounds.

Findings indicated that aggressive conflict coping strategies were the strongest predictor of aggression among all three groups. However, it was found that the effect size for adolescents with a refugee background was larger than that for the migrant and native peers. This result was in line with previous literature that showed the significant role anger plays among refugee populations (e.g. Hauff and Vaglum, 1994; Hinton et al., 2009). Again, this result highlights the importance of social cognition in second-generation refugee aggression.

Moreover, it was found that for adolescents with a refugee background, significant predictors of aggression at ages 13 and 15 were aggressive coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression. At age 17, significant predictors of aggression for adolescents with a refugee background also included competent conflict coping strategies, experience of corporal punishment, and violence against women attitudes. Finally, at age 20, the only significant predictor of aggression for adolescents with a refugee background was aggressive conflict coping strategies. Other predictors of aggression identified for the whole sample were: lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, having delinquent peers, and attitudes in support of violence against women.

An important finding is that, despite there being differences in the predictors of aggression at earlier years, by age 20, predictors of aggression among migrant and native Swiss youths were pretty much identical. As mentioned above, at age 20 the only significant predictor of aggression for second-generation refugees was having higher levels of conflict coping strategies. Again, this finding indicates successful integration and acculturation processes taking place among second-generation migrant and refugee adolescents, with a focus on the key role played by social cognition.

Finally, findings also indicated at ages 15, 17, and 20, the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression was only partially mediated through experience of corporal punishment, moral neutralisation of aggression, violence against women attitudes, aggressive conflict coping strategies and having delinquent peers. As discussed in 7B, this indicates that for adolescents with a refugee background, apart from the mediators, other factors play a role in the relationship between migration background and self-reported aggression. On the other hand, for adolescents with a migrant background, the direct relationship between being a second-generation migrant and aggression was not significant once corporal punishment was considered as this

relationship was fully mediated by experience of corporal punishment. Again, this is in line with the notion that acculturation processes for migrant youths are likely to happen quicker than they are for those with a refugee background.

Chapter 8 will conclude this thesis by providing a summary of findings/analytical conclusions for both violence against women attitudes and self-reported aggression. Moreover, the strengths and original contributions of the thesis will be outlined, and future research directions and policy implications will be discussed.

Chapter EIGHT: Conclusion

8.1. Introduction

Differences between second-generation refugees, migrant and native Swiss adolescents, predictors, and mediators of attitudes towards violence against women and self-reported aggression were investigated in this thesis. Findings indicated that social cognition, attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies and social learning were associated with higher levels of violence against women attitudes and aggression. This is in line with previous research discussed above and in the narrative and systematic literature reviews presented in Chapters 2 and 3. The data were acquired from the Zurich Project on Social Development from Childhood to Adulthood (z-proso), an ongoing longitudinal study that has followed children from the age of 7-20 years. This research has addressed a gap in literature on attitudes in support of violence against women and aggression levels among second-generation refugee adolescents. The research was led by several theoretical perspectives – see Chapter 4, namely: attachment theory, patriarchal ideologies, social learning theory, and social cognition. Hypotheses, were generated based on an extensive review of the literature and were based on the theoretical perspectives presented. This chapter will begin with offering the analytical conclusions of this thesis, followed by the strengths and limitations of the research, and policy recommendations and directions for future research.

8.2 Analytical conclusions

This thesis aimed to answer five research questions namely:

- 1) Are there differences in aggression and violence against women attitudes among second-generation- -refugee, -migrant and native Swiss adolescents from ages 13-20 years?
- 2) What are the risk factors associated with higher levels of aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women among second-generation refugee youths?
- 3) What are the predictors of aggression and attitudes that support violence against women among the second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents?
- 4) What factors mediate the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes?

- 5) What factors mediate the relationship between migration status and levels of self-reported aggression?

In order to answer the above questions, the following hypotheses were generated:

- H1)* There will be differences in levels of attitudes towards violence against women between the groups.
- H2)* There will be differences in levels of moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.
- H3)* There will be differences in levels of experience of corporal punishment between the groups.
- H4)* There will be differences in levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity between the groups.
- H5)* There will be a relationship between migrant status and violence against women attitudes.
- H6)* There will be a relationship between moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes.
- H7)* There will be a relationship between violence legitimising norms of masculinity and violence against women attitudes.
- H8)* There will be a relationship between experience of corporal punishment and violence against women attitudes.
- H9)* The effects of migrant status on violence against women attitudes will be mediated through social learning (experience of corporal punishment), social cognition (moral neutralisation of aggression) and patriarchal ideologies (violence legitimising norms of masculinity).

- H10)* There will be differences in levels of self-reported aggression between the groups.
- H11)* There will be differences in moral neutralisation of aggression between the groups.
- H12)* There will be differences in aggressive conflict coping strategies between the groups.
- H13)* There will be differences in parental involvement and experience of corporal punishment between the groups.
- H14)* There will be a relationship between migration status and self-reported aggression.
- H15)* There will be a relationship between aggressive/competent conflict coping strategies and self-reported aggression.
- H16)* There will be a relationship between moral neutralisation of aggression and self-reported aggression.

