

# Differences in Processes of Acculturation among Adolescent Immigrants in Israel and Germany

## Development and Use of a New Instrument to Assess Acculturative Hassles

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## Overview

### *Background*

Substantial numbers of ethnic German immigrants and Russian-Jewish immigrants from the former communist states moved to Germany and Israel in recent decades. It is vital for both receiving societies that these large numbers of immigrants integrate successfully, because they settle permanently and the societal costs of long term maladjustment can be quite high. Since ethnic German immigrants to Germany as well as Russian-Jewish immigrants to Israel share common roots and ancestry with the respective receiving society and immigrate under specific conditions, such as guaranteed citizenship, it can be assumed that the acculturation processes are rather unproblematic. In public, however, both immigrant groups are assumed to cause problems like higher rates of delinquency. Especially adolescent immigrants seem to be at higher risk for maladjustment, probably because they have to deal with adolescence-related biological, psychological and social changes at the same time as coping with the cultural transition into a different country. According to the acculturation frameworks of Berry (1997) and Ward (1996), such negative outcomes can be the long term result of acculturation-related experiences that are defined here as negative hassles related to the immigrant status of an adolescent. Such acculturative hassles are the result of a mismatch between characteristics of the culture of origin that are native to an immigrant, characteristics of the new context with which an immigrant is confronted, and processes of group acculturation (Berry, 1997, Shuval, 2000). Given the theoretical importance of acculturative hassles, it is surprising, how little research has been conducted on this kind of negative experiences to date. The overarching aim of this work is, therefore, to compare acculturative hassles of adolescent ethnic German immigrants in Germany and Russian-Jewish adolescent immigrants in Israel. In order to achieve this goal, an instrument needed to be developed that is a reliable and valid measure to assess and compare acculturative hassles in both contexts.

### *Repatriation or Diaspora Migration*

Ethnic German immigration in Germany and Russian-Jewish immigration in Israel represent a very specific kind of migration: Diaspora migration (Shuval, 1998) or also called repatriation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk & Schmitz, 2003). The difference of this kind of migration is that the immigrating groups already identify with the



country before they actually enter it. Russian-Jewish immigrants immigrating to Israel share religious roots and support the Zionist idea. Ethnic German immigrants share common ancestry with the native German population. For these reasons, both immigrating groups can enter the new country under specific conditions with instant guaranteed citizenship and material support. The background of this specific kind of immigration is illustrated in the second chapter of this dissertation.

### *Acculturative Hassles in Existing Research*

In order to measure acculturative hassles, an instrument is needed that can reliably and validly measure these acculturative hassles. The third chapter defines the requirements of an instrument measuring acculturative hassles and relates this construct to both general research on stressful events and current approaches of research on acculturation. The aim of the instrument was to measure minor everyday negative hassles within the most important contexts of adolescent development related to the immigration-status of an immigrant. This instrument needs to be applicable in the contexts of both Israel and Germany. The existing instruments measuring acculturation-related hassles were found not to meet the predefined criteria or were questionable with regard to appropriateness for the current purpose of measuring acculturative hassles in the target population of Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel and ethnic German adolescents in Germany. This supported the aim of developing a new instrument.

### *Development of the Instrument*

The fourth chapter describes in detail how the instrument for assessing acculturative hassles was developed. The process of questionnaire construction started with focus group interviews as a first basis for generating items. These items were used in a first pilot questionnaire, which served as the basis for selecting items. The selection process was guided by the predefined requirements of the instrument. In addition, two small pilot studies were conducted with Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel to ensure that the selected items would be appropriate in both countries of settlement (Israel and Germany) and that other relevant issues could be implemented in the questionnaire. The result of the second study was a 28 item acculturative hassles questionnaire, which was tested for its factorial structure and psychometric properties in the third study. Three different subscales, language hassles, discrimination hassles, and hassles of social adaptation, were found to be reliable and valid in measuring ac-

culturative hassles. The fourth study used a large data set comprising about 1,400 adolescent ethnic German immigrants in Israel and 1,400 adolescent ethnic German immigrants to verify the factorial structure in both receiving societies. The results confirmed the three-factorial structure in both immigrant samples.

*Comparison of Acculturative Hassles among Adolescent Russian-Jewish Immigrants in Israel and Adolescent Ethnic German Immigrants in Germany*

To draw hypotheses for this comparison, the acculturation of both immigrating groups was analysed in the beginning of chapter five. It was hypothesised that ethnic German adolescents would experience more discrimination and language hassles and Russian-Jewish adolescents more hassles of social adaptation. Furthermore, all three types of acculturative hassles were expected to be more strongly related to length of stay among ethnic German compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents with a stronger decrease of all three kinds of acculturative hassles with increased length of stay among the ethnic German adolescents in Germany. The hypothesised differences between both groups were tested with 'length of stay'-homogeneous samples comprising 506 ethnic German and 1420 Russian-Jewish adolescents. Three groups of length of stay were compared in each country: newcomer (up to 1.5 years of residence), experienced (1.5 to 3.5 years) and settled adolescents (3.5 to 7 years). The sampling design assured comparability in terms of age between all groups.

The two immigrant groups (main effect of immigrant group) only differed in social adaptation hassles that were, as expected, reported significantly more often among Russian-Jewish adolescents. The interaction (length of stay x immigrant group) was significant for all three subscales of acculturative hassles, thus supporting the hypotheses. Among ethnic German adolescents, the effect of length of stay was more pronounced for all types of hassles indicating lower hassles among those who have been in Germany for a longer period of time. Among Russian-Jewish adolescents a lower level of hassles in groups of longer stay was only found for language hassles (and this effect was less pronounced). Discrimination hassles were not significantly related to length of stay and social adaptation hassles were even reported to happen more often among Russian-Jewish adolescents who have been in the country for a longer period of time compared with newcomers.

The results are discussed with regard to differences in the integration of both immigrant groups. In particular, higher tendencies of segregation among Russian Jews in

Israel are considered as the source of a less pronounced acculturation process. Additional analyses showed, however, that settled Russian-Jewish adolescents report higher levels of discrimination and social adaptation hassles compared to settled ethnic German adolescent immigrants, despite the fact that they had a similar number of native friends. This contradiction may be explained by a higher diversity of contexts in which Russian-Jewish adolescents participate. They may adjust culturally and socially in specific contexts or niches, such as leisure activities, in which they also establish friendships to native peers, but they still remain “the Russians” in other public contexts, such as school, where most of the negative hassles happen. For ethnic German adolescents in Germany a rather general adaptation can be assumed, in which positive relations to both their own ethnic group and the majority native German group develop.

In chapter six, the limitations of this work on acculturative hassles are presented and the practical implications for intervention programs and future research are discussed.

# 1 Introduction

The collapse of the former communist system and the Soviet Union in the 1980s released a new wave of migration. Opportunities to leave a former communist country were very restricted before the Russian perestroika, the political change, however, allowed large numbers of minorities from the former communist states to leave the country. Several repressed minorities, such as people of German, Finnish, Greek, or Jewish ancestry, suddenly had the chance to return to their homelands. This kind of immigration is called repatriation (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk & Schmitz, 2003) or diaspora migration (Shuval, 1998; 2000) and refers to immigration of people who lived in a country other than their homeland for generations but migrate back to the land of their ancestors. Although the German and Israeli diaspora migration may be the most prominent examples of this kind of migration, other countries also have to deal with repatriates from the former Soviet Union such as Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) and Greece (Kolaitis et al., 2003; Tressou & Mitakidou, 1997). Despite deportation, repression, and discrimination during the communist era, these minority groups often retained parts of their original cultural characteristics, such as language, values, or religious beliefs and maintained identification with the country of their ancestry. However, due to official pressure by Russian authorities, these minorities also had to adapt to the Russian culture and language. This characteristic distinguishes diaspora (or repatriate) migration from other kinds of migration: These immigrants already have established ties with their new context, even before they enter the country; at the same time, however, they have also developed a different cultural pattern because of their adjustment to the Russian culture.

Germany and Israel are the two countries that received the largest numbers of so called “repatriates” from the former Soviet Union. Both countries actively supported repatriation and have open door policies for repatriation or diaspora immigration, including immediate citizenship, social security, and material support. However, despite several similarities between both countries, the reasons for their active support of repatriation are different. Israel is a Zionist state that follows the political aim to build a homeland for all Jews in the world and is by definition an immigrant country (Al-Haj, 2002; Lomsky-Feder & Rapoport, 2001). The support of repatriation in Germany is mainly a result of the Second World War and related to a political stance taken during the Cold War (Dietz, 1999).

The level of this repatriation has been substantial: Although ethnic Germans and Russian Jews have been migrating to Germany and Israel since the 1950s, the number increased tremendously after 1987. In recent years, the number of immigrants decreased, but there is still a steady influx in both countries. Altogether about 4.4 million ethnic Germans entered Germany since 1950 with most arriving after 1987 (Info-Dienst Deutsche Aussiedler, 2003) making up about 5% of the total German population. At the same time, Israel accommodated about 1.1 million immigrants from the former Soviet Union (American Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2003), which is an even higher share (about 16%) of Israel's population (Remennick, 2004). Given these numbers, it is vital to both receiving societies that these immigrants acculturate successfully to the new context.

For adolescents (28% of all ethnic German immigrants in 2002 were younger than 18 years of age - Statistisches Bundesamt, 2002), the move to a new country represents a great challenge, because two different kinds of changes happen simultaneously. On the one hand, adolescence is a time with substantial biological, social, and cognitive changes with increasing levels of autonomy, biological maturity, and adolescence-related developmental tasks. On the other hand, immigrant adolescents face changes in their environment due to the new cultural context with a new value system and a new language in which they can experience problems in developing a cultural identity.

The successful adjustment of adolescent immigrants in the new context is important for both, the immigrants themselves and the receiving society. Unfortunately, especially in public debate, the acculturation of adolescent immigrants is described as problematic. One weekly newspaper summarized the situation of ethnic Germans as following: "Ethnic Germans have no home, not in Russia, not in Germany. Their biographies are broken, their stories tell about political arbitrariness. They come from the Kazakh steppe to Bonn, Berlin, or into the Black Forest and feel like fish thrown onto dry land. Their only hold is their family" (Die Zeit, 12/ 2004). Many other articles and newspapers share this view. Journalists report about the negative experiences of adolescent immigrants after they entered the country. Their situation is often negatively described: they have "parents with broken German and broken pride" (Die Zeit, 14/2000), who cannot give adequate social support; ethnic German adolescents are reported to have difficulties in developing an identity, because they were called Nazis in Russia and are called Russians in Germany (a somewhat derogative term in common German usage); formally they are German citizens, but are not dealt with as equal members of the society; they feel a pressure to succeed, but also have the feel-

ing that too much of success brings jealousy and competition with native Germans (Die Zeit, 14/2000). They are described as “strangers in their native countries” (Die Zeit, 14/2000), as “speechless adolescents” in “isolation” or “culture shock” (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27.04.2001). Often they are described as separated from the receiving society trying to integrate into “a microcosm” of the immigrants’ society (Die Zeit, 12/ 2002), which is also described as a parallel society with only limited links to hosts. The assumed consequences of such frustrating experiences are also identified in public press: Suicide (Die Zeit, 14/2000), arguments and fights with local adolescents, even murder (Tagesspiegel, 15.01.2003), and problems of deviance and substance abuse (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 01.03.2001) are related to failing acculturation processes in the media.

Although these citations come from German newspapers and focus on ethnic German adolescent immigrants in Germany, the question can be asked whether the situation is similar in Israel. Although often perceived as one Jewish community by people outside the country, Israel is also described as “a deeply divided society” (Al-Haj, 2004) representing different ethnic groups pursuing different goals within the society (Al-Haj, 1998). There are quite a few parallels between Germany and Israel with regard to diaspora-migration (Shuval, 1998) suggesting similar acculturation processes to take place in both countries. As in Germany, tendencies of separation of Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel are reported (i.e., Russian Jews do not assimilate easily, Al-Haj, 2004; Nauck, 2001b; Shuval, 1998). And, just like ethnic Germans in Germany, Russian-Jewish adolescents face the same change from the systems and values of the former Soviet Union to those of a western country with native citizens holding different rather individualistic values and ideas. Adolescents in both contexts have the double burden of coping with normative age-related changes and additional acculturation-related changes resulting from the move from one to another cultural context. For these reasons it can be assumed that Russian-Jewish adolescents experience similar problems in Israel as ethnic German adolescents in Germany. There are, however, also major differences between the two countries that may suggest a different acculturation of adolescent immigrants in the two contexts. The probably most fundamental difference is that the state of Israel is based on immigration, whereas Germany is not. Thus, the large majority of Israeli-Jewish citizens has own immigration experiences and in public debate, immigration is a topic of much more importance compared with Germany. Very little research exists that compares the two immigrating groups with regard to their acculturation into the respective contexts.

The comparison of the acculturation processes of Russian-Jewish adolescent immigrants in Israel and ethnic German adolescent immigrants in Germany is the ultimate aim of this dissertation. In order to compare acculturation-related processes, two different outcomes can be identified in the literature, which can be used: socio-cultural and psychological adjustment (Ataca & Berry, 2002; Kosic, 2002; Leung, 2001; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward et al., 1998). Psychological outcomes (e.g., well-being, depressed mood etc.), however, have the disadvantage that such measures are not necessarily purely related to the success of the acculturation process, but may be general and would also occur in the country of origin. Socio-cultural outcomes (e.g., knowledge about the new culture, language competence), on the other hand, only measure the level of socio-cultural adjustment to the new context, immigrants can, however, also pursue goals within their own ethnic community (Berry, 1976; Berry et al., 2002), which can cause additional adjustment problems independent of the level of socio-cultural adaptation to the host culture. In this dissertation, the two groups of adolescent immigrants will be compared by measuring their perceived frequency of acculturation-related hassles that are experienced by adolescent immigrants because of their immigrant status in the new context. Comparing acculturation-related hassles as indicator for acculturation processes is in line with well-established models of acculturation research. In Berry's (1997) model, acculturation-related experiences (with hassles being one particular kind of experience – as described in detail in chapter 3) depend directly on factors of the host society, the society of origin and the acculturating group. In other words, they can be caused, for instance, by a lack in socio-cultural skills of immigrants (cf., Furnham & Bochner, 1986), negative attitudes towards immigrants held by the host society (e.g., discriminative acts), but also by large cultural gaps between immigrant group and receiving society that make the adjustment difficult (also termed cultural distance – Triandis, 2000). Thus, acculturative hassles represent directly the success of dealing with the two cultures in contact and difficulties in the adjustment to the new context. Adolescent immigrants who are successfully acculturated into the new context will face fewer acculturation-related problems compared to those whose acculturation is more problematic.

The importance of acculturation-related problems is illuminated in Berry's (1997) theoretical model, where such experiences are a crucial element (and initial source) determining long-term adjustment. Research on discrimination, for example, showed clearly that it is related to identity development (e.g., Romero & Roberts, 1998), higher substance use (Gibbons et al., 2004), increased loneliness (Neto, 2002a), lower self-

esteem (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001), or intensified stress and behaviour problems (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) among immigrants. Some acculturation-related experiences also result from acculturation-related developmental tasks immigrant adolescents face in addition to the normative developmental tasks of adolescence (e.g., negotiation between host culture [peers] and culture of origin [parents] - Stiksrud & Wobit, 1985).

A particularly debated long-term outcome of poor acculturation is a higher level of delinquency among immigrants that can theoretically be linked to negative acculturation-related hassles. In criminological literature, delinquency among ethnic German adolescents is widely discussed (e.g., Heuer & Ortland, 1995; Sasse, 1999; Schwind, 2001), but is also a topic in the Israeli society, where 64% of the veteran population assume Russian immigration to have a negative impact on crime rates (Al-Haj, 2004). By employing criminological theories, negative acculturative hassles can be understood as risk factor leading to elevated levels of delinquency among adolescent immigrants. The general strain theory (Agnew & White, 1992), for instance, would argue that acculturation-related negative stressors would add strain to already existing puberty-related stressors. The higher load of strain would, according to this theory, result in higher levels of delinquency, because an adolescent cannot successfully cope with the burden of strain. A second criminological theory, social control theory (Hirschi, 2004), would suggest a different mechanism by relating negative acculturation-related hassles to an erosion of positive social bonds to socialisation agencies, such as the school, which normally keeps adolescents away from deviant acts. Missing positive bonds may also increase the likelihood of bonds to deviant peers, which is also known to increase levels of delinquency (Sutherland & Cressey, 1955). This dissertation is part of a project on the acculturation of ethnic German adolescents in Germany and Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel<sup>1</sup> that investigates risk and protective factors in the development of delinquency among adolescent immigrants. In the conceptual model this project is based on, acculturative hassles play a major role as precondition of trajectories towards delinquency. In sum, negative, acculturation-related hassles can be seen as risk factors in the development of adolescent immigrants. The fewer acculturative hassles are experienced by an adolescent immigrant the better is the chance for positive long-term outcomes of the acculturation process. In other words, a

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<sup>1</sup> Project: „The impact of social and cultural adaptation of juvenile immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel and Germany on delinquency and deviant behavior“; Principal investigators: Germany: Rainer K. Silbereisen & Eva Schmitt-Rodermund; Israel: Gideon Fishman, Gustavo Mesch, Zvi Eisikovitz; funding: German-Israeli Project Cooperation (DIP), Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF).



comparison of Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel and ethnic German adolescents in Germany does not only describe the adolescents' needs to cope with problems in the acculturation, it also describes risk factors with possibly long-term consequences for the receiving society, for example increased levels of immigrant delinquency.

Before, however, the role of acculturative hassles can be studied in the two immigrant groups (ethnic German adolescents in Germany and Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel) an instrument is needed that validly and reliably measures the relevant acculturation-related hassles of adolescent immigrants. A literature search showed that such instruments are rare. The few existing instruments either focus on single very restricted aspects, such as discrimination or intergenerational problems, or are too specific with regard to the target population or theoretical background. Thus, before it was possible to compare the two immigrant groups in terms of acculturative hassles, the construction of an instrument that measures acculturative hassles in both contexts was the first aim of this dissertation.

The overall benefit of such an instrument to assess acculturative hassles is, however, not only restricted to the comparison of the success of acculturation processes of different groups in different contexts (different receiving societies, rural vs. urban areas, etc.) or to investigate the importance of acculturative hassles for long-term outcomes, it could also serve as a tool to evaluate the success of interventions for immigrants, or to find out what the most prominent problems are an individual or a group of immigrants have to face. Thus, a reliable and valid measure for assessing acculturation-related experiences is a useful tool for describing, explaining, and improving acculturation processes among adolescent immigrants.

Taken together, the aim of this dissertation is twofold: First, to develop a questionnaire that is able to assess acculturation-related experiences among ethnic German and Russian-Jewish adolescents in Germany and Israel respectively. Second, to use this instrument to compare these two groups of immigrants with regard to the amount and type of acculturative hassles they experienced over time spent in the new context.

## 2 Immigration from the Former Soviet Union to Israel and Germany

The two immigrant groups studied in this dissertation are Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel and ethnic German adolescents in Germany. Russian-Jewish and ethnic German migration differs from other kinds of migration. The motives of immigration and admission policies concerning these two groups are directly linked to their history and make these two groups distinct from other groups of immigrants such as asylum seekers or work-immigrants. In order to understand the situation of these two groups better, some facts about the historic background will be given here.

Russian Jews and ethnic Germans had an unsteady history in the former Soviet Union. At times both groups experienced prosperity, cultural acceptance and even promotion by the Russian state, but both groups also experienced oppression, curtailment of rights and persecution from time to time (Armborst, 2001). Although both constituted substantial minorities in terms of numbers in the general population (in the former Soviet Union Jews ranked 12th among more than 100 ethnic groups and Germans ranked 14th), both groups were denied the right to maintain their respective cultural identities and Jews and Germans lived dispersed over the country. Anti-Semitism as well as hate against Germans were promoted directly or indirectly by the Soviet regime (Armborst, 2001).

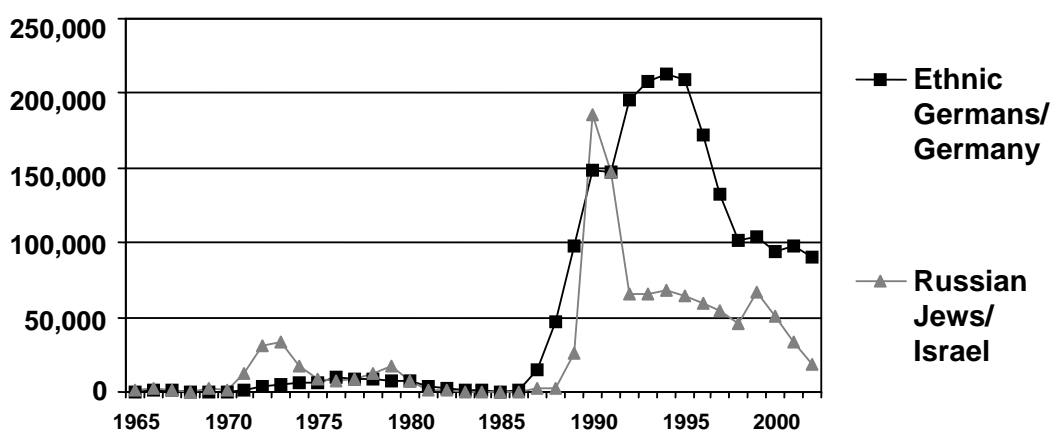


Figure 1: Number of immigrants to Israel and Germany (1965 – 2002) (Info-Dienst Deutsche Aussiedler, 2003; Wasserstein, 1999; American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2003)

Before 1987, the possibility to emigrate from the Former Soviet Union were heavily restricted and even applying to leave could have serious consequences. Russian Jews and ethnic Germans applying for emigration faced considerable risks such as job loss, expulsion of children from school and university, ostracism by colleagues and friends, threats and open hostility, or even imprisonment (Shuval, 1993). As a result, only small numbers of both groups left the country. From 1987 on, (through Gorbachev's Perestroika and Glasnost) the situation changed completely. Only a few years later the waves of emigrating Jews and Germans reached the maximum with about 185,000 Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel in 1990 and about 213,000 ethnic German immigrants in Germany in 1994 (see Fig. 1).

## 2.1 A Short History: Ethnic Germans

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Germans started to settle in east and central Europe. Four centuries later, Pommern, east Pommern, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Schlesien, Böhmen, Mähren, Siebenbürgen, as well as parts of Hungary were settled by Germans (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997). This first wave of settlement stopped, however, due to the plague in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century another wave took the Germans further east and also into Russia. In the time of Tsar Peter I. (1689 - 1725) German experts were recruited (mainly craftsmen, scientists and builders), but the German population in Russia did not increase significantly since in most cases, the recruited personnel returned to Germany after completion of their jobs.

It was Katharina II (1762 – 1796) who integrated both ethnic Germans and Jews into the Russian state. German settlers were encouraged to move to Russia in order to improve the Russian economy (first manifest of 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1763) and to settle the land Russia gained after the Russian-Turkish wars (1774; 1792) (Eisfeld, 1992; 2000). Incentives to immigrate were freedom of religion, no military service, no taxation for up to 30 years, self-administration, and material support to immigrate. For example, a family settling around Saratov, Petersburg and along the river Wolga received 30 hectares of land. This resulted in 31,000 new settlers until 1775 (Eisfeld, 2000; Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997). Immigrants at the Black Sea ("New Russia") received even 60 hectares (Eisfeld, 1992), and in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century more than 10,000 families from Germany lived in this region (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997). In 1897, 1,790,489 people named German as their mother tongue (Brandes, 1992; Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997; 1999).

The attitude towards ethnic Germans in Russia changed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The growing nationalism in Western Europe, especially in Germany, caused a public fear of “Germanization” (Eisfeld, 2000). Step by step, all privileges of German settlers were abolished, and also German schools were transformed into Russian schools. The First World War resulted in several anti-German laws being passed and, although the German army occupied only small parts of Russian territory during the war, ethnic Germans were no longer allowed to live in a 150 km wide strip along the Russian east border for fear they would support the enemy. Following the Russian revolution in 1917 and the subsequent civil war, the ethnic German community founded the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic (ASSR). In addition, 15 German “rayons<sup>2</sup>” and 550 villages with German administration were established (Brandes, 1992; Eisfeld, 2000). As soon as the NSDAP became the leading party in Germany, ethnic Germans in Russia were again suspected of being the “enemy within” and of collaborating with the Nazis (Ferstl & Hetzel, 1990; Schwind, 2001). In the following years ethnic Germans were persecuted (e.g., 122,237 were executed in 1937/38 alone), German rayons were abolished (in 1939, no German rayon existed anymore), the territory of the ASSR was annexed to other districts, and the people were deported (only about 800,000 until 1941) to the east of Russia (Eisfeld, 2000). Those who were able to work were recruited into a work-army (first only men, but later also women) and had to work under very difficult conditions. Although they were allowed to leave this area from 1955 on, they were not allowed to return to their original villages (Malchow, Tayebi & Brand, 1990; Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997).

After the Second World War, refugees and deportees had the right to return to Germany and to claim German citizenship if they could prove German ancestry and had experienced oppression (e.g. deportation, discrimination or expulsion) by the former regime (Dietz & Roll, 1998). Most of these ethnic Germans (or “Aussiedler”) lived in east European countries such as the former east German territory (now Poland, Russia etc.), Czechoslovakia (now Czech Republic and Slovakia), Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, (former) Yugoslavia, Albania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and others (Gugel, 1992; Schwind, 2001). Since, however, the possibilities to emigrate from the former communist states of eastern Europe were very restricted, the numbers of returning ethnic Germans remained quite low until the political change in 1987 (Dietz, 2000). The ethnic Germans entering the country between 1965 and 2002 came mainly from

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<sup>2</sup>administrative district in Russia

the former Soviet Union, Poland and Romania, and as can be seen in Figure 2, the influx was not constant over the years.

The immigrating populations differed with regard to number and timing of immigrants entering the country. The largest group emigrated from the former Soviet Union (more than 2.1 million people entered the country up to 2002) and the second largest group from Poland (more than 1.4 million). Other groups came from Romania (about 430,000), the former Czech Republic (more than 100,000), Yugoslavia (more than 90,000) and Hungary (more than 21,000). As demonstrated in Figure 2, these populations also varied in terms of timing of immigration. Although in the late 1980s the increase was immense for all groups of immigrants, only those from the former Soviet Union continued to enter Germany through the nineties. In recent years about 100,000 ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union were registered in Germany, while the number from other countries (also Poland and Romania) is negligible.

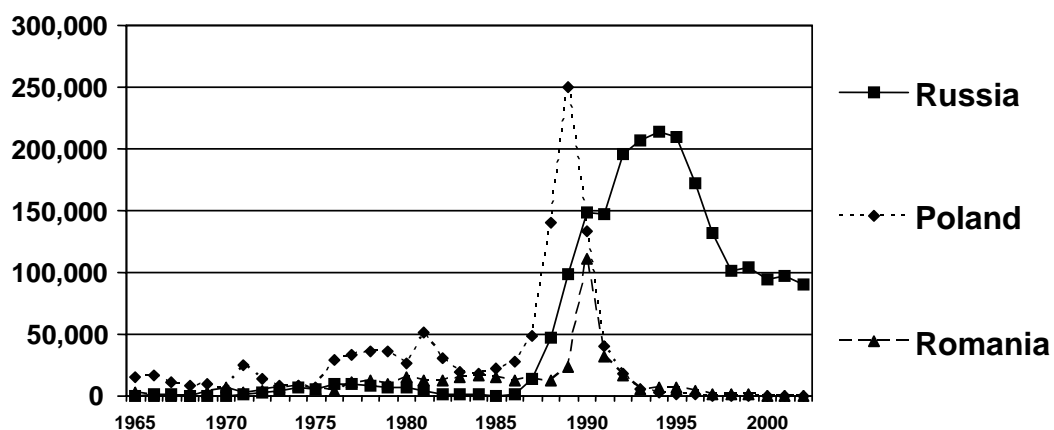


Figure 2: Number of ethnic Germans immigrating to Germany from the three main countries of origin (1965 – 2002) (Info-Dienst Deutsche Aussiedler, 2003)

## 2.2 A Short History: Russian Jews

Jews were not actively recruited to settle in Russia, but also needed to be integrated by Katharina II. Before 1772, Russia had almost no experience of Jewish settlers at all, but as a result of the division of Poland, Russia gained new territory with not only Polish, Ukrainian or Belo-Russian citizens, but also with a substantial number of Jews (Kappeler, 2001). This particular group could not be integrated easily because of its particular social-economical structure and its ethno-religious background, which did not fit with either of the two main Russian social groups (aristocracy and farmers) (Kappeler, 2001). Katharina II respected the status quo and the Jewish population

could keep all the privileges (self-administration by the “Kahal”, tax, cultural, religious and administrative functions) (Kappeler, 2001). They were, however, restricted to certain areas of the Russian empire (van Dijk, 2001). In the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many Jews were forced to move into bigger cities, mainly because they belonged to urban-based social groups.

Russian Jews in the former Soviet Union experienced a similar political development as ethnic Germans. Already in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, anti-Jewish attitudes started to spread in Russia. Step by step, Jews in Russia lost privileges (such as no obligation for military service, Jewish self-administration etc.). Tensions between the Russian population and Jews increased after Tsar Alexander II (1818 – 1881) was killed and Jews were suspected of involvement in his murder (Haumann, 1990). Numerous pogroms took place all over the country (Haumann, 1990), but the Russian authorities did not interfere in these incidents and, in doing nothing, thereby reinforced the action (Kappeler, 2001). The pogroms marked the beginning of new and more restricted politics against Jews that lasted until the Soviet Revolution (1917). After this time the Bolshevik regime abolished all restrictions and also allowed Russian Jews to settle outside the Jewish rayon (Armborst, 2001; Haumann, 1990). In the 1920s, Russian Jews again benefited from a change in the Russian regime and the Jewish community flourished culturally so that some Jewish emigrants even returned to Russia. This short period of prosperity ended dramatically, however, when Stalin came to power. His political success may be partly explained by his anti-Jewish election campaign and his famous “cleansing” of Russia also concerned Jewish people. Their deportation to Siberia, Kazakhstan and Birobidžan was organized (Haumann, 1990; Wasserstein, 1999), but fortunately not realized, since Stalin died before the plan was enacted. The open political anti-Semitism ceased after Stalin’s death, but indirectly (mainly in Chruščev’s general anti-religion campaign), it was still present (Armborst, 2001; Haumann, 1990).

As Figure 1 showed, Israel also received a quite substantial number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The Law of Return (hoq ha-shevut) from 1950 gave every Jew the right to settle down in Israel and to get Israeli citizenship (Al-Haj, 2004; Shuval, 1998). Immigration from the former Soviet Union to Israel took place in two waves (Mesch, 2003). The first occurred between 1968 and 1979 when about 150,000 Russian Jews entered Israel. The second wave started with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Between 1989 and 2001, 920,000 Russian immigrants arrived in Israel.

## 2.3 Reasons of Emigration

The question of why people emigrate from their countries can be answered in several ways. On a very abstract level an existing classification of different acculturating groups (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987; Berry & Sam, 1997) differentiates between voluntariness and mobility in order to define different kinds of immigration (see Table 1). The voluntariness dimension in this scheme differentiates between voluntary immigrants who are motivated by pull-factors, such as work opportunities, and involuntary immigrants who are assumed to be motivated by push factors, such as persecution or traumatic events in the country of origin. Voluntary migrants (like ethnic German and Russian-Jewish immigrants) are, according to this scheme, motivated by pull rather than push factors.

Table 1: Types of acculturating groups

Mobility	Voluntariness of contact	
	Voluntary (pull factors)	Involuntary (push factors)
Sedentary	Ethno-cultural groups	Native/ Indigenous people
Migrant		
Permanent	Immigrants	Refugees
Temporary	Sojourners	Asylum seekers

Besides this abstract level, a few years ago, a research project (Silbereisen, Lantermann & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999) investigated the reasons for immigration of ethnic Germans directly. Reasons mentioned by the participants were “to live as a German with other Germans” (77.8%), “to live together with relatives (60.5%), “fear of the future” (49%) or “a better education for our children” (40.6%) (Fuchs, Schwierting & Weiss, 1999b; Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997). Other studies supported the validity of these results (Dittrich, 1991; Gugel, 1992; Malchow, Tayebi & Brand, 1990), which also supports the suggestion that immigration is strongly supported by pull-factors. Materialistic reasons were also mentioned (22.7%) but not as much as is often perceived by the receiving society (Bade, 1992). Another reason for immigration was even created by immigration itself. Families wanted to be reunified and thus other family members followed who were initially left in the country of origin (Bade, 1992; Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997).

The reasons mentioned so far were given by adults. For adolescents, who are reported to have been well-adjusted in the former Soviet Union (Dietz & Hilkes, 1992; Greiner, 2002; Süß, 1995), two aspects were considered in empirical research. First,

since adolescents rarely made the decision to emigrate themselves, studies often asked about their willingness to emigrate and the degree of participation in the decision process. Although some authors have stressed that adolescents were rarely the initiators, did not want to leave their country of origin (Blaschke, 1991; Quasthoff, 2002; Süss, 1995), or were even brought to Germany against their will (Heuer & Ortland, 1995; Sasse, 1999), the empirical evidence for this view is small (Dietz, 2003b). Only a very small fraction of the adolescents did not want to emigrate (1.2% - Greiner, 2002; 4% - Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999; 6% - Dietz & Roll, 1998). A small percentage (8%) of adolescents was not consulted at all by their parents about the decision to immigrate and 14% felt they had no significant influence on the decision (Dietz & Roll, 1998). Similar results were reported in another study on ethnic German adolescents (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). The second line of research tried to identify specific reasons for the immigration. Ethnic German adolescents mentioned similar reasons as their parents, but in different order (Greiner, 2002). A better materialistic basis and a higher standard of living was the motive for 39.2% of the adolescents whereas 26.9% gave family reunification as reason. One fifth (20.2%) wanted to live in the country of descent and 19.8% wanted to live in a German environment (culture, language etc.) or were looking for more security because of political tensions between different nations in the former Soviet Union.

The motives of Russian-Jewish immigrants to Israel can be assumed to be similar to those mentioned by ethnic Germans. However, differences seem to exist with regard to the wave of immigration (Mesch, 2003). The first wave (1970s) came to live in the Jewish homeland, and the second wave (1990s) came mainly for economic reasons. Al-Haj (2004) studied reasons in an adult sample of second wave immigrants. In his sample 36% said they had emigrated because of anxiety about their children's future; 31% reported a lack in confidence about their future in the former Soviet Union; for 24% it was important to live in a Jewish state; and for 19% the low standard of living in the former Soviet Union was a decisive factor. Using a more theoretical approach and a younger sample, Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) identified three distinct motives for immigration: preservation (concerns about life in the former Soviet Union and the desire to be reunited with relatives in Israel); self-development (interest in another culture, new academic possibilities); and materialism (desire to raise the standards of living, better employment). In this study, materialism was found to be the most prominent motive for young Russian Jews in Israel. Self development was the second and preservation the least important motive.



Taken together, it can be assumed that the motives to immigrate are similar for ethnic German and Russian-Jewish immigrants. Immigrants expect a better future for themselves and for their children, want to be reunited with other relatives, or want to live with people of the same descent. Adolescent immigrants from the former Soviet Union in both contexts report less idealistic and more materialistic reasons.

### 3 Acculturation and Acculturative Hassles

Ethnic German and Russian-Jewish immigrants undergo similar processes compared with other immigrants. They have to learn new behavioural norms and a new language. They need to arrange their life in terms of work, housing and social networks. Adolescents need to get used to the new school system and to new peers, and have to establish future perspectives in the new country. According to the classic definition of acculturation given by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936, p. 149), “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups“. This definition is rather descriptive and does not specifically differentiate between outcomes or processes of acculturation. It also does not describe why such changes happen to an individual or to the group as a whole.

A more advanced framework on the acculturation process was introduced by Berry (1997). As briefly mentioned in the introductory part, long-term adjustment of immigrants depends, according to his model, on acculturation experiences. Acculturative experiences are incidents related to the immigrant status of an adolescent and have been defined by Berry (1997, p. 18) as “demands [that] stem from the experience of having to deal with two cultures in contact, and having to participate to various extents in both of them“. He describes these experiences as basis for enhancement of one’s life opportunities (acquiring new skills), as stressful events (and subsequent coping processes), and as difficulties resulting in psychopathological consequences such as mental health problems. Acculturation demands can also vary in complexity ranging from simple language difficulties to complex problems such as handling discrimination. Berry’s (1997) notion of acculturative experiences was the starting point of defining the content and requirements of an instrument to study acculturative hassles as one kind of acculturative experiences. In the following sections, different kinds of life experiences are discussed as studied in empirical research and the reason for focussing on acculturative hassles for studies on acculturation are set out. In the second step, acculturative hassles are related to existing approaches in research on acculturation, and finally, a critical review of existing instruments to assess acculturative hassles given.

### 3.1 The Structure of Experiences in Existing Research

Although Berry (1997) used the more general term of acculturative experiences for his framework, the current scale will focus specifically on acculturative hassles, i.e. daily hassles an adolescent experiences because he/she is an immigrant in the new society. It was decided to concentrate on acculturative hassles after a large body of research on adolescents' experiences was examined and used to structure the different kinds of experiences immigrant adolescents might have. The following section depicts this process in detail and specifies the needs of an instrument.

In Berry's (1997) framework and also in other theories (Furnham & Bochner, 1986), acculturation experiences are mainly referred to as life events. This perspective is, however, too narrow, since life events are usually defined as major stressful events that change the daily routine of people, require fundamental (re-)adjustment to the new situation, or demand a new definition of one's social role (Filipp, 1990; Hultsch & Cornelius, 1990). A good example for an acculturation-related life event would be the immigration itself: It changes daily routines, requires fundamental adjustment to the culturally new environment, and demands a new definition of the social role as immigrant or member of a minority. The definition of acculturative experience as "demands [that] stem from the experience of having to deal with two cultures in contact, and having to participate to various extents in both of them", however, also includes the day to day struggle that is important for the adjustment of immigrants (Lazarus, 1997). Since Berry's (1997) definition of the acculturation experience is rather vague in specifically defining such. For this reason, current approaches on life experiences were studied.

At least three dimensions exist to structure experiences of adolescent immigrants. The first two are general (non-immigration-related) dimensions (see Fig. 3) and comprise the intensity (minor vs. major events) and the emotional tone of such events (positive vs. negative). Negative minor events are usually called "daily hassles" or "daily stressors" (DeLongis et al., 1982; Elder et al., 2003; Seiffge-Krenke, 1995). These could be smaller problems such as not having enough time for the family, unexpected – and not appreciated – company, or (for adolescents) getting a bad grade in school. Such events usually do not need major adjustments or redefinitions of social roles.

Positive minor events are usually termed "daily uplifts" (DeLongis et al., 1982; Elder et al., 2003; Maybery, 2004), and are experiences such as being efficient at work, unexpectedly good weather, or saving money on something. More intensive events ("life

events”) need more readjustment and can disrupt the whole life of a person. In Figure 3, life events are also clearly differentiated in positive and negative life events. This distinction can often be made only theoretically. The death of a close friend or relative and the diagnosis of a fatal illness in a family member are clearly negative events. On the other hand, a lottery win and getting the job one always wanted are positive events (“stroke of luck”). In reality and in the life of people, this distinction is often problematic, since many experiences can be both: negative and positive. Divorce (a common item in life event questionnaires) can be seen as negative if it means being alone or losing someone one loves, but also positive if it results in personal freedom and the ability to be with the person one loves. Similar scenarios can be developed for the birth of a first child (wanted child in a stable relationship vs. unwanted teen motherhood), or moving to another place (new opportunities vs. losing a network). Many life event scales do not make this distinction but only evaluate the quantity of readjustment that is needed (e.g., Holmes & Rahe, 1967; cf. Filipp & Braukmann, 1990).

		Emotional tone	
		Positive	Negative
Intensity of events	Minor experiences	Uplifts	Hassles
	Major experiences	Stroke of luck	Life events

Figure 3: Different concepts of life experiences

Besides emotional tone and intensity of events, a third dimension – immigration specificity – needs to be applied for immigrant adolescents. A particular experience can be the result of the special situation as an immigrant (acculturative hassle), or could be experienced by members of the host society as well (non-acculturative or normative hassle). Sometimes the classification of a hassle as non-acculturative or acculturative is difficult and may be dependent on individual interpretation. For example, getting a bad grade in school can be perceived as an acculturative hassle (the teacher is discriminating against the child), or as a non-acculturative hassle that can be made by anybody (e.g., inadequate preparation before the test). Normative as well as acculturative hassles have already been studied. Both types are related (but not interchangeable) and have unique predictive power in terms of adjustment of immigrants (Vinokurov et al., 2002).

An instrument covering all three dimensions (positive vs. negative, major vs. minor, immigration specific vs. non-specific) would give a rather complete picture of adoles-

cents' experiences, but would render the instrument too unwieldy. Since the ultimate aim of this work was to measure the acculturation processes of Russian-Jewish adolescent immigrants in Israel and ethnic German adolescent immigrants in Germany, the decision to concentrate on acculturative and not on non-acculturative events does not need further explanation. Acculturation-related events are not the focus of general instruments. Berry (1997) assumes that these acculturation-related experiences (with hassles as one particular kind of experience) are the source for maladjustment of immigrants and the source of failing or succeeding acculturation processes.

In terms of emotional tone (positive vs. negative), several arguments suggest to focus on negative experiences rather than positive ones. First, Berry (1997) defines acculturative experiences as preceding acculturative stress and coping responses. Such experiences are usually negative (or at least challenging). Second, there is evidence that negative events are better predictors in terms of maladjustment compared to positive events (Cohen & Park, 1992). Since the instrument will ultimately be used in a study investigating factors related to deviant behaviour, an instrument assessing negative hassles is more appropriate. Third, in their investigation of negative and positive interracial experiences in relation to racial bias and social support, Wright and Littleford (2002) found that negative interracial experiences were related to these constructs, whereas positive interracial experiences did not show any correlation. Finally, given these results, negative experiences can be taken as the obstacles in the acculturation process of adolescent immigrants that need to be addressed in future interventions (either through teaching the adolescent skills or the development of coping mechanisms). But first, in order to tackle the daily problems of immigrant adolescents, one has to understand their exact nature.

So far, acculturation-relatedness and negative emotional tone were identified as aims for an instrument measuring acculturative experiences. In terms of the intensity of events, an instrument should focus on daily hassles rather than life events, since there is evidence for the predictive power of hassle scales in immigrant samples (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Lay & Safdar, 2003; Wright & Littleford, 2002) and daily hassles seem to be better predictors for somatic symptoms (DeLongis et al., 1982) and positive affect (Klumb & Baltes, 2004). Daily hassles were found to partially mediate effects of negative life events on positive affect (Klumb & Baltes, 2004) and to mediate the relation between major life events and psychological symptoms (Wagner, Compas & Howell, 1988). A different reason for focussing on daily hassles rather than on life events is that daily hassles provide better opportunities for studying change in

adolescents' lives. According to the definition of Filipp (1990) and of Hultsch and Cornelius (1990) life events need fundamental (re-) adjustments and a new definition of one's social role. Such events happen quite rarely and high stability could be expected. Daily hassles, as the name implies, occur more often and, in relation to acculturation, a good adjustment process (e.g., better coping or socio-cultural skills) will result in fewer hassles. Thus, for longitudinal assessments, daily hassles represent the changes in the acculturation process more comprehensively than life events and are a better basis to measure adjustment processes.

Taken together these arguments, immigrant adolescents make several kinds of acculturation and non-acculturation-related, positive and negative, and major or minor events, of which the minor negative, acculturation-related experiences – acculturative hassles are of highest interest for the current purpose. , the questionnaire was planned to focus on negative acculturation-related hassles of adolescent immigrants. These are defined here as everyday hassles experienced because of the immigrant status of the immigrant. These acculturative hassles can be seen as specific types of acculturation-related experiences in terms of Berry's (1997) framework on acculturation.