- H17) There will be a relationship between experience of corporal punishment and self-reported aggression.
- H18) There will be a relationship between having delinquent peers and self-reported aggression.
- H19) There will be a relationship between parental involvement and self-reported aggression.
- H20) There will be a relationship between legitimising norms of masculinity / attitudes towards violence against women and self-reported aggression.
- H21) The effects of refugee background on self-reported aggression will be mediated through patriarchal ideologies (violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity), social learning (experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers), social cognition (aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression), and attachment theory (parental involvement).

The analyses conducted in Chapters 6 and 7 have tested the hypotheses above and successfully answered the research questions proposed. A summary of the answers to the research questions is presented below.

- 1) *Are there differences in aggression and violence against women attitudes among second-generation- -refugee, -migrant and native Swiss adolescents from ages 13-20 years?*

Results showed that adolescents with a refugee background reported significantly higher levels of violence against women attitudes and self-reported aggression than their migrant and native peers. It should be noted, though, that for violence against women attitudes, differences between second-generation refugee and native youths were only just significant, and that once gender and parental education were controlled for in the regression analyses, there were no significant differences between the groups at age 15. At age 17, however, second-generation refugees reported significantly higher levels of attitudes towards violence against women than their second-generation migrant and native peers, even after controlling for gender and parental education. Mean scores for attitudes towards violence against women were compared between the migration groups and effect sizes were calculated. Findings indicated that second-generation refugee adolescents scored higher, with a small effect size. This was attributed to youths being more likely to follow their peers and have a need to belong at earlier stages of adolescence (Maxwell, 2002; Fandrem *et al.*, 2010; Solomontos-Kountouri and Strohmeier, 2021). On the other hand, as youths approach late adolescence and early adulthood, they are more likely to adapt their family and culture's norms and worldviews. Accordingly,

the significant effect of having a refugee background at age 17 and not age 15 can be due to the indirect influence of traditional gender and cultural norms embraced at home and within the family (Huijsmans *et al.*, 2021).

A similar finding was observed in the analyses regarding self-reported aggression. There were no significant mean differences in aggression between the groups when the youths were 13 years old (early adolescence), but from 15 years onwards, second-generation refugees reported significantly higher levels of aggression than their second-generation migrant and native peers. Mean scores for self-reported aggression were compared between the migration groups and effect sizes were calculated. Findings indicated that second-generation refugee adolescents scored higher, with a small effect size at ages 13, 15, and 17 and a medium effect size at age 20. At age 13, it was seen that the levels of aggression between the groups were very similar. As time went on, it was seen that levels of aggression were going down for all three groups, but this decline was much slower for youths with a refugee background. Previous research supports the pattern of data, that showed that the prevalence of physical aggression is highest in early childhood, and decreases during adolescence and early adulthood (Loeber and Hay, 1997; Paciello *et al.*, 2008).

Since literature on refugee attitudes towards violence against women is limited, comparisons were drawn from refugee-equivalent non-Western countries, and it was concluded that levels of justification of violence against women were high (for example, Dalal *et al.*, 2012; Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Despite refugee adolescents having significantly higher levels of support of violence against women, support was very low ($M = 1.22$ on a 1-4 scale, 1 having 'no support' to 4 having 'high support'). This result suggests a positive story of acculturation and assimilation of second-generation refugee youths into the Swiss culture, with youths adopting egalitarian attitudes and views, and is supported by previous literature discussed, for example, (Schroeder, Bámaca-Colbert and Robins, 2019; Arnoso, Arnoso and Elgorriaga, 2021).

Moreover, as was presented in the systematic review of aggression and delinquency among immigrant youths in Europe (Chapter 3), results on whether immigrant adolescents exhibited higher levels of aggressive behaviours were mixed, with eight studies having reported no differences between immigrant and native adolescents, thirteen reported higher levels of aggression among immigrant youths and three reported native youths to have higher levels of aggression. In this study, results showed that second-generation refugees consistently reported higher levels of aggression than their migrant and native peers. Despite literature on refugee adolescents' aggression being limited, this result is in line with literature showing immigrant youths to be more aggressive, (for example,

Baier and Pfeiffer, 2008; Gangi, Talamo and Ferracuti, 2009; Lahlah et al., 2014; Salmi, Kivivuori and Aaltonen, 2015; Webb et al., 2016; Fandrem, Oppedal and Idsoe, 2020).

2) *What are the risk factors associated with higher levels of aggression and attitudes in support of violence against women among second-generation refugee youths?*

Risk factors associated with higher support of violence against women and aggression among second-generation refugee youths were identified. For attitudes towards violence against women, they were higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, higher levels of violence legitimising norms of masculinity, and experience of corporal punishment.