### **3.2 Acculturative Hassles and General Approaches in Acculturation Research**

An instrument focusing on acculturative hassles would provide new opportunities for research in the field of acculturation. At least three research paradigms have been identified in which acculturation-related changes may be rooted and which could profit from such an instrument: The stress-coping paradigm, the group identity paradigm, and the cultural learning paradigm (Ward, 1996; 2001; Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). Within the stress-coping paradigm, acculturative changes are understood as a result of coping with experiences (life events, daily hassles) in the new context. The second research paradigm, group identity processes, describes acculturation as the result of encounters between different groups (e.g. cultural majority – minority) and acculturation-related changes as a result of group membership and group processes. The third paradigm, cultural learning, describes changes as learning curves, whereby acculturation is seen primarily as the development of new adaptive skills. All three approaches can contribute to a better understanding of acculturation, but according to Ward (2001), they are related to different outcomes (see Figure 4). The stress-coping research investigates the processes of psychological coping with cultural changes and

is related to affective outcomes. Cultural learning theories, on the other hand, focus on skill acquisition and best predict behavioural outcomes of socio-cultural adaptation. The third line of research, social identification processes, focuses on the process of social identity formation and group processes, and studies cognitive outcomes identification with a certain group and inter-group stereotypes.

The three approaches to acculturation-related changes detailed above have been selected because they represent the most common used approaches to study acculturation and are explicitly or implicitly related to acculturative hassles. The links between each approach and acculturative hassles will also underline the advantages of an instrument assessing acculturative hassles.

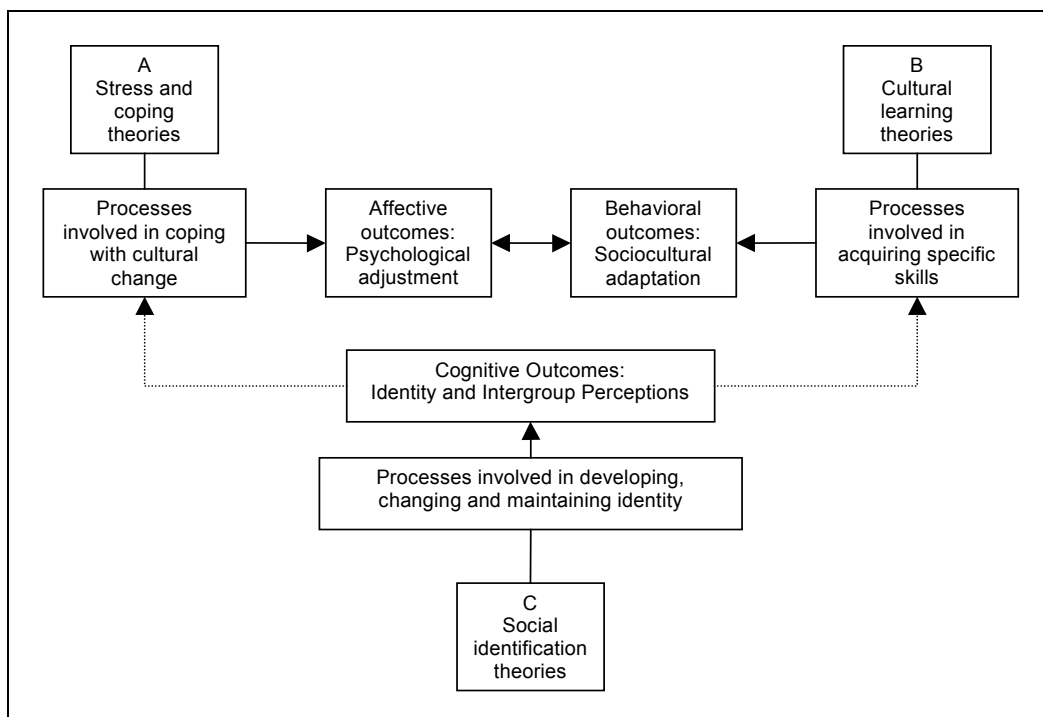


Figure 4: Interrelations between major theoretical approaches of acculturation and adaptation (from Ward, 2001)

### 3.2.1 Acculturative Hassles in the Stress-Coping-Approach

The first approach to acculturative changes examined here represents a large body of research on stress and coping and is associated with affective and emotional outcomes (Berry, 1997; Liebkind, 2001; Ward, 1996). This research is founded in the stress literature and connects elevated stress levels with major life events (Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Filipp, 1990), less interruptive but more frequent daily hassles (Seiffge-Krenke, 1995), or transactional models of stress that focus on a perceived mismatch

between demands on the individual and personal coping capabilities (Lazarus, 1990). Concepts of stress offer good explanations of acculturation-related changes (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Liebkind, 1996; Saldaña, 1995). Immigrants experience normative demands (i.e., dealing with normative, age related developmental tasks), but also non-normative, acculturation-related, demands. Acculturative hassles correspond to Berry’s (1997) non-normative acculturation-related demands (e.g. dealing in a different language with native people who have a different behavioural code, under different ecological circumstances).

Berry’s (1997) framework is probably the best model to explain to origin of acculturative hassles as one kind of “the acculturation experience” and long term consequences (see Figure 5). In using this framework, acculturation-related hassles are influenced by aspects of cultural background, host-cultural conditions, and group acculturation (differences between society of origin and settlement that result in changes for the whole group – different diet, economic changes, other social networks, exposure to different values, etc.).

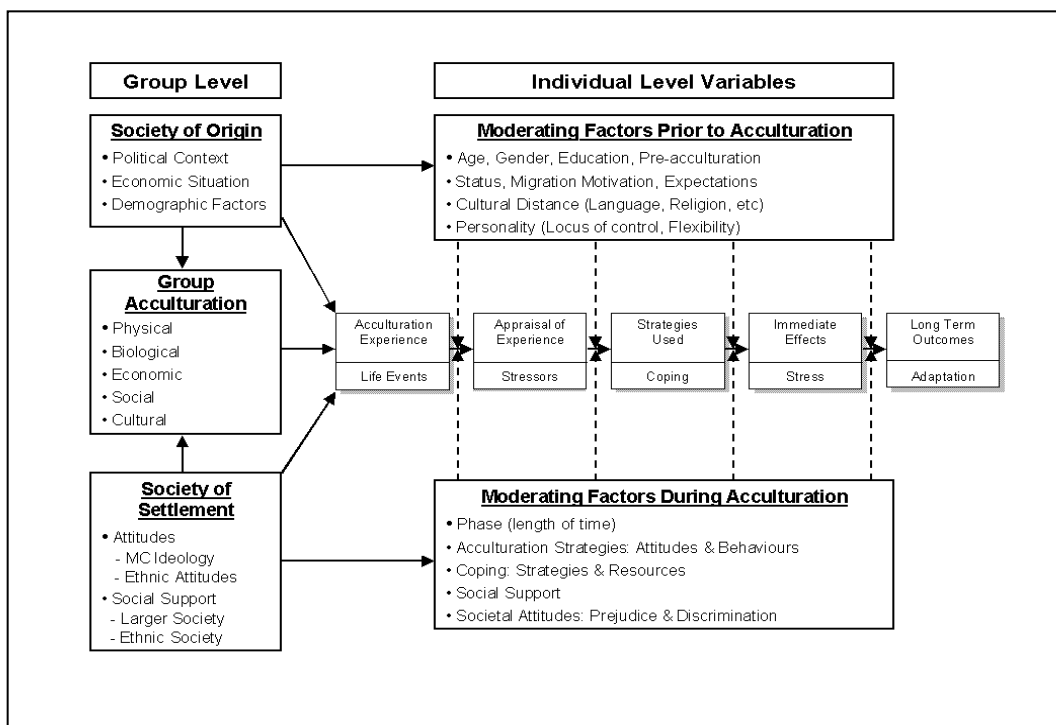


Figure 5: A framework for acculturation research, Berry (1997)

An adolescent will experience more hassles, if a mismatch exists between characteristics of the host society (society of settlement), characteristics of her cultural background (society of origin), or the acculturation of her ethnic group (group acculturation). If, for instance, the cultural gap between host society and society of origin is large, more hassles will be experienced. Also, if the ethnic group keeps their culture to



an extent that is not accepted by the host society, higher levels of acculturative hassles may be experienced by immigrants.

Besides explaining the origin of acculturative hassles, the framework also depicts the coping process moderated by a large number of inter-individually differing factors. The immigrants may already differ before immigration or may differ in aspects during the course of acculturation causing interindividual differences in acculturation processes of immigrants of the same group. In general, adaptation or maladaptation depends on the match of acculturative stressors (e.g., through acculturation-related hassles) and available coping resources. Many acculturative hassles are in this view clearly a risk for long term maladjustment.

In sum, acculturative hassles in Berry's view represent potential stressors through a cultural mismatch between host society and the immigrating group that are necessary to cope with. Individuals experience acculturative hassles and need to find successful coping strategies, in order to avoid long term maladjustment. Given an assimilation of the immigrant group (change in the group acculturation) to the new context, it can be expected that such mismatches are experienced less often and hassles decrease over time. Within the stress-coping framework, acculturative hassles are a central element in explaining the acculturation process.

### **3.2.2 Acculturative Hassles and Group Processes**

Apart from stressors that arise from new circumstances, immigration to a new country is also a confrontation between the immigrant group and the new (mostly majority) group, which differs in values, behaviour, social life, or even appearance. Social psychological concepts offer an opportunity to study changes that result from encounters between the two groups. Such concepts are social identification, intergroup power, and status differentials, as well as attitudes and behaviours towards the other group (Liebkind, 2001). Theoretical concepts on group identities are provided by Tajfel's (1978; 1981) social identity theory or by developmental theories on ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1993; 2000).

Acculturative hassles can be found in such theoretical approaches on intergroup contact. In general, minorities (such as immigrants) have the additional developmental task of integrating their own cultural background into their identity (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003; Phinney 1993; Romero & Roberts, 1998). Studies investigating hassles of

immigrant adolescents focused mostly on discrimination experiences. Discrimination has been linked to higher identification with the own group (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Romero & Roberts, 2003) and was also investigated in research on ethnic identity development (Lee, Sobal & Frongillo, 2003; McCoy & Major, 2003; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). Experiences of discrimination and prejudice, for instance, can invoke group identity of minority groups such as immigrants (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Processes such as ethnic identity exploration, which is particularly relevant for adolescents, can be initiated by experiences of discrimination and prejudice (Romero & Roberts, 1998).

The concept of acculturative strategies, another inter-group approach on acculturation (Berry, 1976; Berry et al., 2002), can also be related to acculturation-related hassles in the new cultural context. Berry (1976; Berry et al., 2002) defined four acculturative strategies (also called acculturation orientations) depending on the questions whether an immigrant wants to keep own cultural traditions and whether social contact to the other group (native people) is desired. If both conditions are met, the acculturation strategy is integration. If no contact to natives, but a strong retention of cultural traditions is wanted, the strategy would be separation. Assimilation is defined as a strong preference for social contact to natives combined with no motivation to adhere to cultural traditions. Finally, if both conditions are not met, the immigrant is said to be marginalized (or deculturated). Although the fourfold model of acculturation orientation was recently criticized for methodological reasons, for not taking into account the receiving society, or for leaving out the perspective of multiple groups in a country (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003; Bourhis et al., 1997; Horenczyk, 1997; Rudmin, in press; Rudmin, 2003; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Triandis, 1997), the strategies were found to be related to acculturation-related hassles such as acculturation-related family conflicts, ingroup, and outgroup hassles (Abouguendia & Noel, 2001). Later modifications to this model also include acculturation orientations of the host society (Berry, 2003; Bourhis, 1997) and immigrants' perceptions of acculturation strategies in the host society (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003; Horenczyk, 1997). Here, acculturative hassles play a role as dependent variable on the acculturation orientation of both groups. If there is a mismatch between host society's aims and goals and immigrants' acculturation orientation (e.g., assimilation vs. separation) conflicts will occur between the two groups. Coming from this perspective, a measure of acculturative hassles can also serve as outcome. Indeed, a need for such an instrument was already recognized

and resulted in measures on acculturative hassles related to the ingroup or the outgroup (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Lay & Nguyen, 1998; Lay & Safdar, 2003)

Acculturative hassles may, however, not only be the result of a certain acculturative strategy, but may be the actual cause of a certain strategy, since acculturation orientations are assumed to be “worked out by groups and individuals in their daily encounters with each other” (Berry, 1997, p. 9). In this perspective acculturative hassles could help in understanding different acculturative strategies pursued by immigrants.

In sum, if the intergroup perspective is employed in research on acculturation, a measure of acculturative hassles can contribute to the investigation of intergroup processes, sources of ethnic identity exploration, or causes of acculturative strategies. So far, it is primarily discrimination hassles that have been intensively investigated, but other hassles, such as those within the family, may also contribute new insights.

### **3.2.3 Acculturative Hassles and Cultural Learning Approaches**

The third theoretical approach is linked to behavioural outcomes of acculturation and is rooted in cultural learning theories (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). The basic concept behind this approach is that acculturation is an acquisition of (social) skills, information, and knowledge. In such theories, acculturative changes are expected to follow a learning curve that is characterized by rapid changes in the initial phase and slower changes after some time in the new environment (Ward et al., 1998). This approach is especially useful to explain sociocultural adaptation as changes in sociocultural knowledge, skills, and language proficiency. Examples for sociocultural adaptations are adaptations in everyday activities (e.g., Furnham & Bochner, 1982; Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) and in culture-related values like developmental timetables (Schmitt-Rodermund & Roebbers, 1999; Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999b).

In considering how acculturative hassles relate to the cultural learning perspective, such hassles can be seen as the result of missing knowledge about appropriate behaviour and inappropriate skills in another culture (e.g., language, non-verbal behaviour, interpersonal distance). If such skills are not acquired during the acculturation process, immigrants (or any other cross-cultural traveller) can experience frictions, frustration and unsatisfying contact with host nationals (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Oberg, 1960). In a study by Furnham and Bochner (1982), participants had to rate

how difficult they experienced forty commonly occurring social situations (making friends, shopping, getting very intimate with a person from the opposite sex, going into restaurants or cafés, etc.). This scale is very close to measuring acculturation-related hassles, but focuses primarily on sociocultural skills, which may not be the only source of hassles, other sources, for example within the family, are also possible.

To recapitulate: All three major perspectives on acculturative changes, stress-coping, intergroup processes, and socio-cultural learning, show that acculturative hassles can not only be used in studies of a certain perspective or approach on acculturation but can also enrich acculturation research independent of the theoretical tradition used. It still needs to be investigated whether certain acculturative hassles are of higher importance in the light of the three approaches, but potentially, discrimination hassles can, for example, be the start of a coping process, can influence group processes, and can be a result of missing sociocultural skills, which make an immigrant more susceptible for discriminating treatment.

### **3.2.4 Conceptualisations of Acculturative Hassles**

Acculturative hassles have rarely been measured explicitly in empirical research. Instead, general measures of acculturative stress (Berry, 1976; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986) were applied that contained mainly items of psychosomatic symptoms, without taking into account whether or not these stress symptoms were an effect of the acculturation situation, poor health, simply because of wrong nutrition, or other reasons. In terms of Berry's (1997) framework, such measures also do not measure hassles, but the outcomes of acculturation processes.

Other researchers dealt more generally with immigrant's experiences using different approaches. Qualitative (case) studies are very common and widely reported, as are reports of advisory services for immigrants suggesting immigrants automatically have a difficult time in the new environment and also difficulties adjusting to the new culture (e.g., Auernheimer, 1989; Hamburger, Idel, Kuntze & Müller, 1996; 1997, Süß, 1995). Although such reports can give valuable information about the situation of immigrants, a quantitative measure is needed in order to relate such experiences to other constructs.

Another general, but quantitative measure approach used length of residence as a proxy for the amount of acculturative experiences made by a person (e.g., Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999a). Length of residence as proxy, however, cannot

differentiate between hassles and life events, or between positive and negative events. It assumes experiences to be similar for all individuals and can only serve as an agglomeration of events happening over time.

For this reason, recent approaches try to measure acculturative experiences directly and use them as predictors in statistical analyses (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Neto, 2001; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999). Most of these studies, however, only focus on a limited number of life domains, such as discrimination and language problems (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), social situations, such as making friends and being confronted with racism (Neto, 2001), or discrimination and family conflict (Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999).

Adolescents, however, grow up in multiple social contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Brown, 1999; Cook, 2003; Magnusson & Stattin, 1998; Shirk, Talmi, & Olds, 2000; Urberg et al., 1995). Of course, this is also true for adolescent immigrants and they may even acculturate differently in different life domains (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver 2003; 2004; Horenczyk, 1997). The complexity of an adolescent's life, however, is not represented in most scales currently used in this area of research. Only recently two instruments measuring hassles in different domains of life have been published (Lay & Nguyen, 1998; Lay & Safdar, 2003; Vinokurov, Trickett, & Birman, 2002). However, although these two scales are multidimensional measures, their scope is different.

Vinokurov et al.'s (2002) instrument assesses frequency scores and intensity scores of daily hassles in the major contexts of immigrant adolescents' development, such as discrimination, school, peers, English language and family. Several disadvantages are inherent in this measure. First, the contexts addressed in this scale are partly mixed (the peer subscale and the family subscale also include items about romantic relations). Second, some of the items are not necessarily hassles with negative emotional tone. Items like "You tried to make friends with an American student" or "You tried to make friends with a Russian student", which are both represented in the peer hassles subscale, are not always perceived as negative, as the low mean severity score for these two items shows ( $M = 1.80$  on a 1 to 4 point Likert scale); (Vinokurov et al., 2002, p. 431). Third, two variables prominent in current research on immigrants, namely the cultural background and the host society, must be taken into consideration (Berry, 1997; Berry et al. 1987). Vinokurov's (2002) instrument was developed in a Jewish sample with a Russian background that went to the United States of America. The U.S., however, is very different to Germany and Israel and it cannot be assumed

that the experiences of adolescents used in Vinokurov's measure are similar to those of ethnic Germans or Russian Jews in Germany or Israel. Both ethnic Germans and Russian Jews already have some common roots with the society of settlement, are encouraged to immigrate and are easily given full citizenship. They "return home" and may have different expectations, for example, about being welcomed, level of support, and type of assistance. This would result in different kinds of experiences. For this reason it may be questioned whether this instrument is applicable to study acculturative hassles of adolescent Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel and adolescent ethnic German immigrants in Germany.

The second type of scale (Lay & Nguyen, 1998; Lay & Safdar, 2003) has a different aim. It includes four subscales: general hassles (applicable to a normal population), family hassles (also not acculturation-related hassles), and two subscales that are particularly important with regard to immigrant status: outgroup hassles (hassles that are related to the majority), and ingroup hassles (hassles related to own minority group). Thus, only two scales of the instrument concentrate on acculturation-specific hassles. Although the concept of ingroup – outgroup seems convincing, it was criticized because some countries (including Israel) have more than only two groups in contact (Horenczyk, 1997; Triandis, 1997). Furthermore, concentrating exclusively on ingroup – outgroup processes ignores the idea of different contexts of adolescent development. Acculturation-related hassles are not necessarily group problems. Language or family problems, for instance, are a common source of acculturation-related stress (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Vinokurov, 2002), but have nothing to do with inter- or intragroup conflicts. Specifically family, peers, romantic partners and school are deemed to be important contexts for adolescent immigrants (Santrock, 2001) that are not equally represented in this instrument.

Taken together, a new instrument on acculturative hassles of adolescent immigrants should focus on four aspects that are not represented well in existing measures:

1. Daily hassles (minor negative events) that
2. are acculturation-related (and not general hassles),
3. applicable in Israel and Germany, and
4. not restricted to single contexts, but include items covering multiple domains of adolescent development.

Therefore, a new questionnaire needed to be developed that fulfils all these requirements.

## 4 Development of an Instrument to Assess Acculturative Hassles: Four Studies

In order to measure acculturative hassles of adolescent immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Germany and Israel an instrument has to be used that has similar scale properties in both countries. Cross cultural methodology suggests two basic approaches to the development of a new scale (Harkness, Van de Vijver & Johnson, 2003; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). One can either use an existing scale (adaptation or adoption), or, if no suitable scale exists, a new measure has to be developed. At the beginning of questionnaire construction no such instrument existed and even the few recently published scales were developed for other cultural groups (such as Vietnamese; Lay & Safdar, 2003) in other settings (such as the US or Canada; Lay & Safdar, 2003; Vinokurov, Trickett and Birman, 2002) and may not be applicable to the target population studied here (Berry et al., 2002). Developing a new instrument would ensure this applicability in both groups Russian-Jewish adolescent immigrants in Israel and adolescent ethnic German immigrants in Germany. The knowledge about existing scales allows, however, comparisons with the new measure.

### A. Content of the Questionnaire

It has been argued earlier that adolescents grow up in multiple contexts of development and that the instrument to be developed would need to cover several developmental domains. To define the contexts of the new instrument, several theoretical approaches could be applied. Bronfenbrenner (1977; 1979) suggested a theoretical model of the ecology of human development that contains systems of varying proximity to the individual. The Microsystem is the most proximal to the individual and describes dyadic relations of the individual (e.g., father-son relations) within proximal contexts such as the family, school, peers, or in the neighbourhood. The Mesosystem is an interaction of Microsystems. It describes, for example, how certain experiences in the school context are influenced by experiences in the family context. The Exosystem is more distant and can account for relations outside the family, such as work relations of other members of the family that do not directly involve the individual but which impact their life as a parent has a bad day and comes home in a bad mood. The Macrosystem encompasses cultural and societal factors that can influence development (e.g. cultural values or general beliefs hold). In addition, the Chronosystem accounts for the time perspective indispensable for developmental processes. This

theoretical and abstract model also accounts for more concrete representations of developmental contexts, such as neighbourhoods, schools, work-places, families, peers, and even cities, states, regions, or nations that were defined by previous research (Cook, 2003; Barber & Olsen, 1997; Regnerus, Smith & Smith, 2004), for instance, deems to be important as possible contexts for development. Brown (1999) even differentiates between types of peer relations, for example, best friends, partners, cliques, crowds, and the “youth culture”.

The developmental tasks (Dreher & Dreher, 1985; Havighurst, 1972) that need to be accomplished in adolescence are also related to different contexts of adolescent development. To develop “new and more mature relations with both sexes”, for example, refers to the peer context, “emotional independence from parents” to family context, “preparing for marriage” to romantic relations, “preparing for a career” to the school or work context, and “acquiring values and ethics” to the broader society. In adolescence, four contexts are especially important, according to Santrock (2001): family, peers, school, and culture. Since these contexts are important, these contexts will be covered by the questionnaire to be developed. In Santrock’s book, the peer context covers both friendships and romantic involvement, which were planned to be separately covered in the questionnaire to be developed. Furthermore, culture was interpreted more in terms of the new broader society. Thus, five developmental contexts were chosen because of their importance in adolescence which makes these contexts prone for acculturation-related hassles: parents, peers, romantic relations, school/work, and the broader society (new society).

Another source of potential acculturation-related hassles is identity development. To develop an identity or a “self-definition as a separate individual in terms of roles, attitudes, beliefs, and values” (Gardiner & Kosmitzki, 2005, p. 71) is a normative developmental task in adolescence. It is especially important for immigrant adolescents, since they need to integrate their cultural or ethnic background in their general identity (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003; Phinney 1993; Phinney et al., 2001; Romero & Roberts, 1998). This aspect of adolescent identity development does not refer to a particular context, but is of high importance for minority adolescents (Steinberg, 1993) and can also be a source of trouble for adolescents. Minority adolescents such as immigrants often face stereotypes regarding their ethnic background or mixed messages about costs and benefits of identifying too closely with the majority culture (Steinberg, 1993). It can therefore be expected that identity development is also a potential source of acculturation-related hassles for immigrant youth.



The importance of these six domains (five contexts plus identity) is further supported by a literature search. WebSPIRS (14.08.2004) resulted in 1,261 hits for “peers and adolescence”, 4,735 for “parents and adolescence”, 249 for “romant\* and adolescence”, 12,199 for “school or work and adolescence”, 2,122 for “society and adolescence” and 1,895 hits for “identity and adolescence”, confirming that these domains also play an important role in research on adolescents. As an initial step in the development of the questionnaire, it was verified that immigrant adolescents indeed face acculturation-related hassles in these domains. In order to do so, studies and reports of counselling agencies on ethnic German immigrants in Germany were analysed with regard to acculturation-related hassles in these six domains. In general, acculturative hassles were reported in all domains of adolescent development. A short description about specific acculturation-related difficulties of ethnic German adolescent is given in the following paragraphs.

Family: In the literature, the family seems to be a crucial source of acculturative problems (Lanquillon, 1993; Müller-Wille, 2002; Süß, 1995). The traditionally strong family ties hinder family members establishing social contact with other (native) people (Dietz, 1996) and result in tensions between generations within a family since adolescents adjust faster than their parents (Dietz, 1996; Gugel, 1992; Hamburger et al., 1996; Müller-Wille, 2002; Süß, 1995). In this regard, parents are reported to try to preserve traditions that do not fit into the German society and in some cases impose their traditions on their children in a restrictive and authoritarian way (Lanquillon, 1993; 1994). Adolescents, on the other hand, adapt to norms and values of the main society (Dietz, 1996; Süß, 1995). Adolescents also learn the new language faster than their parents. This advantage in the new society can lead to a different role distribution in the family that may disrupt the family system (Kaiser, 1991; Müller-Wille, 2002; Thielicke, 1988). Some authors see a problematic power distribution in families of ethnic German immigrants (Sasse, 1999), with adolescents gaining power through being the language broker, translating official letters, and taking part in meetings with officials. Parents on the other hand may lose power through unemployment, insufficient cultural or societal skills/knowledge, and through their inability to support their children and relieve them from the burden of new challenges (Giest-Warsewa, 2002; Müller-Wille, 2002; Sasse, 1999; Süß, 1995). They also may resort to extreme measures when dealing with their own fundamental problems, such as increased levels of alcohol consumption (Knorr & Heise, 2002) or may succumb to other health problems

(Czycholl, 2002; Müller-Wille, 2002). It can be assumed that these problems further undermine parent's power in the family system.

School: In school (or for older adolescents occupational training), ethnic German adolescents experience a different educational style than in the former Soviet Union (Quasthoff, 2002; Sasse, 1999). Adolescent immigrants are reported to perceive this style as too permissive and not enough focused on the group but on the individual. They experience too much competition, miss discipline, and perceive German kids as lazy and naughty (Lanquillon, 1994; Süß, 1995). This might be due to different values and educational aims such of the antiauthoritarian education in Germany. Internationalization and encouragement of independent opinions are also difficult to understand for ethnic Germans stemming from an authoritarian system (Süß, 1995). Incompatibilities between the two school systems also include problematic recognition of their Russian certificates and difficulties to adjust to the German school system (Fochler, 1997). Language problems are a particular problem in the school or work context (Bayer, 1996; Dietz, 1996; Giest-Warsewa, 2002), because learning is impeded and additional effort is necessary to understand the language. Such problems can lead to fear of failure, inhibition to speak out (in the classroom), fear of being teased at school or the development of perfectionism regarding the new language (Süß, 1995). Teachers are not always sensitive to the situation of immigrant adolescents and may make inappropriate remarks. Through the inevitable contact to native peers in school, discrimination by other students may also be more likely in the school context.

Peers: Immigration results in disruptions of an existing peer network (Dietz, 2003b; Müller-Wille, 2002; Quasthoff, 2002; Shuval, 1993; Süß, 1995) so that they have problems with whom to spend their spare time. Peers are, however, necessary "for normal social development in adolescence" (Santrock, 2001, p. 185). Making contact with local youth is problematic (Dietz, 1996; Lanquillon, 1994) and can cause anxiety (Dittrich, 1991). Language problems are prominent among most immigrants (Biehl, 1996; 1993; Dietz, 2003a; Lanquillon, 1993; Strobl & Kühnel, 2000; Süß, 1995), and affect the peer environment in a specific way. Contacts to host peers are more difficult to establish and besides language proficiency, non-verbal communication, missing knowledge about German youth culture and mutual feelings of strangeness between native and immigrant adolescents hinder contacts to native peers (Bayer, 1996; Lanquillon, 1993; Quasthoff, 2002; Süß, 1995). Differences in opinions are also described. Süß (1995) found that adolescent immigrants criticize the missing national

pride in native adolescents. All these problems often lead to a segregation of immigrant youth (Giest-Warsewa, 2002) and limited contact to local adolescents. If contact exists, it is rather occasional and superficial. Real friendships are perceived as not desired by the German majority (Pfetsch, 1999). Often, native adolescents do not accept them as "Germans" but call them "foreigners" or "Russians" (Süss, 1995).

Romantic Relations: Acculturation-related experiences or hassles in the context of romantic relations have not been the focus of many studies or reports, but are mentioned in others as a general source of problems (Gugel, 1992). One reason might be that hassles in this domain are supposedly less important compared with other contexts of adolescent development. Nevertheless, first romantic experiences are made in adolescence, choosing a partner is a developmental task in this age period (Dreher & Dreher, 1985; Havighurst, 1972) and romantic relations are important to learn intimacy, mate sorting, sexual experimentation and companionship (Santrock, 2001). Only few specific hassles concerning romantic relations of immigrant adolescents were mentioned in the literature. Romantic relations are for some adolescents described as shelters against conflicts with the outside world, but also that traditional gender roles may hinder romantic relations with local adolescents (Gugel, 1992). Quasthoff (2002) reported that parents often do not serve as a good role model since their relation is also burdened as a result of stressful adjustment.

New Society: The broadest context is the new society into the adolescent must integrate. Established values such as politeness, conservative gender roles or insufficient experiences with a society of consumption, and an oversupply of goods represent new challenges for arriving adolescents (Gugel, 1992; Pfetsch, 1999; Süss, 1995). Furthermore, the new highly technological environment is less personal and can create feelings of loneliness and desolation (Bayer, 1996). But also the different political system, high expectations about their integration into the society, expected privileges and missing initiative to improve their situation are described as causing problems among adolescent ethnic German immigrants (Gugel, 1992). The new society is often represented by authorities, and institutions play a crucial role in the acculturation process (Dittrich, 1991). Very often the interactions with these authorities are characterized by feelings of submissiveness, powerlessness or "being strange", as well as feelings of being a second class citizen (Gugel, 1992; Lanquillon, 1993). Authorities also do not accept them speaking Russian and public reactions "teach" adolescents not to speak Russian loud in public or to avoid speaking at all (Pfetsch, 1999). In general, ethnic German adolescents are reported to often perceive rejection and discrimination (Czy-

choll, 2002; Dietz, 1996; Pfetsch, 1999) and to have problems making decisions or expressing their opinion in the new environment (Gugel, 1992).

Identity: It was already mentioned that identity development is an important task in adolescence (Dreher & Dreher, 1985; Havighurst, 1972), and is also considered especially important for ethnic German immigrants (Flashman, 1993; Pfetsch, 1999), because in the construction of one's own identity, ethnicity and cultural background need to be taken into account (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003; Phinney 1993; Romero & Roberts, 1998). For minority adolescents, ethnic identity focuses on three aspects (Phinney, 2003): identification (e.g. "I am a Russian"), feelings of belonging or feelings related to group membership, and the status of identity development (see also Marcia & Friedman, 1970). The identity issue plays a significant role in the adjustment process of ethnic German adolescents (Bayer, 1996; Dietz, 1999; Flashman, 1993; Müller-Wille, 2002; Slawatycka, 1991; Süß, 1995). Often adolescents report feeling in between the two countries. They did not belong to the country of origin and also do not belong to the new homeland (Dietz, 2003a; Lanquillon, 1993; Süß, 1995). In legal terms they are German citizens, but are culturally distinct through their Russian background (Pfetsch, 1999). Insecurity, passivity, overadjustment or a devaluation of common values and norms are results of a problematic identity solution (Gugel, 1992; Süß, 1995).

In the literature pertaining to all the six domains discussed, acculturative problems of adolescents were mentioned suggesting that these six domains indeed represent important areas of adolescent immigrants' lives. For this reason they were used in the initial process of structuring acculturative hassles into different contexts. This is partly comparable to Vinokurov's (2002) measure which also includes contexts of development such as the school, family and peers. The disadvantage is that similar kinds of experiences can occur in different contexts, such as language or discrimination hassles can be experienced in school, with peers or in romantic relations. For this reason, some researchers describe experiences of adolescents not in terms of contexts, but in terms of kinds of experiences independent of the existing context (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999). The six domains defined here offer, however, a better structure, because it covers several contexts plus the identity theme and not only experiences in the obvious school-related environment. This assures that all the specified areas of adolescent development are covered by the questionnaire to be developed.

## B. Research Strategy

The construction of the new instrument followed the principles of classical test theory. Besides other procedures, Amelang and Zielinski (1997) suggest two procedures of constructing a new questionnaire that were combined for the development of the acculturative hassles scale: The deductive (or rational) approach employs a theory, and items are created according to the construct of interest. The inductive construction of questionnaires uses factor analyses to establish subscales of several items that have a high correlation and form a single dimension. In the beginning the theoretical approach of six domains guided the procedure of establishing potential items. In later analyses, however, the factor structure was tested and defined the final questionnaire subscales. Establishing measures via classical test theory requires the evaluation of several test criteria (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997; Lienert & Raatz, 1998; Rost, 1996), such as reliability, validity and objectivity (see chapter 4.3.1.).

In the initial construction of the questionnaire, three steps were employed. First, focus group interviews were organized to collect first hand information from immigrant adolescents and to have the opportunity to discuss specific acculturative hassles. The results of the focus group interviews served as a source for items that were represented in the first questionnaire-based pilot study. This first questionnaire was the basis for the second step in construction. In Germany, this first questionnaire was completed by adolescent ethnic Germans, whereas in Israel it was the basis for focus group interviews and a pilot study using the questionnaire. The purpose of this was to find out if the items included so far suited both contexts – in particular whether important items were left out in the questionnaire, and whether single items found in the ethnic German sample are also applicable in the Israeli context. Since the two pilot studies on Russian-Jewish adolescents were conducted by the Israeli collaborators (Gideon Fishman, Gustavo Mesch; University of Haifa, Israel) of the German - Israeli Project, only those results having an influence on the scale construction are reported here. All information gathered in this second step served the purpose of item selection. In the third step, the properties of the questionnaire were explored, such as test-retest reliability and multi-method validation (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997; Bortz & Döring, 1995). The fourth and final study investigated the structure of the scale comparing the two sites of research, Israel and Germany. Figure 6, shows all four steps.

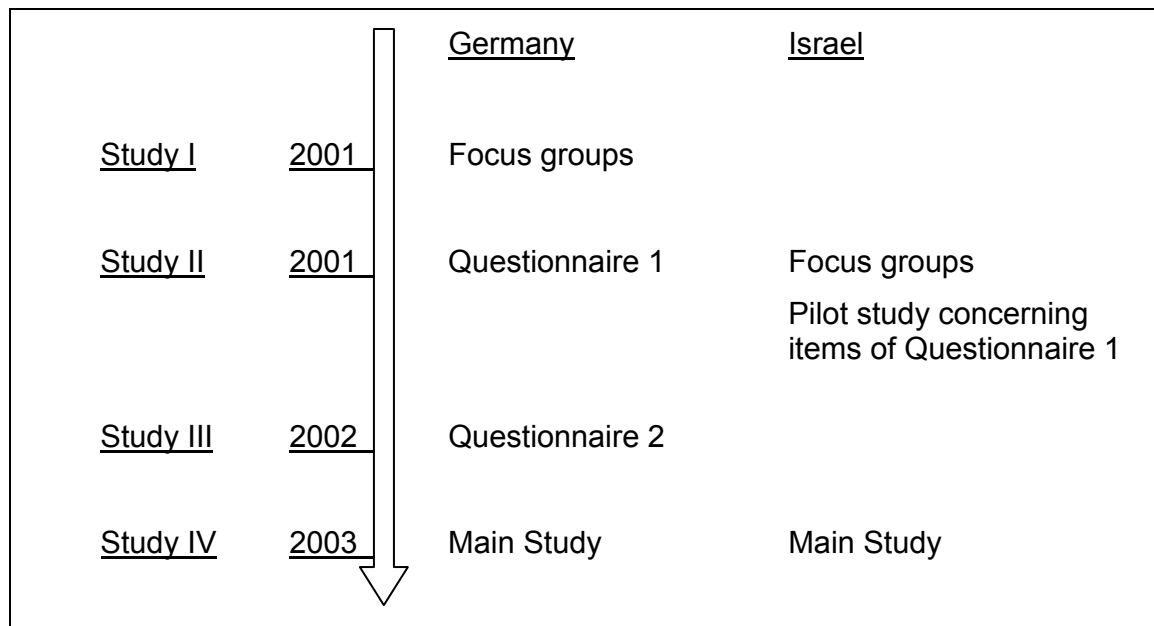


Figure 6: Studies for the construction of the acculturative hassles scale

#### 4.1 Study I: Focus Groups

As a first step, immigrant adolescents were asked directly about their hassles in focus group interviews. A “focus group interview is a qualitative research technique used to obtain data about feelings and opinions of small groups of participants about a given problem, experience, service or other phenomenon” (Basch, 1987, p. 414) and usually includes small groups of participants discussing a particular topic with a moderator leading the discussion (Basch, 1987; Frey & Fontana, 1993; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Interviews are especially useful for immigrant populations and research with other cultures, because this technique allows open discussions and the clarification of questions, and immigrants can use their own words to describe a phenomenon (Ekblad & Baernhielm, 2002; Fiscella et al., 1997; Greenfield, 1997; Schilder et al., 2004; Shweder et al., 1998; Trotter et al. 2001; Poortinga, 1997). Focus groups seem especially fruitful for getting basic first hand information (Basch, 1987; Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988; 1993; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990) and to develop items for quantitative research (Frey & Fontana, 1993; Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988; Wolff, Knodel & Sittitra, 1993). In addition, focus groups have already been successfully employed in studies on ethnic German immigrants (Pfetsch, 1999), which shows the appropriateness of this technique.

In this work, focus groups were used as a start in studying the acculturation-related hassles of adolescent immigrants. The idea was to get some first hand information

and to learn more about the situation and specific problems of ethnic German adolescents. The overview across the literature on acculturative problems of ethnic German immigrants showed that hassles occur in all six domains of adolescents' life. In focus groups, participants can explain how they experienced certain events, how often they experienced single events and whether it was difficult to cope with. Here, the adolescents had the chance to give details about events and how they perceived them. Focus groups were also seen as a way of learning new hassles if not yet described in the literature and whether there were stylistic expressions of immigrant adolescents that should be used in finding an authentic language for the questionnaire items.

#### **4.1.1 Method**

In the literature, different procedures for focus group interviews are discussed (Knodel, 1993; Krueger, 1998). Because the focus groups here represented the start of the questionnaire construction process, an interview guideline was used that was more flexible and not highly standardized. Topics to guide the discussion in each of the six previously defined domains of acculturative hassles came from different sources such as published qualitative studies, reports of counselling agencies, or books written for social workers.

In addition, information from a previous longitudinal study on ethnic German immigrants (see Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997; Silbereisen, Lantermann & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999), from informal meetings with two counsellors of the "Arbeiterwohlfahrt" in Jena, a Christian counselling agency in Jena (Beratungsstelle evangelische Luthergemeinde), and with the head of the temporary accommodation for ethnic Germans in Jena was used to prepare the focus groups. Problems taken from all these sources were sorted according to the six domains (peer relations, school hassles, parent hassles, romantic involvement, identity hassles and hassles with the general environment in the new country). The resulting list formed the guideline for the interviews. The outline of the interview can be found in Appendix A.

The interview was constructed hierarchically. After a short introduction and welcome, the adolescents were informed that the whole interview would be taped and the microphone was placed visibly on the table. The participants were instructed about the purpose of the interview and told that their answers would be very important for the success of the research. Participants were asked: "Please consider the time since your arrival in Germany, can you remember any situations that happened to you that

were very unpleasant and that happened because you are not a native German? Could you please name such situations?" If adolescents mentioned an experience, they were asked how often it happened (frequency), whether they thought a lot about it (cognitive reactions), whether they were depressed or sad because of this event (emotional reactions) and whether they had mental health problems (psychosomatic symptoms). During the first interviews it turned out that asking all questions for each event would be inappropriate, mainly because of time constraints, because not all questions were applicable to all problems, and because too many details hindered the discussion. In later interviews, therefore, participants were only asked in general terms about their reactions to such events.

Following the general question about acculturation-related problems, the different domains were introduced and the adolescents were asked about events in each of the domains, i.e., school, peers, family, romantic relations, identity, and new country. If no more situations were mentioned spontaneously, specific events were introduced and the participants were asked to report whether something similar ever happened to them. At the end of the interview, all participants were asked whether they would like to add anything and whether there was anything not included so far they deemed important. Not everything said in the interviews was transcribed, but all possible hassles mentioned were written down.

#### **4.1.2 Sample**

Five focus group interviews were conducted with altogether 20 adolescents (10 male, 10 female). The size of the groups varied between 2 and 8 participants. Groups came from a language school, from temporary accommodations, from a youth club for immigrants, and from a Christian centre that tries to help immigrants integrating in Germany. The interviews took place in locations known by participants (e.g., in the youth club). Only one interview was conducted in the university lab, because this was most convenient for the participants. Interviews took one to two hours, depending on the number of participants and on the amount of hassles mentioned. A positive atmosphere was created by serving tea, biscuits and chocolate where possible. The groups were:

Group 1: Two participants: both from the former Soviet Union (Russia), 16 year old female and 18 year old male. The interview was conducted in the "Haus auf der Mauer", Jena, a language centre (16<sup>th</sup> March, 2001).



These two participants had just arrived in Germany and could contribute less than other groups.

- Group 2: Four participants: all from the former Soviet Union with homogeneous age (14 – 16 years), two were male and two female. The interview was conducted in the youth club for ethnic Germans of the Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO), Jena (20<sup>th</sup> March, 2001).
- Group 3: Eight participants from the former Soviet Union (Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine), 13 – 20 years old, six male, two female. The interview was conducted in the Niemöller Haus in Jena, a Christian centre integrating ethnic German immigrants (22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2001).
- Group 4: Three female adolescents (11, 16 and 17 years old) from the former Soviet Union (Russia) took part. The interview was also conducted in the youth club of the Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO), Jena (27<sup>th</sup> March, 2001).
- Group 5: Three participants (two female adolescents from Russia - 16 and 19 years, and one male from Uzbekistan – 21 years) took part. The interview took place in the lab of the Department of Developmental Psychology, University of Jena (9<sup>th</sup> April, 2001).

#### 4.1.3 Results

The engagement of participants varied between the focus groups. Language problems occurred for nearly all the participants and sometimes hindered the discussion. In the beginning most adolescents were rather shy, but initial difficulties were soon overcome by the friendly atmosphere. The adolescents became livelier and helped each other in explaining, used mimic and gestures or body language to make clear what they meant. Participants varied with regard to their openness. Some were open and talkative, others, however, had problems to discuss their difficulties with the new situation. Especially in the biggest group (8 participants) not everybody took actively part in the discussion. The open questions about general difficulties in Germany and in different contexts resulted in very few answers. Usual comments were “we are very happy in Germany” and “everything in Germany is good”. The only problem actively raised by many participants was that of dealing with the new language.

In the school domain, language-related problems and teasing by host pupils were discussed and reported as experienced in three of the five interviews (group3, group 4,

and group 5). A lack of language proficiency was also related to other problems, such as a fear to answer questions in class (group 4), general communication in the classroom (group 3), and receiving bad grades (group 3). Teasing by other pupils ranged from small incidents like being pushed (group 4) to more serious ones like being hurt or spit at (group 5). No one ever reported having feared to express his or her opinion because of the teacher's authority and nobody in the groups reported being ignored by the teacher. Two girls reported problems of inappropriate grading that they attributed to being ethnic German (group 3, group 4). Other problems mentioned were a fear to continue studying because of the different school systems (group 5) and the impression that kids in Germany have less respect or are cheeky (group 4), which was difficult to accept for them.

In terms of peer hassles two topics were mentioned in more than one group. This was the lost contact to peers in the country of origin (groups 2 to 5) and missing contact to host peers (groups 2 to 5). Missing contact to host peers was partly explained by language problems (groups 4 and 5). Discrimination hassles were not very frequent, but the adolescents usually knew someone who had told them about being treated badly. One girl (group 5) reported that chewing gum was put into her hair because she was not accepted in a discotheque as ethnic German and one boy was provoked into starting a fight (also group 5). No one in the groups had felt pressure (by teachers or parents) to be with host adolescents, reported difficulties with typical host-adolescent language, had feelings of not being accepted by host peers, or had experienced things being taken from them.

The family context did not play a major role with regard to acculturation-related problems of adolescents in the focus group interviews. Family members left behind in the country of origin were a common source of negative hassles in all groups. Arguments with parents were also reported, but the adolescents did not perceive them as related to the immigrant situation. Reasons for arguments were general issues such as telephone bills (group 2), the question whether a boy should stay with his girlfriend overnight (group 5 – argument between the 21 year old adolescent and his father), or whether a tattoo or piercing is acceptable (group 4). In two groups the job loss of parents and their limited perspectives of finding an adequate job were mentioned as problematic (groups 4, 5). Two adolescents perceived their parents as more depressed since they arrived in Germany (groups 4, 5), one father started to drink (group 5). The same adolescent also complained about poor living conditions and that he felt unable to take anybody home.

Romantic relations were also rarely mentioned. Only one girl who left her boyfriend in Russia mentioned her insecurity about the future of this relationship (group 5). It can only be speculated about reasons for this scarce information. This topic was probably too private and not easy to talk about in this setting. Also, the adolescents were probably hesitant to talk openly about such difficulties in front of a stranger who was taping the interview.

Problems with the new society were reported. In four out of five groups (groups 2 to 5) immigrants had experienced bad treatment by hosts (e.g., they felt as a second class citizen in dealing with authorities, or were called "Russian" etc.). Surprisingly, adolescents told that such things did not bother them too much as they had similar experiences in the country of origin, such as being called a Nazi (group 2, 3). Bureaucracy was mentioned as difficult in two groups (group 3, 5) and German kids were perceived to be less mature and to behave badly (group 3, 4), which made interactions with them difficult. Cold social relations and problems with other immigrants (e.g. Turks) were also discussed by adolescents in one group (4).

In the last domain, identity, two problems were predominantly mentioned. Lack of fluency in the language (as a sign of belonging to the new country) was seen as problematic in three groups (groups 2, 3, 4), and some adolescents felt they were no longer fluent anymore in either their native or their host languages (group 3, 4). The second major problem (groups 4, 5) concerned insecurity of belonging to a social group ("who or what I am", "In Russia I was a German and here I am a Russian"). In one group the problem of badly educated adolescents in Germany was mentioned again, resulting in a feeling of greater maturity compared to their German adolescent peers (group 3).

#### **4.1.4 Discussion**

The main aim of the focus group interviews was to get into contact with adolescents of the target group, to learn about their situation, their problems, and to get first hand insights into their lives. The results showed that adolescents reported hassles for all six predefined domains. For adolescent immigrants this means that they have indeed to cope with acculturation-related problems additional to normative, age-related changes arising from the confrontation with normative developmental tasks or puberty.

The results of the interviews were, however, surprising with regard to the number of hassles reported by the adolescents. The literature searched had suggested ethnic German adolescents faced many problems. The participants in the focus group interviews, however, reported on average only a limited number of acculturative hassles. In particular, the opening question at the beginning of the interview concerning their problems in the new context did not result in many answers. In general, language hassles were the only actively and consistently mentioned kinds of hassles. The participants reported most of the other hassles only if these events were addressed directly by the moderator of the discussion. But even if adolescents agreed that certain events happened to them, the experience was sometimes described as not very stressful and appeared not to have been taken very seriously by the participant concerned.

Three possible explanations can be found to explain the contradiction between the literature on the burden of adolescent immigrants and the reports in the focus groups. Either the reports are too negative, or the adolescents interviewed were better adjusted than the average population described in the literature, or the participants of the focus groups concealed their problems.

Arguments can be found for all three possible explanations. Since counsellors are usually only asked for advice if adolescents cannot cope with their problems anymore, the reports studied to prepare the interviews may be biased towards problematic adolescents. It could also well be that the participants in our study were a positive selection of immigrating adolescents. The agencies that helped in recruiting adolescents for the interviews do not focus on problematic adolescents but offer more general possibilities to meet, to do sports, to spend spare time (e.g., board games), and to create contacts with other adolescents. Adolescents using these facilities may be better adjusted and proactive than the average immigrants. The third possibility suggests that the adolescents kept their problems to themselves. It might be that adolescents hesitated to mention hassles and problems because of social desirability, shyness, language problems, fear of negative consequences or authorities (a member of the university may be seen in this light) or many other reasons. Although the atmosphere during the interviews was positive and most participants gave the impression to answer openly, this may have happened especially for the area of romantic relations.

There are a few limitations of this first study, the small number of participants, the problem of bias in the reported hassles and the focus on adolescents from only one area in Germany. These limitations are, however, not very problematic, since the focus groups were not the main research strategy to get results or on which to base item selection. It was rather more important as way to meet adolescent ethnic Germans, to have an exchange with them about their situation and hassles in the new context, and to have the chance to discuss hassles in detail.

Taken together, the focus group interviews gave deeper insights into the situation of adolescent immigrants in Germany. Hassles were mentioned in all six predefined domains of adolescent development, although the amount of hassles mentioned was rather small. Hassles mentioned were not always of great concern for the adolescents, and in general, those participating in the focus groups were not overwhelmed by their problems in Germany. A couple of new things were brought up that had to do with the situation on the labour market (difficult for parents and for future perspectives of adolescents) and with a partner that was left behind in the country of origin. Language hassles were mentioned by nearly all participants.

## **4.2 Study II: Item Selection**

Information on hassles acquired from literature search, information by counsellors and a previous project, and the focus groups were the basis for a first pilot questionnaire tested in this second study. The main aim in this 2<sup>nd</sup> study was to select hassles from all identified problems for a shorter and later version of the questionnaire.

The selection of future items was guided by three requirements: First, items of all previously defined domains (school, peers, family, romantic relations, new society, identity) should be included in the scale. Second, the items should only measure hassles related to the acculturation process. The third requirement was related to the future use of the current scale in two settings: Israel and Germany, meaning that the instrument needed to be applicable in both contexts.

In order to achieve the first requirement, a selection procedure was applied that ensured items would be chosen from all six previously described domains of adolescent hassles. This procedure is described in the methods section (4.2.2.).

The requirement for the scale to measure only acculturation-related hassles was tested based on empirical knowledge about the acculturation process of ethnic German adolescents. It can be assumed that adolescents who have resided in Germany for a longer period of time should demonstrate fewer hassles for theoretical and empirical reasons. Theoretically, acculturation can be seen as a process of coping (Berry, 1997) or social learning (Ward, 2001). Over time, strategies are developed to cope with the new environment and newly acquired social skills (language, knowledge) make people less susceptible to problems (e.g., they are aware of potential misunderstandings, Collett, 1982) and enable them to develop a more complex network of support. Both approaches (coping and social learning) would suggest a decrease of hassles over time. Furthermore, empirical research based on ethnic Germans has demonstrated improved language skills (Fuchs, Schwietring & Weiss, 1999a), adaptations in values (expectations about autonomy - Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999b), decreased peer rejection (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999), and also improved psychological well-being (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2002a) over time. These facts allow a first validation of the selected items by testing the hypothesis of fewer hassles among more experienced adolescents (i.e., adolescents who have been in the new country for a longer period of time). Better adjustment should be related to fewer acculturation-related hassles. Thus, the following hypothesis was tested:

Hypothesis 4.2:

Adolescents that have been in the country for a longer period of time will report fewer acculturation-related hassles than those recently arrived.

The third requirement of the questionnaire was to achieve the applicability of the developed instrument in both contexts: Israel and Germany. To achieve this, two studies were conducted with Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel, general focus groups on acculturative problems of immigrants and discussion groups based on the same version of the questionnaire used in this second study with ethnic Germans in Germany. The results of these two studies were used to ensure that all the hassles selected for later versions of the instrument were also applicable in the Israeli context.

## 4.2.1 Method

### 4.2.1.1 Measure

The items of this first version of the questionnaire consisted of all problems mentioned in the literature, reported by counsellors and researchers in a previous project, and from the focus group interviews. All the problems were taken together and reformulated into hassles resulting in a list of 142 items (the original questionnaire can be seen in Appendix B).

An important consideration before producing the instrument regarded the answering format of the items. The focus group interviews showed that acculturative hassles are not always perceived in the same way. Certain incidents of discrimination may be a very negative experience, but the adolescents also said that such incidents did not bother them too much. To deal with this issue, some researchers suggest therefore using a two-dimensional answering format for negative experiences: frequency and severity (Gräser, Esser & Saile, 1990; Sarason, Johnson & Siegel, 1978; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002). Whereas measuring the frequency of hassles is not very complicated, several approaches to judge severity exist. It is possible to use fixed (pre-established) weights for each hassle (as for example suggested by Holmes and Rahe, 1967) or participants can rate every incident themselves (Gräser, Esser & Saile, 1990). Although empirical research using this format revealed high correlations between the frequency and severity (Cohen & Park, 1992; De Dreu & Van Vianen, 2001), this small pilot study offered the opportunity to explore such a two-dimensional measure. In the first column, adolescents had to rate how often the particular event happened during the last year on a four point Likert scale (“never”, “once”, “several times”, “often”). In the second column it was asked, how unpleasant had this particular hassle been. The answering format in the second column was “not unpleasant”, “to some extent unpleasant”, “quite unpleasant” and “very unpleasant”. The term “unpleasant” was used because it was assumed to convey the emotional quality of a stressful event to young participants. Participants also had the option to indicate in the last column that the event had not happened to them. At the end of the questionnaire space was offered for the participant to add anything else they deemed important. Because of possible language problems (especially from those who had only been in the country a short period of time), each item was printed in German and Russian.

#### 4.2.1.2 Data Analysis

The main aim of this 2<sup>nd</sup> study was to select items out of the 142 hassles. This selection process was to be based on empirical results and included several steps. First, very difficult items (those with less than 10% likelihood of answers) were excluded from the list. Second, the relation between frequency and severity was analysed in order to decide which answering format is more appropriate. Third, to reduce the number of items, a principal component analysis without rotation was performed to examine the relation between the items of the questionnaire. From the solution of this analysis items for each predefined domain were selected and it was examined whether other (not predefined) components should also be taken into account. This strategy assured a reduction of the item pool and also assured that no important aspect was omitted.

The second requirement of the instrument was that the items are acculturation-related. To test the hypothesis that experienced adolescents (longer period in the country) face less hassles than newcomers (shorter period in the country), the whole sample was divided into two groups by a median split to enable tests for differences with regard to length of residence. This hypothesis was tested with a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Covariance) with acculturative hassles in each domain as dependent variables and length of stay as independent. Age, as possible intervening variable, was controlled for. A known problem in research on acculturation is the differentiation between changes due to normative development (due to social, biological and psychological changes) and changes due to acculturation processes (Berry, 1997; Fuligni, 2001; Schönplflug, 1997). Also, in the sample used for this first questionnaire, length of stay was positively related to age ( $r = .222$ ,  $p = .039$ ). This leads to the problem that effects of length of stay (acculturation) may be also attributed to age differences (normative development). To solve this problem one can employ a comparative sample of equal age in the country of origin (e.g., Janssen et al., 2004) or use a special sampling design (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2002b; Silbereisen, Lantermann & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). The costs for both these procedures would have been inappropriate, given the early stage of the instrument. Thus, the use of age as covariate in the analysis was the easiest way to control this problem. Using age as statistical control would at least ensure that the received results for length of stay are statistically independent from age as a possible intervening variable.



### 4.2.2 Sample

The questionnaire was distributed to adolescent ethnic German immigrants by people dealing with ethnic German immigrants, such as several heads of temporary accommodation centres, consultants, language schools, and Christian organisations. Altogether 95 adolescent repatriates agreed to participate. All participants came originally from the former Soviet Union with 47% coming from Russia and 35% from Kazakhstan. The remaining 18% came from other countries of the former Soviet Union, such as the Ukraine or Uzbekistan. Most of the participants lived in Jena (65%), Erfurt (14%) or Frauenprießnitz (11%) and three participants (3%) were imprisoned in a youth jail in Hameln.

The type of school attended by the participants varied: 15% went to a “Hauptschule” (lowest formal educational track), 32% to a “Realschule” (intermediate educational track), 11% to a “Regelschule” (combined “Haupt-“ and “Realschule”), and only 13% to a Gymnasium (highest educational track). About 15% attended a language course for newcomers and 4% went to a vocational school. These numbers are similar to the findings of some studies (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000), especially for the lower school tracks. Other studies, however, report a higher share of ethnic Germans in lower school tracks (Baumert & Schümer, 2002; Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2004). The sample here consisted of 42 females and 52 males and the participants were on average 16.4 years old ( $SD = 3.1$ ,  $Min = 10$ ,  $Max = 22$ ,  $Median = 17$ ) and had been residing in the new country on average for 2.3 years ( $SD = 2.0$ ,  $Min = 0$ ,  $Max = 10$ ,  $Median = 2$ ).

In order to be able to test the validation-hypothesis, the sample was divided into two subgroups by median split according to their length of residence. The newcomer group comprised 43 adolescents that were on average 9.6 months in the country (length of stay = 0.81 years,  $SD = .30$ ). The experienced group consisted of 45 adolescents and was on average three years and eight months in the country (length of stay = 3.7 years,  $SD = 1.81$ ).

### 4.2.3 Results

#### 4.2.3.1 Selection of Items

The first analyses regarded the frequency of hassles experienced by the participants. Six hassles were reported by less than 10% of the participants and were therefore excluded from further analyses. This left 136 variables for further investigation.

Severity scores were then analysed in order to decide on further continuation with the two dimensions of frequency and severity. The analyses concerning the severity scores, however, revealed serious complications. First, most participants were able to judge whether a situation happened and how often it happened, but the severity index was problematic to complete for non-occurring incidents. The missing data demonstrated this problem impressively. While on average 16% missing data existed across all frequency items (e.g., because the situation did not apply to them), the respective percentage of missings across the severity items was 61%. In other words, on average only one third of the severity items were completed. This substantial number of missing values complicated further analyses. For instance, due to the high number of missing values, alpha reliabilities could not be calculated for severity scores, but only for the frequency scores of the six domains (school = .91, friends = .81, family = .93, partner = .78, new country = .83, identity = .77). Another related problem was that comparing severity scores across different hassles was not possible. A comparison of the severity of different hassles would also reflect different participants, because on average only one third of the severity items was completed (but not the same third of participants completed all items). Given the initial idea that adolescents perceive events differently, such comparisons would be inappropriate. The last problem related to the number of missings regards the use of weighted scores for assessing the burden of acculturation an adolescent has to bear. A weighted score (composite) consists, for example, of the multiplication term of the frequency and severity answers. Thus, an adolescent could receive a high score by facing either a very stressful hassle once or another not very stressful hassle very often. The large number of missings, however, hampers such an approach. Although the missing values in the severity score could be filled for all adolescents who did not experience this hassle (since the multiplication term: frequency (0) x severity (x) would always be zero or no burden), the interpretation of the composite score would be difficult. Composite and frequency scores highly intercorrelate (i.e., school:  $r = .85, p < .001$ , friends:  $r = .66, p < .001$ ,

family:  $r = .82$ ,  $p < .001$ , romantic relations:  $r = .81$ ,  $p < .001$ , new society:  $r = .70$ ,  $p < .001$ , identity:  $r = .65$ ,  $p < .001$ ) so that using weighted scores does not add a lot of additional information. Thus, it was decided to only use a frequency measure in further analyses and further versions of the questionnaire.

The next step was further item selection. To explore the relations between the items used in the questionnaire, a principal component analysis without rotation was performed using the remaining 136 items. This procedure allowed obtaining information on how the items are related among each other, although the number of participants in this study was rather small. The analysis revealed 39 components with an eigenvalue higher than 1. The scree plot suggested three main components. The component matrix revealed that the first five components showed interpretable patterns of variance extraction.

1. On the first component (Eigenvalue = 21.4, explained variance 15.7%), 105 items had a loading of more than .30. A factor loading of .30 can be assumed to be substantial (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). The first component included items from all contexts and is probably something like a general acculturation difficulties component.
2. The second component (Eigenvalue = 8.6, explained variance = 6.3%) extracted most of the variance out of items dealing with language problems.
3. The third component included items that were associated with negative treatment such as discrimination in several contexts like school, friends, new society (Eigenvalue = 6.0, explained variance = 4.4%).
4. A fourth component (Eigenvalue = 5.1, explained variance = 3.8%) contained only six very diverse items from school, peers and family with substantial (>.3) double loadings on the first factor and was difficult to interpret. The items ranged from living conditions at home, missing discipline at school and differences between local and immigrant peers.
5. The fifth component was again interpretable (Eigenvalue = 4.5, explained variance = 3.3%) and contained items expressing parents' interference in the adolescents' acculturation process. Although the explained variance and the number of items on this factor were low, it seemed to capture an important aspect of adolescents' acculturation.

The remaining 34 components were not clearly interpretable, contained only few or single items, and had in most cases substantial double loadings on one of the described components.

Items were selected from the interpretable components. In order to represent items of each of the six domains, the highest loading items for each of the following contexts were chosen: school, peers, romantic relationships, new country, and identity from the first component. From the fifth component, the parental interference, items of family hassles were chosen. Overall it was aimed at establishing three items for each domain. For the school context four items were chosen, because the fourth highest loading represented an interesting facet of the teacher – student relation. In addition to items of the six domains, the highest loading items from the second (language) and third (discrimination) factor were chosen. Since these items loaded on a different factor, a fourth item was selected for each component. No items were chosen from the fourth component, because of high double loadings and inconsistent meaning.

Taken together, 27 items were chosen for further investigation: 3 items for peers, family, romantic relations, new country and identity, and 4 items for school, language, and discrimination. These eight domains represent both the theoretically predefined domains and empirically derived components.

#### *4.2.3.2 Relation of acculturative hassles to length of stay*

In order to test the hypothesis that adolescents with longer length of stay in the new country report a lower level of acculturative hassles than newcomers, the two groups (newcomer and experienced) were compared with regard to their frequency of hassles in each domain. The hypothesis was tested using a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with the eight domains (school, peers, family, romantic relations, identity, new society, discrimination, and language problems) as dependent and length of stay as independent variable. Age was controlled as a possible intervening variable. On average, hassles in all eight domains were reported less frequently in the experienced group. The multivariate testing, however, did not reveal a significant result ( $F_{8, 58} = 1.67, p = .125, \eta^2 = .187$ ). The between subjects effects on the univariate level revealed that in five of the eight domains an effect of length of stay occurred in the expected direction. The hassles for school ( $F = 10.1, p = .002$ ), parents ( $F = 5.4, p = .024$ ), romantic relations ( $F = 6.2, p = .015$ ), new country ( $F = 4.7, p = .034$ ) and language ( $F = 6.0, p = .017$ ) differed between the two groups with experienced adoles-

cents having hassles in these domains less often. Thus, on these subscales the hypothesis was supported. For the identity domain the effect was significant only on the .10 alpha level ( $F = 3.1, p = .085$ ).

A closer look at the peer hassles revealed that these were either not related to the acculturation process, or were hassles that may be very resistant to change over time. The items in the first selection were “It was difficult for me to trust a local”, “Local adolescents laughed about things that I did not find at all funny”, and “I realized that local adolescents do not see me as a German”. The first item might be too difficult to answer, because it does not explicitly refer to peers and was too general. The last item assumes that adolescents know how locals think about them. These two problematic items were replaced by other, more acculturation-related, peer variables specifically focusing on the situation of adolescent immigrants: “I thought that locals and immigrants can hardly be friends, because they are simply too different” and “I felt lonely because my friends are not in Germany”. The focus group participants had also mentioned such hassles and both items had substantial loadings on the same component as the former two peer group items.

The groups of different length of stay also did not differ in terms of discrimination. This may, however, be a floor effect, since discrimination hassles were not reported very often. It is also possible that discrimination in the new context does not change as fast as do other acculturative hassles. The content of all but one item was clearly related to negative hassles because of the immigrant status. This item was dropped, because it did not only refer to incidents of discrimination but also to social support (“Other immigrants needed to help me against locals”). The other three discrimination hassles were kept.

The same MANOVA was performed after the peer and discrimination subscales were recalculated using the new items. The MANOVA was significant on the .10 alpha level ( $F_{8, 59} = 1.88, p = .081, \eta^2 = .203$ ). Univariate tests for the subscales revealed significant differences (at least on the .10 alpha level) between the two groups (school:  $F = 9.6, p < .01$ ; peers:  $F = 4.8, p < .05$ ; parents:  $F = 6.9, p < .01$ ; romantic relations:  $F = 7.4, p < .01$ ; new society:  $F = 3.9, p < .10$ ; identity:  $F = 3.2, p < .10$ ; language:  $F = 6.0, p < .05$ ). Discrimination hassles, however, still did not reach significance ( $F = 2.1, p = .152$ ). The differences on all final domains can be seen in Figure 7.

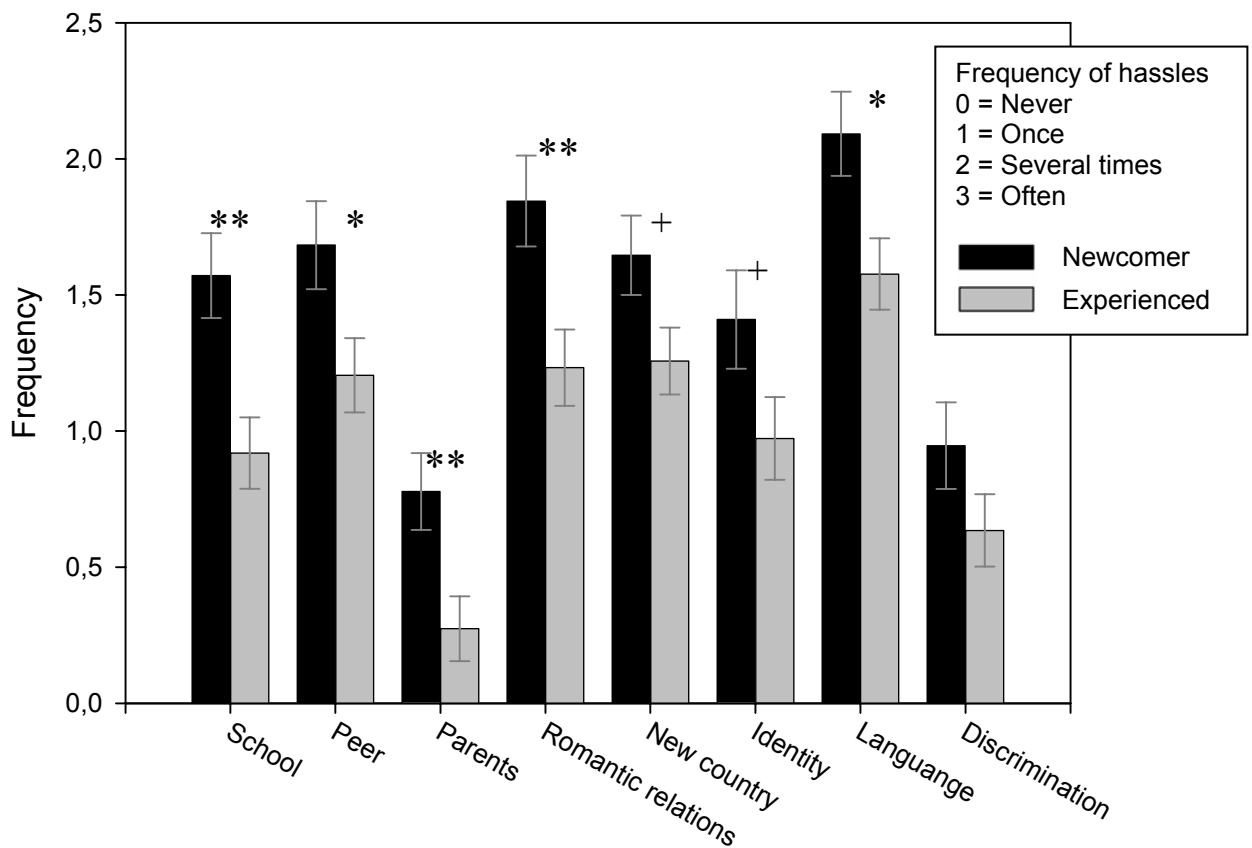


Figure 7: Frequency of acculturative hassles in the last 12 months of experienced or newcomer adolescents in the eight domains (finally selected items, controlled for age); \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ , + $p < .10$

The final analysis showed clearly the expected relation of acculturative hassles and length of stay. In other words, as requiring by the new instrument, the hassles selected for further analyses are indeed acculturation-related.

#### 4.2.3.3 Descriptive Statistics of the Domains

Table 2 shows the internal consistencies and mean differences for each domain. The means of the different domains were compared using a multivariate analysis of variance of repeated measures with pair wise comparisons in order to find significant differences between the scales. This analysis revealed significant differences between the eight subscales. In Table 2, significant different domain-means are marked by different letters. In general, language hassles, hassles in romantic relations and peer hassles were reported most often, and family hassles and discrimination hassles least often. Hassles on other domains (school, new country, identity) were in between.

Table 2: Means and Standard deviations of eight domains of acculturative hassles

Domain	Alpha Reliability	Mean (0 = Never, 3 = Often)	SD
School	.83	1.21 <sup>a,b,e</sup>	.11
Peers	.60	1.44 <sup>a,c,e</sup>	.11
Family	.78	0.50 <sup>d</sup>	.09
Romantic Relation	.64	1.49 <sup>a,c</sup>	.12
New country	.60	1.39 <sup>a,e</sup>	.09
Identity	.75	1.12 <sup>e,f</sup>	.11
Language	.72	1.77 <sup>c</sup>	.10
Discrimination	.81	0.83 <sup>b,d,f</sup>	.11

<sup>a-e</sup> Different letters mean significant differences between the means on the  $p < .05$  level

Although the internal consistencies can be judged as sufficient given the small number of items per domain, the eight domains were not independent of one another as is shown in Table 3. Only hassles in the family were not related to any other domains but school. Also discrimination hassles were relatively independent from other domains but school and peers. This suggests an underlying factor structure different from these eight domains. This view is supported by a confirmatory factor analysis, which resulted in a poor fit for the eight domains ( $Chi\ squared = 437$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $CFI = .799$ ,  $NFI = .625$ ). Since the reliability scores are sufficient, the poor fit is very likely to be based on additional covariances between single items. This can be interpreted as an underlying factor structure with fewer than eight subscales.

Table 3: Correlations between the eight domains of acculturative hassles

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. School	1						
2. Peers	.57**	1					
3. Family	.31**	.06	1				
4. Romantic relations	.43**	.57**	.20	1			
5. New country	.36**	.35**	.14	.51**	1		
6. Identity	.44**	.50**	.14	.61**	.47**	1	
7. Language	.46**	.42**	.01	.48**	.40**	.50**	1
8. Discrimination	.41**	.33**	-.01	.13	.21	.11	.24*

\*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$

#### 4.2.4 Comparability in Israel

Simultaneously with the questionnaire that was given to ethnic German adolescents in Germany, two small studies were conducted with Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel to ensure that the items in the questionnaire could also be applied to the situation of Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel. The results of these two studies were directly linked to the development of the final acculturation hassles questionnaire. These two studies, which were conducted by the Department of Sociology (Minerva Center for Youth Studies) University of Haifa, Israel will not be reported in detail, but only with regard to the influence these studies had on the development of the new questionnaire.

In the first study two focus groups were conducted with Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel, in comparison to the German study I (chapter 4.1.). The two groups consisted of seven adolescents from the former Soviet Union (aged 12 – 14). They were interviewed regarding their everyday problems in each of the six defined domains: school, peers, family, romantic relations, new country, and identity. In general, very similar problems were reported in these interviews. In the school context most Russian-Jewish adolescents expressed frustration (being ignored by the teacher, hierarchy in school, and blaming the victims of quarrels if they are immigrants). In the peer domain, all Russian-Jewish immigrants wanted to have Israeli friends, but felt that Israeli adolescents did not accept them speaking another language. Only speaking Hebrew and changing their names into Israeli names seemed to change this attitude. Some Russian-Jewish adolescents had the feeling of being exploited by Israeli adolescents (e.g. copying homework). In the family context Russian-Jewish immigrants raised the issue of changes in social roles, problems of defending the integrity of their family, how their parents were overwhelmed by the new context, and how they missed support from their parents. With regard to identity problems, the feeling of being Jewish in Russia, but Russian in Israel was mentioned, which is very similar to problems of ethnic Germans - "In Russia we are Germans, and now we are Russians." (Pfetsch, 1999). Overall a comparison of the interviews with the Russian-Jewish adolescents with those of ethnic German adolescents in Germany showed very similar problems.

Besides focus group interviews, a second study directly investigated the 142-item acculturative hassles questionnaire developed in Germany and discussed the questionnaire with another sample of 11 Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel (6 girls, 5 boys, 12–14 years old). During these discussions the following points were raised by



Russian-Jewish adolescents. It is also described, how these issues influenced the scale construction.

1. The first problem with the questionnaire was the two dimensional answering format. As supposed for ethnic German adolescents, Russian-Jewish participants had problems to differentiate between frequency and severity. This observation supported the decision not to use a composite score for acculturative hassles (a combination of frequency and severity), but pure frequencies.
2. The questionnaire was perceived as too long. The process of item selection solved this problem.
3. Some items were problematic in terms of wording or relevance for Russian-Jewish adolescents. These items were not present in the shortened version of the questionnaire.
4. Two other aspects raised by the Russian immigrants in Israel concerned romantic relations and were highly relevant questions (“A local adolescent did not date me because I am an immigrant”, “I was ashamed of my language proficiency and did not date any local adolescent”). Because it can be assumed that these problems are also valid for ethnic German adolescents, these two items replaced one item of romantic relations. The replaced item (“My relationship broke because of the immigration”) was taken out, because it was criticized for being inappropriate for adolescents who did not have a romantic partner in the country of origin.
5. Another issue raised (“Israelis were rude to me”) was simply added to the questionnaire.
6. Some adolescents criticized the questionnaire in that only negative items were used. As this suggested that the questionnaire may give the impression to new immigrants that their situation is only perceived negatively, positive filler items were used in later versions of the instrument.

The results from the Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel helped optimizing the questionnaire and ensure that the items were relevant in both contexts. Adolescent immigrants in both countries demonstrated many similarities in acculturation-related hassles. The final instrument consisted of 28 negative acculturative hassles that were used for further steps in the scale construction.

#### 4.2.5 Discussion

This first questionnaire study was conducted to explore potential items for the questionnaire of acculturative hassles and to select future items according to three criteria: the representation of different domains, acculturation-relatedness, and the applicability of the items used to the two contexts: Israel and Germany.

Although, as a result of the selection procedure, all three requirements are met in the final version of the questionnaire, some objections exist. The use of the principal component analysis for choosing items may be criticised for the small sample and for the fact that frequency scores were used in this analysis. The number of participants was indeed small given common criteria for principal component analyses (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), especially for the large number of items (136). In this study, however, the analysis was not conducted to find a stable interpretable factor solution, but as an efficient way to get an overview on the interrelation of items. A second critique may concern the use of principal component analysis using frequency scores in that such an analysis only produces factors of different frequencies. This argument seems convincing, but research on the framing of items shows that participants usually interpret the answering format in a psychologically sensible way (Schwartz, 1999). Thus, an answer like "very often" is less likely to be based on a count of events, but is rather an estimation of the general burden of hassles in this area. The usefulness of the "frequency" format is further supported by the good interpretability of the resulting components.

The result of the principal component analysis also revealed another aspect of the items in the acculturative hassles questionnaire. One of the main aims was to select items of different domains of adolescents' lives, in order to have a rather comprehensive picture of the adolescents' lives and also different domains included in the questionnaire. In this sense the questionnaire is comparable to the domain-approach by Vinokurov et al. (2002). The factor structure (interpreted with necessary caution) also revealed, however, the existence of domain independent components (e.g., language, discrimination). This result is not surprising and coincides with findings on other immigrant samples which show that the main acculturative stress is based on language problems, perceived discrimination, perceived cultural incompatibilities, and generational gaps (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). These four stressors are all included in the questionnaire. Thus, the selected items represent both, the theoretically derived six domains and also general domain independent hassles.

It is clearly necessary to explore the factor structure in greater detail. The high inter-correlations and the results of the confirmatory factor analysis suggested a different factor structure inherent the eight domains used in this study. Nevertheless, it was important to use the eight domains at this stage of item selection, since only this procedure ensured that all domains measure acculturation-related hassles and the problems of the peer items might have been missed if fewer subscales were used. Furthermore, the reliability scores were sufficiently high to allow the separate analysis of domains. Thus the exploration of the factor structure was clearly the most important step in further research. This was not possible in study two, because items were changed according to the results with the Russian adolescents in Israel and were not part of the instrument in study II.

The multivariate analysis of variance revealed the expected differences between experienced and newcomer adolescents. Only discrimination hassles did not differ between the two groups, although they are clearly related to the immigrant status (e.g., being teased because of being an immigrant). This may be due to a floor effect, since even newcomer adolescents report low levels of discrimination hassles. It may also be that such acculturative hassles do not change very much over time. Their accent, for instance, may be recognized even years after immigration, which may increase the likelihood of being discriminated against.

The discussion groups with Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel revealed that immigrant adolescents in both contexts face similar problems and were very helpful in optimizing the questionnaire. The problem of Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel regarding the two-dimensional answer format can also explain the high share of missing values in the ethnic German questionnaire. This format led to difficulties in both samples, which supported the decision not to use a severity score.

In sum, all three requirements, domain representation, acculturation-relatedness, and applicability in both contexts, are fulfilled in the final 28 item instrument. The questionnaire measures acculturation-related hassles in a number of different domains of adolescent immigrants' lives and the selected items are applicable in Israel and Germany. However, the structure of the questionnaire needed further exploration. The analyses of this first questionnaire suggested that the items were not structured according to domains or contexts, but seemed to represent certain kinds of experiences, which is in line with other research (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999). Thus, the exploration of the factor structure using all items, including the changes

suggested by the discussion groups with Russian-Jewish immigrants was the first important analysis in study III (chapter 4.3.).

### **4.3 Study III: Psychometric Properties**

The main objective of the first pilot study was the selection of items. Because of changes made as a result of study two, an exploration of the factor structure of the final items was not possible. This is the most important aim of the third study. Besides exploring the factorial structure of the questionnaire, this study offered an opportunity for further analyses regarding reliability and validity. Reliability was checked in terms of a test-retest and consistency analysis. To analyze the validity of the scale a multi-method validation was employed. This included a replication of the results of study two, concurrent validation measures, and validation with teacher based information.

After the results of study two were integrated in the questionnaire, the instrument comprised 28 negative hassles that were further explored in this third study. The structure of the questionnaire was the first issue that needed to be analysed. The resulting sub-scales were then tested for their psychometric properties. Three main criteria of tests are defined in the literature: objectivity, reliability and validity (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997; Lienert & Raatz; 1998; Rost, 1996). Objectivity measures the extent to which a test result is independent of the person who carries out the test, the environment or other possible sources of bias. Reliability describes the precision of a psychometric test without answering the question whether the intended construct is indeed the one that is measured. To answer this question, the third main criterion, validity, is analysed. Validity is a measure to define the extent to which a test measures the construct it is supposed to measure. Other existing psychometric criteria such as economy or standardization (norm tables) are not part of the scale construction here. The questionnaire will not be used as a standardized diagnostic test assessing individuals and comparing their results with values of norm samples, nor will it differentiate "pathological" from "normal" acculturation, although these may be of future interest.

### 4.3.1 Criteria for Measurement Quality

#### 4.3.1.1 Objectivity

The first of the three main criteria, objectivity, can be evaluated on three levels (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997; Lienert & Raatz, 1998, Rost, 1996): Objectivity while carrying out, analyzing and interpreting the test. It is, however, difficult to measure objectivity (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997). One possibility would be to give the same test twice from different testers, but in the case of this study objectivity and reliability are impossible to disentangle. These problems lead to a general judgement about the standardization of circumstances, procedures, analyses and interpretations as evaluation of the objectivity in a psychometric test (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997). The acculturative hassles questionnaire includes a standardized instruction that can be read by adolescent participants, a standardized answering format, and a minimized interaction between participant and conductor. Furthermore, analysis and interpretation is reduced to the calculation of means, which is hardly susceptible for bias. In sum, the objectivity of the instrument can be assumed to be high and comparable to any other standardized test.

#### 4.3.1.2 Reliability

To assess the reliability of a scale, several procedures are suggested in the literature (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997; Green, Salkind & Akey, 2000; Lienert & Raatz, 1998):

- a. A parallel test (equivalent forms reliability) can be conducted if such a test is available. This procedure would require a second test with similar items that would be given to the same participants. Unfortunately, such a test is not available for the acculturative hassles scale.
- b. The split-half-method suggests splitting the test into two parts and correlating these two parts.
- c. A related procedure is the evaluation of the consistency coefficient that can be applied for each domain. This procedure splits a scale into as many parts as there are items. The coefficient (Cronbach's  $\alpha$ ) indicates, how well the single tests (i.e. items) replicate each other (Moosbrugger, 1999).
- d. The last measure for assessing reliability is the test-retest-method. In this procedure a test is given twice to participants and the results are correlated subsequently, giving a good estimate of the similarity between the two tests.

The test-retest-method and the evaluation of the consistency in each domain were used to measure the reliability of the hassles questionnaire, because a parallel test does not exist and internal consistency coefficients are a more detailed way of split-half. Since the subscales in the questionnaire consist of empirically derived components, it was assumed that results would be highly consistent and show strong retest reliability between T1 and T2.

#### 4.3.1.3 *Validity*

To measure validity, several methods have been established (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997).

- a. **Intrinsic validity:** A test shows intrinsic (also called content) validity, if the items are taken directly from the actual trait or behaviour. Content validity is high, if the items are identical with behaviour, tasks, or challenges a participant has to face in real life. Intrinsic validity is not tested statistically, but is a general judgement about the process of item selection and the content of the items.
- b. **Criterion-oriented validity:** This kind of validity is based on the correlation of the test result with other criteria. Three criteria are differentiated: genuine criteria, quasi-criteria, and target variables. Genuine criteria are the strongest (e.g., for clinical tests a genuine criterion would be hospitalisation or the DSM-IV diagnosis). Quasi-criteria are weaker showing semantic or theoretical equivalence with the tested construct. Examples would be psychometric tests that measure similar constructs. The third criterion is a target variable. This allows tests of specific hypotheses regarding the relation of the target variables to the construct in question. An example is the validation in study II, where it was hypothesised that acculturative hassles are reported less frequently among experienced adolescents compared to newcomers. In this case the target variable would be length of stay.
- c. **Construct validity:** The last kind of validation is, according to Amelang and Zielinski (1997), the construct validation. Here the test is embedded in a nomological network with similar and fundamentally different constructs. A large number of hypotheses is derived for test scores and the relations to these different constructs and tested empirically or experimentally.

Due to the method of construction, the acculturative hassles scale can be taken to fulfil the terms of intrinsic validity. Items were first taken from the literature, discussed with immigrant adolescents, and finally transformed into items for the questionnaire. Such a judgement is, however, highly subjective so that a multimethod criterion-oriented validation was also conducted. This validation included several approaches:

1. First, the analysis of study two was replicated (validation with the target variable length of stay).
2. The second kind of criterion oriented validation employs correlations to similar constructs (quasi criterion). The quasi-criterion used here is a measure on sociocultural difficulties (Ward & Kennedy, 1999).
3. Since all this information was given by the adolescents themselves, a different source of information (teacher ratings) was used as a third approach of criterion-oriented validation. Specific hypotheses were derived for each teacher rated variable.

The test of construct validity was not applied here, because this validation regards a process rather than “a validation of a product” (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997, p. 164) and because no reference scores exist due to of the high quantity of hypotheses and their tests, (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997).

#### *Approach 1: Acculturative hassles in relation to length of residence*

As described for the hypothesis of study II, adolescents who have resided in the new country for a longer period of time can be expected to have better language skills (Fuchs, Schwietering & Weiss, 1999a), to report values that are more similar to those of adolescents of the host culture (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999b), and to be less rejected by peers (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). This empirical evidence for a decrease in acculturative hassles is complemented by theoretical approaches of acculturation (e.g. cultural learning and improved coping mechanisms with time).

#### Hypothesis 4.3.a:

If two groups of adolescents differing in length of stay in the country are compared, those adolescents who have been residing in Germany for a longer period of time will report a lower frequency of acculturative hassles.

*Approach 2: Acculturative hassles in relation to socio-cultural difficulties*

The literature on immigration and acculturation offers several constructs that could be used for concurrent validation. The stress-coping literature suggests that more acculturative hassles result in higher stress levels (Berry et al., 1987) which can be measured with a scale on acculturative stress (Berry, 1976; Krishnan & Berry, 1992). Another approach, group identity, would suggest correlations of acculturative hassles with identity development (e.g., Romero & Roberts, 2003) measured, for instance, by the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM, Phinney, 1992). Both approaches are problematic. The scale on acculturative stress, for instance, covers psychosomatic symptoms, but whether adolescents indeed react to acculturative hassles with psychosomatic symptoms is questionable. According to general strain theory (Agnew & White, 1992), other reactions, such as delinquency, are also possible. The problem of using an ethnic identity approach is that this theory was developed for ethnic minorities (e.g. Hispanics) in the U.S. The two groups of interest here (ethnic German immigrants and Russian-Jewish immigrants) may identify more strongly with the host culture for various reasons, such as common ancestry or religion, than American minorities, probably even before they enter the new country (Nauck, 2001a).

Because of these problems, another scale was used as quasi-criterion to validate the new instrument. The cultural learning perspective measures problems in dealing with everyday activities, because of an immigrant status. It can be expected that an adolescent, who knows a lot about the new society will come up against members of the host society less often, will feel more familiar with the social context, will be more accepted by peers, and will have fewer negative hassles. Ward and Kennedy (1999) published an instrument that is able to measure problems of socio-cultural adaptation. The items of this scale are more general than the acculturative hassles and not specific for adolescents, but are close in meaning, since they measure difficulties within the new society. For these reasons this scale seemed to be best for concurrent validation. Adolescents that are socio-culturally well adapted (represented by low scores in socio-cultural problems) should also report negative acculturative hassles happening less often. It was therefore hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 4.3.b:

Socio-cultural difficulties show significant positive correlations with the acculturative hassles questionnaire.



*Approach 3: Acculturative hassles in relation to teacher ratings*

To avoid the problem of using only one source of information, an independent teacher rating was used for further validation. An adolescent spends a large portion of time in school and teachers know their students' behaviour, observe interactions with other students, observe existing friendships and first romantic experiences, and can also judge the acceptance of their students in class. Teachers usually also know the new cultural context well so that, taken together, it can be expected that teachers are able to judge the problems of their students.

Teachers also have an overview of academic achievements. Research on school achievement of immigrants has shown that better adjusted adolescents show higher school achievement than adolescents that were less well adjusted (Cheung & Llu, 2000; Martinez, DeGarmo & Eddy, 2004). Thus acculturative hassles can also be expected to be negatively related to teacher-rated school adjustment.

**Hypothesis 4.3.c:**

1. Teacher rated acculturation-related problems in six domains are positively related to adolescents' reports on acculturative hassles.
2. Teacher rated school adjustment is negatively related to adolescents' reports on acculturative hassles, indicating that adolescents with many acculturative hassles are less well adjusted in school.
3. Acculturation-related hassles can predict group membership (well adjusted vs. poorly adjusted adolescent to the new context) as rated by the teacher. Adolescents with a higher frequency of hassles will be predominantly assigned by the teacher to the poorly adjusted group.

**4.3.2 Method***4.3.2.1 Measures*

Demographics: In the first section of the questionnaire, adolescents provided descriptive information about themselves. This included gender, age, length of residence, school aspirations, and country of origin.