In terms of self-reported aggression, risk factors identified among second-generation refugee youths were lower levels of parental involvement and competent conflict coping strategies, and higher levels of corporal punishment, holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity, and moral neutralisation of aggression.

3) *What are the predictors of aggression and attitudes that support violence against women among the second-generation refugees, migrants and native Swiss adolescents?*

With regards to predictors of violence against women attitudes, it was found that having a refugee or migrant background were not associated with violence against women attitudes at age 15 years. However, at age 17, having a refugee background was associated with higher levels of violence against women attitudes. Regression analyses at age 15 showed that adolescents with a migrant and refugee background shared the same predictors, namely, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and higher experiences of corporal punishment, while for native adolescents, lower parental education was also a significant predictor. By age 17, results showed that migrant and native adolescents became more similar, with significant predictors of violence against women attitudes being higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression, experience of corporal punishment and lower parental education levels. For adolescents with a refugee background, however, the only significant predictor to higher support of violence against women was a higher level of moral neutralisation of aggression. This result highlights two important points. To begin with, while adolescents with a migrant background were more similar to those with a refugee background at age 15, by age 17, these attitudes shifted, and second-generation migrants became closer to the native

group. This can be explained by quicker acculturation processes applied to migrant youths, as they come from a heterogeneous mix of countries (Western, non-Western, high-income, low-income), and accordingly, get closer to the native group during the course of adolescence. The second-generation refugee sample, on the other hand, originates from a more homogenous country profile (low-income, patriarchal), so will take a longer time to acculturate and become more similar to the natives. The second point highlighted is the importance of social cognition, specifically moral neutralisation of aggression, especially among adolescents from a refugee background. As shown in Chapters 6 and 7, second-generation refugee youths had higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression than their native and migrant counterparts. This is likely due to the experiences of trauma lived by their parents and families, which make them more likely to normalise violence, accept it as a means of survival, and justify it in instances such as revenge (Posada and Wainryb, 2008). Finally, regression analyses showed that moral neutralisation of aggression was the strongest significant predictor of violence against women attitudes among the adolescents of all three groups (second-generation refugee, second-generation migrant, and native Swiss), further emphasizing the importance of social cognition in the shaping of adolescent attitudes.

With regards to predictors of aggression, a similar pattern was found. To begin with, migration background was not associated with levels of self-reported aggression at age 13, but from age 15 onwards, a refugee background was associated with higher levels of aggression, and at age 20, a migrant background was related to higher levels of aggression. It should be noted, however, that the relationship between having a migrant background and self-reported aggression was fully mediated by experience of corporal punishment and was not significant once corporal punishment was considered. For adolescents with a refugee background, this relationship remained significant after considering the mediators.

For youths with a migrant background, significant predictors of aggression at age 13 were higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and having delinquent peers. Predictors at age 15 and 17 years were aggressive conflict coping strategies, higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression and violence against women attitudes. For native youths, significant predictors of aggression at age 13 were having higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression. When native youths were aged 15 years, significant predictors of aggression also included lower levels of parental involvement, higher levels of corporal punishment, and having delinquent peers. Furthermore, significant predictors of aggression at age 17 were higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression, and having delinquent peers. By early adulthood (age 20), participants with a migrant background and those with a native background shared the same predictors of aggression: aggressive/competent

conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression and holding violence legitimising norms of masculinity(natives)/violence against women attitudes(migrants). As shown with predictors of violence against women attitudes, this result suggests that migrant youths acculturation processes have happened quicker than they have for refugee youths and are now more leaning to the mainstream Swiss culture.

It was found that for adolescents with a refugee background, significant predictors of aggression at ages 13 and 15 were higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies and moral neutralisation of aggression. Moreover, by late adolescence at age 17, significant predictors also included experience of corporal punishment, higher levels of violence against women attitudes, and lower levels of competent conflict coping strategies. Finally, by age 20, the only significant predictor of aggression for refugee youths was higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies.

Moreover, having higher levels of aggressive conflict coping strategies was found to be the strongest predictor of aggression among all migration groups, despite it having the strongest effect for refugee youths. This result is in line with previous literature, which suggests that since acculturation processes are not happening at the same rate for refugee children and their migrant peers, they are likely to have a larger acculturation gap between them and their parents, and therefore higher levels of anger and aggressive conflict coping strategies (Hauff and Vaglum, 1994; Hinton et al., 2009; Ho, 2010). Moreover, in line with social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) it is possible that adolescents with a refugee background have learned aggressive coping strategies from their parents, who have been traumatised and have adapted these aggressive conflict strategies themselves (Hauff and Vaglum, 1994).

4) What factors mediate the relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes?