Acculturative Hassles: The questionnaire used in this study was built on findings from study II. Altogether 28 negative or potentially stressful situations constituted the in-

strument. The Russian-Jewish adolescents in study II suggested adding positive situations to avoid the impression that adolescents only face problems in the new society. Twelve filler items with positive experiences (two in each developmental domain) were added to the questionnaire and the sequence of presenting the 40 items was randomly chosen. The positive items were derived from experiences reported in interviews in a previous longitudinal study on ethnic German adolescents (Schmitt-Rodermund, personal communication). The filler items were not analysed further. The questionnaire was introduced as follows: "People make different experiences when emigrating to a new country. Did you experience the following during the last 12 months? If yes – indicate how often you made any of each experience. If you haven't been in Germany for 12 months, please answer for the time since your arrival." To answer each question, five categories were offered: "Never", "1 to 2 times", "3 to 5 times", "6 to 10 times" and "More than 10 times".

Sociocultural adaptation: This measure, originally developed by Ward and Kennedy (1999) uses 28 items in which an adolescent rates whether he/she has problems in a number of different situations and gives an overall index of problems in the new society. The introduction was comparable to the questions about acculturative hassles: "Please indicate how often you had difficulties in the following areas during the last 12 months. The first category means that you did not have any difficulties, the last category means that you had a lot of difficulties. The numbers in between can help you graduate your answer. If you haven't been in Germany for 12 months, please answer for the time since your arrival." Sample items are "having difficulties with..." "... finding friends", "... understanding jokes and humor", "... understanding the political system in Germany", "... going shopping" or "... coping with officials".

All three measures can be seen in Appendix C.

Teacher rating: The teacher-ratings were given on three different aspects concerning the target adolescents (see Appendix D). In the first part of the teacher questionnaire, the teacher rated each adolescent on six single domains: school, friendships, family, romantic relations, new society and identity. The introduction was: "Six domains are listed in the following table in which ethnic Germans in Germany might experience problems. Please indicate how many problems (according to your impression) the adolescent had in each domain during the last 12 months. If the adolescent hasn't been in Germany for 12 months, please answer for the time since his or her arrival."

The teacher rated each domain on a six point Likert-scale with the extremes reaching from “few problems” to “many problems”.

The second question regarded each adolescent’s school adjustment. This scale was measured using six items about achievement and social acceptance in class: “Does the school achievement of the student fit his/her maximum ability?”, “How motivated is the student to get good results?”, “Do you think that the student is content with his/her school performance?”, “Is the student well integrated in class?”, “Does the student have positive social contacts to other students?” and “Do you think the student feels well in class?” The teacher had again to rate each student on these questions on a six point Likert-scale ranging from “not at all” to “very much”. The scale had an adequate internal consistency ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

At the end of the questionnaire the teachers were asked to assign each student to one of two groups. This was introduced as follows: “To sum up your impressions, two different descriptions of ethnic German adolescents are given in the next table. Please tick the description that fits the person best.” The two descriptions were:

1. Poorly adjusted immigrant: The adolescent has problems to cope with the new situation here in Germany. He/she experienced several difficult situations across several domains of life in the last 12 months and was also a victim of hostility in school.
2. Well adjusted immigrant: The adolescent has limited problems and only made few difficult experiences in Germany. He/she is able to integrate well and also experienced only few difficulties with other peers in school.

#### 4.3.2.2 Procedure

The timeframe between first and second testing in the test-retest design is a crucial element. Three basic considerations are important in defining the length between first and second testing (Amelang & Zielinski, 1997; Lienert & Raatz, 1998). First, memory and practice effects must be considered. If this is supposed to be a problem in the research, an extended time frame should be chosen with a longer period between the two measures. The second issue under consideration is the stability of the construct. Personality traits are a rather stable construct and long periods between two tests can be chosen. State constructs (e.g. emotions) can be assumed to change rather fast and a short time frame between the two tests is advised. Third, it is more likely that participants remember their answers if the questionnaire is short, easy to remember or

particularly interesting. This leads in turn to higher reliability (so called, pseudo reliability). This can be avoided by having a long time interval between the two measurement points. Given these recommendations, a shorter rather than a longer period of time between the two tests was intended. First, the test does not measure stable personality traits, but hassles over the last year. These hassles are not likely to change dramatically over two weeks, but the longer the time interval, the more likely real changes might suppress reliability scores. Second, effects of practicing or memory might be possible, but since this is not a test concerning solving certain problems (e.g. IQ-tests) this problem may not threaten the results too much. Finally, since the whole battery also contained a questionnaire for concurrent validation, the instruments used for the first wave of study III comprised altogether 80 items, which should limit memory effects. A comparable study on emotional relevant daily events experienced during the last seven days (Schmidt-Atzert, 1989) reported two reliability scores: After 24 hours ( $r_{tt} = .85$ ) and after 17 days ( $r_{tt} = .56$ ). Based on these considerations, a lag of two weeks between the two measurement points seemed adequate for the study's purpose. For these reasons, a two-week interval seemed optimal.

The participants completed the questionnaire in the school setting. The principals of the two participating schools preferred to do the data collection themselves, because this was least disruptive for the daily school activities (immigrants were in several classes in school). For this reason, the questionnaires were given to the principals and picked up after both waves of data collection were finished. The principals were provided with an exact description about the procedure and given contact information should they need any help, support or information. No principal reported any difficulty when the completed questionnaires were collected.

The adolescents had the right to refuse participation at any time and parents were provided with information concerning aims and procedure of the data collection. The data collection was completely anonymous with only the teacher able to match their report with the respective questionnaire of wave one. The second questionnaire (re-test) was matched with the first via a personal code consisting of the first two letters of father and mothers first name. This code enabled us to match both questionnaires and was not replicable from anybody involved in the study, this assured complete anonymity for the participants. Because of possible language problems (especially from those who had been in the country only a short period of time), the questionnaire was again printed in both German and Russian.

#### 4.3.2.3 *Data analysis*

A principal component analysis was conducted to explore the factor structure of the questionnaire. The sample size was again rather small, given the suggested criteria (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Nevertheless, this analysis gives important information on the underlying factor structure that was needed to be able to interpret results. The principal component analysis was performed using the data of the first wave of study III. As the factors were not supposed to be independent, oblique rotation was used (Backhaus et al., 1996; Coakes & Steed, 1999; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

To test the hypothesis that experienced adolescents (longer period in the country) face less hassles than newcomers (shorter period in the country), the whole sample was again divided into two groups by a median split to enable tests for differences with regard to length of residence. This hypothesis was tested with a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (Covariance) with acculturative hassles in each domain as dependent variables and length of stay as independent. Age, as possible intervening variable, was controlled for.

For the other types of concurrent validation simple bivariate correlations were used. To predict group membership (poorly vs. well adjusted group), a discriminant function analysis was performed.

#### 4.3.3 **Sample**

Two mid-level schools (Regelschulen) in and around Weimar took part in the study. The whole sample comprised 92 adolescent immigrants with the respective teacher reports. Five students (5.4%) refused participation leaving a total sample of 87 with 54 from central Weimar and 33 from a second school outside Weimar. Since these two schools are comparable with regard to school attainment, students were asked to state their achievement aspiration (e.g., which degree they want to get). One adolescent (1.1%) indicated that he wanted to pass 8<sup>th</sup> class leaving certificate, about 9% (eight participants) wanted to finish their education with the lowest possible school track (Hauptschulabschluss), but the majority (43.7%) were hoping for a middle school certificate (Realschulabschluss) or wanting to qualify for university study (Abitur). Thus, the adolescents in this sample were rather more academically ambitious than school-statistics suggest (Baumert & Schümer, 2002). Of the participants 43 were female, 40 were male, and four did not give their gender. The two main countries of ori-

gin were Russia (34.5%) and Kazakhstan (57.5%). The other adolescents came from other countries of the former Soviet Union.

Adolescents were on average 14.4 years old ( $SD = 1.7$ ,  $Median = 14$ ,  $Min = 11$ ,  $Max = 18$ ) and had resided in Germany for about two years ( $Mean = 1.9$ ,  $SD = 2.5$ ,  $Median = 1$ ,  $Min = 0$ ,  $Max = 12$ ).

To test the first validation hypothesis, the sample was subdivided according to length of stay. The first (newcomer) group comprised 44 adolescents that had been in the country for about half a year ( $Mean = 0.43$ ,  $SD = 0.5$ ,  $Median = 0$  years,  $Min = 0$ ,  $Max = 1$  year). The second (experienced) group comprised 34 adolescents that have been in the country for about three years on average ( $Mean = 3.85$ ,  $SD = 2.7$ ,  $Median = 3$ ,  $Min = 2$ ,  $Max = 12$ ).

The second measurement point (about two weeks after the first) was completed by 81 participants (93.1%). Reasons for non-participation in the second wave were not reported by the teachers.

#### 4.3.4 Results

##### 4.3.4.1 Factorial structure

In the end of study II it was concluded that the factor structure needed to be explored in the final version of the questionnaire including the changes resulting from discussion groups in Israel. Nine components had an eigenvalue greater than 1. But these nine components were difficult to interpret. The scree plot, another criterion to define the number of components, suggested three components. These three components explained 44.3% of the variance and were interpretable:

Table 4: Pattern matrix of the principal component analysis (oblique rotation) and communalities

	Components			Communalities
	1	2	3	
AEQ28: local adolescents were mean to me	.86			.72
AEQ20: was ignored by classmates / colleagues, because I am Aussiedler	.80			.61
AEQ7: was laughed at in school / work, because I am Aussiedler	.79			.60

Table 4 continued

	Components			Communalities
	1	2	3	
AEQ24: was teased, because I am Aussiedler	.76			.63
AEQ31: couldn't follow because no allowances were made for language problems	.69			.61
AEQ32: was called a Russian	.61			.44
AEQ5: classmates / colleagues did not speak with me, because I am Aussiedler	.56			.46
AEQ18: was second class citizen with authorities	.55			.36
AEQ38: was sworn at in school / work, because I am Aussiedler	.44	-.37	.33	.43
AEQ19: locals did not date me, because I am Aussiedler	.41		.34	.34
AEQ27: realized that I do not belong to Germany	.39	.39		.45
AEQ12: easier to find partner in country of origin	.23			.08
AEQ14: difficult to understand school/ work		.76		.60
AEQ17: not explaining, because German not good enough		.74		.62
AEQ4: not understood, because German not good enough		.64		.43
AEQ26: problems because German not good enough	.32	.61		.53
AEQ8: lonely, because friends not in Germany	-.37	.49		.35
AEQ13: embarrassed for language abilities – no dating		.42		.36
AEQ36: feeling like a stranger because of language problems		.41		.54
AEQ1: difficult to get into contact with locals			.62	.41
AEQ2: together with locals and did not know how to behave			.61	.42
AEQ40: was together with locals and did not know what was expected from me			.60	.50
AEQ35: Parents do not want me to be too oriented towards locals			.57	.40
AEQ22: parents do not understand, why I want to be like local adolescents		-.34	.48	.32
AEQ10: locals laughed at things I did not find funny			.48	.23
AEQ34: difficult for Aussiedler and locals to be friends – too different			.44	.20
AEQ9: parents do not want me to dress like local adolescents	-.34		.42	.30
AEQ30: was difficult to have local girlfriend / boyfriend	.31	.31	.41	.47

- a. The first factor consisted of 11 items with a substantial loading. Another item also loaded highest on this factor, but did not reach the .3 criterion (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). This component was interpreted as discrimination component (teasing, laughing, or swearing at the adolescent). The highest loading items were: item 28: “Locals were mean to me”, item 20: “I was ignored, because I am an immigrant”, item 7: “I was laughed at in school / at work, because I am an immigrant”. This component had an eigenvalue of 7.071 and explained 25.3% of the variance.
- b. The second component covered seven items related to language, had an eigenvalue of 2.855 and explained another 10.2% of the variance. The highest loading sample items are: item 14: “It was difficult to understand something at work/ school”, item 17: “I could not explain in German what I wanted to say”, and item 4: “I did not understand something, because my German was not good enough”.
- c. The third and last component included the remaining nine items. This component is best described as hassles of social adaptation. Sample items are: item 1: “It was difficult for my family to get into contact with local people”, item 2: “I was together with local adolescents and did not know, how to behave”, but also items regarding the family: item 35: “My parents did not want me to be too oriented towards local adolescents”. This component explained 8.8% of the variance (eigenvalue = 2.466).

As it could be expected, the three subscales were correlated with each other as can be seen in Table 5. These three empirically constructed subscales built the basis for all further analyses.

Table 5: Intercorrelations of domains of acculturative hassles

	1.	2.	3.
1. Discrimination	1	.53 ***	.56 ***
2. Language	.35 ***	1	.49 ***
3. Problems of social adaptation	.43 ***	.29 ***	1

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ ; Correlations below diagonal represent intercorrelations at T1, above diagonal intercorrelations at T2



#### 4.3.4.2 Reliability

The new subscales derived via principal component analysis showed acceptable scale properties. As was expected, the principal component analysis revealed subscales with high internal consistencies that were acceptable at both time points (Table 6). The test-retest coefficients were also acceptable, only the coefficient for language hassles was a little weaker compared to discrimination and social adaptation hassles. To test, whether the three scales are significantly different from one another, a multivariate analysis of variance with repeated measures with pair wise comparisons was calculated. This analysis revealed significant differences between the eight subscales. The difference between discrimination and social adaptation hassles was, however, significant only on the  $\alpha = .10$  level. Most hassles were reported with regard to language and least with regard to social adaptation.

Table 6: Consistency values of different domains

Domain	T1			T2			rtt
	Alpha – reliability	Mean <sup>a</sup>	SD	Alpha – reliability	Mean <sup>a</sup>	SD	
Discrimination	.85	1.56	.86	.81	1.35	.73	.67***
Language	.77	1.97	.85	.85	1.80	.95	.47***
Problems of social adaptation	.68	1.36	.68	.77	1.21	.70	.62***

<sup>a</sup> Minimum = 0, Maximum = 4

#### 4.3.4.3 Validity

Three hypotheses were formulated to show that the new scale is a valid instrument:

- 4.3.a: Adolescents who are in the country for a shorter period of time should report more hassles compared to adolescents who are more experienced.
- 4.3.b: The frequency of hassles should be correlated to self reports on socio-cultural problems.
- 4.3.c: The frequency of hassles should be correlated with teacher reports on adolescent problems in different domains of adolescent life, school adjustment and general adjustment in the new context.

*Hypothesis 4.3.a: Acculturative hassles in relation to length of residence*

The first hypothesis was tested the same way as in study II. The two groups (newcomer and experienced) were compared using a Multivariate Analysis of covariance with length of stay as independent and the new three subscales of acculturative hassles as dependent variables. For this analysis the mean of T1 and T2 was calculated for each subscale and used for further analyses. Age was again used as covariate.

The results are shown in Figure 8. The multivariate test was significant ( $F_{3, 79} = 4.98, p = .003, \eta^2 = .159$ ) indicating a difference between the newcomer and the experienced group.

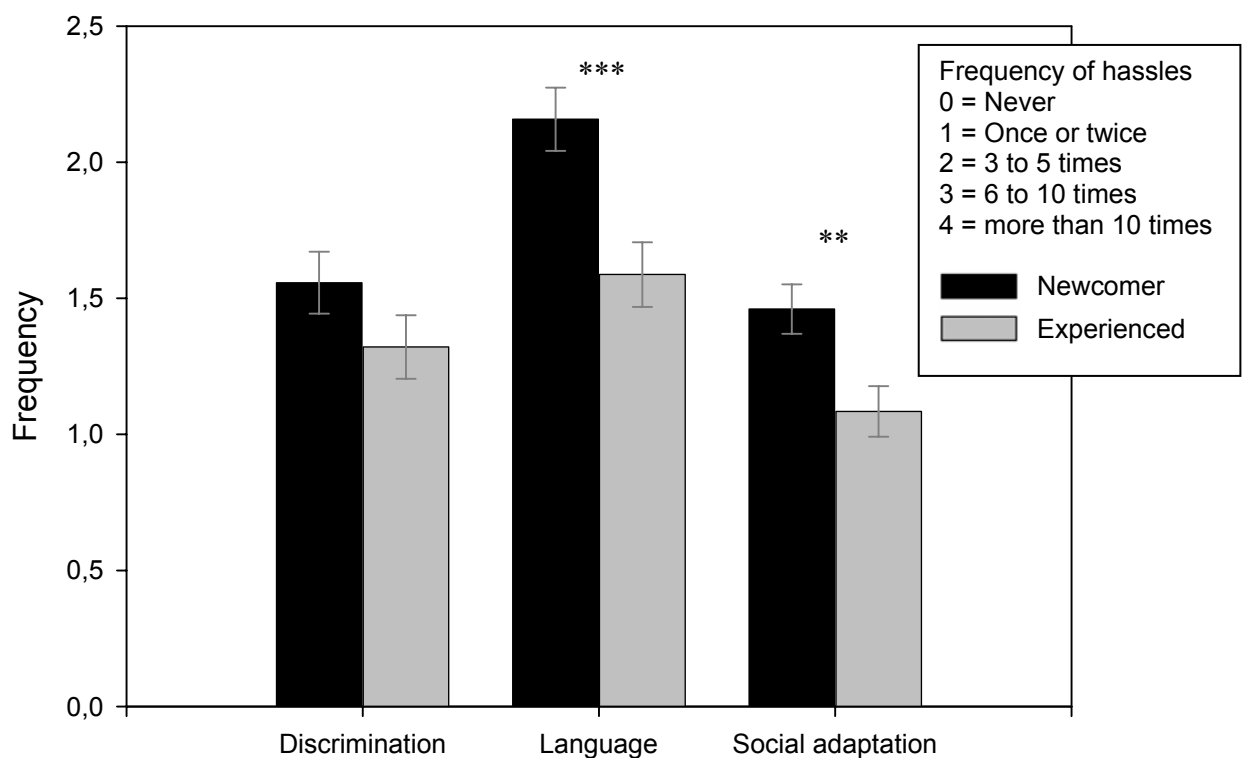


Figure 8: Acculturative hassles of the experienced and newcomer group of ethnic Germans in Germany (mean of T1 and T2, controlled for age; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$  one tailed)

The univariate tests showed significant differences on the language scale ( $F_{1, 81} = 11.53, p = .001, \eta^2 = .125$ ) and social adaptation ( $F_{1, 81} = 8.15, p = .005, \eta^2 = .091$ ). As in study II, discrimination showed no significant effect ( $F_{1, 81} = 2.05, p = .156, \eta^2 = .025$ ).

Taken together, the first hypothesis is supported by the data. The two groups differed significantly for two out of three subscales in the expected direction. For discrimination the means differed also in the expected direction, but did not reach significance. Since the items refer clearly to the status of immigrants, the explanation for the non-significant result may again be that discrimination decreases more slowly. Perhaps this is related to factors such as accent that are more durable and less easy to change.

*Hypothesis 4.3.b: Acculturative hassles in relation to socio-cultural difficulties*

The second hypothesis regarded a positive concurrent correlation between acculturative hassles and socio-cultural adaptation as measured with the instrument of Ward and Kennedy (1999). Acculturative hassles are again represented by the mean of *T1* and *T2*. The results can be seen in Table 7:

Table 7: Correlations of hassles in the specific domains and socio-cultural difficulties measured at *T1*

	Socio-cultural Difficulties	
	Bivariate correlations	Partial correlations <sup>a</sup>
Discrimination	.61***	.34***
Language	.55***	.30***
Problems of social adaptation	.57***	.29***

<sup>a</sup> controlled for the other two kinds of acculturative hassles in each case; \*\*\*  $p < .001$

The second hypothesis was also confirmed. General socio-cultural difficulties are strongly related to acculturative hassles in all three domains of immigrant adolescents. Socio-cultural adaptation was most strongly linked to discrimination hassles. The similar correlations could lead to the assumption that the three subscales basically measure exactly the same. The partial correlations, however, show unique parts of shared variance between acculturative hassles and socio-cultural difficulties indicating that the correlation between each kind of hassles and socio-cultural adaptation covers different portions of variance in socio-cultural difficulties.

*Hypothesis 4.3.c: Acculturative hassles in relation to teacher ratings*

The third hypothesis concerned three different kinds of teacher ratings. First, the teachers rated the amount of problems adolescents have in each of six developmentally important domains: school, peers, family, romantic relations, new country, identity. The second rating involved the adolescent's adjustment in school. The third rating was an overall assignment to a well or a poorly adjusted group.

Before the correlations were calculated, it was necessary to test whether the teacher had indeed differentiated between the six domains. A principal component analysis revealed that the teacher ratings on the six domains were very similar. Only one factor was found to account for 70% of the variance. The identity item was the highest loading item (.92) and family the lowest loading item (.67). The internal consistency also showed that teachers did not differentiate between single domains ( $\alpha = .91$ ). Thus the six domains were used as items of one scale indicating the teacher's judgment of the amount of acculturative problems an adolescent faces across the six domains. The correlations of the teacher ratings with the three subscales of the acculturative hassles questionnaire are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Correlations of teacher ratings and acculturative hassles

Hypothesis	Teacher ratings	Subscale of acculturative hassles - Adolescents' self report -		
		Discrimination	Language	Problems of social adaptation
4.3.c (1)	Problems across domains	.53 ***	.30 **	.38 ***
4.3.c (2)	School adjustment	-.42 ***	-.29 **	-.36 ***

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

Hypothesis 4.3.c (1) was supported: The teacher-rated amount of problems significantly correlated with all three kinds of hassles in the expected direction. The correlation was highest with adolescent reports on discrimination hassles and somewhat smaller with language and social adaptation hassles. This highest correlation with discrimination may show the kind of problems teachers considered when answering the question "Please indicate how many problems [according to your impression] the adolescent had in each domain during the last 12 months". It may be that the teachers interpreted 'problems' in terms of negative happenings observed in the classroom. It is, however, also possible that discrimination hassles are simply related more strongly

to maladjustment in school than language hassles or social adaptation hassles. Discrimination hassles may represent the negative attitudes in the host society towards immigrants that cannot be easily overcome like language problems. Taken together, the first part of the third hypothesis is supported by the data. If acculturative hassles are experienced by an adolescent immigrant, the teacher also perceives more problems in the adjustment to the new context.

The second part of hypothesis 4.3.c regarded the teacher rating on adolescents' school adjustment (motivation, achievement, and social integration). The hypothesis that adolescents with higher frequency of acculturative hassles would show a poorer school adjustment was supported by the data (Table 8). Again, the strongest correlation was with adolescent rated discrimination and probably shows the effects of discrimination experiences on school achievement and school integration, since these are the two facets of school-adjustment measured. Of course, other interpretations are also possible, such as a higher likelihood of discrimination hassles among under-achieving immigrant adolescents. The results, however, support hypothesis 4.3.c (2).

Finally, teachers were asked to assign each adolescent to a well-adjusted or a poorly adjusted group. Teachers assigned 28 adolescents to the poorly adjusted group and 50 adolescents to the well adjusted group. To test, whether the three subscales of acculturative hassles can predict the teachers' assignment into the poorly or well adjusted group (hypothesis 4.3.c (3)), a discriminant function analysis was performed. Preliminary descriptive statistics revealed significant differences between the poorly and the well-adjusted groups on all three subscales (Table 9) indicating that the two groups differ significantly on all three predictors with poorly adjusted adolescents reporting more hassles.

Table 9: Descriptive statistics of the two groups in the discriminant function analysis

Predictors	Poorly adjusted group ( $N = 28$ )		Well adjusted group ( $N = 50$ )		$F (p)$
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Discrimination	2.08	.47	1.04	.58	65.4 ( $p < .01$ )
Language	2.23	.72	1.69	.83	8.4 ( $p < .01$ )
Problems of social adaptation	1.50	.57	1.14	.62	6.5 ( $p < .05$ )

The discriminant function for predicting membership in one of the two groups was significant (Wilks Lambda = .52, Chi-squared = 48.2 [3],  $p < .01$ ) and the canonical correlation (correlation between discriminant function and group membership) was .69. Although two predictors, discrimination hassles ( $r = .972$ ) and language hassles ( $r = .348$ ), loaded higher than the common cut-off criterion for interpreting predictor loadings (cut-off = .33, Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), clearly discrimination hassles defined the discriminant function. Social adaptation hassles did not reach the common cut-off value ( $r = .306$ ). The group centroids indicated more frequent discrimination experiences among poorly-adjusted adolescents (mean = 1.26) compared to their well-adjusted adolescents (mean = -.705). Overall, 89.7% of the participants in this analysis have been classified correctly. In the poorly-adjusted group correct classification was reached in even 96.4%, in the well-adjusted group the correct prediction was slightly lower and reached only 86%. Thus hypothesis 4.3.c (3) was also supported by the data. Experiences of discrimination were the best predictors of teacher rated group membership in this analysis.

#### 4.3.5 Discussion

The third study was conducted to explore the factor structure and the psychometric properties of the new instrument. Reliability was assessed using test-retest and the internal consistency scores of the subscales, and validity was tested by employing a multi-method approach. First, the hypothesis concerning differences between groups differing in length of stay from study II was replicated. Second, an instrument measuring socio-cultural difficulties was used for concurrent validation. The third approach to validate the instrument used information given by the teachers of the participants.

The factor structure of the original eight domains was unknown in study II. To test the reliability and validity of the questionnaire, knowledge about the empirical factor structure was needed and was established using a principal component analysis (PCA). Although the sample size was below the usual recommendations for such an analysis (Coakes & Steed, 1999; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), this procedure resulted in three interpretable subscales with acceptable reliability. Several reasons exist to suggest the received factor solution is a good representation of the data. First, the three factors were interpretable and also showed similarities with the principal components in study II. Second, both reliability coefficients (the internal consistency and the test-

retest coefficient) were acceptable. Furthermore, in later validation analyses the three components showed reasonable relations to other criteria.

The PCA showed that the items do not form subscales along the previously theoretically defined domains. Rather, the three subscales seem to represent certain hassles, independent of the context where they happen. Three different kinds of hassles were found in this analysis: hassles of discrimination, language hassles and hassles of social adaptation. The first two components, discrimination and language hassles, are well known concepts in research on acculturation or minority – majority relations. The third component, social adaptation hassles, is a less established experience for adolescent immigrants. It includes several facets, such as problems of making contact with native adolescents, hassles of behavioural insecurity, or problems with parents who do not want their children to adjust too much to the new context. In general, this component describes hassles in establishing social contacts with members of the host society. As was to be expected, the three subscales correlated moderately, but nevertheless formed different components. This can be explained by the fact that the three components may share some variance (e.g. “general adjustment problems”), but also account for unique portions of variance as shown in the partial correlations with socio-cultural difficulties. Some clear differences between the subscales also existed in the validation analyses. Discrimination hassles, for instance, were not related to length of stay as was expected. In separating teacher-rated poorly from well-adjusted adolescents, however, the discriminant function basically consisted of the discrimination subscale. Language hassles and social adaptation hassles were hardly relevant in this analysis. These differences can illustrate the uniqueness of each subscale.

The three aspects measured are not new constructs, but other researchers already described similar problems of adolescent immigrants. In their chapter on acculturative stress Hernandez and Charney (1998) identified four kinds of problems associated with acculturative stress: language problems, perceived discrimination, perceived cultural incompatibilities between home culture and host culture (resulting from different values, interaction styles, social roles, and socialisation practices), and increasing gaps between the cultural affiliations of adults and children. The factor solution shows a very similar result, although the last two kinds of problems are represented by one single factor – social adaptation hassles. Given the process of questionnaire development used in this study, the fit between the factorial structure and Hernandez’s and Charney’s (1998) research strongly supports the content of the acculturative hassle questionnaire.

Discrimination hassles can also be understood as perceived societal barriers to assimilation (Esser, 1980; Nauck, 2001b; Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). Thus, these experiences represent hassles that depend on how the receiving society is perceived in dealing with immigrants. To reduce the impact of discrimination hassles, the society can make efforts to reduce such experiences (e.g., laws against discrimination as recently discussed in public debate). This is especially important, because the two groups of length of stay did not significantly differ in terms of discrimination hassles, which means that discrimination hassles hardly diminish over the first years or that the rate of change is too small to be found in the present sample. Discrimination hassles, however, correlated highest with self-reports on socio-cultural difficulties, teacher rated problems, school adjustment, and were also the best predictor for separating poorly adjusted from well-adjusted adolescents. This means that their impact on the adjustment process seems to be highest, whereas the change over time in the new country lowest. Nauck (2001a) describes perceived discrimination as obstacles in the new society that hinder the assimilation of immigrants. If this interpretation holds, the data would show that the immigrants adapt to the new context in terms of language and social skills, but are isolated and discriminated against by native people even after several years.

The second subscale, language hassles, comprises all items that are related to language problems. It is known that language proficiency improves after immigration among ethnic German adolescents (Fuchs, Schwietring & Weiss, 1999a), a finding that is also represented in the comparison between newcomer and experienced adolescents, where language hassles produced the strongest effect compared to social adaptation or discrimination hassles. Language hassles were also related to more socio-cultural difficulties – an immigrant with language problems will also experience problems in other spheres of life, for instance in shops restaurants etc. Last, but not least, a higher frequency of language hassles was also related to more teacher reported problems and poorer school adjustment. These correlations also support the use of the scale, since problems in speaking the new language often lead to problems following class. Since language hassles are the most frequently reported, improving the language proficiency seems to be a crucial element in the acculturation process of immigrants. In this light, the stepwise reduction of the maximum length of language courses from originally 12 months to 6 months after 1993 (Dietz, 2003a) may be problematic.



Hassles of social adaptation are more complex. The items in this subscale refer to difficulties making contact with native people, to behavioural insecurities (socio-cultural skills) when together with natives, to perceived differences between natives and ethnic Germans, and also to parental restrictions regarding the acculturation of the ethnic German adolescent. The common core of these hassles may be described as obstacles to get into contact with the host society. These problems may be related to missing social skills in the new society, problems that may be caused by the different pace of parents' and children's acculturation (also called acculturation gap, Birman & Trickett, 2001), differences in values such as developmental timetables (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999b), or difficulties with establishing an ethnic (minority) identity (Phinney, 1993; 2000). All three validating hypotheses were supported: Experienced adolescents showed fewer social adaptation hassles, probably because the adolescents improved their social and cultural skills. More frequent social adaptation hassles were also related to more socio-cultural difficulties – a reasonable correlation, given the similarities of both constructs and

In sum, study III was conducted to explore the properties of the questionnaire on acculturative hassles. The exploration of the factor structure resulted in three subscales with acceptable reliability and validity: language hassles, discrimination hassles and social adaptation hassles. However, before this scale can be used to compare Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel with ethnic German adolescents in Germany, a similar factor structure in both contexts needs to be established. This was the aim of the next study (study IV).

#### **4.4 Study IV: Factor Structure and Comparability in Israel and Germany**

As described in the introduction, the ultimate goal of this dissertation was to use the newly developed scale in order to compare acculturative hassles of Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel with those of ethnic German adolescents in Germany. For this reason, the results of two small pilot studies conducted with Russian Jews in Israel were taken into consideration during the initial construction of the questionnaire (see chapter 4.2.4). In order to use the questionnaire in the two countries and the two different immigrant groups, however, the equivalence of the structure of the questionnaire in both contexts needed to be tested. For this reason a fourth study was undertaken.

Cross-cultural methods offer several means with which to establish measurement equivalence. One way would simply be to compare the reliabilities (Chronbach's alpha) of the scales for each group (Mohler, 1999), but the suggested comparisons are only possible in small samples and the rejection rates are unacceptable in large samples (Mohler, 1999). Other techniques are target factor analysis (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997), using item response theory (Knight & Hill, 1998; Reise, Widaman & Pugh, 1993), or confirmatory factor analysis (Knight & Hill, 1988; Reise, Widaman & Pugh, 1993). It was decided to use confirmatory factor analysis in this study, primarily because it is a proven technique, with established fit indices that are not heavily influenced by sample size, and that is currently judged to be the preferable method of analysis (Knight & Hill, 1998). Confirmatory analysis also offers the possibility to constrain parameters to be similar across samples, as required for the comparison of Russian Jews in Israel and ethnic Germans in Germany. The three component solution found in study III was the basis for this analysis. The three subscales of acculturative hassles, discrimination hassles, language hassles and hassles of social adaptation were the basis for the latent constructs tested in both samples.

Since the construction of the questionnaire was also based on information from focus groups and discussions with Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel, it was expected that the factor structure would be comparable in both samples.

**Hypothesis 4.4:**

The three factor structure represents the data of the acculturative hassles questionnaire in both contexts: Israel and Germany.

#### **4.4.1 Method**

##### *4.4.1.1 Measures*

The acculturative hassles questionnaire was one of several instruments used in the data collection of the mentioned German-Israeli project „The impact of social and cultural adaptation of juvenile immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel and Germany on delinquency and deviant behavior“<sup>3</sup>. Besides the questionnaire on acculturative hassles, adolescents completed questions on diverse aspects of their lives

<sup>3</sup> Principal investigators: Germany: Rainer K. Silbereisen & Eva Schmitt-Rodermund; Israel: Gideon Fishman, Gustavo Mesch, Zvi Eisikovitz; funding: German-Israeli Project Cooperation (DIP), Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF)

and gave demographic background information. The questions were the same in Israel and Germany. In Israel, however, personal interviews were conducted, while written questionnaires had to be used in Germany. Participants at both sites had the right to refuse participation. In this chapter, only the results of the acculturative hassles questionnaire are reported.

Demographics: In the beginning, adolescents had to provide descriptive information about themselves, including gender, age, length of residence, school aspirations, and country of origin.

Acculturative Hassles (AEQ): The 28 acculturative hassles formulated in study III comprised the items of the acculturative hassles scale. Again, the 12 positive filler items were used, in order to make the scale more balanced and less negative, but the results of these items were not included in the current analysis. The questionnaire was introduced the same way as in study III: "People make different experiences when immigrating to a new country. Did you experience the following during the last 12 months? If yes – indicate how often you made any of each experience. If you haven't been in Germany for 12 months, please answer for the time since your arrival." To answer each question, the same five categories were offered: "Never", "1 to 2 times", "3 to 5 times", "6 to 10 times" and "More than 10 times". The questionnaire was again written in two languages: German with Russian subtitles for every question.

#### 4.4.1.2 Data Analysis

To test the applicability of the factor solution found in study III confirmatory factor analyses were conducted. Given the large sample size and the number of items per factor, two points have to be considered before estimating the models: covariation of error terms and the fit indices used to judge the fit of the data.

First, the assumption of no *covariation between error terms* often leads to a poor fit. Models in which no covariation is allowed are very conservative, since all covariation between single items must be explained by the latent variables. Additional variance (e.g. correlations that exist only between two items of a given scale) will result in poorer fit indices. Often pairs of items share variance apart from the variance accounted for by the latent factors (Floyd & Widaman, 1995) and the likelihood of such covariances increases with the number of items in a scale. Three solutions to this problem are offered in the literature. First, items can be deleted and smaller scales

used, or models are tested that do not include all items of a scale. This is a problematic procedure because non-selected items can still contain valuable information. This procedure is also in opposition to classical test theory, where the reliability of a given scale improves by adding items (Floyd & Widaman, 1995; Yuan, Bentler & Kano, 1997). A second solution is to add additional covariances between error terms (Kano, 2002; Schuster, Hammitt & Moore, 2003). This procedure also has disadvantages, as the interpretation of the scales become more problematic if modification indices suggest covariances between items of different scales, which is especially likely in subscales if these are not supposed to be completely orthogonal. A third method, called parcelling, suggests that items are allocated to parcels. A parcel refers to an observed variable that is the sum or mean of several items that are conceptually similar and belong to the same factor (Nasser & Wisenbaker, 2003). These parcels are used as manifest variables in the model (Cunningham, 2002; Floyd & Widaman, 1995; Olason & Roger, 2001; Yuan, Bentler & Kano, 1997). With this method, the information of all items is used in the model but the problem of too many items per scale causing fit problems is reduced. This is the method chosen for use in this study.

Besides dealing with covariances between single items, the second point that needs to be considered are the *fit indices* used to evaluate the fit of a model. First, the Chi squared statistics will be reported here as a classic test of a close fit. This index is, however, not very reliable, since it depends heavily on sample size (Backhaus et al., 1996; Bentler, 1995; Shevlin, Miles & Lewis, 2000; Ullman, 1996). This means that poor models will be accepted in small samples, while models with a close fit are rejected with large sample sizes or violations of underlying assumptions. Since this analysis was conducted with about 1400 adolescents in each context (Israel and Germany), this problem was very likely to arise in the analysis. Because of this weakness of the Chi squared statistics, other indices have been developed to assess the fit of models (Bentler, 1995; Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Shevlin, Miles & Lewis, 2000). A reliable estimate of model fit is the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), an index also based on the Chi squared, but adjusting for sample size and complexity of the model (Shevlin, Miles & Lewis, 2000). Comparative fit indices (also named incremental fit indices) are another type of indices. These indices place the measurement model on a continuum between an independence model (variables are not at all related to one another) and a perfectly fitting model (a saturated model with zero degrees of freedom). Comparative fit indices are a standardized degree of fit between the model and an independent model (Ullman, 1996) and have a range from 0

to 1 with 1 indicating a perfect fit (examples are: NFI, NNFI, CFI, IFI). A third group of fit indices uses the variance in the sample covariance matrix that is accounted for by the estimated population covariance matrix (GFI) that can also be adjusted for the number of parameters and data points (AGFI). This group of indices was criticized, because it is difficult to determine appropriate cutoff values indicating a close fit of the model (Shevlin, Miles & Lewis, 2000). Since it is useful to report indices from several groups, the RMSEA, the NFI and the CFI were used to evaluate model fit. Despite expected problems of sample size, the Chi squared is also reported because it is probably the most common index for assessing model fit. With the large samples sizes used here, however, a significant  $p$  value for the Chi squared test was expected.

For the RMSEA several *cutoff criteria* have been suggested. Browne and Cudeck (1993) suggested values of less than 0.05 as indicators for a close fit, values between 0.08 and 0.05 as acceptable fit and values greater than 0.10 as poor fit. Hu and Bentler (1999) suggested more conservative cutoff values for the RMSEA (less than 0.06), but this criterion may result in too frequent type 1 errors (incorrect rejection of an acceptable model) and was recently criticised as far too conservative (Marsh, Kit-Tai & Zhonglin, 2004). For NFI and CFI a close fit can be assumed if the fit index is greater than 0.9 (Byrne, 1994; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Ullmann, 1996).

#### 4.4.2 Sample

Two groups of participants took part in this study. The group of participants in Israel were Russian-Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, the group of immigrants to Germany were adolescent ethnic German immigrants (Aussiedler). In Germany adolescents completed a questionnaire in the school context. In Israel the same questions were given, but participants were interviewed by a native speaker. Table 10 shows the main descriptive statistics of both groups regarding variables such as gender, age, length of stay and country of origin. In Germany a school based data collection was conducted. Schools were selected according to several criteria. First, the whole study should comprise immigrants in both parts of Germany (east and west). In each part of Germany two federal countries were selected. Hesse and North Rhine Westphalia in west Germany and Saxony and Thuringia in the east. Second, the effect of the size of the city an adolescent lives in was aimed to be comparable in order to reduce between subject effects of urbanity. Cities were selected with 100,000 to 200,000 citizens, in which the density of ethnic German immigrants varied from 1.24%

(Jena) to 15.7% (Paderborn). In these cities schools were selected according to official statistics regarding the number of ethnic Germans among their students. Altogether 53 schools participated. Ethnic Germans were identified by the teachers in each school. The parents of potential participants received information about the project and the data collection in advance and had the chance to refuse participation. On the day of data collection all adolescent immigrants assembled in one room and completed the questionnaire. In Israel a similar procedure was applied and data were collected in several cities. These cities were in nearly all areas of Israel.

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics (means, standard deviations) for both countries

	Germany <i>N</i> = 1437		Israel <i>N</i> = 1420	
Gender	637 male (44.3%) 783 female (54.5%)		758 male (56.6%) 662 female (53.4%)	
Age	<i>M</i> = 15.9	<i>SD</i> = 2.5	<i>M</i> = 15.7	<i>SD</i> = 1.8
Length of stay	<i>M</i> = 8.3	<i>SD</i> = 4.4	<i>M</i> = 3.0	<i>SD</i> = 1.5
Country of origin	Kazakhstan: 534 (37.2%)		Ukraine. 547 (38.5%)	
	Russia: 451 (31.4%)		Russia: 496 (34.9%)	
	Poland: 163 (11.3%)		Uzbekistan: 74 (5.2%)	
	Kyrgyzstan: 62 (4.3%)		Kaukaz: 72 (5.1%)	
	Germany: 82 (5.3%)		Kazakhstan: 52 (3.7%)	

Both samples differed with respect to some of these measures. The mean age of both groups was similar, but some older adolescent immigrants in German schools (about 50 participants were above 20 in Germany) caused a slightly higher variance. Gender was relatively evenly distributed in both samples with slightly more females in Germany and slightly more males in Israel. The two countries differed with regard to length of residence in the new country. The sample of ethnic Germans in Germany represented a much wider range of length of residence ranging from several months to as much as 20 years. Of this sample, 82 adolescents were already second generation citizens and were therefore excluded from the analysis. In both countries the sample consisted largely of immigrants from Russia. In Germany, the second largest group came from another former Soviet country, Kazakhstan, and in Israel from Ukraine. The remainder of the samples came from other parts of the former Soviet Union or, in the case of Germany, from Poland. The ethnic Germans from Poland face a very similar situation as those from the former Soviet Union. They also have German ancestry, spoke another language in the country of origin and also had a background in former communist block of east Europe. The only difference is that immigra-

tion from Poland ceased in recent years (see Figure 2) and thus on average these adolescents have been in Germany for a slightly longer period of time.

#### 4.4.3 Results

Confirmatory factor analyses were used to check whether the structure of the questionnaire established in study III could also be applied to the large samples of study IV. This was tested using the statistical package Amos 5 and maximum likelihood estimation. The model represented the three factor solution. Following the arguments regarding fit indices of scales with many items, parcels were used for the three bigger subscales: discrimination, language, and social adaptation. Three to four items of a factor were randomly assigned to the parcels. The consistency of single parcels varied between .42 and .79 as can be seen in Table 11. The parcels represented the manifest variables in the model explaining the three latent constructs (the three subscales), which were allowed to correlate freely, because the different scales were not supposed to be orthogonal.

Table 11: Consistencies of parcels used in the confirmatory factor analysis

	Parcel (ahq <sup>a</sup> item number)	Ethnic German sample	Russian-Jewish sample
Discrimination	1 (28, 24, 5, 19)	.67	.68
	2 (20, 31, 18, 27)	.61	.58
	3 (7, 32, 38, 12)	.52	.53
Language	1 (14, 4, 8, 36)	.79	.64
	2 (17, 26, 13)	.75	.60
Social adaptation	1 (1, 35, 34)	.49	.45
	2 (2, 22, 9)	.46	.42
	3 (40, 10, 30)	.43	.49

<sup>a</sup> acculturative hassles questionnaire

The results of the analyses are presented in the next Table (12). First, the separate fit indices for each sample are presented. In the second step, the fit for a two group model was tested, in which the parameters were constrained to be equal in both samples.

Table 12: Fit indices for the three factor model

Model	$\chi^2$	$p$	<i>NFI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	90% <i>RMSEA</i>
Ethnic German sample	146.1	.000	.973	.976	.075	.064 - .086
Russian-Jewish sample	156.7	.000	.966	.970	.076	.065 - .087
Two group model	323.8	.000	.968	.971	.051	.046 - .057

The parcel solution results in a very close fit. As expected, the Chi squared value is significant. All other criteria, however, meet the cut-off criteria by Browne and Cudeck (1993). The models fit in both single samples and also the two group model (constraining the paths between latent and manifest variables to be equal in both samples). Thus, the hypothesis was supported by the current data set.

Parcelling is a useful method for confirmatory analysis with many items, because information from all items is used, but the problem of multiple covariation is reduced. This solution cannot, however, give information on single items. To obtain single item information, the discriminative power was calculated and for this purpose, the items were correlated with the subscale value. Results are shown in Table 13 together with the respective reliabilities of the subscales in both samples. The highest correlation of each item is given in bold numbers.

The discriminative power indices show that all but one item have the highest correlation with the scale they belong to. The convergent discriminative power of all items is excellent. The divergent discriminative power of most items, however, shows correlations of single items with other scales. Although these correlations are in all but one case smaller than correlations with the scales the items belong to, the divergent discriminative power shows that the scales are not independent of one another, which was assumed from the beginning. The correlations between the three scales supported this assumption (Table 14).



Table 13: Divergent and convergent discriminative power of items

Scale	item	Ethnic Germans			Russian Jews		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
1. Language	AEQ14	<b>.78</b>	.55	.47	<b>.67</b>	.37	.31
	AEQ17	<b>.76</b>	.49	.45	<b>.69</b>	.32	.29
	AEQ4	<b>.79</b>	.47	.44	<b>.68</b>	.30	.27
	AEQ26	<b>.82</b>	.54	.47	<b>.71</b>	.49	.41
	AEQ8	<b>.68</b>	.50	.45	<b>.59</b>	.38	.36
	AEQ13	<b>.69</b>	.48	.45	<b>.57</b>	.39	.37
	AEQ36	<b>.77</b>	.54	.51	<b>.65</b>	.52	.44
2. Discrimination	AEQ28	.42	<b>.69</b>	.49	.38	<b>.68</b>	.45
	AEQ20	.34	<b>.59</b>	.37	.32	<b>.67</b>	.43
	AEQ7	.45	<b>.70</b>	.44	.34	<b>.67</b>	.43
	AEQ24	.40	<b>.67</b>	.44	.29	<b>.65</b>	.40
	AEQ31	<b>.61</b>	.56	.44	.43	<b>.53</b>	.37
	AEQ32	.26	<b>.53</b>	.31	.30	<b>.46</b>	.30
	AEQ5	.46	<b>.62</b>	.40	.36	<b>.61</b>	.38
	AEQ18	.42	<b>.55</b>	.42	.34	<b>.54</b>	.38
	AEQ38	.31	<b>.64</b>	.38	.34	<b>.68</b>	.42
	AEQ19	.23	<b>.43</b>	.30	.28	<b>.54</b>	.36
	AEQ27	.51	<b>.63</b>	.51	.48	<b>.56</b>	.41
AEQ12	.41	<b>.54</b>	.40	.30	<b>.43</b>	.27	
3. Social adaptation	AEQ1	.36	.38	<b>.57</b>	.31	.28	<b>.49</b>
	AEQ2	.52	.50	<b>.68</b>	.44	.38	<b>.53</b>
	AEQ40	.38	.38	<b>.57</b>	.32	.38	<b>.52</b>
	AEQ35	.26	.30	<b>.55</b>	.22	.32	<b>.61</b>
	AEQ22	.19	.24	<b>.45</b>	.19	.31	<b>.51</b>
	AEQ10	.20	.38	<b>.54</b>	.25	.43	<b>.54</b>
	AEQ34	.43	.51	<b>.66</b>	.29	.37	<b>.53</b>
	AEQ9	.28	.29	<b>.53</b>	.25	.31	<b>.57</b>
	AEQ30	.53	.51	<b>.59</b>	.38	.45	<b>.57</b>
	<b>alpha</b>	<b>.87</b>	<b>.82</b>	<b>.74</b>	<b>.77</b>	<b>.81</b>	<b>.70</b>

1 – language hassles, 2 – discrimination hassles, 3 – hassles of social adaptation

Table 14: Bivariate Correlations between the three Subscales

	1.	2.	3.
1. Language	-	.67 ***	.61 ***
2. Discrimination	.60 ***	-	.68 ***
3. Problems of Social Adaptation	.54 ***	.66 ***	-

Correlations for ethnic German adolescents are represented above the diagonal, for Russian-Jewish adolescents below the diagonal

The high correlations indicated that the three factors shared on average about one third of their variance. This substantial amount of shared variance led to the assumption that the items may actually form a uni-dimensional scale. Thus, the confirmatory factor analysis was repeated, but a uni-dimensional one factor model was tested. The results in Table 15 indicated that the three factor model clearly fitted the data better. This means that the three subscales are correlated and share a common core, but also have independent variance.

Table 15: Fit indices for the one factor model

Model	$\chi^2$	<i>p</i>	<i>NFI</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>	90% <i>RMSEA</i>
Ethnic German sample	565.4	.000	.895	.898	.142	.132 - .152
Russian-Jewish sample	448.2	.000	.903	.907	.123	.113 - .133
Two group model	1095.2	.000	.890	.894	.090	.085 - .094

The structure of the questionnaire is similar in both samples and the alpha-reliabilities (Table 13) also indicate that the subscales are equivalent in both samples. A test for similarities of the alpha reliabilities as suggested by Mohler (1999) is not applicable given the large number of subjects, since this statistic is based on an *F* distribution with *N*-1 degrees of freedom. Minimal differences would result in significant *F* values if sample size is as big as 1400 subjects in each group.

In sum, when all the results are considered, the scale structure can be seen to be equivalent in both samples.

#### 4.4.4 Discussion

The aim of the fourth study was to test the structure of the acculturative hassles questionnaire in both groups of immigrants: ethnic German adolescents in Germany and Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel. The three factor structure derived in study III was confirmed separately in both samples, and also in a two-group model. The three components that already showed their reliability and consistency in study III, were also internally consistent in this study.

The use of parcels to identify the structure of the questionnaire resulted in a good fit of the factor structure and the data. The only disadvantage of parcelling is that a single

item is less influential on the overall fit. For this reason the convergent and discriminative power was calculated for each item. The convergent discriminative power was excellent, with only one item (“I couldn’t follow because no allowances were made for language problems”) that was supposed to belong to the discrimination subscale correlating slightly higher with language problems in the ethnic German sample. This correlation can be explained by the language content of the item. Nevertheless it also had a substantial correlation with discrimination hassles ( $r = .56$ ) that was even slightly higher than among Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel ( $r = .53$ ). The divergent discriminative power should be low, but this is not always the case for the acculturative hassles items.

Correlations among the three subscales were assumed from the beginning of scale construction (chapter 4.3.2.3) meaning that an adolescent reporting problems on one scale is also likely to report problems on another. Conceptually these intercorrelations are acceptable, as long as the three subscales do not form a uni-dimensional scale. The test of uni-dimensionality, however, was not supported by the data. Thus, the acculturative hassles questionnaire measures three different facets of general acculturative hassles. The three subscales may share a common core, but at the same time have unique portions of variance. This can be explained in practical terms in two ways. On the one hand, an adolescent who speaks the language less well may have problems in understanding native adolescents both, verbally and culturally, since language is seen as the major component for understanding a new culture (Kim, Laroche & Tomiuk, 2001; Wallen, Feldman, Anliker, 2002). Problems in intergroup understanding may also likely result in higher perceived discrimination, because the adolescent is likely to provoke misunderstandings and belongs clearly to another cultural group. On the other hand, if an adolescent is able to speak the new language, it does not imply that discrimination does not take place. In other words, language acquisition can explain parts of the variance in discrimination, but other parts are unique and can only be explained by other sources of variance (e.g., general attitudes in the host society).

Besides the confirmatory analyses which supported a three dimensional scale, other reasons to keep the three factorial structure also exist. First, as in the confirmatory analysis of study III, the unique aspects of the three subscales were also represented in the explorative factor analysis in study III and were also shown in the partial correlations of the three subscales of acculturative hassles with socio-cultural difficulties. Furthermore, the validation in study III showed differential relations between the three scales and the different criteria. For example, experienced and newcomer adolescents

differed significantly in terms of language hassles and social adaptation hassles, but no differences were found for discrimination hassles. At the same time, discrimination hassles were the best predictor to separate the teacher rated well-adjusted group from the poorly adjusted group of ethnic German immigrants. Language and social-adaptation hassles were only very weakly related to the discriminative function in this analysis. The advantage of the intercorrelations of subscales is that the core (“general adjustment problems”) may be represented as higher order factor in future research using structural equation models.

Taken together, study IV showed that acculturative hassles are represented in three different but related kinds of hassles: discrimination hassles, language hassles and social adaptation hassles. This structure is equivalent in the two different samples, Russian Jews in Israel and ethnic Germans in Germany.

## 5 Acculturative Hassles of Adolescent Immigrants in Two Contexts: Israel and Germany

It was mentioned in the introduction that successful acculturation is usually measured via two different kinds of outcomes: socio-cultural and psychological adaptation (Ataca & Berry, 2002; Kosic, 2002; Leung, 2001; Ward et al., 1998). The advantage of measuring acculturation-related hassles as one source of acculturative experiences (Berry, 1997) is that such hassles depend directly on group level characteristics (see Berry's acculturation framework, Figure 5), such as those of the society of settlement, society of origin, and group level acculturation. In so far, such a measure on hassles experienced because of the immigrant background of an adolescent shows directly the fit of the immigrant group into the new society, not - as in case of psychological adjustment - the result of a complex psychological process, or - as in understanding of Ward's (2001) socio-cultural adjustment - the learning process of new language and behaviour. The acculturative hassles questionnaire was developed for both, Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel and ethnic German adolescents in Germany. This chapter will investigate the differences of the acculturation processes between the two groups. For each of the three kinds of acculturative hassles, language hassles, discrimination hassles, and social adaptation hassles, two hypotheses will be drawn based on theoretical and empirical arguments. One will compare the general level of acculturative hassles in both samples, the other will focus on the level of acculturative hassles in each context depending on the time spent in the new society.

The three subscales are considered individually, because they focus on different aspects of the acculturation situation. Language hassles summarize the amount of problems in interactions happening in the new language, whereas discrimination hassles can be understood as societal barriers to assimilation (Esser, 1980; Nauck, 2001b; Steinbach & Nauck, 2000) perceived by the adolescent as unfair treatment because of group membership (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). Social adaptation hassles, the third kind of hassles, describe problems of making contact with members of the new society.

### 5.1 Theoretical Background

As already noted, Berry's (1997) framework on acculturation research gives three different sources of acculturative experiences: The society of origin, the society of set-

tlement, and group acculturation. Although his model does not refer specifically to diaspora migration (or repatriation), it is very similar in these aspects to a theoretical model by Shuval (2000) that focused on Russian-Jewish immigration to Israel or ethnic German immigration to Germany. In this model Shuval offers a framework for the study of diaspora immigration (i.e., repatriation), in which she also differentiates between three major groups of variables comparable to the Berry's (1997) model: Characteristics of the diaspora group, characteristics of homeland (country of settlement) and characteristics of hosts (country of origin). Both frameworks are rather complex offering an overview of the large amount of possible influences on the acculturation process and this complexity makes it difficult to test these frameworks as a whole. However, both approaches offer a structure for the comparison of the acculturation processes of Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel and ethnic German adolescents in Germany. In particular, two of the three main sources of adaptation processes, the characteristics of the ethnic (diaspora) group and the characteristics of the receiving country of settlement (homeland), are taken into consideration here. These two seem to be of higher relevance than characteristics of the country of origin (Former Soviet Union), because daily acculturative hassles are a result of unsuccessful interactions between immigrants and current challenges in the new context. Furthermore, the cultural (Soviet Union) background in the country of origin is comparable between Russian-Jewish and ethnic German immigrants.

#### Similarities of the countries of settlement

Similarities and dissimilarities can be found in the characteristics of the two homelands (countries of settlement), Israel and Germany. For an overview, see Table 16. A structural similarity is the substantial number of immigrants who have entered both countries since the 1980s (Bade & Troen, 1993; DellaPergola, 1998). Although it is often claimed that Germany is not a country of immigration (see e.g., Martin, 1994) the overall rate of admitted immigrants is comparable to Israel: Between 1960 and 1994, on average 11.9 immigrants per 1000 citizens were accepted each year in Israel and 11.2 in Germany (DellaPergola, 1998). Compared to other immigration countries these rates are high (USA - 2.4; Canada – 6.3; Australia – 8.6). Of course, not all immigrants in Germany are ethnic Germans, not all took permanent residence, and different kinds of immigrants, such as guest workers or asylum seekers are included in these figures. Nevertheless, these statistics show that both Germany and Israel have experienced large influxes of non-native people who need to be integrated into the host culture.

Israel and Germany are also comparable in other terms, such as timing of the waves of immigration, their 'open door' policies of admission of diaspora immigrants, the politically supported integration process (Shuval, 1998), the general western orientation of both countries (Shuval & Leshem, 1998), and the existence of an official welcome with automatic citizenship and initially guaranteed institutional support (Joppke & Rosenhek, 2001; Shuval, 1998; Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). It is also common in both countries that this official welcome is not shared in the whole society. Attitudes towards this kind of immigrants vary in both host societies from positive humanitarian attitudes to covert (or sometimes overt) hostility, especially concerning competition for jobs (Dietz, 1996; Leshem, 1998; Martin, 1994; Mesch, 2002a; Shuval, 1998). In comparing both types of diaspora migration, Shuval (1998) came to the conclusion that "the structural parallels between Israel and Germany in their open door policies regarding the admission of diaspora immigrants are striking in terms of social construction of the situations and the consequent definition of criteria for admission" (Shuval, 1998, p. 11).

#### Dissimilarities of the countries of settlement

Concerning differences in the homeland characteristics (society of settlement), some researchers argued that the return of ethnic Germans to Germany has in principle come to an end whereas immigration to Israel continues unabated (Joppke & Rosenhek, 2001). This view is not shared here, since the number of immigrants as presented in Figure 1 show similar changes in both countries over recent years, although numbers have decreased in the mid-nineties, it seems to level off in recent years.

Nevertheless, other differences between the two receiving countries do exist. Germany is still a rather homogeneous society culturally formed by mainstream values. Israel accommodates a much more complex cultural structure of Arabic, non-Arabic-non-Jewish and Jewish population that is further divided into several Jewish subgroups (Ashkenazim, Sephardim). All these different groups have contrary expectations regarding Israel's future (Al-Haj, 1998; Amir, 1994). Arab leaders fear a pure Jewish state with further Jewish immigration, limited Arab influence, further marginalization and settlement of Jews on Arab territory (Al-Haj, 1998). Jewish leaders, on the other hand, recognize immigration as a means by which to counter the "demographic peril" (Al-Haj, 2004, p. 181) that exists due to the higher fertility rate among Arabs and the resulting threat for the Jewish character of the Israeli state. For Jewish leaders, immigration is also regarded as a symbol of the Zionist idea (Al-Haj, 1998; Azarya &

Kimmerling, 1998). However, public opinion is more negative regarding such immigration (Al-Haj, 2004; Leshem, 1998), which is likely to be based on the graving competition for jobs, schools, housing, and so forth (Leshem, 1998).

Official support for this kind of diaspora migration also differs between the two countries. While in Germany ethnic Germans receive collective support (e.g. every immigrant receives the same "integration money"), Israel provides individual support to immigrants based on individual needs (Krentz, 2002; Mesch, 2002a; Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). Another difference between the two receiving countries is the concentration of immigrants in the host communities. Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel usually live in cities with a high concentration of immigrants with sub-areas of up to 60% of Russian-Jewish immigrants (Mesch, 2002a). The concentration in the cities of the current project, for instance varied from 1% to 16% (mean = 8%) for the cities in Germany, but from 13% to 45% (mean = 30%) in Israel (information given by city councils). Since immigrant concentration in the neighbourhood can impact the integration of immigrants, this difference may influence the acculturation process in both contexts (Mesch, 2002b). Furthermore, differences exist in the acculturation orientations shared by the host society (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003; Bourhis et al., 1997; Horenczyk, 1997), i.e. what members of the host society expect from immigrants. German hosts preferred a segregationist idea and wanted immigrants to be among themselves. Israeli hosts preferred an assimilation strategy of their immigrating populations and wanted immigrants to adjust to the Israeli context by giving up their cultural heritage (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). All in all the acceptance of immigrants from the former Soviet Union is assumed to be higher in Israel than in Germany (Bade & Troen, 1993).

#### Similarities of the immigrating groups

Besides homeland characteristics, the situation of Russian-Jewish and ethnic German immigrants can be compared on the second characteristic in Berry's (1997) or Shuval's (2000) models: the immigrating groups. Both Russian Jews in Israel and ethnic Germans in Germany were minorities in the former Soviet Union. The mentalities and experiences in a totalitarian state differ from those of the host societies (Bade & Troen, 1993). In both cases the immigrants share cultural and ethnic roots with the German or Israeli population, but often their ethnic identities (German or Jewish) are overlaid with other ethnic identities (e.g., through Russian-German marriages) and cultural identities (e.g., Russian language) associated with the country of origin (Shuval, 1998). Furthermore, in both receiving countries the immigrating population of di-



aspora immigrants changed comparably in recent years (Al-Haj, 2004; Dietz, in press). Dietz (in press) reported that the number of real ethnic Germans (i.e., those with direct German ancestry) entering the country decreased from 75% in 1993 to 20% in 2003. Proportionately, the number of Russian spouses and relatives increased from 25% to 80% of the incoming immigrants. These changes can also be observed for Russian-Jewish immigrants to Israel. Here the non-Jewish immigrants (in terms of the halakhah – the Jewish religious law) increased over a similar period of time from about 15% to 56.4% in 2001 (Al-Haj, 2004). In other words, the migrating population changed in recent years and the number of immigrants having direct German or Jewish ancestors decreased.

### Dissimilarities of the immigrating groups

As can be seen in Table 16, there are, however, also differences between the two immigrating groups. If one looks at diaspora immigrants, such immigrants come exclusively from former eastern countries in Germany, whilst immigration to Israel is free to every Jew in the world (Bade & Troen, 1993; Info-Dienst Deutsche Aussiedler, Januar 2001, Nr. 110). For this reason Israel accommodates immigrants from all over the world, while the ethnic German immigration is rather homogeneous. The different groups in Israel also have a higher visibility in public compared to ethnic German immigrants. Especially Russian Jews developed their own network of media (TV, radio, newspapers), political parties, and nongovernmental organizations not comparable to Germany (Al-Haj, 2004; Mesch, 2002a; Dietz, 1996; Pfetsch, 1999). In 1996/97 alone, 300 formally recognized NGOs for education, culture and welfare services were established in Israel (Al-Haj, 2004). In Germany, ethnic Germans engage mostly in organized groups with a similar background (“Landsmannschaften”) or in general associations (e.g., sports clubs) and only 1.6% are organized in political parties (Dietz, 1996). Furthermore, Russian Jews come mainly from urban cities (97.8%) while ethnic Germans grew up to a large extent (52.6%) in rural areas that is related to closer social ties and more traditional values (Krentz, 2002). The two groups also vary in terms of educational background with Russian Jews in Israel having higher levels of education (Krentz, 2002).

Table 16: Similarities and dissimilarities between the two groups of immigrating adolescents according to two characteristics defined by Shuval (2000)

	Germany	Israel
Characteristics of the diaspora group		
Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Shared identity with host population (Jewish/ German)</li> <li>- History of prosperity and repression depending on the political system in the former Soviet Union</li> <li>- Tendencies to retention of ethnic culture and behaviour</li> <li>- Experiences with and adaptation to the former Soviet (totalitarian) system before emigration</li> <li>- Both groups decided voluntarily to emigrate to their homeland</li> <li>- Mentality and behavioural dispositions vary from the population in the receiving society</li> <li>- Changes in the immigrating population over past years (more relatives and spouses, but less ethnic Germans / Russian Jews)</li> </ul>	
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- On average: lower SES in country of origin</li> <li>- On average: rather rural background</li> <li>- Lower social participation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- On average: higher SES in country of origin</li> <li>- On average: rather urban background</li> <li>- Higher social participation</li> </ul>
Characteristics of the homeland (receiving country)		
Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Western orientation of both countries</li> <li>- Large number of immigrants</li> <li>- Timing of immigration driven by collapse of the communist system</li> <li>- Policies of admission of diaspora immigrants</li> <li>- Official welcoming of immigrants</li> <li>- Institutional support of immigrants (social benefits)</li> <li>- Scepticism in parts of host population (e.g. perceived competition about job etc.)</li> </ul>	
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Repatriation restricted to ethnic Germans from former communist countries</li> <li>- Low political frictions with neighbours and other groups in the country</li> <li>- Military service only for males with possibility of civil service</li> <li>- Rather homogeneous society, that is only recently considered as an immigration country</li> <li>- Acculturation orientation of host society mainly separatism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Repatriation open to all Jews in the world</li> <li>- Strong political frictions (with neighbours, Palestine etc.) / war</li> <li>- Military service for males and females</li> <li>- Highly diverse society, based from its conception on immigration</li> <li>- Acculturation orientation of host society mainly assimilation</li> </ul>

Both frameworks discussed so far, with which the acculturation of immigrants to Germany and Israel can be compared, give only static information concerning the two groups in question and only allow hypotheses regarding main differences between the two countries to be postulated. A different approach focusing on stages towards ultimate assimilation is offered by Esser (1980; also see Birman & Trickett, 2001 for a comparable approach). This “assimilation model” defines four successive stages or dimensions of assimilation: cognitive assimilation, structural assimilation, social assimilation and identification assimilation (see Figure 9).

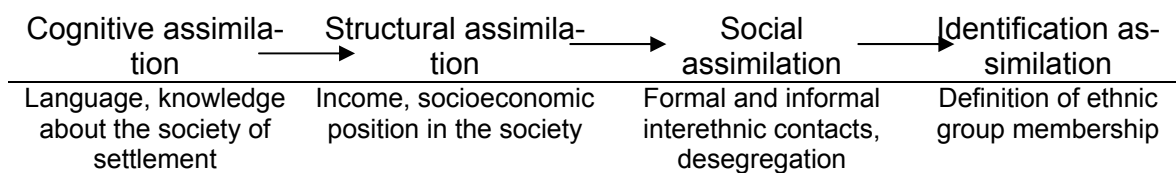


Figure 9: Assimilation model as proposed by Esser (1980)

According to this model, language and cultural knowledge about the new society is the first necessary step for successful assimilation to the new culture. This knowledge enables social participation and labour in the new society that again will lead to more intergroup contact and in the end to identification assimilation or the feeling of belonging to the new society. Steinbach and Nauck (2000) tried to compare each stage of this acculturation process between Israel and Germany. Using data of adult ethnic Germans and Russian Jews, they conclude that cognitive assimilation is higher in Germany, whereas structural assimilation is easier in Israel and that social and identification assimilation is easier in Germany. Although a causal structure was assumed for the four stages, this causal one-dimensional approach can be questioned, and even Esser (1980) himself assumed backward processes to happen. Nevertheless the model can serve as a structure to compare both countries in terms of acculturation processes.

From what has been discussed so far, it is obvious that acculturation-related processes are complex and influenced by many factors that cannot all be taken into account here. In particular, the effect of single factors and interactions on the acculturation process of adolescent immigrants cannot be disentangled easily. Furthermore, this study enters rather new territory of measuring acculturative hassles in the two contexts with very limited empirical evidence for differential processes. Nevertheless, some comparative research between Israel and Germany does exist from which expectations about each of the three subscales of acculturative hassles in the two contexts can be derived.

### 5.1.1 Language Hassles

Both groups of adolescents, ethnic Germans and Russian Jews, enter the new country with little knowledge of the new language. Language is, however, one of the most important factors for the success of integration in both societies (Dietz, 2000; Esser, 1980; Mesch, 2003; Remenick, 2004), the key for social interactions, for access to information on the labour market, school success and intergroup contact (Dietz, 2003a; Fochler 1997). Research on language acquisition has differentiated between language proficiency and use (Mesch, 2003). The differentiation is important for this study as language hassles as measured in the developed questionnaire are based on both: Language proficiency and on the amount of encounters with people of the host culture (use of the new language). Thus, high levels of language hassles indicate a mismatch between language competence and language demands in the new context, whereas low levels could indicate either good language proficiency, or poor proficiency in a context where the new language is less necessary, for instance, in highly segregated areas.

The amount of encounters with the other group depends on the degree of segregation between immigrants and local adolescents. If the host's language is spoken predominantly in the new context, more hassles will be experienced, whereas fewer can be expected in settings where the language of origin is still predominant. Nauck (2001b) assumes both groups of immigrants to segregate rather than integrate into the new context, but with a higher tendency for segregation among Russian Jews in Israel. However, as noted earlier, clear differences with regard to Russian language media were found, with a large amount of Russian language in the media in Israeli (see arguments mentioned earlier). For example, about 90% of Russian speaking homes receive Russian TV channels (Remennick, 2004). Although some sources assume growing separation from native Germans (Dietz, 2003c), such an elaborated Russian infrastructure does not exist in Germany. There is only limited Russian TV (apart from private satellite dishes to receive Russian TV from Russia and regional stations), Russian Radio (a few stations mainly around Berlin), and no Russian party (Pfetsch, 1999). Based on fewer encounters with the new language, it can be assumed that Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel would on average report lower levels of language hassles compared to ethnic German adolescents in Germany.

**Hypothesis 5.1.a:**

Russian-Jewish adolescents report fewer language hassles compared to their ethnic German counterparts.

Language hassles, however, also depend on language proficiency and, since in general both groups enter the new context without knowing the new language, language acquisition needs to be taken into account. In terms of Esser's (1980) model, this includes the degree of cognitive assimilation. Adolescents who become very proficient in speaking the new language will have fewer hassles with it, so that language acquisition needs to be taken into account for both immigrant groups in order to draw expectations on the changes in acculturative hassles over time. Steinbach and Nauck (2000) found major differences in both countries with regard to language acquisition (i.e., cognitive assimilation). A direct comparison of both groups found an increased language competence with time in the new country among ethnic Germans ( $\beta = .29^{**}$ ), whereas no effect was found for Russian Jews in Israel ( $\beta = .00$ , n.s.). Ethnic Germans also rated their ability to understand, speak, read and write the language of the host country significantly higher than did Russian Jews in Israel. This result was explained by missing incentives to learn the new language in Israel, because a structural assimilation (jobs, political participation etc.) can be achieved in Israel without the high investments (time and effort) of learning a new language. Thus, no change of self-rated language competence was seen among participants with longer stay in Israel (Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). Although these results were found in an adult sample, similar results can be assumed for adolescents. A study on the transmission between parents and adolescents showed high transmission coefficients for language competencies (correlations between parents and their children: Russian Jews = .43, ethnic Germans = .49, Nauck, 2001b). In the same study on second generation adolescents (Nauck, 2001b) there was still a clear difference in family language retention. On average 69% of adolescent immigrants in Israel use Russian within the family, while only 33% of ethnic Germans use Russian. For first generation adolescents as in this study, language retention can be supposed to be even higher. It may be doubted that language competence indeed does not increase at all in Israel and other studies found clear evidence for higher levels of language competence and use among Russian-Jewish immigrants who have been in the country for a longer period of time (Mesch, 2003). Nevertheless, these results can lead to the assumption that the acquisition is faster in Germany than in Israel.

Taken together the theoretical and empirical evidence, language should improve more in ethnic German adolescents than in Russian-Jewish adolescents and language hassles should decrease more over time for ethnic German immigrants than for Russian-Jewish immigrants. Statistically, an interaction between country of settlement and length of stay on language hassles would be expected in the cross-sectional data used here.

Hypothesis 5.1.b:

The decrease in language hassles is more pronounced for ethnic German adolescents in Germany compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel. This will be represented in the cross sectional data by an interaction effect between length of residence and immigrant group (ethnic German vs. Russian-Jewish adolescents).

### 5.1.2 Discrimination Hassles

Discrimination in an acculturation situation is an experience of unfair or negative treatment because of one's ethnic background (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). Whether or not someone reports hassles related to discrimination depends on two different aspects. First, it depends on the instances of discriminatory behaviour by members of the host society, but it depends also on the interpretation of incidents. The same incident may be interpreted as an act of discrimination by one person, but as simple unfriendliness by another. Since these two different sources of variation in reports on discriminatory acts cannot be differentiated, the term "perceived discrimination" is often used to describe self reports on discrimination. This term also describes best the content of this subscale on discrimination of the acculturative hassles questionnaire. Discrimination is perceived by a large number of adolescent immigrants and other minorities. One study on adolescent ethnic German immigrants reported that about 64% of ethnic German adolescents perceived being disadvantaged because they are ethnic German repatriates (Strobl & Kühnel, 2000). Most of these discriminatory events seem to happen in school context, where 39% of all ethnic German adolescents perceived incidents of discrimination (Steinbach, 2001).

The negative effects of discrimination have been shown in many studies. Perceived discrimination was linked, for example, to higher delinquency (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2004), substance abuse (Gibbons et al., 2004), loneliness (Neto, 2002b), lowered self esteem (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001) and acculturative stress

(Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Such empirical evidence demonstrates the importance of discrimination experiences of adolescent immigrants.

In order to formulate a hypothesis about differences between the Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel and ethnic German adolescents in Germany, the question is why immigrants are discriminated against. According to Esser's (1980) assimilation theory, incidents of discrimination are barriers (by the host society) to the assimilation process of immigrants so that discrimination can be understood as actively hindering members of the assimilating group to participate in a society or to exclude them from social life. A comparison between Israel and Germany revealed a better structural assimilation (social participation, jobs etc.) for Russian Jews in Israel than for ethnic Germans in Germany (Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). The higher social participation in the Israeli context can be seen as a cue for fewer obstacles and less discrimination of Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel compared to ethnic Germans in Germany. If this is the case, Russian-Jewish adolescents should report fewer discrimination hassles than ethnic Germans in Germany.

Furthermore, it can be assumed that discrimination will be more prevalent in homogeneous societies like Germany, in which foreigners (and ethnic German immigrants) are perceived as strangers not belonging to the country, as trying to get access to resources (e.g., jobs and social benefits) or threatening the cultural capital of the country (Kühnel & Leibold, 2000) rather than in Israel, which is defined as multicultural country largely made up of immigrants. Further, most Israelis still remember their own history of immigration and thereby support the Russian immigration. Al-Haj (2004; Al-Haj & Leshem, 2000) reports results of a survey in which the Jewish population had to rate the influence of Russian immigration in several public fields. In this survey, participants rated Russian immigration as having a positive or very positive influence on economic growth (54%), on security (40%), cultural life (56%), science and technology (73%) and political life (43%). The number of participants who rated the influence as negative or very negative was much smaller: Only 19% assumed negative influence on economic growth, 15% on security, 19% on cultural life, 4% on science and technology and 25% on political life. Russian immigration was, however, also assumed to be negative in terms of crime whereby 64% saw Russian immigration as having changed crime rates for the worse. Unfortunately, there is no recent study that would comparably assess the opinion of members of the host society in Germany but in 1988 a German institute for demography found that 66% of native German citizens doubted that ethnic German immigration is "a good thing" (Institut für Demoskopie

Allensbach, 1988). Given the increased rates of unemployment and economic problems in Germany since the mid-1990s, it is unlikely that these attitudes have become more positive. Taken arguments together, these lead to the general assumption that the acceptance of immigrants from the former Soviet Union is higher in Israel than in Germany (see also Bade & Troen, 1993). According to these results, discrimination hassles should be fewer among Russian-Jewish compared to ethnic German adolescent immigrants.

There are, however, also arguments against lower rates of discrimination in Israel. Comparisons of Al-Haj's (2004) results with a survey from 1990 show "a sharp drop in the veteran population's sympathy and enthusiasm" (Al-Haj, 2004, p. 191) indicating less acceptance in recent years that may also point towards higher discrimination, suggesting that acceptance might have changed in recent years. The data, however, still show a rather positive attitude towards Russian immigrants in Israel and it is not very likely that a dramatic change would take place within a few years. Another argument for higher rates of perceived discrimination in Israel is the result of a direct comparison of perceived discrimination in both countries by Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2003), which found that discrimination was significantly lower in Germany than in Israel. The authors explain this result using the interactive acculturation model by Bourhis et al. (1997). This model suggests that beside the acculturation orientation of immigrants, the strategies of hosts also have to be considered. The data in their study show more assimilation expectations from Israeli hosts, but separation expectations from German hosts. Since Russian Jews and ethnic Germans have a separation strategy (or a combination of integration and separation), the strategies of immigrants and hosts fit better for ethnic Germans in Germany, which results in less tensions and fewer incidents of discrimination. In other words, discrimination is higher in Israel, because the host society does not accept the separation of immigrants and interactions become more tense over time (with an increase in perceived discrimination). There remains, however, some doubt concerning these results. Most problematic are the differences with regard to length of stay. Russian Jews spent on average 4.2 years in the new context, whereas ethnic Germans were already 8.5 years in Germany. It can be assumed that the results are actually produced by different stages in the acculturation process. Nevertheless, the theoretical argument (the different fit of immigrant's and host's acculturation strategies) could serve as an alternative hypothesis for differences between Israel and Germany.



Taken together, the arguments seem to be stronger in suggesting fewer discrimination hassles experienced by Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel than by ethnic German adolescents in Germany.

Hypothesis 5.2.a:

On average, lower levels of discrimination hassles are reported by Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel compared to ethnic German adolescents in Germany.

As there is little empirical evidence about changes in discrimination hassles over time among ethnic Germans in Germany and Russian Jews in Israel, one way of deriving a hypothesis is to look at cultural changes of the immigrant population towards the host society. The bigger the cultural difference between two groups, the more each group feels their cultural capital threatened by the other group and the members of the groups start to reject members of the other group (Kühnel & Leibold, 2000). If an immigrant changes in the acculturation process towards the norms of the receiving society (in terms of language, dress code, behavioural norms), it can be assumed that he/she becomes less visible as a member of the immigrant group. This in turn may cause fewer incidents of discrimination. Those longitudinal studies on ethnic Germans that do exist show such an adaptation in terms of values like developmental timetables (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2002a), language competence (Fuchs, Schwietring & Weiß, 1999a), and psychological well-being (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997, Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999b). Over time, ethnic German adolescents' become more similar to native adolescents and higher similarity may suggest a decrease in their experience of discriminative hassles.

In the Israeli context such longitudinal studies are rare. One that measured stress levels of immigrants showed no change of stress for adolescent immigrants over a period of one year (Ritsner & Ponizovsky, 2003). It is, however, questionable whether stress is a good measure of cultural adaptation, since it can be caused by many other reasons. Again, language acquisition may be a better indicator and one of the best measures for sociocultural adaptation (Dietz, 2000). As mentioned before, a direct comparison of language acquisition resulted in a slower acquisition of language in the Israeli context (Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). These results indicate a better adaptation of ethnic German immigrants in Germany compared to Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel, which would suggest a more pronounced decrease of discrimination hassles among ethnic German adolescents.

**Hypothesis 5.2.b:**

The decrease of discrimination hassles is more pronounced for ethnic German adolescents compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents. This will be represented in the cross-sectional data by an interaction between length of stay and immigrant group (ethnic German vs. Russian-Jewish adolescents).

**5.1.3 Social Adaptation Hassles**

Social adaptation hassles concern problems of making contact with local peers and include obstacles for social interaction such as perceived differences (“It is difficult for ethnic Germans [Russian Jews] and local adolescents to be friends, because they are simply too different”), parental interference in the adaptation process (“My parents do not understand why I want to be like local adolescents”), and hassles of behavioural insecurity when an adolescent is together with native peers (“I was together with locals and did not know how to behave”). This sub-scale may represent, what Berry (1997, p. 18) had in mind when he defined acculturative experiences as “demands [that] stem from the experience of having to deal with two cultures in contact, and having to participate to various extends in both of them”. Whereas for discrimination and language hassles at least some comparative studies exist, problems of social adaptation were less often the object of research. There are, however, related constructs on which a hypothesis can be based.

The third step in Esser’s (1980) assimilation theory represents social assimilation and concerns formal and informal social contacts with members of the host society. This social assimilation is a construct, which is related to social adaptation hassles as measured here with items representing problems in intergroup contact. Steinbach and Nauck (2000) studied Esser’s (1980) assimilation model in both immigrant samples (Russian Jews in Israel and ethnic Germans in Germany) and concluded that ethnic German immigrants become better socially assimilated (defined by inter-group contacts in neighbourhood and reading newspapers from the host society) compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel (Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). This difference can be explained by a lower willingness of contact to members of the main society in the Russian-Jewish (adult) sample. About 52% of ethnic German immigrants in Germany wanted an ethnic German immigrant as neighbour, whereas 86% of Russian-Jewish immigrants wanted Russian-Jewish neighbours. A similar picture was found when questions were asked about colleagues. Here 46% of ethnic German immigrants re-

ported preferring members of their own group as colleagues, compared to 83% of Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel who preferred Russian-Jewish colleagues. Differences in terms of group membership of future spouses of adolescents also exist with the same direction – Russian Jews prefer Russian Jews as spouses for their children (Nauck, 2001b; Steinbach & Nauck, 2000). Data on adolescents and transmission effects between parents and children suggest that these differences not only exist in an adult sample, but can also be generalized to adolescents (Nauck, 2001b).

In order to translate these results into social adaptation hassles, one could argue that the greater willingness of intergroup contact among ethnic Germans indicates that this group has positive attitudes concerning native people and that it does not perceive the cultural gap as too wide, whereas Russian-Jewish immigrants may perceive the cultural gap as insurmountable. This interpretation may lead to the assumption that there are fewer social adaptation hassles in Germany than in Israel. However, a similar argument as for language hassles could be made: Since ethnic German adolescents seek contact to native adolescents, they may perceive more obstacles, whereas Russian-Jewish adolescents are less interested in intergroup contacts and will therefore experience fewer social adaptation hassles. In this vein, as for language hassles, social adaptation hassles should be more pronounced among ethnic German adolescents. In a segregated society, where little intergroup contact takes place, the likelihood of problems in intergroup social interactions is reduced. Following this last argument, fewer social adaptation hassles would be assumed for Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel.

Another facet of the subscale of social adaptation is parental interference in the social adaptation of young immigrants. Three items in the social adaptation subscale directly focus on parent-child interaction in immigrant families. Several theoretical approaches can be employed to compare the parent-child interaction in both countries. A sociological approach focuses on the importance of cultural capital (language and customs) among Russian-Jewish and ethnic German immigrants (Esser, 1997; Kühnel & Leibold, 2000). If parents deem it very important to keep their cultural capital, an adolescent's attempt to adapt to the new culture is likely to cause more tensions within the family. A comparison between parental values in a study of Nauck (2001b) shows that Russian-Jewish parents have a stronger tendency to keep their culture than ethnic German parents: They score higher in language retention and marriage homogamy, but lower in language acquisition (Table 17). This comparison is, however, not suffi-

cient to predict hassles between parents and adolescents, because the adolescent's opinion needs to be considered simultaneously.

The more psychological approach of the "acculturation gap" (Birman & Trickett, 2001) considers the differences between parents and adolescents in terms of their adaptation to the new society observed in different kinds of immigrating groups (Phinney, Ong & Madden, 2000). The differential acculturation can cause conflicts between parents and children. In general, adolescents are better assimilated in the new context, which is also the case for ethnic German and Russian-Jewish immigrants. The adolescents speak less Russian, have a better command in the new language, feel less discriminated against and express little desire to return to their country of origin than their parents. Important for the prediction of parental hassles is the fact that this acculturation gap is bigger in the Russian-Jewish sample which would suggest more social adaptation hassles. Concerning language retention, for example, the gap between Russian-Jewish parents and children is 19% (92% – 73%), whereas this gap is only 3% (41% - 38%) among ethnic German dyads (see Table 17).

Table 17: Parent child differences in acculturation measures -Results from Nauck (2001b)

Comparison	Gender of dyad	Israel		Germany	
		Parent	Child	Parent	Child
Language retention <sup>a</sup>	Male	91.6%	73.2%	40.5%	37.7%
	Female	90.3%	64.7%	37.7%	28.8%
Language acquisition <sup>b</sup>	Male	2.1%	42.7%	19.1%	50.2%
	Female	8.2%	56.0%	17.5%	53.3%
Feelings of discrimination <sup>c</sup>	Male	4.2%	2.9%	6.0%	3.7%
	Female	4.3%	2.4%	5.2%	4.2%
Marriage homogamy <sup>c</sup>	Male	27.4%	20.3%	4.2%	5.6%
	Female	18.3%	16.7%	3.3%	6.2%
Return plans	Male	13.0%	0.4%	10.8%	0.9%
	Female	11.9%	0.5%	11.0%	0.0%

<sup>a</sup> language spoken at home, with siblings etc.; <sup>b</sup> percentage of speaking the new language "very good"; <sup>c</sup> percentage "never" accepting a native born son/daughter in law

Summing up, two directions of the effects are possible. On the one hand, it may be that Russian-Jewish adolescents have less contact to native peers, because of higher segregation and fewer opportunities to experience hassles of social adaptation. On the other hand, social assimilation is better for ethnic Germans (Steinbach & Nauck, 2000) and the acculturation gap between parents and adolescents is bigger for Russian-Jewish adolescents. Since Steinbach and Nauck (2000) show a high similarity between both groups in terms of their inner-ethnic networks (consisting in both sam-

ples predominantly of members of their own group), the argument of few opportunities for social contact applies to both groups and may not therefore be the strongest. Thus, it can be assumed that social adaptation hassles are more frequent in Israel than in Germany.

**Hypothesis 5.3.a:**

It is hypothesised that Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel report hassles of social adaptation as happening more frequently than do ethnic German adolescents in Germany.

The second hypothesis concerning social adaptation hassles regards different changes over time in both contexts. For ethnic German adolescents it can be assumed that misunderstandings between German hosts and ethnic German immigrants decrease over time, and empirical evidence shows an adaptation process of ethnic German adolescents. For example, norms of behavioural autonomy and timing of transitions approached the expectations of host German adolescents over time (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999b) and peer rejection decreased (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). Unfortunately, no such information exists for the Israeli context. Given the stronger homogamy and tendencies of segregation (Nauck, 2001b) among Russian-Jewish immigrants, the change in norms can be expected to be less pronounced. Furthermore, Steinbach and Nauck (2000) argue on basis of their empirical results that ethnic Germans assimilate better in terms of their social assimilation phase in Esser's (1980) model. Both arguments would support a hypothesis of an accelerated adaptation process of ethnic German adolescents compared to Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel. Based on these rather scarce studies, the following hypothesis is posed:

**Hypothesis 5.3.b:**

The decrease of social adaptation hassles will be more pronounced for ethnic German adolescents compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents. This will be represented in the cross-sectional data by an interaction between length of stay and immigrant group (Russian-Jewish vs. ethnic German immigrants).

## 5.2 Methods

The acculturation hassles questionnaire developed and described in the previous chapter (4) will be applied to test the formulated hypotheses. For details concerning the instructions given to participants and the answering format of the questionnaire see chapter 4.4.1.1. The hypotheses were tested using the cross-sectional data of the German-Israeli project on juvenile immigrants in Israel and Germany.

The data were analysed using a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with the three subscales of the acculturative hassles questionnaire as dependent variables and length of stay and immigrant group as independent variables. Although there were no specific hypotheses on gender differences derived, in order to additionally explore the role of gender in reports on acculturative hassles, gender was used as a third independent variable in the analysis

Parental education was used as covariate in the analysis, because of differences in the educational background of ethnic German and Russian-Jewish parents. Studies show that Russian Jews usually enter the country with higher education (Krentz, 2002). This is also the case in our study (mothers:  $M_{\text{German}} = 2.6$ ,  $SD = 1.2$ ;  $M_{\text{Israel}} = 3.6$ ,  $SD = 1.1$ ;  $F = 235.74$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .112$ ; fathers:  $M_{\text{German}} = 2.5$ ,  $SD = 1.2$ ;  $M_{\text{Israel}} = 3.4$ ,  $SD = 1.2$ ;  $F = 184.35$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .098$ ). This difference is problematic for a comparison of acculturative hassles between Russian Jews and ethnic Germans, because education is one of the main sources of generalized capital (Esser, 1997; Kühnel & Leibold, 2000). Generalized capital is a culture independent resource and fosters positive adaptation in the new country. Thus, the effects between both samples could also be interpreted as effects of differences in the educational background of Russian-Jewish and ethnic German immigrants. Controlling for educational background minimizes this problem. Besides parental education, age was also used as additional covariate in the analysis.