In instances where there was a significant relationship between migration background and self-reported aggression, mediation analyses using PROCESS on SPSS were conducted. Since there was no significant relationship between migration background and violence against women attitudes at age 15, no mediation analysis was conducted. However, as stated above, having a refugee background was associated with a higher support for violence against women attitudes at the age 17 years. Results showed that the relationship between having a refugee background and attitudes condoning violence against women operated in part through moral neutralisation of aggression and experience of

corporal punishment. The mediating effects of corporal punishment and moral neutralisation of aggression are in line with previous literature (Eisner and Ghuneim, 2013; Kim et al., 2014; Bower-Russa, 2005; Walker, Stearns and McKinney, 2021). It was found that adolescents with a refugee background reported significantly higher levels of moral neutralisation of aggression than their migrant peers and this, therefore had an effect on them reporting higher levels of violence against women attitudes. This result further highlights the important role of social cognition in shaping attitudes of adolescents with a refugee background. With regards to corporal punishment, both refugee and migrant adolescents reported higher levels than their native peers, and this therefore affected the higher levels of violence against women attitudes. Adolescents who have experienced corporal punishment are likely to have learnt that violence was used to correct their behaviour, so they are therefore more likely to justify violence against women themselves, following social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). The relationship between having a refugee background and attitudes in support of violence against women does not fully operate via the mediators as it was still significant once the mediators were considered.

5) What factors mediate the relationship between migration status and levels of self-reported aggression?

Following the four theoretical perspectives offered in Chapter 4, violence against women attitudes, violence legitimising norms of masculinity (patriarchal ideologies); experience of corporal punishment, having delinquent peers (social learning); aggressive conflict coping strategies, moral neutralisation of aggression (social cognition); and parental involvement (attachment theory) were included in the mediation models. Mediation analyses were conducted at ages 15, 17, and 20 for the relationship between having a refugee background and aggression, and at age 20 for the relationship between having a migrant background and aggression.

Results showed that the relationship between having a migrant background and self-reported aggression at age 20 was fully mediated by past experience of corporal punishment. In contrast, mediation analyses conducted among adolescents with a refugee background at ages 15, 17 and 20 all showed that the relationship between having a refugee background and self-reported aggression was only partially mediated by experience of corporal punishment (ages 15, 17, and 20), having delinquent peers (ages 15 and 17), aggressive conflict coping strategies (age 15), parental involvement

(age 15), moral neutralisation of aggression (age 15 and 20), and attitudes in support of violence against women (ages 17 and 20).

Differences between the partial and full mediation between second-generation refugee and second-generation migrant youths can be attributed to several factors. To begin with, it is likely that for youths with a refugee background, other factors that could account for the still significant relationship between having a refugee background and aggression after the mediators have entered the model need to be considered, while for adolescents with a migrant background, the direct relationship between being a second-generation migrant and aggression ceased to be significant once corporal punishment was considered. Moreover, as discussed above, the migrant group is made up of a heterogeneous mix of origin countries (high-income, low-income, Western/non-Western, etc), and acculturation processes are likely to have occurred quicker than they have for those with a refugee background. The mediation results at all ages are in line with previous literature (Berry *et al.*, 1987, 2006; Berry, 1991; Poteat and Espelage, 2005; Smokowski and Bacallao, 2006; Dow, 2011; Rabold and Baier, 2011; Dipietro and McGloin, 2012; Lahlah *et al.*, 2014; Mueller-Bamouh *et al.*, 2016; Korol and Stattin, 2021).

8.3 Strengths and original contribution of the thesis

There are notable strengths to this study. To my knowledge, this is the first study that explored risk factors, predictors, and mediators of violence against women and aggression among second-generation migrants, refugees, and native adolescents. Adolescence is an important period in shaping attitudes and behaviour, and studies on attitudes towards violence against women among adolescents are limited (El-Abani *et al.*, 2020), and those among immigrant and refugee adolescents are even scarcer. Moreover, another strength of this study is that risk factors, predictors, and mediators were investigated cross-sectionally from early adolescence (age 13) up to early adulthood (age 20). Again, to my knowledge, no other study has looked at patterns of aggression and violence against women among refugee adolescents over the course of their adolescence. The decision to carry out the study cross-sectionally at different ages was useful as the strength of endorsement of beliefs about violence may change as adolescents age (Capaldi and Langhinrichsen-Rohling, 2012), and this study made it possible to examine changes in attitudes towards violence against women and aggression, as well as risk factors, predictors and mediators at ages 13, 15, 17, and 20. Caution should be exercised when interpreting the term 'predictor,' as its usage can vary among different disciplines and researchers. While in some contexts it may suggest a significant relationship between variables, implying predictive

power, it does not inherently imply causation. It's crucial to consider that identifying predictors in statistical models or analyses does not establish causal relationships. As highlighted by Pearl (2009), causal inference requires rigorous methodologies such as randomized controlled trials or causal modeling frameworks. Therefore, while predictors may be indicative of associations, further investigation and consideration of alternative explanations are often necessary to establish causality. Furthermore, to assess the generalisability of the findings among Swiss adolescents, replication studies should be done using samples from different adolescent age groups.