## 5.3 Sample

Altogether  $N = 2857$  adolescent immigrants, as described in detail in chapter 4.4.2., formed the sample for the following analysis. The adolescents were allocated to four groups depending on their length of residence in the new country. The four groups represented different stages in the acculturation process. Adolescent immigrants of the first group have been in the new country for about one year. They represent the

initial phase of the acculturation process and are comparable to members of the “newcomer” group in other studies on ethnic German immigrants (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999a). The life of these immigrants can be characterized by living in an absorption centre or they moved recently into their first home in the new country. On average, ethnic Germans in Germany start to move into their first home after about seven months in the new country and after 1.5 years, only 50% still live in temporary accommodation (Fuchs, 1999). The second group comprised adolescents who have been in the country between two and three years and is comparable to the “experienced” group in other studies (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999a). In this period after immigration most of the immigrants start working or actively try to find a job (Janikowski, 1999). The third, settled, group is made up of those who have been in the country for a much longer period of time, i.e. between four and seven years. This group is already settled and it can be assumed that these families have already developed a routine in the new country and established a life for themselves. The fourth and last group regards adolescents who have been in the country for more than seven years and had spent a substantial amount of time in the country. Data for this group are only available for the ethnic German sample and not for Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel. For this reason, this group was excluded from further analyses. Newcomer, experienced and settled groups are shown in Table 18. The cell sizes differ, but a MANOVA is regarded as a robust method when cell sizes are larger than  $n = 30$  (Coakes & Steed, 1999), which is the case here.

Table 18: Groups of different length of stay in both contexts

	Newcomer	Experienced	Settled	Total
Ethnic Germans				
N	100	131	275	506
Length of stay	0.78 (0.41)	2.38 (0.62)	5.79 (1.19)	3.91 (2,32)
Age	15.4 (2.03)	16.2 (2.28)	16.1 (2.21)	15.95 (2.21)
Gender	42 male 57 female	51 male 78 female	113 male 160 female	206 male 295 female
Russian Jews				
N	230	650	540	1420
Length of stay	0.85 (0.42)	2.56 (0.60)	4.35 (0.69)	2.96 (1.38)
Age	15.2 (1.83)	15.7 (1.79)	15.9 (1.67)	15.68 (1.77)
Gender	124 male 106 female	361 male 289 female	273 male 267 female	758 male 662 female

In many studies on acculturation research, age and length of stay are confounded, and it is not possible to differentiate between normative development and acculturation. Applied to acculturative hassles, this confound can lead to major interpretation problems. Usually adolescents who have been in the country for a longer period of time are also older compared to newcomer immigrants. More problems with parental supervision among experienced adolescents than among newcomers, for example, could be interpreted as a larger acculturation gap between parents and experienced adolescents (an acculturation-related result). The same result, however, can also be explained with the normative (non-acculturation-related) struggle for autonomy among the experienced group, which is also older. To disentangle this confound, a sampling design was applied in the current study that ensured that groups differing in length of stay are comparable in terms of age. In other words, participants were chosen that were only different in length of stay, but not in age, resulting in a zero or very small correlation between age and length of stay. Thus, differences between length of stay groups cannot be interpreted as underlying age differences. In this sample the correlation between length of stay and age was small and not significant for ethnic German adolescents ( $r = .072, p = .107$ ) and only very moderate for Russian-Jewish adolescents, although significant ( $r = .130, p < .01$ ).

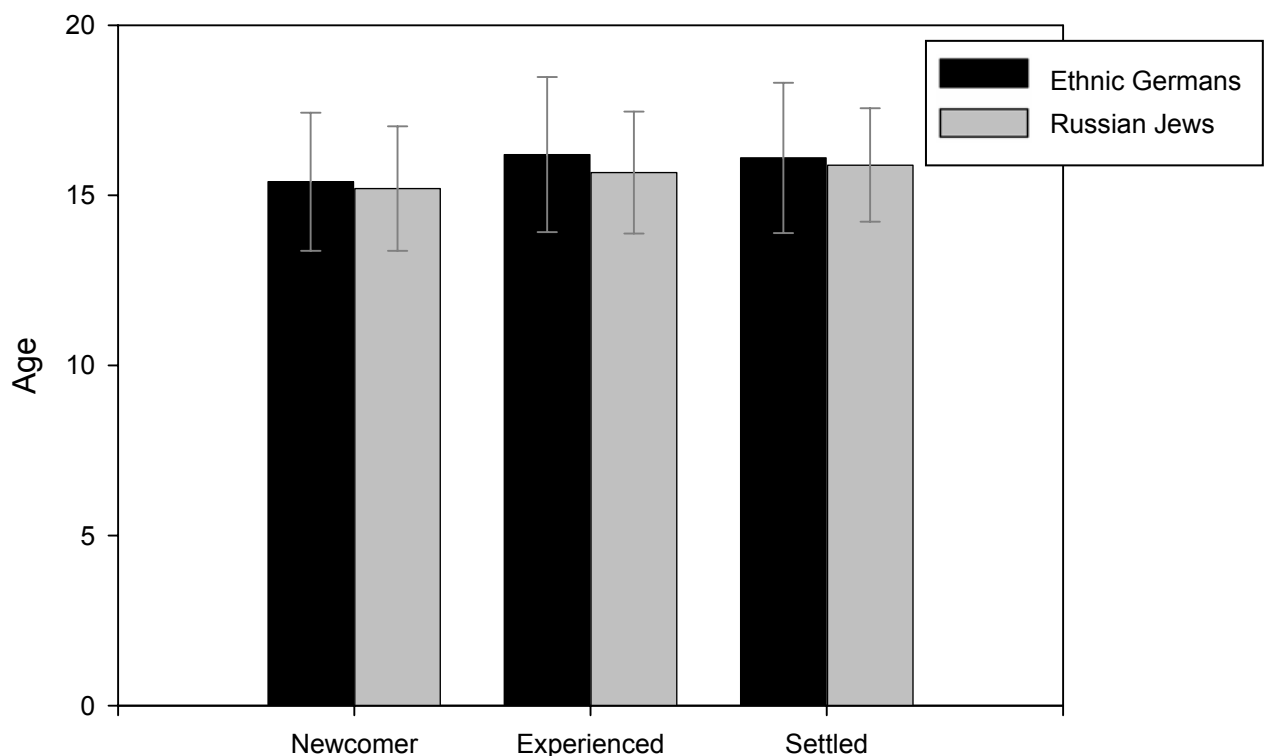


Figure 10: Age in the three groups of residence



When age between the three groups in each country was compared (ANOVA), significant differences were still found. For ethnic German adolescents, a small effect was obtained ( $F_{2, 503} = 4.202, p < .05, \eta^2 = .016$ ) caused by the newcomer group which was slightly younger than the other two groups of ethnic Germans (as post hoc tests revealed). In the Russian-Jewish sample, slight differences were also found ( $F_{2, 1417} = 11.032, p < .05, \eta^2 = .015$ ). Here all groups differed significantly from one another in terms of age. Although the differences between the groups are statistically significant, the differences are actually very small only comprising a few months of age. All groups are on average between 15 and 16 years and no major developmental differences can be assumed (see Figure 10), nevertheless age was controlled for in the current analysis.

## 5.4 Results

As mentioned before, the hypotheses were tested using a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), in which the three subscales language hassles, discrimination hassles, and social adaptation hassles represented the dependent variables. Group of immigrants (Russian Jews vs. ethnic Germans), group of length of stay (newcomer, experienced, settled), and gender were used as independent variables. Parental education and age were used as covariates. The overall multivariate results are presented in Table 19:

Table 19: Results of the MANOVA: Multivariate Tests

	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>eta</i> <sup>2</sup>
Group of immigrants (A)	8.42	< .01	.02
Length of stay (B)	27.60	< .01	.05
Gender (C)	2.80	= .04	.01
A x B	4.39	< .01	.01
A x C	7.00	< .01	.01
B x C	1.30	= .25	.00
A x B x C	0.56	= .76	.00

The multivariate tests were significant for all main effects and also for the interactions between the group of immigrants (Russian Jews, ethnic Germans) and length of stay, indicating that the relation of length of stay to acculturative hassles is significantly different in the two groups. The second significant interaction regards gender and the

group of immigrants. This interaction suggests that the gender differences are not similar in Israel compared to the German context.

The two way interaction with the two variables gender and length of stay as predictors revealed no significant effect. Thus, the relation between length of stay and acculturative hassles is not different in the two genders. Furthermore, the three way interaction with length of stay, gender and immigrant group is also not significant. Because of a missing multivariate effect regarding these two interactions, the results for these interactions are not presented for the univariate tests.

#### 5.4.1 Language hassles

Two hypotheses were derived regarding the country of settlement and the reported frequency of acculturative hassles. The first hypothesis (5.1.a) assumed that language hassles are reported more frequently among ethnic German adolescent immigrants in Germany compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel. The second hypothesis (5.1.b) assumed that the frequency of language hassles decreases more pronounced in the German context compared to the Israeli context. The results of the MANOVA concerning language hassles are presented in Table 20.

Table 20: Univariate results of the MANOVA predicting language hassles

	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>eta</i> <sup>2</sup>
Group of immigrants (A)	0.22	= .64	.000
Length of stay (B)	61.70	< .01	.069
Gender (C)	4.93	= .027	.003
A x B	10.54	< .01	.013
A x C	17.14	< .01	.010

The first hypothesis (5.1.a) was not supported by our data. Ethnic German and Russian-Jewish immigrants reported on average a comparable frequency of language hassles in the new context.

The hypothesis concerning a different relation between length of stay and the frequency of language hassles (5.1.b), however, was supported by the data. Figure 11 shows that settled ethnic German immigrants report the fewest language hassles, whereas ethnic German newcomers report the most. Russian-Jewish immigrants and ethnic German immigrants only differ significantly in the newcomer ( $T = 2.1$ ,  $p = .04$ )

and in the settled groups ( $T = -3.5, p < .01$ ). The differences between Russian-Jewish adolescents and ethnic Germans were not significant in the experienced group ( $T = 1.8, p = .07$ ), which means that these adolescents report a comparable frequency of language hassles.

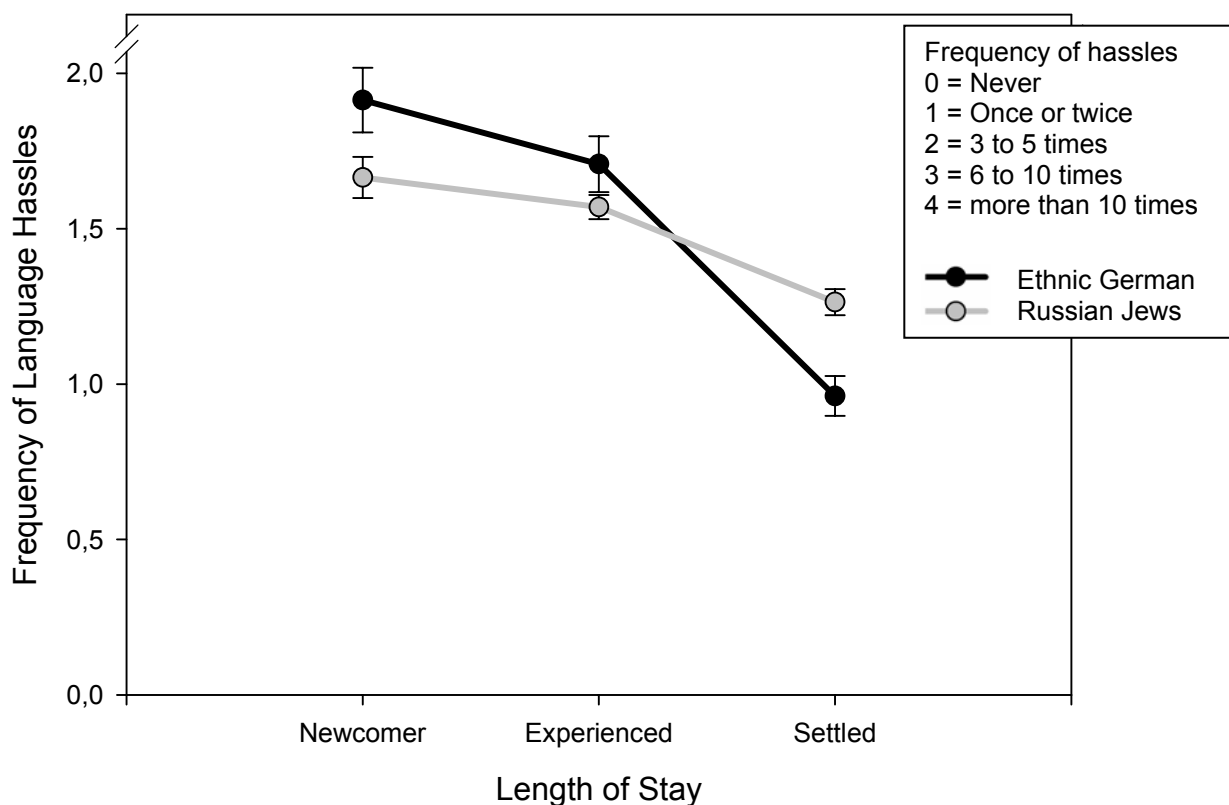


Figure 11: Frequency of language hassles of Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents depending on their length of stay in the new country

Although the significant interaction term of length of stay and immigrant group supports the second hypothesis, the MANOVA statistic does not give any information as to where exactly these differences are within the 2 (immigrant group) x 3 (length of stay group) design. To examine whether differences exist between the three levels of length of stay, two ANOVAs were computed, one for each immigrant group. Language hassles was used as dependent variable and length of stay as independent variable. The analysis reached significance for both groups: ethnic Germans ( $F = 40.9, p < .01, \eta^2 = .143$ ) and Russian Jews ( $F = 21.2, p < .01, \eta^2 = .029$ ). Post hoc tests were computed to test each of the three levels of length of stay against each other. For both Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents, newcomers and experienced groups differed significantly from the settled group. Differences between newcomers and ex-

perienced adolescents were not significant, neither for Russian-Jewish nor for ethnic German adolescents.

Besides the analyses regarding the two hypotheses, a main effect of length of stay, a main effect of gender and an interaction between gender and country of settlement were also significant. Analyses regarding differences between newcomers, experienced and settled adolescents were already reported and can also be seen in Figure 11. Regarding gender, the main effect was based on fewer language hassles reported by female adolescents. There was, however, also an interaction effect of gender and immigrant group. Among Russian-Jewish immigrants male adolescents experienced more language hassles, whereas female adolescents reported more language hassles among ethnic German adolescents.

#### 5.4.2 Discrimination hassles

Concerning discrimination hassles the first hypothesis (5.2.a) assumed that discrimination hassles are perceived less frequently in Israel compared to Germany. Furthermore, it was assumed (hypothesis 5.2.b) that there would be an interaction between immigrant group (Russian-Jewish vs. ethnic German adolescents) and length of stay. The relation between length of stay and the frequency of discrimination hassles should be stronger among ethnic German adolescents compared to Russian Jews.

Table 21: Univariate results of the MANOVA predicting discrimination hassles

	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>eta</i> <sup>2</sup>
Group of immigrants (A)	3.47	= .06	.002
Length of stay (B)	2.56	= .08	.003
Gender (C)	0.00	= .95	.000
A x B	9.82	< .01	.012
A x C	13.85	< .01	.008

The first hypothesis regarding discrimination hassles (5.2.a) was not supported by the data (Table 21). This means that, overall, no significant differences of discrimination hassles between the two groups exist. The hypothesis regarding the interaction between immigrant group and length of stay (5.2.b) was supported: the interaction term of length of stay and immigrant group was significant (see Figure 12).

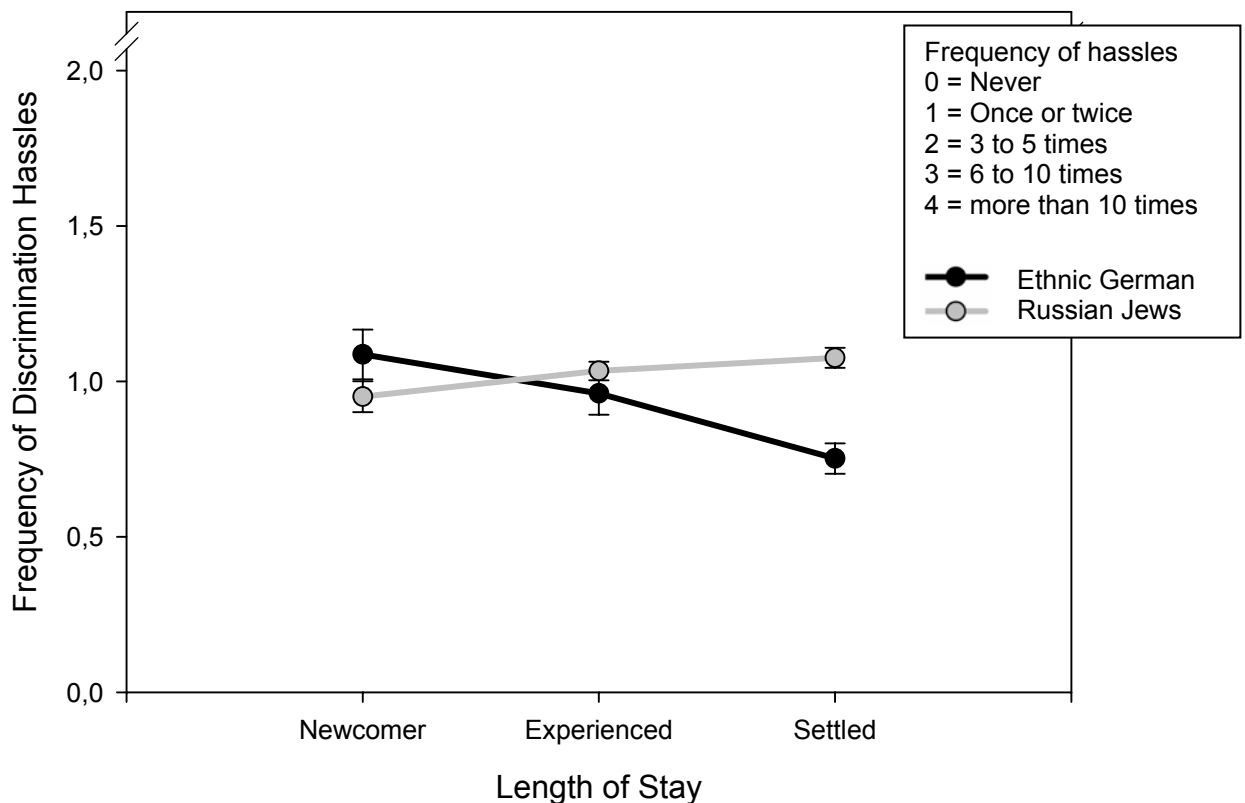


Figure 12: Frequency of discrimination hassles of Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents depending on their length of stay in the new country

For a further exploration of this interaction term, the same analyses as for language hassles were carried out. First, Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents were compared on each level of length of stay. This comparison revealed that Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents differed only in the settled group ( $T = -6.6$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Newcomer and experienced adolescents in both immigrant groups were comparable in the reported frequency of discrimination hassles (newcomer:  $T = 1.3$ ,  $p = .21$ ; experienced:  $T = -1.5$ ,  $p = .12$ ). A second comparison explored the differences between the three levels of length of stay separately within the two immigrant groups. This analysis was significant for the ethnic German group ( $F = 9.6$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .038$ ). Post hoc comparisons in this immigrant group revealed that this result was based on the settled group, which reported on average fewer hassles compared to the newcomer and experienced groups, which did not differ. Among Russian-Jewish adolescents no differences were revealed ( $F = 2.2$ ,  $p = .12$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ).

For discrimination hassles, the main effect of length of stay or gender did not reach significance. The interaction between gender and immigrant group on discrimination

hassles was in the same direction as for language hassles: among ethnic Germans, female adolescents reported more discrimination hassles, whereas among Russian-Jewish immigrants the male adolescents reported more.

### 5.4.3 Social adaptation hassles

For social adaptation hassles it was hypothesised (hypothesis 5.3.a) that ethnic German adolescents would report such hassles less frequently compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents. The second hypothesis (5.3.b) regarding hassles of social adaptation assumed an interaction between immigrant group and length of stay. It was expected that length of stay would be related to social adaptation hassles more pronounced among ethnic German adolescents compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents.

Table 22: Univariate results of the MANOVA predicting social adaptation hassles

	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>eta</i> <sup>2</sup>
Group of immigrants (A)	15.17	< .01	.009
Length of stay (B)	2.33	= .10	.003
Gender (C)	0.19	= .66	.000
A x B	6.49	< .01	.008
A x C	3.44	= .064	.002

The first hypothesis regarding differences between ethnic German immigrants and Russian-Jewish immigrants in hassles of social adaptation was supported by the data (Table 22). On average, ethnic German adolescents reported fewer hassles of social adaptation compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents (ethnic Germans:  $M = 1.9$ ,  $SD = .04$ ; Russian Jews:  $M = 2.1$ ,  $SD = .02$ ).

Besides this main effect, the interaction was also significant and thus the second hypothesis on social adaptation hassles was supported by the data (see Figure 13). Again, two further explorations were carried out: First, Russian-Jewish adolescents and ethnic German adolescents were compared on each level of length of stay. Second, the three levels of length of stay were compared for each of the two immigrant groups. Russian-Jewish adolescents and ethnic German adolescent newcomers report a comparable frequency of social adaptation hassles ( $T = -0.6$ ,  $p = .546$ ). In the experienced and settled group, however, the differences between Russian-Jewish and

ethnic German adolescents are significant (experienced:  $T = -3.0, p < .01$ ; settled:  $T = -8.1, p < .01$ ).

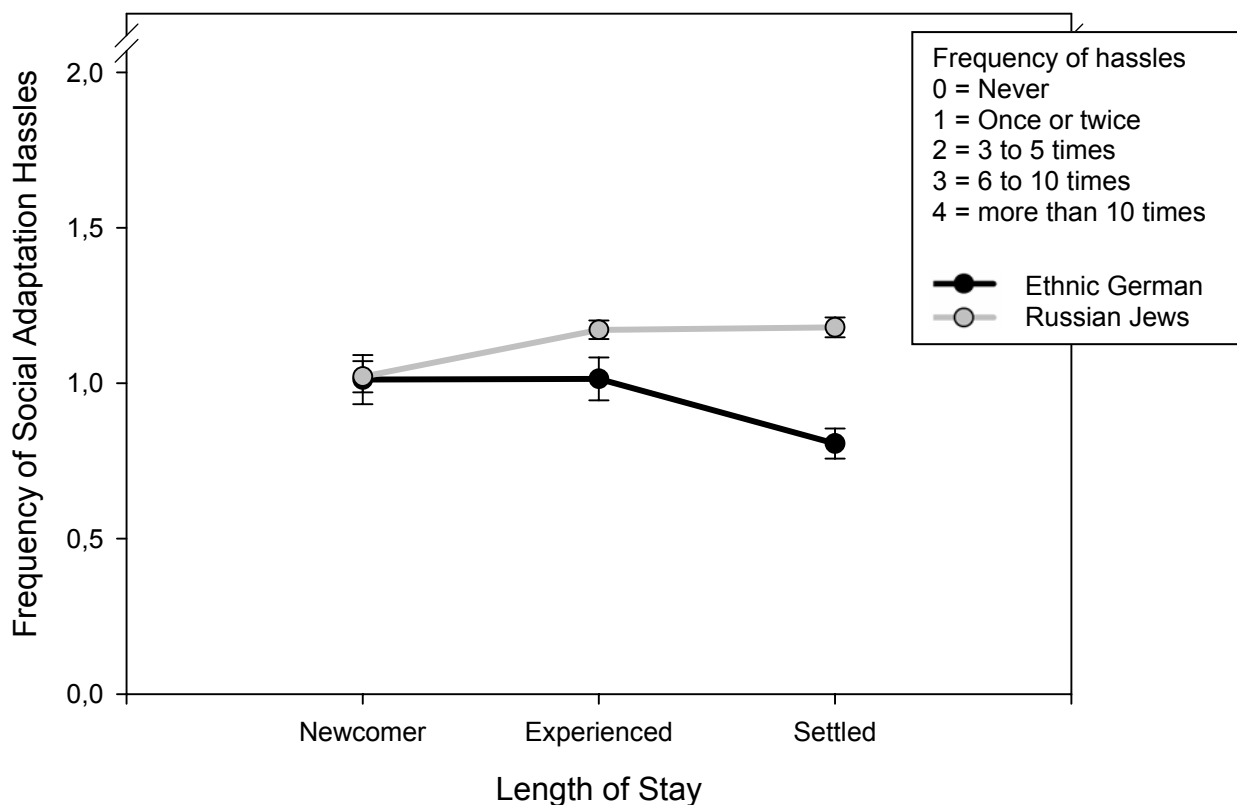


Figure 13: Frequency of social adaptation hassles of Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents depending on their length of stay in the new country

The second analysis that was carried out regarded the comparisons between the three levels of length of stay in each immigrant group. The ANOVAs with social adaptation hassles as dependent and the three levels of length of stay as independent variables reached significance for both immigrant groups (for ethnic Germans:  $F = 4.9, p = .007, \eta^2 = .020$ ; Russian Jews:  $F = 4.7, p = .009, \eta^2 = .007$ ). The post hoc tests revealed that among ethnic German adolescents only the settled group differed from the newcomer and experienced group which were on a comparable level. Among Russian-Jewish adolescents the newcomer group reported less frequent social adaptation hassles than the experienced and settled groups, the experienced and settled group did not differ.

Main effects of gender and length of stay and the interaction between gender and immigrant group did not reach significance in this analysis.

In sum, four hypotheses out of six were confirmed. Only one hypothesis regarding main effects was supported by the data, but all interaction effects were significant. On average ethnic German adolescents with greater length of stay in the new country report fewer hassles on all three subscales of the acculturative hassles questionnaire. On the contrary, when Russian-Jewish adolescents with longer time of residence are compared to newer Russian-Jewish immigrants, little difference is seen in the frequency of discrimination hassles and the frequency of social adaptation hassles is even higher among Russian-Jewish adolescents with longer time in the country compared to those who only recently came. Only language hassles are less frequent among experienced Russian-Jewish adolescents compared to their newly immigrated counterparts. The comparison of Russian Jews and ethnic Germans showed a similar amount of discrimination and language hassles, whereas Russian-Jewish adolescents reported more social adaptation hassles.

## 5.5 Discussion

The discussion regarding study V, the comparison of Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel and Ethnic German adolescents in Germany, will be presented in two parts. First, general remarks will be made that are applicable to the whole comparison in this study. In the second section, the results of each sub-scale will be discussed. Since this study was part of the larger German-Israeli project on adolescent immigrants already mentioned (see chapter 1), data on many other aspects of adolescents' lives were collected besides the scales on acculturative hassles. Where these data could help interpret the findings of the acculturative hassles, additional analyses on the same samples were conducted using other measures<sup>4</sup>.

### 5.5.1 General Remarks

Several concerns need to be taken into account when these results are discussed. The first issue concerns the differentiation between age and length of stay. The design that was applied in this study is optimal to differentiate these two variables and the effects presented between the groups differing in length of stay cannot stem from age related differences. Nevertheless, whether time spent in the new country (i.e., adaptation to the new context) is the actual source of variation needs to be discussed. In

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<sup>4</sup> In most cases well established measures were used. All reported scales had sufficient scale properties, such as acceptable reliability scores.



principle, in acculturation and especially in the acculturation process of adolescents, there are three variables of time that need to be considered. Besides age at survey completion and length of stay, age at entry into the country is the third important variable. The relation between these three variables is illustrated in Figure 14. Newcomer, experienced and settled adolescents completed the questionnaire at about 15 years represented by the bold vertical line at the far right hand side. Thus, differences in age cannot be the source of variation between the three groups. The disadvantage of this design is, however, that time spent in the country of origin and time spent in the new context is confounded.

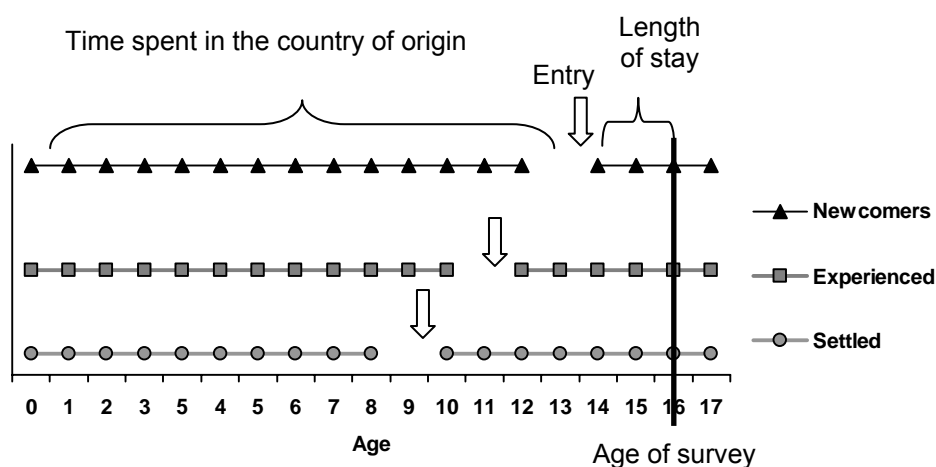


Figure 14: The relation of length of stay, age of entry and age at survey completion

For the interpretation of the results this means that differences between these three groups are not necessarily caused by more time to adapt to the new context, but it could also mean that adolescents who came in younger ages have a different amount of socialisation and enculturation in their home country (Berry et al., 2002) that may help or impede acculturation to the new context. Enculturation and socialisation are two processes of cultural transmission of values, skills, beliefs, and motives. Enculturation takes place by “the ‘enfolding’ of individuals by their culture” (Berry et al., 2002, p. 21) and is a more general process, whereas socialisation “takes place by more specific instruction and training” (p.21). Theoretically, differences in socialisation and enculturation can also be the source of differences between newcomers, experienced, and settled adolescents.

This is, however, not shared here for several reasons. First, the differences in the socialisation or enculturation processes between newcomer, experienced and settled adolescents are rather small. On average, newcomers came at about age 14 and set-

tled adolescents at age 10 to 11, i.e. in late childhood or early adolescence. Thus, all three groups came at about the same stage in life with similar age related developmental tasks still to be achieved and with substantial time spent in the country of origin. Second, there is evidence to support the view that the differences between groups differing in length of stay observed in this study represent an adaptation process (length of stay is source of variance). For ethnic German adolescents, longitudinal studies show patterns of change that support the idea of decreasing hassles. Some of these results were already mentioned: values concerning the developmental timing approach the values of native adolescents (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997; Schmitt-Rodermund & Roebbers, 1999), language skills improve (Fuchs, Schwietring & Weiss, 1999) and ethnic German adolescents are rejected by peers less often (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). Furthermore, the psychological well-being known to be related to daily stressful events (Compas, Ey & Grant, 1993) improves considerably (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2002a). It needs to be mentioned, however, that this adaptational process observed longitudinally is, on the one hand, likely to be also found in cross-sectional data, on the other hand, this process is independent of the differences between groups of different socialization experiences. It may be that the time of socialization only defines the level or slope of an adjustment process. For Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel hardly any longitudinal studies exist. Thus, there is no comparison of the results obtained in this study with observed changes in any other longitudinal study. The only longitudinal study that investigated the stress level of new immigrants found no changes over a period of one year (Ritsner & Ponizovsky, 2003). Since acculturative hassles as measured here are one source of stress (Hernandez & Charney, 1998), this study may be a hint towards smaller or no changes in Russian-Jewish adolescents.

A second general limitation with regard to the comparison of Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents in Israel or Germany respectively regards the differences between the two groups. The comparison of the two receiving societies is confounded with the ethnic variable. Adolescents from the former Soviet Union who go to Israel are of Jewish origin and those who emigrate to Germany are mainly ethnic Germans. As mentioned before, these two groups share a large number of characteristics, but they also differ in other variables, such as their educational background, and holds true in this study. It was possible to control for educational background in the analyses, but other variables like religiosity cannot be controlled statistically. Such a problem would, however, mostly affect the main differences between the two samples. The

comparison of different groups of length of stay within each context, which may represent the most valuable information gained in this study, will be less affected. The overall comparisons, although quite popular, may be more problematic. Not just because of possible confounds, but also because of unknown (cross-cultural) bias (Guerra & Jagers, 1998; Poortinga, Bijnen & Hageaars, 1994; Van de Vijver, 2001), such as different meanings of items or response sets based on the perceived status of the immigrant group in the two contexts. With regard to the "striking similarities" (Shulval, 1998) and some comparative studies focusing on mean differences between immigrants from the former eastern block countries (e.g., Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2003; Nauck, 2001a,b), these findings are nevertheless interesting, because they show, how general mean differences may actually mask different processes in different contexts. As for language and discrimination hassles, where no main differences were found, but obviously different processes take place.

A third general issue that needs to be raised here are the effect sizes obtained in the statistical analyses. Although the majority of the hypotheses were confirmed, effect sizes in the presented analyses were small. This raises the question of whether these small effects impair the practical relevance of the study. The answer to this question has at least two facets. First, both groups of immigrant adolescents report a rather low frequency of acculturative hassles, particularly in the case of discrimination and social adaptation hassles. The low frequency and the related limited amount of variance in acculturative hassles may be one cause of the limited power in the analyses. It is, however, also a good result that most adolescent immigrants are not overburdened with the challenge of adjusting to the new context. The second point is that, although the effects are small, the direction of the effects gives valuable information on the two immigrant groups. Assuming these cross-sectional data represent a process of acculturation, the processes would be different in the two groups. Whereas the frequency of hassles decreased for all three subscales among ethnic German adolescents, for Russian-Jewish adolescents the frequency for social adaptation hassles increased, was stable for discrimination hassles, and decreased (although less pronounced) for language hassles. These results could point towards a (slow) process of increasing segregation among Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel. Russian-Jewish adolescents learn the new language but do not integrate socially. Ethnic German adolescents, however, assimilate (in terms of Esser's (1980) assimilation theory), or integrate into the new society. If these effects hold in the longitudinal analyses, they may be small in the statistical sense, but may be important for the longterm development of

the two immigrant groups in the respective societies of settlement. It would suggest that two completely different “integration” processes take place.

The fourth general issue to be raised here are gender differences in acculturative hassles. No specific hypotheses were formulated for such effects. Nevertheless it was found that female adolescents have on average fewer language hassles compared to their male counterparts. This result may be explained by the better verbal competencies among females found in many studies that help them learn the new language. As early as in the first year of life, gender differences with regard to language development were reported (Karrass, Braungart-Rieker & Mullins, 2002) whereby female babies showed higher levels of language development. It may, however, also be that adolescent female immigrants are simply put more often into situations where they needed to use the language, such as shopping or interacting with care agencies. Besides this gender effect for language hassles, an interaction effect between immigrant group (Russian Jews vs. ethnic Germans) and gender was observed for language and discrimination hassles. On these two subscales female adolescents in Germany reported higher levels of hassles compared to male adolescents, whereas among Russian-Jewish immigrants male adolescents reported higher levels than female adolescents. It is difficult to explain this result and it can only be speculated here. Reasons may be found in different opportunities for both genders to participate in the new society, in differences of the receiving community, or even in different gender roles between the Israeli and German context. The issue of gender differences would need further clarification in future research.

Finally, some thoughts need to be given to interindividual differences in levels of acculturative hassles. On average, adolescents in both contexts do not report very high levels of acculturative hassles in each subscale and do not experience their situation as highly problematic. This is a positive message for most of the new immigrants, because it also shows that not every adolescent immigrant is at risk for a problematic acculturation process. The distribution, however, also shows that there is variation between individuals. In both contexts, there are adolescents who score very high in acculturative hassles. Thus, whereas most adolescents do well, there seems to be a small group of high-risk adolescents in both contexts who may need more attention in future research.

### 5.5.2 Discussion of Specific Acculturative Hassles

Besides these general issues, the results of each of the three kinds of acculturative hassles will be separately discussed here. Differences in the length of stay groups may be explained by three different sources of variance: cohort differences, changing integration of the immigrant group in the host society, and individual change. Cohort differences here refer to differences between the three groups of length-of stay (new-comer, experienced, settled). Such differences can result from changes in the populations that immigrated over the years, because the three groups of length-of-stay have different enculturation or socialisation experiences, or came at a different period of time. Not all of these suggestions are equally plausible, especially, because the differences between the groups in terms of their age at immigration are rather small. As mentioned earlier, adolescents were on average between 10 and 14 years when they arrived, or their time of arrival was between 1995 and 2002. Thus, adolescents came in about the same life phase (early adolescence) and also at about a similar historical period with only about five years limited historical changes within each receiving context. Since, however, a cohort interpretation is discussed in the literature for certain problems (such as language), the facts will be briefly discussed in the relevant section. The second source of variance between groups refers to changing integration of the immigrant group over time. An example for this explanation is growing segregation, i.e., over time the group becomes more and more established as a separate group. The third source of variance that will be referred to in this discussion is acculturative changes of the immigrant group, such as learning the new language or socio-cultural skills that can also explain changes between the three groups of length-of-stay.

#### 5.5.2.1 *Language Hassles*

The analyses regarding language hassles did not support the hypothesis of fewer hassles in Israel compared to more hassles in Germany. Both groups of immigrants, ethnic German and Russian-Jewish adolescents, reported a comparable frequency of language hassles. The hypothesis was based on the assumed amount of encounters between immigrants and members of the host society. These encounters were supposed to be fewer in Israel, because Russian Jews can be understood by many citizens in Israel who had themselves emigrated from Russia earlier and could benefit from the strong Russian infrastructure that exists in Israel and which cannot be ob-

served comparably in the German context. It was expected that this would be related to fewer language hassles for Russian-Jewish adolescents. Although this idea was not supported as a whole (across all groups of length of stay), the comparison among newcomers in both receiving societies showed exactly the expected difference. This suggests that the possibility of using Russian in the Israeli context in daily life is only a temporary advantage with a less enduring impact than originally expected. Thus, in the beginning of the acculturation process, fewer encounters in the Russian infrastructure in Israel may lead to less problems being experienced, but in the long run it also seem to hinder the acquisition of the necessary language skills. This interpretation is compatible with the results of the interactions between both groups.

The second hypothesis proposed an interaction between length of stay and immigrant group whereby it was expected that the decrease of language hassles would be more pronounced among ethnic Germans compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents. This hypothesis was supported by the data and indeed, the longer the adolescents had been in the country, the fewer language hassles were reported. This effect was significantly more pronounced among ethnic German adolescents. The hypothesis was based mainly on results of language acquisition and this seems to be indeed the best explanation for the changes. However, alternative explanations exist that need to be discussed.

A different explanation may be found in a study by Dietz (in press), who recently argued that newer waves of ethnic German immigrants tend to speak less German when they arrive in Germany and some evidence exists to support this view. Ethnic German immigrants were subdivided further into two different groups, one that includes "real" ethnic Germans (ethnic Germans with direct German ancestors) and a second group (also called ethnic Germans) that usually enters the country for reasons of family reunification. The last group does not typically have direct German ancestors and is reported to speak less German. Dietz (in press) showed that indeed this second group of ethnic German immigrants increased in recent years whilst knowledge of German on entry decreased. These data are, however, based on all age groups and former studies focusing on adolescents show that already more than ten years ago, most ethnic German adolescents entering Germany did not speak German and needed to learn it after entering the country (Dietz, 1999; Silbereisen, Schmitt-Rodermund & Lantermann, 1999). Thus, the problem of language already existed in earlier waves of adolescent immigrants and is not a new phenomenon in the data presented here. Furthermore, the difference between newcomers, experienced and set-

tled adolescents in terms of “immigration wave” is very small. These three groups do not represent different immigrating populations and it cannot be assumed that large differences in the immigrant population happened between 1997 and 2002, especially for the immigrating ethnic German adolescents. For the adolescents in our sample, additional information about their mother tongue exists within the extensive data set of the German-Israeli project. According to these data, less than five percent of the adolescents grew up with German as mother tongue and this percentage was comparable in the three groups of length-of-stay. Similar arguments apply for Russian-Jewish immigrants, where language acquisition is also a crucial factor (Mesch, 2003) and hardly any adolescent spoke modern Hebrew before entering Israel – only three out of 1420 participants (less than 1%) mentioned Hebrew as mother tongue. Thus, the differences between the three groups of length of stay in each context cannot be the result of pre-existing group differences in language competence.

Another explanation for the differences between the three groups of ethnic German immigrants could be that it is not German language competence that increases over time, but that the adolescents speak less German with time spent in the new country. It could be that, for example, over time, ethnic Germans draw back more and more into an ethnic German niche where German language is not needed and therefore hassles of speaking the new language decrease. Such a growing segregation would also explain differences between newcomers, experienced, and settled ethnic German adolescents, and may be especially prominent in Israel with the highly developed Russian infrastructure. If this explanation holds, another variable – language use – should also decrease over time. Additional data on the use of the language of the receiving society are available in the German-Israeli project. It was measured with four questions: whether the new language was used in interactions with parents, peers, for watching TV, or for reading books. Thus, it was possible to test, whether language use differed between newcomers, experienced, or settled adolescents. This was the case in both contexts: The longer adolescents were in the country the more they spoke the new language independent of the society they went to (Israel or Germany). Ethnic German adolescents in all three groups of length of stay, however, used the new language much more than Russian-Jewish adolescents, which may indicate differences in the need to speak the new language in both societies. Thus, the simple explanation of not speaking the new language or growing segregation is not supported by the data.

There are, however, strong hints towards the assumed process of language acquisition. First, a large number of immigrants in both contexts receive language courses after entering the country. This language education should also increase language competence and should also be reflected in the cross-sectional data here. Furthermore, a longitudinal study among ethnic German adolescents and parents showed an increase in language competence and use over a period of two years (Fuchs, Schwietring & Weiß, 1999a) and a cross-sectional study in Israel found a relation between length of stay and language even after controlling for many other potential influences (Mesch, 2003). In addition, a first test of the longitudinal data of the first two waves of the German-Israeli project was possible recently. Altogether 170 of the ethnic German adolescents analysed in the study could already be compared longitudinally. In this subsample, language hassles decreased significantly<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, some caution is necessary since these longitudinal data only cover a period of one year and only cover a short period compared to the differences in length of stay between newcomers, experienced and settled adolescents. All these arguments support the view of language acquisition in both samples being the source of decreasing problems. The  $r = 0$  correlation between length of stay and language competence as found in the study of Steinbach and Nauck (2000) is not supported by our data.

The rather homogeneous cultural context in Germany may, however, support the acquisition of the new language much more than the Israeli context with a well established Russian infrastructure. Ethnic Germans simply need to use the new language more, because Russian is understood only by a very small minority of German citizens, and because German is needed to cope with daily life (even with simple things such as shopping or watching TV). This is represented in the differences in language use just mentioned. In all three groups of length of stay, ethnic Germans scored significantly higher in use of the host countries language. Using a language is, however, also a good opportunity to practice and a prerequisite for mastery.

Taken together, it is concluded that the frequency of the language hassles subscale represents both the amount of encounters between hosts and immigrants and language acquisition. In the beginning of the acculturation process, every encounter is a potential language hassle, because competence in the new language is limited. Later on, however, language proficiency is better and only some encounters may cause hassles. The difference between Israel and Germany is simply that it is easier in Israel

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<sup>5</sup> ( $N = 170$ ;  $F = 15.5$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .084$ )



to “survive” with only speaking Russian, whereas in Germany, Russian is not helpful at all. Thus, in the beginning Russian Jews experience fewer hassles than ethnic German adolescents, because they do not need so much Hebrew as ethnic Germans need German. Ethnic Germans are, however, forced to learn German and their faster acquisition results in a more pronounced “decrease” from newcomers to experienced to settled adolescents. Ethnic German adolescents profit from this situation in the long run and experience fewer hassles regarding their language compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents.