Moreover, the current study fills in a gap in literature, using a representative sample of second-generation migrants, refugees, and native Swiss adolescents. Furthermore, the study included a wide variety of predictors of adolescent violence against women attitudes and aggression from relevant theoretical frameworks such as social learning perspectives, social cognition, attachment theory and patriarchal ideologies.

The findings obtained from this study offered a story of positive acculturation and assimilation of refugee and migrant adolescents. Despite adolescents from a refugee background reporting (just about) higher levels of violence against women attitudes as presented in Chapter 6A, the levels were still very low (1.22 on a 1-4 scale) and the effect size of having a refugee background at age 17 was small ($d = .394$). Moreover, as shown in Chapter 6A, by age 17, migrant and native adolescents shared similar predictors of violence against women and self-reported aggression. These results highlight that both second-generation migrants and refugees are becoming more assimilated with time. Moreover, the findings indicated that for adolescents with a refugee background, social cognition was the strongest and most significant predictor of violence against women and self-reported aggression. This finding is original and significant, as it aids researchers to understand the mechanisms behind violence against women and aggression among youths who have been exposed to war either first-hand or intergenerationally. To my knowledge, this is the only study that explored several factors, such as parental, peer, patriarchal and social cognition among a sample of adolescents with different migration backgrounds over several years, and the fact that social cognition consistently showed strong significance across the ages is an important finding. Accordingly, findings from this thesis can have significant impact on interventions and policies that could be targeted to ensure the psychosocial wellbeing of adolescents with a refugee background. Finally, as mentioned in Chapter 5, the z-proso study is an ongoing longitudinal study, with over 90 publications in topics such as internalising/externalising behaviours, delinquency, substance use, police trust and legitimacy, and many more. Moreover, also as mentioned in Chapter 5, no clear distinction between the migration groups was available before this research was conducted. This provides an important opportunity to

study second-generation refugees longitudinally and across different areas, in order to further our understanding.

8.4 Future research directions

Future studies could benefit from integrating some alternative operationalisation of the variables measured in this study to test the robustness of the findings. In this study responses were obtained with self-reports that can incorporate some response bias such as social desirability, so other reports, such as teacher or parent responses could have been useful to confirm the results. In addition to that, peer delinquency, for example was indirectly measured via the participants' own perception of their friends' behaviour. Despite the extensive use of indirect measures of peer delinquency in studies on adolescents' delinquency, it is noted that the resemblance between adolescents' and their peers' behaviour may be overestimated and can be partly explained by projection bias (Young et al., 2011). Future research would benefit from direct (peer-reported) measures of peer delinquency. In addition to that, depicting the degree of corporal punishment is often hard due to it going either unreported or unrecognised by both parents and children (Straus and Stewart, 1999; Fréchette, Zoratti and Romano, 2015). Moreover, children who experience corporal punishment by a parent may not divulge their experiences to others because they do not want to be seen as a troublemaker or a liar (Krahé, 2020). Self-reported experiences of corporal punishment could be affected by limits of recall accuracy in addition to being a controversial method of discipline which is sometimes considered an appropriate punishment (Fréchette, Zoratti and Romano, 2015). In Zurich, where data for the current study were collected, corporal punishment is lawful in the home under the parents' 'right of correction'. It can therefore be hard to confidently distinguish between corporal punishment and physical abuse due to the potential overlap of their definitions (Neaverson *et al.*, 2020). Following all the strengths and limitations discussed, this research fills some gaps in knowledge and opens up new horizons for future studies.

8.4 Policy recommendations

Several recommendations for policy and practice can be drawn from the results of this thesis. Based on the reviewed literature and findings of this study, we can conclude that factors such as family, friends, acculturation, moral neutralisation of aggression and conflict coping strategies are

powerful constituents of adaptation for immigrant adolescents. In particular, prevention and intervention programs that begin early are crucial for addressing the issues of violence against women attitudes and aggression (Schuster *et al.*, 2021).

Intervention programs need to target immigrant and refugee families, in order to encourage positive / warm parenting and help parents navigate the challenges of rearing their children despite the difficulties posed by immigration. Moreover, intervention programs in schools need to promote peer acceptance and condemn ethnic harassment, with the hope of providing immigrant adolescents with a safe space among their peers. Schools can also try and identify creative ways and resources to accommodate the needs of immigrant students from disadvantaged families. Such programs can help protect immigrant adolescents and help reduce the social inequalities that they live with (Pantzer *et al.*, 2006) and promote positive attitudes toward immigrants (Motti-Stefanidi, 2014). Moreover, as mentioned in previous literature, the socio-cultural background of immigrant adolescents must be considered when applying new policies (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017).