The conclusion that language hassles in Germany decrease automatically over time, however, would be inappropriate. A homogeneous society can support language acquisition through more practice in daily routines, but this is not the only effect that may be observed in our data. The difference between Russian-Jewish and ethnic German immigrants may also be explained by a hidden intervention effect. In Germany, an enormous quantity of official and unofficial activities to help new immigrants exists. Only recently greater attention was paid to initiatives on the integration of new immigrants (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2003). In a competition, organized by the Bertelsmann Stiftung, altogether 1300 organizations, charities, schools, churches or even single persons presented their work of helping new immigrants to cope with the new context. Language education is one of the major goals in many of these activities (Kober, 2003). Together with the six months official language course in the beginning of the acculturation process, the differences between Russian Jews and ethnic German adolescents may also represent the effect of these “interventions”. Unfortunately, because these activities are not evaluated, very little is known about the success of such activities and whether they are indeed related to language acquisition. Their achievements may in fact be underestimated, because the groups are small and the initiatives may not be noticed, but the quantity is impressive and it is unlikely that the work of these organizations is without any effect. It is unknown, whether the density and quantity of initiatives to help new immigrants is comparable in Israel. Many Russian based organizations exist (Al-Haj, 2004), but since many of them consist of Russians, their impact on language acquisition may be questionable.

#### *5.5.2.2 Discrimination Hassles*

In the first hypothesis concerning discrimination hassles, it was expected that overall, discrimination should be experienced less often in the Israeli compared to the German

context. Moreover, an interaction effect was assumed: Among ethnic German adolescents, discrimination hassles should decrease the longer the time spent in the new country but less so among Russian-Jewish adolescents. This was not, however, supported by the data. On average, ethnic Germans and Russian Jews reported a similar frequency of discrimination hassles. However, when newcomer, experienced, and settled adolescents from both contexts were compared, differences were found. Contrary to expectation, the settled Russian Jews scored higher compared to settled ethnic German adolescents, which means that they perceived more discrimination hassles. This result is in contrast to surveys reported in the theoretical part of chapter 5, which showed rather positive attitudes of Israeli compared with German hosts' attitudes (Al-Haj, 2004, Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, 1998).

One explanation for this mismatch could be that members of the German host society avoid showing their negative attitudes when in contact with ethnic Germans, because of events in the history of Germany or for moral reasons. It is also possible that negative attitudes are manifested less in negative behaviour towards the outgroup (discrimination), but more in terms of behaviour favouring the ingroup (Otten & Mummendey, 1999). It is, however, unlikely that a majority of members of the host group would be able to hide their actual feelings. Furthermore, 'contact avoidance' or 'in-group favouritism' are both part of the discrimination hassles subscale ("I was ignored...", "I was second class citizen..." etc.) and these single items showed the same pattern as the whole scale if analysed separately.

A second explanation for the mismatch between survey data and the reported hassles of immigrants may be seen in the nature of the surveys on which the hypothesis was based (Al-Haj, 2004, Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, 1998). For the two surveys random samples of members of the host population were interviewed and it can be assumed that most of the interviewed participants had little contact to immigrants. The hassles of the two groups of immigrants in our study, however, refer to contacts with hosts who have more or less regular contact to immigrants. These hosts, for instance, work in the administration of temporary accommodations, in charities, or in schools. Such regular contact can, under certain conditions, reduce prejudice and discrimination (Aberson, Shoemaker & Tomolillo, 2004; Antonio, 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000) and it can be assumed that hosts in the proximal environment of immigrants develop less stereotypic and negative attitudes. Possibly the opinion represented by the general population and in surveys is not the attitude of the people who are in direct contact with the new immigrants and in some cases earn their money by helping them to

integrate. Ethnic German immigrants, however, will report mainly interactions with contact-experienced hosts. Furthermore, ethnic Germans may also experience a lot of help and guidance in the acculturation process through the many existing counselling agencies. An ethnic German in the focus group interviews (chapter 4.1) said that he never expected so much help as he got from his counsellor in terms of school choice, spare time activities, and housing. Such positive experience may help to attribute hassles not as discrimination, but as individual problems of single individuals. Thus, the differences between the results regarding discrimination hassles and the general attitudes of hosts expressed in survey research may lie in the micro-climate in the proximal environment of immigrants, which can be completely different to the overall attitudes by distal members of the host population.

The second hypothesis concerned the interaction between discrimination hassles and length of residence. It was assumed that the differences between groups who have been in the country for a longer period of time compared with newer immigrants are more pronounced among ethnic German adolescents than among Russian-Jewish adolescents. This hypothesis was supported by the data. Unexpectedly, however, the groups of Russian-Jewish adolescents (newcomer, experienced, settled) were not significantly different from one another – discrimination hassles were similar and not dependent on length of stay among Russian-Jewish adolescents, whereas with increasing time in the new country, these hassles decreased in Germany.

Perceived discrimination is the result of unsuccessful interactions between members of the host society and immigrants. It was argued that more adapted adolescents are less visibly different from the majority native peers and thus are less likely to experience incidents of discrimination. Indeed, as already noted, research on ethnic Germans has shown a socio-cultural adaptation process with similarity between hosts and immigrants increasing over time (e.g., Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999b).

A different explanation for the decrease of discrimination hassles among ethnic Germans would be that earlier waves of ethnic German immigrants came with a more extensive knowledge about German culture, and were thus better adapted from the beginning or are better accepted by the German hosts. As already described, this explanation seems not very likely, since even older waves of adolescents were socially well adapted in their country of origin (Dietz & Hilkes, 1992; Greiner, 2002; Süß, 1995) and, as argued before, hardly spoke the German language when they entered the country. Thus, differing socio-cultural knowledge is an unlikely explanation.

Another argument explaining the lower levels of discrimination among ethnic German adolescents with longer time of residence could be that ethnic Germans move to neighbourhoods with a higher density of ethnic Germans and that the decrease in discrimination hassles is simply explained by moving to ethnic German “Ghettos”, in which fewer interactions with natives take place and where there are fewer opportunities for experiences of discrimination. To check this possibility, some other data from the German-Israeli project were used. One variable assessed in the project was the number of ethnic Germans as neighbours (varying from “all native people” to “all immigrants”). No variation was found between the three groups of length of stay (new-comers, experienced, settled). Thus, it is not the case that ethnic Germans move over time into ethnic German “Ghettos”, in which they are protected from discriminative hassles.

The adaptation explanation would seem, therefore, to be the most plausible and also to fit many of the longitudinal empirical results previously mentioned, such as decreased peer rejection (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999), decreased depression (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2002a), or adapted expectations about transitions (Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 1999b). Furthermore, the first longitudinal comparison of discrimination hassles also showed a decrease among ethnic German adolescents between the first two waves of immigration<sup>6</sup> and additional data show that the willingness for contact with native peers (as measured with an adapted instrument by Ryder, Alden and Paulhus, 2000, with three items comprising wanted social activities with natives, native friends, native girlfriend/boyfriend) and the number of native German friends increases over time.

For Russian-Jewish adolescents the situation is different. Using the same argumentation of an adaptational process underlying the decrease in discrimination, the similarities among the three groups of Russian Jews would be explained by a less pronounced adaptation process and probably the higher segregation in Israel (Nauck, 2001b) that leads to stable visibility of the Russian-Jewish group and also stable discrimination. If compared with ethnic Germans, Russian-Jewish immigrants show higher rates of family language retention and marriage homogamy (Nauck, 2001b), lower rates of language acquisition (Steinbach & Nauck, 2000), and less use of the new language (see 5.5.2.1.). These differences point towards a higher segregation in Israel. Furthermore, additional data gathered in the German-Israeli project on the

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<sup>6</sup> ( $N = 170$ ;  $F = 7.1$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .041$ )

neighbourhood concentration of Russian immigrants showed a higher share of Russian-Jewish immigrants in the neighbourhoods of Russian-Jewish adolescents than of ethnic German immigrants in neighbourhoods of ethnic German adolescent immigrants. This may lead to a reduced adaptation among Russian-Jewish adolescents and to stable discrimination. Furthermore, members of the host society may also perceive the high concentration of immigrants in neighbourhoods and their cultural retention as provocative. As empirical evidence shows, Israeli hosts prefer assimilation to the new society (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) and this cultural retention may not be accepted. The public scepticism about Russian culture is described by the Israeli press:

*“Israel has become the second-largest cultural center after the FSU....Among the Russian immigrants there is a ‘cultural chauvinism,’ that is to say, ‘we belong to the most beautiful culture.’ Their ideal is to be a branch of Russia. They are not interested in Zionist ideals and the Hebrew language.” (Yedioth Ahronoth, Oct. 18, 1991; cited in Al-Haj, 2004).*

This “cultural chauvinism” (e.g., insisting on speaking Russian in public) is perceived as provocative by Israeli veterans and has, according to Al-Haj (2004), retarded the immigrants’ integration into the labour market. Such perceptions may also explain the stability of perceived discrimination hassles among Russian-Jewish adolescents, because Russian-Jewish adolescents remain “Russian”, whereas ethnic German adolescents change over time.

To support this view, it was tested whether indeed Russian-Jewish adolescents scored higher on levels of wanting contact to their own group, which should remain high with time in the country, whereas this contact should be wanted increasingly less among ethnic Germans. This was measured with three adjusted items of an instrument measuring acculturation orientations (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) that asked for the willingness of contact to “other ethnic German immigrants/Russian Jews” in social activities, being friends, or having such a girlfriend/boyfriend. The supposition was not supported by the data. Both immigrant groups wanted strong ties to their own ethnic group that even increased over time in both contexts. Thus, the orientation towards own ethnic group is not a good explanation for the different trends in both samples. The increase, however, may theoretically be explained by processes of ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1993).

If not the high orientation towards the own group differentiates between both immigrant groups, it may be that they are different in their openness to contact with native peers. In this regard, one would expect a low stable interest among Russian-Jewish adolescents, but an increased interest among ethnic German adolescents. This was measured as before, only that the expression "other ethnic German immigrants/Russian Jews" was exchanged with "native peers" (social activities, friends, girlfriend/boyfriend). On this dimension, ethnic German and Russian-Jewish adolescents differed. The willingness for contact to natives increased with longer stay in the ethnic German sample, but decreased in the Russian-Jewish sample. Thus, the difference between both immigrant groups is not in terms of strategies regarding inner-ethnic contacts, but in differences regarding native peer contact. Furthermore, the wish for intergroup contact was in both samples related to lower levels of discrimination hassles, although not very strongly. Orientation towards inner-ethnic contacts, on the other hand, was not related to discrimination hassles. For the ethnic Germans, these data further support the idea of adaptation. For Russian Jews, however, a lowering of interest in contact to native peers over time spent in Israel does not fit the expectations of stable low interests.

Furthermore, it was not the case that settled Russian-Jewish adolescents have fewer contacts to native peers than newcomers. On the contrary, the number even increased with time spent in Israel. These at first sight contradicting results (decreased willingness for contact by increased numbers of native peers) may be explained by a phenomenon known from social-psychological research. It was shown that positive contacts to members of another group (friends) do not necessarily lead to better relations to the group as a whole (Hewstone & Brown, 1986), such as willingness for contact. Taking these arguments together, a major difference between Israel and Germany could be that ethnic German adolescents with longer length of stay perceive native peers as more and more positive (and want to have more contact), and that their native friends are seen as prototypical members of this group. Russian-Jewish adolescents, on the other hand, perceive native Israeli peers as more and more negative and their native friends are perceived as the exceptions. This argument is, however, only speculative based on the data, and further evidence would be needed to prove the case.

These differences could, however, also be explained by different contexts within each receiving country. It is possible that Russian-Jewish adolescents live in rather separated contexts. They may meet native friends, for instance in their leisure activities. In

this specific context they may adapt, speak Hebrew and have native friends. Nevertheless, discrimination hassles may be experienced in public areas such as their neighbourhood or school, contexts to which Russian-Jewish adolescents adapt to a lesser extent and where they remain “the Russians” and perceive constant levels of discrimination. This could explain the contradiction between having native friends and stable discrimination hassles. Ethnic German adolescents, however, live in a less segregated environment and may adapt in all contexts simultaneously and may also have friends in all contexts. That different acculturation processes can take place depending on the life sphere of immigrants has already been shown in research on Russian immigrants in the U.S. (Birman, Trickett, and Vinokurov, 2002). This idea can be stretched even further. Since Israel is much more diverse than Germany, Russian-Jewish adolescents may also vary in the paths of acculturation much more than ethnic German adolescents do in the rather homogeneous German context. Thus, the higher diversity among Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel could have led to the puzzling results in this group, whereas the large majority of ethnic German adolescents may follow a similar path of acculturation. Again, this explanation needs further clarification in future studies.

#### *5.5.2.3 Social Adaptation Hassles*

The first hypothesis regarding social adaptation hassles assumed that these hassles are less frequent among ethnic German adolescents compared to Russian-Jewish adolescents. This hypothesis was confirmed. Only in the initial phase of immigration – i.e. among newcomers – were Russian-Jewish and ethnic German adolescents comparable in terms of social adaptation hassles. In later stages, Russian-Jewish adolescents showed higher levels of social adaptation hassles. The hypothesis was based on findings suggesting better social assimilation (in terms of Esser’s model) among ethnic German adolescents in Germany compared to Russian Jews in Israel. In the German-Israeli project as well, indicators were found supporting a better social assimilation among ethnic German adolescents, of which about 14% had a native adolescent as best friend, whereas only 6% of Russian-Jewish adolescents reported having a native Israeli as best friend. Since having a native best friend is a good indicator for social assimilation, the differences between the two immigrant groups in social adaptation hassles may indeed represent differences in social assimilation. Furthermore, the results reported in the last chapter (5.5.2.2) indicate growing positive relations between ethnic Germans and their native German peers, but increasingly negative rela-

tions among Russian-Jewish and native Israeli peers, which may also be seen in the different patterns of social adaptation hassles.

The second hypothesis expected that social adaptation hassles decrease faster in Germany than in Israel, i.e. that the differences between the three groups of length of stay are smaller in Israel than in Germany. The statistical interaction was significant, but surprisingly, it was not only a different pace of “decrease” that was found, but even a different direction in both samples. The longer ethnic German adolescents are in Germany, the fewer social adaptation hassles are described. Among Russian-Jewish adolescents, however, the opposite effect is seen. The groups with more time spent in Israel reported higher levels of social adaptation hassles than the newcomers. How can these differences be explained?

Consistent with results concerning discrimination and language hassles among ethnic German adolescents, an underlying adaptation process may again explain the observed results in this cross-sectional data. Existing longitudinal studies (e.g., Silbereisen, Lantermann & Schmitt-Rodermund & 1999) and the first longitudinal test on social adaptation hassles conducted with our data<sup>7</sup> set show changes towards norms and values of the host society. It can be assumed that this adaptation is related to better peer relations (or reduced peer rejection, as found in the study by Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999) and, hence, fewer social adaptation hassles. A 17 year-old female ethnic German summarized this situation nicely:

*“At the moment I do not have any other ethnic Germans as friends, but when I was younger, I had a Polish girlfriend. Native German kids had many more toys, more allowances, went on holiday etc. With other ethnic Germans one did not need to be pretend, because they knew and understood the situation. Until one has ‘adjusted’ to the new context, ethnic German friends are important” (Participant in a small study on friendship formation; Fabel, 2004, p.23-24).*

Another component of social adaptation hassles is the parents’ interference in the acculturation process. In Germany, parents usually accept the adjustment of their children, as one father summarizes a disagreement with his son:

*“Now he’s got this thing in his ear, this stuff, how you call it, such a ring in the ear, which we did not like. But in his age, if everybody is wearing it . . . We are not used to these influences and we cannot forbid everything. If he wants to have it, then he should have it, if all the friends have it...” (Schmitt-Rodermund, 1997, p. 30).*

<sup>7</sup> ( $N = 170$ ;  $F = 3.9$ ,  $p = .049$ ,  $\eta^2 = .023$ )



Some empirical evidence also suggests that the acceptance of social adaptation to the new context is higher in Germany than in Israel. Among ethnic German parents, only about 4% would never accept a native born son/daughter in law (Nauck, 2001b). The respective number for Russian-Jewish parents was 27%. Thus, if young ethnic German immigrants adapt, parents are not very likely to interfere in the acculturation process.

Parents of Russian-Jewish adolescents may not accept an adaptation process so easily. Close to 90% of Russian-Jewish parents deem it important that their children are familiar with Russian culture and language (Al-Haj, 2004). Altogether, 86% of Russian Jews perceived themselves as having a positive or very positive influence on Israel's economic growth, 92% a positive effect on Israel's science and technology, and 75% as being beneficial for Israel's political life. Close to 90% evaluated their cultural influence on Israel as positive or very positive, whereas only 28% perceived positive or very positive influences of the Israeli society on them (Al-Haj, 2004). These facts feed back into the discussion of the so called "cultural chauvinism". Since Russian-Jewish adolescents nevertheless adapt over time, as shown by the increasing use of the new language (although on a much lower level compared with ethnic Germans) and an increasing number of native peers (as reported in the end of chapter 5.5.2.2), parents may perceive this as a threat to their cultural capital and may increasingly interfere.

Besides parental interference, the social adaptation hassles also comprise perceived dissimilarities between immigrants and native peers that hinder intergroup contact. This leads to the question of why these dissimilarities decrease in Germany, whereas they increase in Israel. For Russian-Jewish adolescents, the strong cultural pride and participation in a Russian infrastructure may be one reason that becomes more pronounced with increased time spent in Israel. First, it is possible that their contacts to other peers change from more institutionalized contacts shortly after immigration (temporary accommodation) to contacts in less protected contexts, such as schools, in which more discrimination takes place. Second, it is also possible that the functions of friendships change with time spent in the new country, as suggested by the statement given by the 17-year old ethnic German girl cited above. An empirical result supporting that view shows that contact to native peers can actually be counterproductive in early stages of ethnic German adolescents' acculturation, but is beneficial at later stages (Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2000). Although this is a result found in ethnic German adolescents, it is likely that Russian-Jewish adolescents' friendships may also serve different functions during different stages of the acculturation process.

For instance, at the beginning peers are only sought after for company and common activities. Later on, however, deeper exchange and disclosure may become important. In the beginning native peers may be able to provide company and low levels of social adaptation hassles are perceived. But the (perceived) cultural gap may be too large for deeper exchanges, and social adaptation hassles increase for adolescents who have been in the country for a longer time.

Another explanation may be seen in assimilation expectations by the host society in Israel (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). The bonus given to new immigrants in an immigration society may disappear over time, if hosts realize that the new immigrants do not assimilate. Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel, however, do not want and (because of the better Russian infrastructure) may actually benefit by keeping their cultural elements. With longer time in the country, this may lead to more hassles of social adaptation. In focus groups with Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel, all adolescents reported having tried, and of wanting to be friends with Israeli children, but that Israelis were not prepared for intergroup friendships.

*“The feeling is that the Israelis are willing to be close to the immigrants only if they stop speaking their language and to change their names to Israeli names” (Focus group protocol, Minerva Center for Youth Studies, 2002).*

Such difficulties in interpersonal interactions may increase over time.

Putting together what has been said about the three different kinds of acculturative hassles, two very different scenarios can be sketched out. Ethnic German adolescents enter the new context and experience most of the problems right in the beginning of the acculturation process. Over time, they learn the new language, adapt socially, and are more and more accepted by members of the host society. Thus, over time they report fewer hassles on all three subscales of the acculturative hassles questionnaire. Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel also adapt to the new country, but on a lower level and at a different pace (e.g., with regard to language). Higher segregation and opportunities or even reinforcement to keep the Russian language and culture may slow down language acquisition compared to that of ethnic German adolescents. It could also be that these adolescents first experience a growing gap between themselves and host peers, which results in withdrawal of interest in meeting native peers. Together with parental aspirations to keep the cultural traditions, these adolescents

experience more problems of social adaptation, for instance through increasing pressure to assimilate from the host society, and stable levels of discrimination. Nevertheless, Russian-Jewish adolescents seem to find their niche in which they adapt and even build up friendships to native peers. Their primary focus remains, however, on the own Russian-Jewish group and the peers in the general Israeli population are seen increasingly critical. Unfortunately, there is less research done longitudinally in Israel. The interpretation of the data as processes is therefore preliminary and studies investigating processes are needed.

This dissertation is, however, a first step in generating ideas about possible acculturation-related changes. Some of the interpretations offered here may be speculative and need more detailed investigation. Comparing two different countries with two groups of immigrants involves investigating many single aspects and their interactions and it is impossible to study all factors and the interplay among them at once. Nevertheless, a first step in understanding acculturation processes in the two societies is made and offers plenty of scope for further explorations.

## 6 General Discussion

The research presented in this dissertation studied acculturation-related hassles of adolescent immigrants in two contexts: Israel and Germany. In order to implement this research, a new questionnaire was developed. The construction of the questionnaire began with a survey on the relevant literature, focus group interviews conducted with adolescent immigrants, and several pilot studies. After the questionnaire was developed, it was used to study the acculturation processes of adolescent immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel and Germany using the three kinds of acculturative hassles.

As specific aspects were discussed in each of the studies presented in former chapters, this general discussion takes a broader perspective. First, some limitations of the new instrument and its development will be presented followed by some conclusions for further research and practical implications of the results in this dissertation.

### 6.1 Limitations

The first limitation relates to the process of constructing the questionnaire. The basic idea was to construct an instrument that would contain acculturation-related hassles in major domains of adolescents' lives. These domains were school, peers, family, romantic relations, new country and identity. It needs to be mentioned that this is only one approach of constructing such an instrument. Other approaches would also be possible. Applying acculturation strategies, one of the most established concepts in acculturation research (Berry, 1976; Berry et al., 2002), for example, would have given a different perspective on acculturative hassles, focusing primarily on inter- and intra-group processes. In this approach, one would have structured acculturative hassles into ingroup hassles and outgroup hassles (as suggested by Lay & Nguyen, 1998). This perspective would, however, reduce the acculturation process to an intergroup phenomenon. Although an intergroup perspective on acculturation is important, intra-individual changes of immigrants in the new country are also a very important source of variation. Acculturation is also learning and coping. For example, a person has to learn how to get access to resources in the new country (generalized capital), has to acquire host-society-specific capital (language, knowledge about social rules, norms, rites), needs to develop coping strategies to overcome obstacles in the new context, and may need to get used to a different pace of life (as in the case of a person from

small village in Kazakhstan settling in an urban area in Germany). The view from the three subscales, however, is broader and includes intergroup phenomena such as incidents of discrimination as well as intragroup phenomena such as parents who try to slow down the acculturation of their children. The process of questionnaire construction as used here, i.e. via literature review and focus groups, and covering important domains of adolescent development, resulted in an instrument representing a wide angle of adolescents' lives.

Within the construction procedure it can be argued that a different level of attention was paid to Israel and Germany and that it would have been more appropriate in terms of cross-cultural research to do every step in the questionnaire construction in both contexts. Although this may seem the best way at first sight, it also would have been problematic. Parts of the validation (for instance the item selection in study II) were based on knowledge from longitudinal studies on ethnic Germans (Silbereisen, Lantermann & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999), which described acculturation-related processes longitudinally. Such longitudinal studies concerning Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel hardly exist and the same criteria could not be applied for Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel. Acculturative hassles are related differently to length of stay in Israel as study five showed. Furthermore, at the beginning of the questionnaire construction, two kinds of studies (focus groups and a pilot study of the first questionnaire) were conducted in Israel that had a direct impact on item selection. Items which were reported to be inappropriate by Russian-Jewish adolescents in Israel were excluded and new suggestions were used in addition to the existing items. This assured comparability in the first step of item selection. In study four the confirmatory factor analysis also supported equality in both samples and none of the items focused on Germany specific conditions. Thus, although more emphasis was given to ethnic German adolescents in the construction of the questionnaire, information from Russian-Jewish adolescents was used from the very beginning so that it is unlikely a different scale would have resulted had the process been otherwise.

A rather technical aspect that may be criticised is the high intercorrelation of the three subscales as presented in study four. The correlation coefficients between the scales were about .60. In other words, the subscales share about one third of common variance. It may be argued that this represents one rather than three factors. However, there are good reasons to keep the three factor solution instead of collapsing it into one single scale. First, as was shown, the confirmatory factor analysis revealed that the one factor structure produced a much worse fit compared to the three factor solu-

tion, thus a three factor solution offered a much better representation of the data. Second, the results in study five also support the three rather than one scale, since the patterns across length of stay are very different in the three subscales: Using a one-dimensional scale would not give this detailed view. Finally, in study III the three subscales showed their independent variance in the correlations with sociocultural difficulties. Besides these unique parts of variance, the shared parts, as shown in the intercorrelations, also have a positive side. These intercorrelations offer the opportunity to use the three subscales as manifest variables for a latent construct named “acculturative hassles” in structural equation models that measures the common core of the three subscales. This construct would use the shared information of all three subscales and would be parsimonious.

Another point of discussion is to what extent the questionnaire also represents acculturative hassles for other immigrant groups or whether it is only applicable in the two groups studied because the two immigrant groups used in this analysis here may be seen as an exception. Russian Jews and ethnic Germans already share some common features with the society of settlement – ancestry or religious roots – before entry into the new country. Both groups are seen as diaspora immigration (Shuval, 1998) with substantial support by the receiving society. As these were the two groups on which the scale construction is based on, it may be questioned whether the questionnaire could also be applied to other immigrant groups. The answer is yes. The content of the scale (language, discrimination and social adaptation problems) is common among many groups of immigrants. Hernandez and Charney (1998) described acculturative stress as “a key factor in understanding psychological distress among children and youth in immigrant families” (p. 84). Their research group conducted studies on many different immigrant groups in America and found that acculturative stress includes language problems, perceived discrimination, perceived cultural incompatibilities, and increasing gaps between cultural affiliations of adults and children. These sources of acculturative stress resemble the content of the acculturative hassles questionnaire (only the last two points formed a common factor in the questionnaire), but are observed in a different society and among different groups of immigrants. Given the way in which the instrument was constructed, these similarities support a claim for external validity of the instrument. Besides similarities with the results by this research group, the acculturative hassles questionnaire also resembles problems of adolescent immigrants mentioned in other studies as Table 23 shows. This supports the idea that

acculturative hassles are structured equally along these subscales for different groups of immigrants in different contexts.

Table 23: dimensions of the acculturative hassles questionnaire in comparison with other scales measuring acculturation-related problems

Authors	Number of hassle dimensions	Acculturation-related problems	Acculturating group
Hernandez & Charney (1998)	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• language problems</li> <li>• perceived discrimination</li> <li>• perceived cultural incompatibilities</li> </ul>	No specific focus on Hispanics in the US
Samaniego & Gonzales (1999)	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• generational gaps</li> <li>• perceived discrimination</li> <li>• peer discrimination</li> <li>• family conflicts</li> <li>• discrimination</li> <li>• school</li> </ul>	Mexican American adolescents
Vinokurov et al. (2002)	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• peers</li> <li>• English language</li> <li>• Family</li> </ul>	Russian immigrants in the US
Lay & Nguyen (1998) Lay & Safdar (2003)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• outgroup hassles</li> <li>• ingroup hassles</li> </ul>	European, black/Caribbean and Vietnamese in Canada
Acculturative hassles questionnaire	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• language hassles</li> <li>• discrimination hassles</li> <li>• social adaptation hassles (obstacles for adaptation from society, peers and parents)</li> </ul>	Ethnic Germans in Germany, Russian Jews in Israel

## 6.2 Implications

The question of why is it important to study acculturative hassles of adolescent immigrants must be answered in several ways. First, acculturation-related hassles represent an additional source of stressors with which adolescent immigrants have to cope. In general, adolescents have to deal with adolescence-related biological, psychological, and social changes. Simultaneous stressors can, however, affect psychological well-being (Petersen, Sarigiani & Kennedy, 1991). Furthermore, there are theoretical reasons to believe that such hassles may lead towards higher delinquency, e.g., derived from general strain theory (Agnew, 1995). Research on daily hassles that differentiated between acculturation-related and non-acculturation-related hassles has also

shown independent predictive power of both kinds of hassles (Vinokurov et al., 2002) and first analyses in our research group could show that acculturative hassles are related to both, depressive mood (Titzmann, Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2005) and delinquency (Titzmann, Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2004). Thus, negative acculturation-related hassles are risk-factors for the adaptation of adolescent immigrants. In this regard, the results concerning Russian-Jewish adolescents' adaptation in Israel may point towards a more problematic acculturation process. It seems as if higher segregation with a developed Russian infrastructure and strong ties to Russian culture also has a downside to the easier access at the beginning of the acculturation process.

The conclusion that ethnic German adolescents in Germany get adjusted anyway and that no integration measures need therefore to be developed would, however, be the wrong message taken from this work. First (as explained for language hassles), we do not know anything about the effect of all the small activities carried out by churches, schools, and charities. An evaluation of the efficiency of these activities needs to be conducted and possible mechanisms found with which to measure the effects of these initiatives. It could well be that the actual content of all these programs is less important than the message given to immigrants that they are welcome and that somebody cares for them. The social net of support for new immigrants can be assumed to be tighter than often assumed. It would be worth the effort to study these different projects and to evaluate the effects of different kinds of such organisations. It could help to understand acculturation processes better, to assess the efficiency of existing ways of assistance, and to support these organisations in their activities.

The second argument for doubting an automatic integration into the host society is hidden in inter-individual differences. If the hassles of an "average adolescent" decrease over time, it does not necessarily mean that this is the case for all the adolescents. Some adolescents still report high levels of acculturative hassles even after a long time in the new country. Thus, there seems to be a small group of adolescents that does not adjust well over time. Future intervention programs should concentrate on these adolescents rather than on the majority, whilst avoiding pure risk groups, since they also carry the risk of iatrogenic effects (Dishion, McCord & Poulin, 1999). A next step in research on acculturative hassles could identify problematic adolescents and precursors of maladjustment, in order to intervene as early as possible; and to develop special programs for high risk adolescents.



In the Russian-Jewish sample in Israel problematic adolescents also exist even after a long time in the new country. In addition, however, the data show that on average discrimination is stable in the three groups of different lengths of stay, and that social adaptation hassles are reported to be higher among adolescents with substantial time in the new country. This could mean that the Russian community and the veteran society diverge over time and that Russian-Jewish adolescents are at higher risk for maladaptation compared to ethnic German adolescent immigrants in Germany. Thus, more general measures that go beyond individual programs for adolescents with stable-high acculturative hassles may be appropriate. Williams and Berry (1991), for instance, suggest a three level process of a primary prevention of maladaptation of immigrants, whereby optimal prevention takes place on the municipal level, the national level, and the international level. General aims are, for example, the preparation of immigrants before emigration, support during transition to the new society, public relations to increase knowledge and acceptance among the hosts, and school-based approaches to teach young children about a multicultural life as early as possible. However, public awareness of immigrants' problems also has to be addressed meaning that preventions/interventions would target the native population as well as the immigrants. But before any such extensive programs are initiated, their relevance needs to be investigated. For instance, it may be that strong inner-ethnic support networks buffer the negative effects of acculturative hassles, which are expected from the mentioned theories. A first comparison of both contexts showed, however, that adolescent Russian-Jewish immigrants indeed reported higher levels of delinquency compared with adolescent ethnic German immigrants and that interindividual levels of acculturative hassles can explain additional variance in interindividual levels of delinquency after controlling known risks of delinquency such as delinquent peers or being male (Titzmann, Silbereisen & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2004).

The results concerning ethnic German and Russian-Jewish adolescents also show that simple comparisons of different immigrant groups, as for example in the Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2003) study, are very problematic. Adaptation processes can vary across different immigrant groups and contexts as shown in the cross-sectional study of chapter 5. Simple mean differences of groups that actually differ in length of stay and their level of acculturation yield limited information. In study 5, for instance, it was shown that the main differences were not the most interesting result and may be even misleading in describing the acculturation of the two groups.

The studies presented here focused only on acculturative hassles. It is, however, necessary in future research to identify the relation between normative (age related) and acculturative hassles. Questions such as whether they are related, if they have independent predictive power, or are even related to completely different outcomes need to be addressed.

Apart from the large prevention programs suggested by Williams and Berry (1991), what would be needed to help adolescents to adjust and to reduce their level of acculturative hassles also needs to be considered. Results from this work suggest that language is one of the most important skills in both contexts (Mesch, 2003, Dietz, 2003a, Fochler, 1997). Interactions with members of the host community are likely to be more successful with higher levels of language proficiency. Programs to increase language proficiency exist and do not need to be re-invented, they only need to be applied in greater intensity. Many schools with a high share of ethnic German immigrants in Germany offer such classes in order to improve the language abilities as quickly as possible and to make participation in normal classes possible. The official reduction of the language courses for new ethnic German immigrants in Germany from 12 months to 6 months after 1993 (Dietz, 2003a) would, therefore, appear to be a wrong decision, given the importance of language for further development (Dietz, 2003a; Fochler, 1997) and in light of the increase of ethnic Germans in the immigrating population who do not know German (Dietz, in press).

Since discrimination hassles can also be understood as problems on the group level, interventions to improve intergroup relations may also help on the individual level. Such approaches exist, were originally developed for the economic sector, but are also applicable in other contexts such as schools if adapted to adolescent relevant topics (Bergemann & Sourisseaux, 2003; Hall, 1995; Hofstede, 1991; Landis & Bhagat, 1996). Interventions for better intergroup relations can be based on a continuum between didactic (teaching differences or intercultural skills) vs. experience based (contact between members of different groups) methods, but also culture-specific (improving relations between culture x and y) vs. culture-universal (increase a general positive attitude towards members of other groups) methods (Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Gudykunst, Guzley & Hammer, 1996, Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983). Most success is likely if not just one but both groups (native and immigrant peers) take part in such an undertaking. If it is too difficult to reduce tensions between groups, a successfully developed ethnic identity may help in coping with such hassles as studies found that an established ethnic identity can buffer the negative effects of discrimination

(Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). This study was, however, conducted with lower status groups. Given the fact that cultural pride seems very strong among Russian-Jewish immigrants, the whole process might work differently.

Social adaptation hassles are obstacles for social contact with the native peers and the host culture. If this is the case then the approaches just discussed may also help in this regard. They can increase social skills and can help to reduce false expectations about the other group. Perceived differences between immigrants and hosts may be reduced if they have closer contact. Horenczyk and Tatar (1998), for example, found that although Russian-Jewish and veteran adolescents perceived members of the opposite group to be different from themselves in terms of friendship expectations, their self-reports on friendship expectations were similar in hierarchy. Contact between both groups may help to understand one another better. However, research shows that certain requirements need to be met in order to be successful. From a social-psychological perspective, certain conditions are necessary, such as equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities, law, or custom (Allport, 1954). Later developments further added that enough time must be given for the processes of change to take place and that the contact situations need to provide the opportunity for the adolescents to become friends (Pettigrew, 1998). This leads to a more developmental perspective that needs to be taken into account. Intergroup contact that happens too early can have negative effects on the well-being of ethnic German immigrants (Schmitt-Rodermund, Silbereisen & Wiesner, 1996). For these reasons, the situations for contact need to be chosen well and the state of acculturation needs to be taken into account. As parental interference in the acculturation process is also one component of social adaptation hassles, it would be helpful to include parents and adolescents in such programs.

The existence of approaches to foster positive relations between immigrants and native peers should, however, not mislead in terms of the efficiency of these programs. Very little is known about whether they work or even why they work. Careful evaluations of existing programs and step by step improvement of working elements by elimination of non-working elements would help to better understand intergroup relations. Such approaches, probably integrated in longitudinal research on acculturation processes as done in other fields (Lacourse et al., 2002), can also shed more light on underlying processes behind acculturative hassles. This is a large promising field of future research that can offer both improvement of relations between immigrants and host population and a deeper knowledge on acculturation processes.

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## Interview - guideline

The reason for this interview is to inquire your personal experiences, which you have made here in Germany. It is very important that you answer as open and true as possible.

### 1. free answers – quite general

“Please consider the **time since your arrival** in Germany [temporal dimension], can you remember any situations that happened to you that were very unpleasant and that happened **because you are not a native German**? Could you please name such situations?” [events]

**How often** did it happen? [frequency/duration]

Did you **think about the event for a long time**? Did you need a lot of time to get over the event? [rehearsal – cognitive.]

Were you **depressed** or did you feel dispirited after the event? [emotional]

Was it as bad that you had headache or other **physical problems** because of the event? (for example headache, bellyache, concentration problems, etc.) [physical]

Specific Themes:

Some experiences were described by other adolescent Aussiedlers (ethnic Germans):

#### a.) School

- 1) **been laughed at**  
said something and was laughed at
- 2) **fear of being laughed at**  
did not want to say anything in class
- 3) **German language too bad**
- 4) **treated unfairly**
- 5) **difficult to follow**
- 6) **different educational style – e.g. expressions of opinion, competition**  
is difficult, „teacher is still an authority“
- 7) incomprehension what **Germans dare to do in front of teachers**
- 8) **teacher ignores them, inappropriate remarks**
- 9) **being teased**

Can you think of further problems which have not been named yet?

#### b.) Peers

- 1) **separation from friends**  
in the home country
- 2) **no contact**  
to native peers, difficult to establish
- 3) **language habits or culture of the youth**  
not easy to cope with (no national pride)
- 4) they are expected to **be together all the time with natives**  
- but no interest
- 5) **not being accepted** – mutual feelings of strangeness

- 6) **fight/arguments** with natives
- 7) **things were taken from them**

Can you think of further problems which have not been named yet?

c.) Family

- 1) **the parents 'dreamworld'**  
that does not conform reality – idealization of the GFR
- 2) **parents know nothing**  
about the country – no useful information for children, too old fashioned, children are better in dealing with the situation
- 3) **certain friends are not tolerated**  
parents do not allow to go out with certain (native) friends
- 4) **family ties are too strong**  
by which teenagers are impeded in their plans of development (may be functional in the beginning)
- 5) **parents have insufficient knowledge of the German language**  
it is impossible to bring friends home
- 6) **the home is too poor**  
to invite friends
- 7) **parents do not care**  
teenager are left for themselves
- 8) **parents preserve tradition**
- 9) **teenagers accommodate** (clothes, earrings, language...)  
→ parents are against it or don't support it
- 10) **parents expect too much**  
from their child (achievement) – pressure; feeling the need always to get good marks
- 11) **parents have changed the child's name into a more German sounding**
- 12) **alcohol**  
parents drink too much
- 13) **tendency for depression**  
parents are feeling down, sad, ashamed, reproachful
- 14) **arguments**  
with parents
- 15) **separation of the family**  
(spatial – left family members)
- 16) **'good family reputation'**  
impairs free actions of adolescents
- 17) **parents criticize the adolescent**  
e.g. 'you are cheeky as a native'
- 18) **no trust**  
teenagers cannot entrust to their parents
- 18) **the only place for support**

Can you think of further problems which have not been named yet?

d.) Romantic Relations

- 1.) especial problems to get a **girlfriend/boyfriend**
- 2.) German **boys/girls are different** (e.g. different gender roles)
- 3.) it is especially difficult to have a **native boyfriend/girlfriend** as an Aussiedler (ethnic German)

Can you think of further problems which have not been named yet?



e.) new society1.) **to be treated badly**

- 'Russian'
- 'asylum seeker'
- authorities: second class citizen
- racial insults – discrimination

2.) **Germans lack national pride**3.) **other immigrants**

(for examples Turks) do not understand that Aussiedler are more German than they are themselves

4.) **scarce resources**

in Germany (work, living space,...)

5.) **expectation of smooth integration**6.) high **competition – everyone for himself/herself**7.) **bureaucracy/authorities**

an obstacle for integration

8.) **rather cold social interactions**

- adolescents are used to emotional relations
- established values (politeness) of little help in Germany

9.) **freedom adolescents are not used to**

- experience of 'confusion' – through a lack of guidance ('unrest' 'lacking structure')
- consumption
- there seems to be no boundaries – hard to recognize
- parents have no authority

Can you think of further problems which have not been named yet?

f.) identity1.) **poor**

- shame

2.) **wrong clothing**

(no brandwear)

3.) **family is isolated**

in the new surrounding – left alone

4.) 'I do not know **who or what I am.**'

- cultural identity

5.) '**what was right 'at home' is now wrong.**'

The original culture patterns cannot be used, e.g. in arguments – "I do something wrong and do not know what" (passivity, insecurity, devaluation of common values)

6.) such a bad **education in germany**7.) **linguistic problems**

double linguistic problem: old language is not really present any more, the new not good enough

8.) **Minority**

In Germany an outsider, as well as in the homeland

Can you think of further problems which have not been named yet?

[What do you think is expected from you in Germany?]

**FRIEDRICH-SCHILLER-UNIVERSITÄT JENA**  
**Institut für Psychologie**  
**Lehrstuhl für Entwicklungspsychologie**



Hallo!

vielen Dank, dass Du Dich bereit erklärt hast, diesen Fragebogen auszufüllen. Es geht darum, Erfahrungen von jugendlichen Aussiedlern zu erfassen. Dazu werden Dir im Folgenden verschiedene Aussagen zu möglichen Erlebnissen in Deutschland vorgelegt. Diese Aussagen betreffen die Themenbereiche Schule, Freunde, Familie, Partnerschaft, neues Land und Identität. Bitte versuche Dich zu erinnern, ob und wie oft Du diese Ereignisse **im letzten Jahr** hier in Deutschland erlebt hast und, wenn ja, wie stark sie Dich belastet haben. Versuche bitte bei jeder Aussage, die Antwortmöglichkeit anzukreuzen, die am besten auf Dich zutrifft. Alle Antworten sind anonym. Das heißt, dass Du ganz offen und ehrlich ankreuzen kannst. Informationen werden vertraulich behandelt und nicht weitergegeben. Das folgende Beispiel zeigt Dir, wie Du auf die Fragen antwortest. Bitte lies Dir folgendes Beispiel gut durch:

Привет!

Большое спасибо за то, что ты согласился ответить на вопросы анкеты. Наша задача - проанализировать опыт молодых переселенцев. Для этого тебе будут представлены различные варианты ответов по поводу пережитого тобой в Германии. Эти вопросы касаются следующих тем: школа, друзья, семья, твой друг или подруга, новая страна и твое место в ней. Пожалуйста, постарайся вспомнить, были ли у тебя, и если да, то как часто подобные переживания **в прошедшем году** в Германии, и как они на тебя подействовали. Постарайся в каждом варианте найти ответ, который лучше всего для тебя подходит. Все ответы анонимные. Это значит, ты можешь отвечать на них честно и открыто. Полученная информация будет обрабатываться с осторожностью и не будет распространяться дальше.

На последующих примерах мы покажем тебе, как отвечать на вопросы. Пожалуйста, прочитай внимательно следующий пример:

**BEISPIEL/пример:**

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
1.) Mir wurde gesagt, ich soll in der Schule besser aufpassen.  мне говорили, что в шко- ле я должен быть внима- тельней	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0

Falls Du in Deutschland **nicht in die Schule**/Berufsschule gehst, machst Du ein Kreuz bei „Trifft nicht zu“:

Если в Германии ты не ходишь в школу/профессиональное училище, поставь крестик в графе " ко мне это не относится ":

1.) Mir wurde gesagt, ich soll in der Schule besser aufpassen.  мне говорили, что в шко- ле я должен быть внима- тельней	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	<del>④</del>	0
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Wenn Du zwar zur **Schule** / Berufsschule gehst, Dir aber die Situation noch **nicht passiert** ist, mach Dein Kreuz bei „Nie“:  
 Если ты посещаешь школу/ профессиональное училище, но в подобную ситуацию не попал, поставь крестик в графе "никогда":

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unangenehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unangenehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unangenehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
1.) Mir wurde gesagt, ich soll in der Schule besser aufpassen.  мне говорили, что в школе я должен быть внимательней	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In diesem Fall ist es **nicht notwendig** anzukreuzen, wie unangenehm Dir das war.  
 В данном случае **не нужно** указывать, было ли это тебе неприятно.