With regards to an acculturation perspective, there needs to be a focus on advocating bicultural strategies and specifically tailored multicultural policies for immigrants, bearing in mind the target participant's own cultural background and factors associated with it (Dimitrova *et al.*, 2017). Finally, interventions aiming to reduce delinquency and offending for immigrant boys may be more effective if they target issues such as masculinity and traditional gender role orientations. Adolescents would benefit from positive male role models administering the interventions, who would offer guidance and support (Lahlah *et al.*, 2013).

With respect to cognitive predictors of aggression, findings showed that the justification of violence against women as well as more general cognitive patterns of accepting or normalising the use of violence – i.e., moral neutralisation of aggression, and aggressive conflict coping strategies predicted higher levels of aggression. Moreover, the predictive effect of social cognition – i.e., moral neutralisation of aggression, was found to be the biggest predictor of violence against women attitudes. These cognitive effects were largest among adolescents with a refugee background. This thesis suggests addressing more general cognitions related to violence as well, rather than exclusively focusing on violence against women attitudes and beliefs. Hence, future prevention programs should consider including activities and contents that address broader cognitive patterns of accepting or normalising the use of violence, especially for adolescents with a refugee background.

Moreover, using reading materials could allow for development of bespoke tools that can target evidence-based areas of development in a cost-effective way that can be delivered cost effectively. For example, The Bullying Literature Project-Moral Disengagement Version (BLP-MD) by

Wang and Goldberg (2017) uses bibliotherapy (reading materials focussed at helping with personal problems), and targets both bullies and bystanders using a social-cognitive process of moral disengagement. A similar programme can be developed bespoke to immigrant or refugee children, that could use age-appropriate reading materials that could prevent aggression and/or attitudes in support of violence against women, using social-cognitive processes such as moral neutralisation or aggression or conflict coping strategies.

Furthermore, social learning/modelling is a powerful driver and the results of this thesis support this. For example, while the level of attitudes towards violence against women among second-generation refugee adolescents was significantly higher than their migrant or native counterparts, it is still comparatively lower than it is in their 'home' countries, for example, see Dalal et al. (2012) and Schuster et al. (2020). This result suggest evidence for integration and adopting societal norms. The use of peer social norms approach (SNA) is common in psychology and could be an intervention, further emphasising possible differences between attitudes at home (from refugee parents) and those held in wider society – see (Orchowski, 2019).

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APPENDIX



University of
Zurich^{UZH}

Dated May 2016

Confidentiality Declaration

Who must sign the confidentiality declaration?

This confidentiality declaration must be signed by all persons who, in the capacity of their professional role, studies, or contractual duties, have access to information belonging to UZH that is subject to the duty of confidentiality or special protection.

Such persons include:

- External staff contracted by UZH, staff of contracted companies, staff of contracted public bodies; or
- Student assistants and trainees working at UZH as well as teaching and research assistants without an employment relationship with UZH; or
- Participants in courses or research projects in human medicine/dentistry/psychology, if it cannot be excluded that an individual participant could gain knowledge of patient data during the course or project.

Persons who carry out their activities in the scope of an employment relationship with UZH are not required to sign this confidentiality declaration.

Person subject to the duty of confidentiality

Last name	Ghuneim
First name	Lana
Date of birth	15/01/1987
If applicable, name and address of the contracted company or the contracted public body	University of Sheffield

Which facts must be kept confidential? What is protected?

1. UZH is an **Independent legal entity of the Canton of Zurich** with its own legal personality. As such, UZH must enforce its right of control and right of instruction vis-à-vis all persons (e.g. employees, students, and service providers) who, in the capacity of their professional role, studies, or contractual duties, have access to information belonging to UZH that is subject to the duty of confidentiality or special protection; UZH must furthermore inform these persons of their obligation to observe all duties of data protection and to maintain official secrecy, manufacturing and trade secrecy, and, where applicable, professional confidentiality when processing personal data.
2. **Official secrecy** is a statutory duty of confidentiality that applies to all members of a public authority, and thus to all UZH employees. It prohibits the disclosure of facts that are neither public knowledge nor generally accessible, but that are confided to a UZH employee in the context of his/her official or professional role, or that have become known to the employee while carrying out



this role. Official secrecy also applies to service providers who process information on behalf of UZH. When fulfilling a contract, such service providers act in the capacity of ancillary staff of UZH and must therefore comply with the same duty of confidentiality as UZH employees. They must not only uphold official secrecy vis-à-vis private individuals and the press but also vis-à-vis other public authorities that do not require the information in order to fulfill their statutory duties and that otherwise have no supervisory authority over UZH. Official secrecy also applies after termination of the official or professional role.

3. **Professional confidentiality** is a statutory duty of confidentiality that applies to certain professional groups at UZH and their ancillary staff. Such professional groups include, for example, doctors, dentists, and psychologists. Ancillary staff includes all persons who support members of the above-named professional groups (e.g. nursing staff, teaching and research assistants, and secretarial staff). Professional confidentiality prohibits the disclosure of facts that have been entrusted to members of the above-named groups as a result of their profession or that have become known to them or their ancillary staff in the context of their professional role. Alone the fact that a person is being treated by a member of a professional group is subject to confidentiality. The same duty of confidentiality applies to all persons who have obtained confidential information in the context of research on human beings in accordance with the Human Research Act (i.e. research into human diseases and the development and functioning of the human body, e.g. anatomy, physiology, and genetics). Professional confidentiality also applies to students who work as assistants in the above-named professional groups or who conduct research in accordance with the Human Research Act and, in the context of their work, gain knowledge of a fact that has been entrusted to members of a professional group as a result of their profession; this also applies to students who have become aware of such information in the context of their role as a student assistant or when conducting research. The duty of confidentiality must also be upheld vis-à-vis fellow students if the latter have not already gained knowledge of the facts by attending the same courses. Professional confidentiality also applies after termination of the professional role or of studies.
4. **Manufacturing secrecy** and trade secrecy are statutory duties of confidentiality that apply to all persons who are statutorily or contractually obliged to maintain confidentiality, for example, due to an employment contract or a service contract. These duties prohibit the disclosure of company-related facts, of facts that are known or available only to a limited number of people, and facts for which the owner of the confidential information has a legitimate interest in maintaining secrecy. UZH is protected by these duties to maintain confidentiality when it operates in the private sector, e.g. when running continuing education programs, conducting research on behalf of private enterprises, offering consultancy services, and providing expert opinions. Manufacturing secrets concern production processes; this includes manufacturing and construction procedures, know-how, and research findings. Trade secrets concern the non-technical, commercial sphere; this includes purchase and supply sources and contractual partners. Manufacturing and trade secrecy also apply after termination of the contractual relationship.
5. In addition to the duties of confidentiality listed above, public bodies of the Canton of Zurich such as UZH must comply with certain **obligations stipulated in the Act on Information and Data Protection (Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz [IDG])** to avoid breaching the personality rights of affected parties (e.g. employees, students, test persons, or service providers) when processing personal data. Personal data is information that relates to a specific or (via additional information) identifiable private individual or legal entity, for instance, name, address, photo, personal/student/patient/telephone number, or e-mail address. The term "process" refers to any instance of handling information such as obtaining, saving, using, editing, granting access to, forwarding, publishing, or destroying information. UZH may only process personal data if such measures are necessary and suited to fulfilling its statutory obligations under § 2 of the University



Act of the Canton of Zurich (UniG). Appropriate organizational and technical measures must be taken to protect personal data from incidental, unauthorized, or unlawful access, modification, or publication, as well as from loss or destruction. As a consequence, access to personal data is granted exclusively to persons whose functions and duties require such information. Depending on the particular circumstances, additional restrictions, such as special obligations to inform or contingency on consent of the affected party, apply to processing special personal data. Special personal data comprise information that is particularly vulnerable to a breach of privacy due to its significance, the manner of processing, or the possibility to link it with other information. This includes information on religious, ideological, political or unionist views and activities, information on health and the private sphere, race or ethnic origin, use of social benefits, and/or administrative or criminal proceedings or penalties. Special personal data also include collections of information that enable a compilation of key personality traits of a private individual (personality profile).

The signatory undertakes the following measures regarding all information and personal data he/she gains knowledge of while fulfilling his/her role at UZH:

- All information and personal data as well as IT resources such as programs, databases, networks, passwords, access regulations, security measures, etc. are **to be used solely for the intended purposes stipulated by the professional role/studies/contractual duties and in accordance with the directives of the competent office at UZH.**
- No information or personal data **is to be removed from the premises of UZH or made accessible to third parties**, either in full or in part, **in any shape or form**, regardless of the storage medium (e.g. hard copy, CD, memory chip), either as an original or a copy, **without the express permission of the competent office at UZH.**
- **Absolutely no rights** to information and personal data **can be asserted**, in particular to property rights, license rights, reproduction rights, usage rights, or other protective rights.
- **Upon termination of the role at UZH**, all documents, storage media, or other documents containing information or personal data belonging to UZH, including any backup files that have been created or automatically produced, **must be returned or destroyed on request** of the competent office at UZH.
- **All irregularities** in connection with conducting role-related activities must be **reported** to the competent office at UZH **without delay.**

The signatory undertakes to comply with the above-named duties of confidentiality and due diligence, which, if breached, can result in criminal and/or civil prosecution. The signatory confirms that he/she has taken note of the enclosed excerpts from the Swiss Criminal Code (articles 162, 320, 321, and 321bis SCC), the University Act of the Canton of Zurich (§ 1, 2 UniG), and the act on Information and Data Protection of the Canton of Zurich (*Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz* [IDG]) (§ 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 40 IDG).