Wenn Du in die **Schule** / Berufsschule gehst, und Dir die beschriebene Situation **bereits passiert** ist, mach zuerst ein Kreuz in der Spalte „Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt?“, um anzugeben, wie oft Dir das passiert ist. Wenn Dir bereits mehrmals jemand gesagt hat, dass Du in der Schule besser aufpassen sollst, machst Du das Kreuz unter „Mehrmals“

Если же ты ходишь в школу/ профессиональное училище, и попал в подобную ситуацию, поставь крестик в графе " как часто это с тобой происходило". **Например:** если тебе об этом говорили много раз, поставь крестик под ответом "много раз":

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unangenehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unangenehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unangenehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
1.) Mir wurde gesagt, ich soll in der Schule besser aufpassen мне говорили, что в школе я должен быть внимательней.	①	②	<del>③</del>	④	①	②	③	④	○

Nachdem Du angegeben hast, wie oft Dir das passiert ist, kennzeichne in den nächsten Kästchen, wie unangenehm Dir das Ereignis war. Wenn es Dir beispielsweise sehr unangenehm war, mach Dein Kreuz bei ④ - „Sehr unangenehm“:

После того, как ты ответил, как часто с тобой это происходило, ответь на вопрос, было ли это тебе неприятно. Если тебе было очень неприятно, поставь крестик в соответствующей графе ④ - " очень неприятно "

1.) Mir wurde gesagt, ich soll in der Schule besser aufpassen. мне говорили, что в школе я должен быть внимательней	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	<del>④</del>	○
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**Bevor Du mit dem Ausfüllen des Fragebogens anfängst, hätten wir gerne noch ein paar Informationen.** Diese sind notwendig, um die Antworten in den Fragebögen besser zu verstehen. Sie ändern nichts an der Anonymität und Vertraulichkeit der Angaben.

Прежде чем ты начнешь заполнять нашу анкету, мы хотели бы получить от тебя дополнительную информацию. Она необходима нам, чтобы лучше понять ответы на вопросы. Эта информация ничего не меняет в отношении анонимности и конфиденциальности обработки данных.

<p><b>Schule:</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Hauptschule  <input type="checkbox"/> Realschule  <input type="checkbox"/> Regelschule  <input type="checkbox"/> Gymnasium  <input type="checkbox"/> Berufsausbildung  <input type="checkbox"/> Sprachkurs</p>	<p><b>Seit wann in Deutschland:</b> _____  <b>Herkunftsland:</b> _____  <b>Wohnort:</b> _____  <b>Tätigkeit:</b> <input type="checkbox"/> berufstätig  <input type="checkbox"/> arbeitslos  <input type="checkbox"/> sonstiges</p>	<p><b>Geburtsjahr:</b> _____  <b>Geschlecht:</b> <input type="checkbox"/> weiblich  <input type="checkbox"/> männlich</p>
<p>в настоящее время я посещаю школу:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Hauptschule  <input type="checkbox"/> Realschule  <input type="checkbox"/> Regelschule  <input type="checkbox"/> Гимназия  <input type="checkbox"/> Проф.обучение  <input type="checkbox"/> Языковой курс</p>	<p>С какого времени ты в Германии:  _____</p> <p>Откуда ты прибыл (страна):  _____</p> <p>Местожительства:  _____</p> <p>Чем ты занимаешься:  <input type="checkbox"/> работаю  <input type="checkbox"/> безработный  <input type="checkbox"/> другое</p>	<p>Год рождения _____</p> <p>Пол:  <input type="checkbox"/> женский  <input type="checkbox"/> мужской</p>

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?	
<p>Im Nachfolgenden stehen Aussagen, die andere Aussiedler über ihre Situation in Deutschland gemacht haben. Wir möchten Dich bitten, Dir diese genau durchzulesen. Trage bitte zu jeder Aussage ein, ob und wie oft <b>Du</b> dies <b>innerhalb der letzten 12 Monate</b> erlebt hast und wie Du Dich dabei fühltest.</p> <p>Ниже описываются ситуации, которые другие переселенцы пережили в Германии. Пожалуйста, прочитай внимательно. Ответь, оказывался ли ты в таких ситуациях в течение последних 12 месяцев, и, если да, то как ты себя при этом чувствовал.</p>	<p>Nie Einmal Mehrmals Oft никогда один раз много раз часто</p>	<p>Nicht unangenehm Ein wenig unangenehm Ziemlich unangenehm Sehr unangenehm нет немного неприятно достаточно неприятно очень неприятно</p>	<p>Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится</p>
<p><b>SCHULE</b> <b>ШКОЛА</b></p>			
<p>1.)- Ich bin in der Schule ausgelacht worden. в школе я был объектом насмешек</p>	<p>① ② ③</p>	<p>① ② ③ ④</p>	<p>0</p>
<p>2.) Ich habe mich nicht getraut etwas zu sagen, weil ich dachte, dafür ausgelacht zu werden. я не решался что - то сказать, чтобы не быть высмеянным</p>	<p>① ② ③</p>	<p>① ② ③ ④</p>	<p>0</p>

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unangenehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
3.) Ich bin als Aussiedler in der Schule ungerecht behandelt worden. со мною в школе обращались несправедливо, так как я переселенец	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
4.) Ich konnte dem Unterricht nicht folgen, weil der Lehrer keine Rücksicht auf meine Sprache genommen hat. я не мог воспринимать материал урока, т.к. учитель не принимал во внимание моё недостаточное знание языка	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
5.) Ich war überrascht darüber, was sich andere vor Lehrern herausnehmen. я был поражен, какие вольности позволяли себе другие по отношению к учителям	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
6.) Der Lehrer hat mich nicht beachtet. учитель не обращал на меня внимания	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
7.) Ich wurde von anderen gehänselt. меня дразнили	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
8.) Ich hatte Angst, in die Schule zu gehen. я боялся идти в школу	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0



	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
9.) Meine Mitschüler unterhielten sich nicht mit mir. мои одноклассники не общались со мной	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
10.) Ich hatte im Unterricht Probleme, weil mein Deutsch zu schlecht war. у меня были проблемы из-за плохого знания немецкого языка	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
11.) Es gab Situationen, in denen ich nichts verstand, weil mein Deutsch zu schlecht war. были случаи, когда я ничего не понял из-за плохого знания немецкого языка	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
12.) Es gab Situationen, in denen ich auf Deutsch nicht ausdrücken konnte, was ich sagen wollte. были случаи, когда я не мог выразить по-немецки то, что я хотел сказать	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
13.) Ich fühlte mich von einem Lehrer ungerecht behandelt. я чувствовал, что один из учителей несправедлив ко мне	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unange- nehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
14.) Ich fühlte mich von meinen Mitschülern ungerecht behandelt. я чувствовал, что мои дноклассники несправедливы ко мне	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
15.) Es fiel mir schwer, dem Unterricht zu folgen. мне было трудно следить за уроком	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
16.) Ich habe mich nicht getraut, meine Meinung zu sagen. я не решался высказать своё мнение	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
17.) Ich habe erlebt, dass sich einheimische Schüler in der Schule viel erlauben können. я видел, что местные ученики могут многое себе позволить в ш коле	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
18.) Ich habe erlebt, dass einheimische Schüler ihre Lehrer nicht respektieren. я видел, что местные ученики неуважительно относятся к учи телям	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unangenehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
19.) Ich wurde in der Schule beschimpft. в школе меня обзывали	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
20.) Meine Mitschüler beachtetten mich nicht. мои одноклассники не обращали на меня внимания	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
21.) Ich fühlte mich von einem meiner Lehrer missverstanden. я чувствовал, что один из учителей неправильно меня по- нимает	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
22.) Ich wollte nicht in die Schule, weil ich gehänselt wurde. я не хотел идти в школу из-за того, что меня дра- знили	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
23.) Ich bekam eine schlechte Note. я получил плохую оценку	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
24.) Ich hatte in der Schule keine Freunde. в школе у меня не было друзей	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
<b>FREUNDE</b> <b>ДРУЗЬЯ</b>									
25.) Ich fühlte mich allein, weil meine Freunde nicht in Deutschland sind. я чувствовал себя одиноким, так как мои друзья не в Германии	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
26.) Es war schwer den Kontakt zu meinen Freunden im Herkunftsland zu halten. мне было трудно поддерживать контакт с моими старыми друзьями	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
27.) Ich bemerkte, dass mich meine Freunde im Herkunftsland nicht mehr so gut verstehen, weil ich mich verändert habe. я заметил, что мои старые друзья хуже меня понимают, так как я изменился	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
28.) Ich dachte, dass meine Freunde im Herkunftsland und ich immer verschiedener werden. я думал, что я и мои старые друзья становимся все более разными	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
29.) Ich habe versucht mit einheimischen Jugendlichen Kontakt zu finden. я пытался наладить контакты с местными подростками	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
30.) Ich hatte Schwierigkeiten mit der Sprache einheimischer Jugendlicher. у меня были проблемы понять язык местных подростков	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
31.) Ich wollte wegen der anderen nicht in die Schule gehen. я не хотел идти в школу из-за других	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
32.) Andere Aussiedler mussten mir gegen Einheimische helfen. другим переселенцам пришлось помогать мне против местных	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
33.) Ich dachte, einheimische Jugendliche sind anders, als die aus meiner Heimat. я думал, местные подростки не похожи на моих старых друзей	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
34.) Mir wurde gesagt, ich soll mehr Zeit mit einheimischen Jugendlichen verbringen. мне говорили, я должен проводить с местными подростками больше времени	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
35.) Es fiel mir schwer einem Einheimischen zu vertrauen. я с трудом мог доверять кому-нибудь из местных	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
36.) Einheimische Jugendliche lachten über Dinge, die ich nicht lustig fand. местные подростки смеялись над вещами, которые я смешными не находил	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
37.) Ich wurde von angeblichen Freunden enttäuscht. я разочаровался в тех, кого считал своими друзьями	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
38.) Ich dachte, dass einheimische Jugendliche zu oberflächlich sind. я думал, что местные подростки поверхностны	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
39.) Ich dachte, dass Einheimische und Aussiedler nur schwer Freunde werden, weil sie zu verschieden sind. я думал, местным и переселенцам трудно быть друзьями в силу того, что они слишком разные	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
40.) Ich habe bemerkt, dass mich einheimische Jugendliche nicht für eine Deutsche / einen Deutschen halten. я догадался, что местные подростки не считают меня за немца/немку	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
41.) Ich habe mich mit Einheimischen geprügelt. я дрался с местными подростками	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
42.) Ich wurde von Einheimischen verprügelt. местные подростки меня били	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
43.) Mir wurden in der Schule Sachen weggenommen. в школе у меня отнимали вещи	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
<b>FAMILIE</b> <b>СЕМЬЯ</b>									
44.) Meine Eltern haben sich über unsere Situation in Deutschland geärgert. моих родителей раздражала наша ситуация в Германии	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
45.) Meine Eltern mochten manche meiner Freunde nicht. моим родителям не нравились некоторые мои друзья	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
46.) Meine Eltern haben mir verboten, mit Freunden wegzugehen. мои родители запрещали мне гулять с друзьями	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
47.) Meine Eltern wollten nicht, dass ich mit einheimischen Jugendlichen zusammen bin. мои родители не хотели, чтобы я дружил с местными	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①



	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
48.) Meine Eltern wollten nicht, dass ich mit anderen Aussiedlern zusammen bin. мои родители не хотели, чтобы я дружил с переселенцами	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
49.) Meine Eltern hatten Angst, dass meine Freunde einen schlechten Einfluss auf mich haben. мои родители боялись, что мои друзья оказывают на меня дурное влияние	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
50.) Meine Eltern kontrollierten mich zu sehr. мои родители слишком строго меня контролировали	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
51.) Ich durfte nicht tun, was ich wollte. мне не разрешалось делать то, что я хотел	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
52.) Ich fand, dass meine Eltern zu schlecht deutsch sprechen. я находил, что мои родители плохо говорят по-немецки	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
53.) Meine Eltern konnten sich nicht richtig ausdrücken. мои родители не могли правильно выразить свои мысли	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

54.) Meine Eltern wurden aufgrund ihrer Sprachkenntnisse nicht richtig verstanden. моих родителей неправильно понимали из-за их плохого знания языка	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
55.) Ich fand unsere Wohnung ärmlich. я находил наше жильё бедным	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
56.) Ich schämte mich, Freunde mitzubringen, weil unsere Wohnung nicht gut genug ist. я стеснялся привести домой друзей из-за того, что наша квартира недостаточно хороша	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
57.) Ich hatte das Gefühl, dass sich meine Eltern nicht genug um mich kümmern. у меня было чувство, что мои родители недостаточно заботятся обо мне	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
58.) Meine Eltern schimpften über meine schlechten Schulnoten. мои родители ругали меня за плохие оценки в школе	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
59.) Meine Eltern erwarteten zu viel von mir. мои родители слишком многого от меня ожидали	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
60.) Meine Eltern drängten mich zum Lernen. мои родители заставляли меня учиться	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
61.) Meine Eltern sprachen mich hier in Deutschland mit einem anderen Namen an als im Herkunftsland. мои родители звали меня здесь другим именем, чем раньше	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
62.) Mein Vater trank zu viel Alkohol. мой отец слишком много пил спиртного	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
63.) Meine Mutter trank zu viel Alkohol. моя мать слишком много пила спиртного	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
64.) Ich glaubte, dass sich meine Eltern für ihre Herkunft schämen. я думал, мои родители стесняются своего происхождения	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
65.) Meine Eltern bereuten nach Deutschland gegangen zu sein. мои родители жалели, что переехали в Германию	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
66.) Meine Eltern waren traurig wegen unserer Situation. мои родители расстраивались из-за нашей ситуации	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
67.) Meine Eltern stritten miteinander. мои родители ругались друг с другом	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
68.) Meine Mutter war niedergeschlagen / traurig. моя мать пребывала в депрессии	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
69.) Mein Vater war niedergeschlagen / traurig. мой отец пребывал в депрессии	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
70.) Meine Eltern wollten wieder zurück. мои родители хотели вернуться назад	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
71.) Es gab Situationen, in denen ich wünschte, meine Eltern hätten mich besser auf Deutschland vorbereitet. были ситуации, когда я думал, что родители должны были лучше подготовить меня к Германии	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
72.) Ich hatte Streit mir meinem Vater. я ругался со своим отцом	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
73.) Ich hatte Streit mit meiner Mutter. я ругался со своей матерью	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
74.) Meine Eltern wollten nicht, dass ich mich kleide, wie einheimische Jugendliche. мои родители не хотели, чтобы я одевался, как местные подростки	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
75.) Ich wollte einen Ohrring, andere Kleidung usw. tragen, aber meine Eltern waren dagegen. я хотел иметь серьгу в ухе, другую одежду и т. д. , но мои родители были против	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
76.) Meine Eltern verstanden nicht, warum ich so sein will wie die Einheimischen. мои родители не понимали, почему я хочу быть, как местные подростки	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
77.) In unserer Familie war das Geld knapp. нашей семье не хватало денег	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
78.) Ich konnte mir nicht die Kleidung leisten, die ich wollte. я не мог позволить себе ту одежду, какую хотел	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
79.) Ich glaubte, dass sich meine Eltern trennen wollen. я думал, мои родители хотят развестись	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
80.) Ich vermisse meine Familienangehörigen, die wir zurücklassen mussten. я скучал по родственникам, которые остались на родине	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
81.) Meine Eltern schimpften, dass mein Verhalten den Ruf der Familie schädigen könnte мои родители ругали меня за то, что я подрываю авторитет семьи	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
82.) Meine Eltern schimpften mit mir, weil ich so unordentlich wie einheimische Jugendliche sei. мои родители ругали меня за то, что я такой же неаккуратный, как местные подростки	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
83.) Meine Eltern wollten nicht, dass ich mich zu sehr an den Einheimischen orientiere. мои родители не хотели, чтобы я слишком сильно ориентировался на местных подростков	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
84.) Ich fand, dass meine Eltern zu wenig Verständnis für mich haben. я находил, что мои родители меня не понимают	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
85.) Ich fand außerhalb meiner Familie keine Unterstützung. вне моей семьи я не находил поддержки	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
86.) Ich hatte niemanden, der mir half. у меня не было никого, кто бы мне помог	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
87.) Meine Eltern waren überfordert. мои родители не справлялись с ситуацией	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unangenehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unangenehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unangenehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
88.) Mir erschienen meine Eltern zu traditionsbewusst. мои родители представлялись мне слишком приверженными традициям	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
89.) Ich dachte, meine Eltern sind zu konservativ. я думал, мои родители слишком консервативны	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
90.) Ich konnte mit meinen Eltern nicht über meine Probleme reden. я не мог разговаривать со своими родителями о своих проблемах	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
91.) Meine Eltern wollten in Deutschland meinen Namen ändern. мои родители хотели поменять мне имя в Германии	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
92.) Ich hatte das Gefühl, dass meine Eltern unter der Trennung von ihren Verwandten leiden. у меня было чувство, что мои родители страдают от разлуки с родственниками	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①



	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
93.) Ich konnte meinen Eltern meine Probleme nicht anvertrauen. я не мог доверить своим родителям свои проблемы	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
94.) Das Verhältnis zu meinen Eltern war schlecht. между нами было плохое взаимопонимание	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
<b>PARTNERSCHAFT</b> <b>ДРУГ/ПОДРУГА</b>									
95.) Ich fand es schwierig in Deutschland einen Freund / eine Freundin kennen zu lernen мне казалось, в Германии трудно приобрести друга/подругу.	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
96.) Es war schwierig, als Aussiedler einen einheimischen Freund / eine einheimische Freundin zu haben. мне как переселенцу было трудно иметь друга/подругу из местных	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
97.) Ich hatte Probleme mit meinem einheimischen Freund / meiner einheimischen Freundin. у меня были проблемы с моим местным другом/подругой	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
98.) Ich habe versucht einen einheimischen Freund zu bekommen. я пытался найти местного друга/подругу	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
99.) Ich wünschte mir einen Freund / eine Freundin. я желал иметь друга/подругу	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
100.) Ich hatte Streit mit meinem Freund / meiner Freundin. мы ругались с моим другом/ подругой	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
101.) Ich dachte mein Freund / meine Freundin möchte sich von mir trennen. я думал, мой друг/подруга хочет со мной расстаться	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
102.)Ich dachte an meinen Freund / meine Freundin, der / die nicht mit nach Deutschland kam. я думал о своем друге/ подруге, который остался на родине	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
103.)Ich dachte, dass meine Beziehung zerbrochen ist, weil ich nach Deutschland gegangen bin. я думал, наша связь распалась из-за того, что я уехал в Германию	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
104.)Ich dachte, dass ich meinen Freund / meine Freundin verlieren könnte, weil wir uns nicht mehr sehen. я думал, что могу потерять друга/подругу из-за того, что мы не видимся	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
105.)Ich glaubte, dass es für mich im Herkunftsland leichter wäre einen Freund / eine Freundin zu finden. я был уверен, что в стране, откуда я прибыл, мне было бы проще найти друга/подругу	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
106.)Die große Distanz zu meinem Freund / meiner Freundin im Herkunftsland machte es schwer zusammen zu bleiben.  большое расстояние между мной и моим/ей другом/ подругой на родине мешало нам быть вместе	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
<b>NEUES LAND</b> <b>Новая страна</b>									
107.)Ich wurde als Asylant bezeichnet.  меня называли беженцем/ "азюлантом"	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
108.)Auf einer Behörde fühlte ich mich als Bürger 2. Klasse.  в различных учреждениях я чувствовал себя гражданином второго сорта	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
109.)Ich wurde als Russe bezeichnet  меня называли русским	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
110.)Man glaubte mir nicht, dass ich Deutsche / Deutscher bin.  мне не верили, что я немец/ немка	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
111.)Ich hatte Probleme mit der deutschen Bürokratie. у меня были проблемы с немецкой бюрократией	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
112.)Ich merkte, dass es in Deutschland sehr wichtig ist, sich durchsetzen zu können. я замечал, что в Германии очень важно уметь пробиться	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
113.)Ich hatte den Eindruck, dass in Deutschland jeder für sich allein kämpft. у меня создалось впечатление, что в Германии каждый за себя	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
114.)Ich dachte, dass Freundschaften in Deutschland weniger herzlich sind. я думал, что дружба в Германии менее сердечна	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0
115.)Ich habe erlebt, dass einheimische Eltern weniger streng sind. мне довелось убедиться, что местные родители не так строги	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	0

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
116.)Meine Eltern hatten Probleme bei der Arbeitssuche. у моих родителей были проблемы найти работу	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
117.)Ich dachte, dass es in Deutschland nicht genug Arbeit gibt. я думал, в Германии не хватает работы	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
118.)Ich hatte das Gefühl, dass es in Deutschland schwer ist, eine Wohnung zu finden. у меня создалось впечатление, что в Германии трудно найти квартиру	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
119.)Ich wurde wegen meiner Kleidung ausgelacht. над моей одеждой насмеялись	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
120.)Ich hatte den Eindruck, dass die Einheimischen gar nicht stolz auf ihr Land sind. у меня создалось впечатление, что местные не гордятся своей страной	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
121.)Meine Familie hatte Schwierigkeiten, mit Einheimischen Kontakte zu knüpfen. моей семье было трудно установить контакты с местными жителями	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
122.)Ich fand, dass die einheimischen Jugendlichen schlecht erzogen sind. я находил, что местные подростки плохо воспитаны	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
123.)Mir fiel auf, dass die einheimischen Jugendlichen keinen Respekt vor Traditionen haben. мне бросалось в глаза, что местные подростки не уважают традиций	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
124.)Ich wurde mit der „Russenmafia“ in Verbindung gebracht. меня связывали с "русской мафией"	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?				Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?				
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unangenehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unangenehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unangenehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
<b>IDENTITÄT</b> <b>ЛИЧНОСТЬ</b>	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
125.)Ich fühlte mich in meiner neuen Umgebung allein. чувствовал себя одиноким в новом окружении	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
126.)Es gab Situationen, in denen ich nicht wusste, in welches Land ich wirklich gehöre. были ситуации, когда я не знал, какой стране я по-настоящему принадлежу	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
127.)Ich erkannte, dass das, was im Herkunftsland richtig war, in Deutschland plötzlich falsch ist. я осознал, что то, что было правильным там, откуда я приехал, здесь вдруг оказывается ошибочным	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①



	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
128.)Ich erkannte, dass in Deutschland andere Sitten herrschen, als dort, wo ich vorher lebte. я замечал, что в Германии другие традиции, чем там, где я жил раньше	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
129.)Ich fühlte mich in Deutschland fremd, weil ich die Sprache nicht richtig beherrsche. я чувствовал себя в Германии чужим, так как плохо владел языком	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
130.)Ich konnte etwas nicht mehr in meiner Muttersprache ausdrücken. иногда мне было трудно что-то выразить на своём родном языке	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
131.)Ich fühlte mich in Deutschland genauso ausgeschlossen, wie in meinen Herkunftsland. я чувствовал себя в Германии таким же изолированным, как там, откуда я приехал	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

<p>132.)Ich war mit Einheimischen zusammen und wusste nicht, wie ich mich verhalten sollte.</p> <p>я был вместе с местными и не знал, как себя вести</p>	<p>①      ①      ②      ③</p>	<p>①      ②      ③      ④</p>	<p>0</p>
<p>133.)Ich war mit Einheimischen zusammen und wusste nicht, was von mir erwartet wurde.</p> <p>я был вместе с местными и не знал, чего они от меня ждут</p>	<p>①      ①      ②      ③</p>	<p>①      ②      ③      ④</p>	<p>0</p>
<p>134.)Ich dachte, dass ich mir Deutschland ursprünglich anders vorgestellt hatte.</p> <p>я решил, что изначально представлял себе Германию по-другому</p>	<p>①      ①      ②      ③</p>	<p>①      ②      ③      ④</p>	<p>0</p>
<p>135.)Ich dachte, dass die Einheimischen einfach zu wenig über uns wissen.</p> <p>я думал, что местные просто слишком мало о нас знают</p>	<p>①      ①      ②      ③</p>	<p>①      ②      ③      ④</p>	<p>0</p>
<p>136.)Ich dachte, dass die Einheimischen einfach zu wenig über mein Herkunftsland wissen.</p> <p>я думал, местные слишком мало знают о стране, откуда я приехал</p>	<p>①      ①      ②      ③</p>	<p>①      ②      ③      ④</p>	<p>0</p>
<p>137.)Ich dachte, dass die Einheimischen mein Herkunftsland geographisch nicht einordnen können.</p> <p>я думал, местные не имеют представления в географическом отношении о стране, откуда я приехал</p>	<p>①      ①      ②      ③</p>	<p>①      ②      ③      ④</p>	<p>0</p>

	Wie oft hast Du das bereits erlebt? как часто это с тобой происходило?	Wie unangenehm war Dir das? было ли тебе это неприятно?							
	Nie никогда	Einmal один раз	Mehrmals много раз	Oft часто	Nicht unan- genehm нет	Ein wenig unangenehm немного неприятно	Ziemlich unan- genehm достаточно неприятно	Sehr unange- nehm очень неприятно	Trifft nicht zu ко мне это не относится
138.)Ich wurde gefragt, warum ich hergekommen bin. меня спрашивали, зачем я сюда приехал	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
139.)Ich dachte, dass hier eigentlich niemand an Aussiedlern interessiert sei. я думал, что в принципе здесь в переселенцах никто не заинтересован	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
140.)Ich dachte, dass ich im Sprachkurs nichts Nützlichem beibringen bekomme. я думал, что языковой курс мне ничего не даст	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
141.)Ich musste beweisen, dass ich deutsch bin. мне нужно было доказывать, что я немец	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①
142.)Ich dachte, dass ich lieber an einem anderen Ort wohnen würde. я думал, что лучше было бы жить в другом месте	①	②	③	④	①	②	③	④	①

Wenn Du denkst, dass in diesem Fragebogen etwas wichtiges fehlt, kannst Du es hier gern ergänzen:  
Если ты считаешь, что в анкете пропущено что-то важное, можешь добавить от себя:

Wir bedanken uns für Deine Mitarbeit. Du hast uns damit sehr geholfen.  
Мы благодарны тебе за проделанную работу. Ты нам очень помог.



**Schülerfragebogen – erste Befragung**

Анкета для учащихся - первый опрос

**1. Wann wurdest Du geboren?**

Когда ты родился?

Monat:   Jahr:    
месяц год**2. Welchem Geschlecht gehörst Du an?**

назови свой пол:

 weiblich (мужской)  
 männlich (женский)**3. Seit wann wohnst Du in Deutschland?**

с какого времени ты живешь в Германии?:

Monat:   Jahr:    
месяц: год:**4. Wo wurdest Du geboren?**

где ты родился:

- Russland (Россия)  
 Ukraine (Украина)  
 Kasachstan (Казахстан)  
 Tadschikistan (Таджикистан)  
 Kirgisien (Киргизия)  
 Usbekistan (Узбекистан)  
 Baltische Republik (Прибалтийские республики)  
 Moldawien (Молдавия)  
 Andere Länder der ehemaligen UdSSR  
(Другие республики бывшего Советского Союза)  
 Polen (Польша)  
 Rumänien (Румыния)  
Anderswo, und zwar: \_\_\_\_\_  
Другое место,

**5. Wie viele Einwohner hat die Stadt, in der Du gewohnt hast, bevor Du nach Deutschland kamst?**

Сколько населения насчитывал город, в котором ты жил, до тех пор пока не переехал в Германию?

- mehr als 400.000 (больше 400.000)  
 200.000 bis 400.000 (от 200.000 до 400.000)  
 100.000 bis 200.000 (от 100.000 до 200.000)  
 50.000 bis 100.000 (от 50.000 до 100.000)  
 10.000 bis 50.000 (от 10.000 до 50.000)  
 5.000 bis 10.000 (от 5.000 до 10.000)  
 weniger als 5.000 (менее 5.000)

**6. In welcher Stadt wohnst Du jetzt in Deutschland? (Postleitzahl und Name der Stadt oder des Dorfes)**

В каком городе Германии ты проживаешь сейчас? (почтовый индекс и название твоего города или деревни)

     \_\_\_\_\_

**7. Welcher Religion gehörst Du an?**

Какой религии ты принадлежишь?

<u>Christlich</u> (христианская)  O Protestantisch (протестантская) O Katholisch (католическая) O Orthodox (православная) O Mennonit/Baptist (меннонит/баптист)	<u>Andere</u> (другая)  O und zwar: _____ какая:	<u>Keine</u> (атеист)  O
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**8. Welchen Schulabschluss hast Du in Deutschland bereits abgeschlossen und welchen möchtest Du gern erreichen? (Kreuze alles an, was zutrifft)**

Какое школьное образование ты уже получил в Германии и какое хотел бы ещё получить? (отметь всё подходящее)

	8. Klasse (8 классов)	10. Klasse Hauptschule (10 классов Hauptschule)	10. Klasse Realschule (10 классов Realschule)	Abitur	Keinen (ничего)
Ich habe bereits abgeschlossen (я уже закончил)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ich möchte erreichen (я хотел бы закончить)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**9. Welche Ausbildung möchtest Du gern erreichen? (Kreuze alles an, was zutrifft)**

какое образование ты хотел бы получить? (отметь все, что подходит)

	Lehre	Berufsfach- schule	Fachhoch- schule	Universität (университет)	Keine (ничего)
Ich möchte erreichen (я хотел бы окончить)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**10. Menschen machen unterschiedliche Erfahrungen, wenn sie in ein anderes Land übersiedeln. Hast Du die folgenden Erfahrungen gemacht, und wenn ja, wie oft hast Du das erlebt? Solltest Du noch keine vollen 12 Monate in Deutschland sein, antworte bitte für die Zeit seit Deiner Ankunft.**

Люди встречаются с разными ситуациями, когда они переезжают жить в другую страну. С какими ситуациями ты сталкивался, как часто? Если ты живешь в Германии меньше года, расскажи о том, что произошло со времени твоего приезда.

<b><u>Während der letzten 12 Monate</u></b> в течение последних 12 месяцев	Nie ни разу	1 bis 2 mal 1-2 раза	3 bis 5 mal 3-5 раз	6 bis 10 mal 6-10 раз	Mehr als 10 mal более 10 раз
Es war schwer für meine Familie, mit Einheimischen in Kontakt zu kommen моей семье было трудно вступить в контакт с местными жителями	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich war mit Einheimischen zusammen und wusste nicht, wie ich mich verhalten soll я был в одном обществе с местными и не знал, как себя вести	①	②	③	④	⑤

<b>Während der letzten 12 Monate ... в течение последних 12 месяцев</b>	Nie ни разу	1 bis 2 mal 1-2 раза	3 bis 5 mal 3-5 раз	6 bis 10 mal 6-10 раз	Mehr als 10 mal более 10 раз
Mein Lehrer bemühte sich ganz besonders um mich, weil ich Aussiedler bin мой учитель уделял мне много внимания, т.к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich verstand nichts, weil mein Deutsch zu schlecht war я ничего не понимал, т.к. мой немецкий язык плохой	①	②	③	④	⑤
Meine Klassenkameraden / Arbeitskollegen redeten nicht mit mir, weil ich Aussiedler bin мои соученики/коллеги по работе не разговаривали со мной, т.к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich erlebte, dass meine Eltern und ich uns näher waren, seit wir nach Deutschland kamen я и мои родители стали ближе друг другу с момента переезда в Германию	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich wurde in der Schule/ auf Arbeit ausgelacht, weil ich Aussiedler bin в школе/ на работе надо мной насмеялись, т.к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich war einsam, weil meine Freunde nicht in Deutschland sind я одинок, т.к. мои друзья не в Германии	①	②	③	④	⑤
Meine Eltern wollten nicht, dass ich mich wie einheimische Jugendliche kleide мои родители не хотели, чтобы я одевался, как местные подростки	①	②	③	④	⑤
Einheimische lachten über Dinge, die ich gar nicht lustig fand местные смеялись над вещами, которые я не находил смешными	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich wurde von einem Einheimischen nach Hause eingeladen местные приглашали меня к себе домой	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich merkte, dass es einfacher ist, einen Freund/ eine Freundin in dem Land zu finden, aus dem ich komme я понял, что проще найти друга/подругу в стране, из которой приехал	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich schämte mich für mein Deutsch, so dass ich mich nicht mit einem/einer einheimischen Jungen/Mädchen verabredet habe я стеснялся своего немецкого, поэтому не договаривался о встречес местной молодежью	①	②	③	④	⑤
Es war schwierig für mich in der Schule/ auf Arbeit etwas zu verstehen мне было трудно что-либо понять в школе/на работе	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ein Einheimischer fragte mich etwas über mein Heimatland местные расспрашивали меня о стране, из которой я приехал	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich merkte, dass ich in Deutschland nicht zu Hause bin мне казалось, что в Германии я не дома	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich konnte auf Deutsch nicht erklären, was ich sagen wollte я не мог высказать свои мысли по-немецки	①	②	③	④	⑤
Auf Behörden fühlte ich mich wie ein Bürger zweiter Klasse в учреждениях я чувствовал себя гражданином 2 сорта	①	②	③	④	⑤

<b>Während der letzten 12 Monate ...</b> <b>в течение последних 12 месяцев</b>	Nie ни разу	1 bis 2 mal 1-2 раза	3 bis 5 mal 3-5 раз	6 bis 10 mal 6-10 раз	Mehr als 10 mal более 10 раз
Ein einheimisches Mädchen/ Junge verabredete sich nicht mit mir, weil ich Aussiedler bin местный юноша/девушка не хотели со мной встречаться, т. к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤
Meine Klassenkameraden/ Arbeitskollegen ignorierten mich, weil ich Aussiedler bin мои соученики/коллеги по работе игнорировали меня, т. к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich konnte amtliche Dokumente für meine Familie übersetzen я мог перевести официальные документы для своей семьи	①	②	③	④	⑤
Meine Eltern verstehen nicht, warum ich so sein möchte wie die Einheimischen hier мои родители не понимают, почему я хочу быть похожим на местных	①	②	③	④	⑤
Meine (einheimischen) Nachbarn beachten mich, wenn sie mich sehen мои (местные) соседи обращают на меня внимание, когда они меня видят	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich wurde von anderen gehänselt, weil ich Aussiedler bin меня дразнили, т. к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ein einheimisches Mädchen/ ein einheimischer Junge wollte sich mit mir verabreden местный юноша/девушка хотели со мной встречаться	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich hatte Probleme in der Schule/ auf Arbeit, weil mein Deutsch nicht gut genug war у меня были проблемы в школе/на работе из-за плохого немецкого	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich merkte, dass ich nicht zu Deutschland gehöre я чувствовал, что не принадлежу к немецкому обществу	①	②	③	④	⑤
Einheimische Deutsche waren gemein zu mir местные немцы были несправедливы ко мне	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich hatte den Eindruck, dass ich als Aussiedler attraktiver auf das andere Mädchen/Jungen wirke у меня сложилось впечатление, что я как переселенец произвожу лучшее впечатление на местных юношей/девушек	①	②	③	④	⑤
Es war schwer als Aussiedler eine einheimische Freundin/ einen einheimischen Freund zu haben как переселенцу мне было трудно иметь местного друга/подругу	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich konnte meinem Lehrer/ meinem Chef nicht folgen, weil keine Rücksicht auf meine Sprachkenntnisse genommen wurde я не мог успеть за моим учителем/шефом, так как они не делали скидку на мое знание языка	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich wurde als Russe bezeichnet меня называли русским	①	②	③	④	⑤
Andere Leute interessierten sich für mich, weil ich Aussiedler bin другие люди интересовались мной, т. к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤



<b>Während der letzten 12 Monate ...</b> <b>в течение последних 12 месяцев</b>	Nie ни разу	1 bis 2 mal 1-2 раза	3 bis 5 mal 3-5 р аз	6 bis 10 mal 6-10 раз	Mehr als 10 mal более 10 раз
Ich dachte, dass Einheimische und Aussiedler nur schwer Freunde werden, weil sie einfach zu verschieden sind я думал, что местным и переселенцам трудно стать друзьями, т. к. они слишком разные	①	②	③	④	⑤
Meine Eltern wollten nicht, dass ich mich zu sehr an einheimischen Jugendlichen orientiere мои родители не хотели, чтобы я слишком ориентировался на местных подростков	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich fühlte mich fremd in Deutschland, weil ich die Sprache nicht gut genug beherrsche я чувствовал себя чужим в Германии из-за недостаточного владения языком	①	②	③	④	⑤
Wenn mir Fremde auf der Straße begegnen, betrachten sie mich als Einheimischen und nicht als Aussiedler если чужие встречают меня на улице, они видят во мне местного, а не переселенца	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich wurde in der Schule / auf Arbeit beschimpft, weil ich Aussiedler bin на меня ругались в школе/на работе, т. к. я переселенец	①	②	③	④	⑤
Einige Fächer/Aufgaben fielen mir leicht, weil ich sie bereits in meinem Heimatland gelernt hatte некоторые предметы/задания давались мне легче, т. к. я изучал их в стране, из которой приехал	①	②	③	④	⑤
Ich war mit Einheimischen zusammen und wusste nicht, was von mir erwartet wurde я был в одной компании с местными и не знал, что они от меня ожидают	①	②	③	④	⑤

### 11. Bitte kreuze im folgenden an, wie viele Schwierigkeiten Du in den letzten 12

**Monaten in Deutschland bei den folgenden Themen hattest. Dabei bedeutet ①, dass Du keine Schwierigkeiten hattest und ⑥, dass Du sehr viele Schwierigkeiten hattest. Die Zahlen ② bis ⑤ können Dir helfen, Dein Urteil abzustufen. Solltest Du noch keine vollen 12 Monate in Deutschland sein, antworte bitte für die Zeit seit Deiner Ankunft.**

Пожалуйста, отметь, какие трудности возникали у тебя за последние 12 месяцев в Германии в указанных областях. При этом 1 означает, что у тебя не было трудностей, 6 означает, что у тебя были большие проблемы. Цифры от 2 до 5 помогут тебе выбрать степень трудности. Если ты живешь в Германии меньше 12 месяцев, отвечай с момента приезда

	Keine Schwierigkeiten не проблемы	②	③	④	⑤	Sehr viele Schwierigkeiten большие проблемы	⑥
Freunde finden найти друзей	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	
Essen zu bekommen, das Du magst есть то, что любишь	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	
Regeln und Vorschriften befolgen следовать правилам и предписаниям	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	
Mit Behörden zurecht kommen разобраться с учреждениями	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	

Eine deutsche Sichtweise auf Kultur verstehen понять немецкий взгляд на культуру	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Öffentliche Verkehrsmittel nutzen пользоваться общественным транспортом	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Mit der Bürokratie zurechtkommen справиться с бюрократией	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Das Deutsche Wertsystem verstehen (was Deutschen wichtig oder unwichtig ist) понять немецкую систему ценностей (что важно и что неважно)	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Dich auszudrücken, so dass andere Dich verstehen выражаться так, чтобы другие тебя понимали	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Dinge von einem „deutschen Standpunkt“ aus betrachten рассматривать вещи с "немецкой точки зрения"	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Einkaufen gehen совершать покупки	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Mit jemandem zurechtkommen, der unhöflich/unfreundlich zu Dir ist справиться с ситуацией, в которой кто-то не-вежлив/недружественен по отношению к тебе	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Witze und Humor verstehen понимать анекдоты/юмор	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Wohnung/ Unterkunft квартира/жильё	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
An Zusammenkünften teilnehmen встречаться в компаниях	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Mit Leuten zurechtkommen, die Dich anstarren спокойно отнестись к людям, которые разглядывают тебя в упор	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Kommunikation mit Menschen aus anderen Ländern, die auch in Deutschland leben общение с людьми из других стран, которые тоже живут в Германии	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Kulturelle Unterschiede zwischen Menschen aus verschiedenen Ländern verstehen понимать культурные различия между людьми из разных стран	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Mit schlechter Bedienung (im Geschäft oder Restaurant) klar kommen разобраться с плохим обслуживанием (в магазине или ресторане)	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Deine Religion ausüben активно следовать своей религии	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Beziehungen zum anderen Geschlecht отношения с противоположным полом	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Dich zurechtfinden сориентироваться	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Das politische System in Deutschland verstehen понять политическую систему Германии	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

Mit anderen über Dich selbst sprechen говорить с другими о себе	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Mit dem Klima zurechtkommen привыкнуть к климату	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Die deutsche Weltanschauung verstehen понять немецкий взгляд на мир	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Familienbeziehungen семейные отношения	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Lebenstempo темп жизни	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

Um bei der nächsten Befragung diesen Bogen mit dem kommenden in Verbindung bringen zu können, brauchen wir noch ein Kürzel:

С тем, чтобы во время следующего анкетирования соединить этот опросный лист со следующим, нам необходимы инициалы:

**Was sind die ersten zwei Buchstaben des Vornamens Deiner Mutter?**

первые две буквы имени твоей матери

**Was sind die ersten zwei Buchstaben des Vornamens Deines Vaters?**

первые две буквы имени твоего отца

## Lehrerfragebogen

Als Lehrer bekommt man einen Eindruck von seinen Schülern, der meistens über die schulischen Leistungen hinausgeht. In unserer Untersuchung geht es uns gerade um den Eindruck, den ein Außenstehender von dem jeweiligen Schüler bekommt. Sie werden im folgenden verschiedene Möglichkeiten zur Einschätzung eines Schülers finden. Dabei soll für jeden Schüler ein eigenes Blatt beantwortet werden.

**1. In der folgenden Tabelle sind sechs Themen aufgelistet, in denen jugendliche Aussiedler in Deutschland Probleme haben können. Bitte geben Sie an, inwieweit der Aussiedlerschüler Ihrem eigenen Eindruck nach in den letzten 12 Monaten Probleme und Schwierigkeiten bei den genannten Themen hatte. Sollte der Schüler noch keine vollen 12 Monate in Deutschland sein, antworten Sie bitte für die Zeit seit seiner Ankunft.**

	wenige Probleme			viele Probleme		
Schule	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Freundschaften	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Familie	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Romantische Beziehungen	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Situation hier in Deutschland	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Identität	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**2. Die nächsten Fragen beziehen sich auf den Schüler im schulischen Kontext.**

	gar nicht			sehr		
Entsprechen die jetzigen Leistungen des Schülers seinen maximalen Fähigkeiten?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Für wie motiviert halten Sie den Schüler, sich anzustrengen, um gute Leistungen zu erbringen?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Glauben Sie, dass der Schüler mit seinen schulischen Leistungen zufrieden ist?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Hat der Schüler beobachtbare Konzentrationsschwierigkeiten in der Schule?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Ist der Schüler Ihrer Meinung nach gut in die Klassengemeinschaft integriert?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Hat der Schüler positive Sozialkontakte zu anderen Schülern seiner Klasse?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥
Was glauben Sie, wie wohl fühlt sich der Schüler in seiner Klassengemeinschaft?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥

**3. Um ihren Eindruck zusammenzufassen, sind in der nächsten Tabelle zwei mögliche Beschreibungen über jugendliche Aussiedler angegeben. Bitte kreuzen Sie die Beschreibung an, die am ehesten auf den Jugendlichen zutrifft:**

Beschreibung	
Der Jugendliche hat einige Probleme, mit der Situation hier in Deutschland klar zu kommen. Sie/er hat im letzten Jahr viele schwierige Situationen in verschiedenen Lebensbereichen erlebt und ist Opfer einiger Anfeindungen in der Schule geworden.	<input type="radio"/>
Der Jugendliche hat wenige Probleme und auch wenige schwierige Situationen in Deutschland erlebt, er kann sich gut integrieren und hat auch in der Schule eher wenig Schwierigkeiten mit anderen Jugendlichen.	<input type="radio"/>

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## Erklärung

hiermit erkläre ich, Peter Titzmann, geboren am 12.6.1973, dass

- mir die geltende Promotionsordnung bekannt ist,
- ich die Dissertation selbst angefertigt habe und alle von mir genutzten Hilfsmittel und Quellen in meiner Arbeit angegeben sind,
- mich Prof. Dr. R. K. Silbereisen und PD Dr. Eva Schmitt-Rodermund bei der Auswahl und Auswertung des Materials sowie bei der Herstellung des Manuskriptes unterstützt haben,
- und dass ich die Dissertation noch nicht als eine staatliche oder andere wissenschaftliche Prüfungsarbeit eingereicht habe.

Jena, den 5. August 2005

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Dipl.-Psych. Peter Titzmann