Sheffield, 17/11/2020

(Place, Date, and Signature)



Excerpts from Legislation

Article 162 of the Swiss Criminal Code (Breach of manufacturing or trade secrecy)

Any person who betrays a manufacturing or trade secret that he is under a statutory or contractual duty to keep secret, or who exploits for himself or another such a betrayal, is liable on complaint to a custodial sentence not exceeding three years or to a monetary penalty.

Article 320 of the Swiss Criminal Code (Breach of official secrecy)

1. Any person who discloses secret information that has been confided to him in his capacity as a member of an authority or as a public official or which has come to his knowledge in the execution of his official duties is liable to a custodial sentence not exceeding three years or to a monetary penalty.
A breach of official secrecy remains an offense following termination of employment as a member of an authority or as a public official.
2. The offender is not liable to any penalty if he has disclosed the secret information with the written consent of his superior authority.

Article 321 of the Swiss Criminal Code (Breach of professional confidentiality)

1. Any person who in his capacity as a member of the clergy, lawyer, defence lawyer, notary, patent attorney, auditor subject to a duty of confidentiality under the Code of Obligations, doctor, dentist, chiropractor, pharmacist, midwife, psychologist or as an auxiliary to any of the foregoing persons discloses confidential information that has been confided to him in his professional capacity or which has come to his knowledge in the practice of his profession is liable on complaint to a custodial sentence not exceeding three years or to a monetary penalty.
A student who discloses confidential information that has come to his knowledge in the course of his studies is also liable to the foregoing penalties.
A breach of professional confidentiality remains an offence following the termination of professional employment or of the studies.
2. No offence is committed if the person disclosing the information does so with the consent of the person to whom the information pertains or on the basis of written authorization issued in response to his application by a superior authority or supervisory authority.
3. The federal and cantonal provisions on the duty to testify and on the obligation to provide information to an authority are reserved.

Article 321^{bis} of the Swiss Criminal Code (Breach of professional confidentiality in research involving human beings)

1. Any person who discloses without authorisation a professional secret that has come to his knowledge in the course of his research activities involving human beings in accordance with the Human Research Act of 30 September 2011 is liable to a penalty in accordance with Article 321.
2. Professional secrets may be disclosed for the

purpose of research into human diseases and concerning the structure and function of the human body if the requirements of Article 34 of the Human Research Act of 30 September 2011 are met and authorisation for disclosure has been obtained from the responsible ethics committee.

§ 1 University Act of the Canton of Zurich (legal form)

1 The University is an independent legal entity of the Canton with its own legal personality.
2 The University plans, regulates, and conducts its affairs independently within the framework of the constitution and prevailing law.

§ 2 University Act of the Canton of Zurich (purpose and mission)

1 The University conducts academic research and teaching in the interest of the greater community. It also provides services related to this purpose.
2 The University provides academic education. In so doing, it creates the basis for the pursuit of academic activities and careers.
3 The University fosters continuing academic education and promotes junior academics.

§ 6 Act on Information and Data Protection of the Canton of Zurich (*Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz des Kantons Zürich*) (processing information under a contract)

1 The public body is entitled to delegate the task of processing information to third parties unless otherwise specified in a legal provision or contractual agreement.
2 It remains responsible for handling information in accordance with this act.

§ 7 Act on Information and Data Protection of the Canton of Zurich (*Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz des Kantons Zürich*) (information security)

1 The public body takes appropriate organizational and technical measures to protect information.
2 The measures comply with the following security aims:
a. Information must not be unlawfully disclosed;
b. Information must be correct and complete;
c. Information must be available upon request;
d. It must be possible to delegate processing the information to a single person;
e. Changes to the information must be identifiable and logical.
3 The measures selected must be appropriate to the type of information, the type and purpose of use, and in keeping with the latest technology.

§ 8 Act on Information and Data Protection of the Canton of Zurich (*Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz des Kantons Zürich*) (lawfulness)

1 The public body has the right to process personal data if such measures are necessary and suited to fulfilling its statutory obligations.



§ 9 Act on Information and Data Protection of the Canton of Zurich (*Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz des Kantons Zürich*) (purpose limitation)

1 The public body may only process personal data for the purposes for which they have been collected, unless a legal provision expressly defines another use or the affected person grants consent on an individual basis.

§ 11 Act on Information and Data Protection of the Canton of Zurich (*Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz des Kantons Zürich*) (data avoidance)

1 The public body manages its data processing systems and programs to ensure it collects the lowest amount of personal data as possible when fulfilling its duties.

2 It deletes, anonymizes, or pseudonymizes such personal data as quickly as possible provided this can be done.

§ 40 Act on Information and Data Protection of the Canton of Zurich (*Gesetz über die Information und den Datenschutz des Kantons Zürich*) (processing of personal data in breach of contract)

1 Any persons who are contracted in accordance with § 6 and who use personal data on their own behalf or that of others, or who disclose it to others without the express permission of the contracting public body will be fined.

2 The Offices of the District Examining Magistrate are responsible for investigating and assessing infringements.