Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti

PSYCHOLOGICAL ACCULTURATION AND ADAPTATION AMONG RUSSIAN-SPEAKING IMMIGRANT ADOLESCENTS IN FINLAND

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ABSTRACT

This study considered both state and process facets of psychological acculturation among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents (*N* = 170) in Finland. It commenced with the introduction of the theoretical framework for the study of acculturation - definitions, measurement and previous empirical results. The phenomenon of acculturation was considered with special reference to ethnic identity, changes over time, the actual degree of acculturation, and predictors of successful adaptation during the process. Particular emphasis was placed on specific features of the acculturation of immigrants with a returnee background.

Measures (self-rating questionnaires) were either specifically developed or taken directly or with modification from existing scales for the purpose of a larger ICSEY (International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth) project. The Russian-speaking adolescents studied were compared with their native Finnish peers (*N* = 190) and with immigrant adolescents from other cultural backgrounds (i.e., Somalian, Vietnamese and Turkish) in Finland (*N* = 418).

The relationships found in this study showed the complexity and dynamic nature of the acculturation process among young Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. In particular, the results showed the psychological importance of cultural contact orientation, and language- and family-related variables, in multiple ethnic identity. Immigrant adolescents were also shown to continually work at the meanings they give to their own ethnic belonging. In addition, the study demonstrated the importance of identifying and analysing separately the distinctive components of the acculturation process for an accurate understanding of the actual degree of immigrant acculturation. It also provided an empirical model of factors threatening or promoting psychological adjustment in terms of acculturative stress. The benefits of using multiple measures of psychological well-being (i.e., acculturative stress, self-esteem, sense of mastery, behavioural problems and life satisfaction) when studying the outcomes of acculturation among young immigrants were apparent. These outcomes could not be understood without close scrutiny of experiences of parental support and degree of adherence to traditional family-related values. Furthermore, a comparison of different immigrant groups in the study on psychological well-being pointed towards some group-specific variations which needed culture-sensitive and contextual explanations. The theoretical and practical relevance of the findings for the further development of acculturation research, as well as for educational and social workers and others responsible for immigrant integration, was evaluated in the discussion.

Key words: Psychological acculturation, adaptation, immigrant adolescents, remigration, Russia, former Soviet Union.

Jasinskaja-Lahti Inga, *VENÄJÄNKIELISTEN MAAHANMUUTTAJANUORTEN PSYKOLOGINEN AKKULTURAATIO JA SOPEUTUMINEN SUOMESSA*

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tässä tutkimuksessa käsiteltiin venäjänkielisten maahanmuuttajanuorten (*N* = 170) psykologisen akkulturaation tilaa ja prosessia Suomessa. Aluksi esiteltiin akkulturaatiotutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys: määritelmät, mittausmenetelmät sekä aiemmat empiiriset tulokset. Akkulturaatiota käsiteltiin erityisesti etnisen identiteetin, sen muutosprosessin, todellisen akkulturaatioasteen ja onnistuneen sopeutumisen näkökulmasta. Huomiota kiinnitettiin myös paluumuuttajataustan omaavien maahanmuuttajien akkulturaation erityispiirteisiin.

Tutkimuksessa käytettiin ICSEY (International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth) -projektia varten kehitettyä kyselylomaketta, joka koostui joko projektin tarpeisiin kehitetyistä tai jo olemassaolevista ja/tai muokatuista mittareista. Tutkimukseen osallistuneita venäjänkielisiä nuoria verrattiin sekä Suomessa syntyneisiin suomalaisiin ikätovereihin (*N* = 190) että muihin (somalialaiset, vietnamilaiset ja turkkilaiset) Suomessa asuviin samanikäisiin maahanmuuttajanuoriin (*N* = 418).

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat akkulturaatioprosessin monimuotoisuuden ja dynaamisen luonteen. Tulokset osoittivat mm. kulttuurisen suuntautumisen, kielellisten ja perheeseen liittyvien tekijöiden psykologisen merkityksen maahanmuuttajanuorten etnisen identiteetille. Tutkimustulosten mukaan maahanmuuttajanuorten omalle etnisyydelleen antamansa merkitykset myös muuttuvat ajan myötä. Tämän lisäksi tutkimus osoitti, että maahanmuuttajanuorten todellisen akkulturaatioasteen ymmärtämisen kannalta on tärkeää tunnistaa akkulturaatioprosessin erilaisia komponentteja ja analysoida niitä erikseen. Tutkimus tarjosi myös empiirisen mallin akkulturaatiostressinä ilmenevään psykologiseen sopeutumiseen vaikuttavista tekijöistä. Mitä tulee maahanmuuttajanuorten sopeutumisen tasoon, tutkimustulokset osoittivat, että on tärkeää mitata erilaisia psykologisen hyvinvoinnin osa-alueita (akkulturaatiostressi, itsetunto, pystyvyyden tunne, käyttäytymisongelmat sekä tyytyväisyys elämään). Tulosten mukaan nuorten kokemukset vanhempien tuesta sekä perinteisiin perhearvoihin sitoutumisen aste auttavat ymmärtämään paremmin heidän eri tavoin ilmenevää hyvinvointia. Tämän lisäksi erilaisiin maahanmuuttajaryhmiin kuuluvien nuorten psykologisen hyvinvoinnin vertailu toi esille joitakin spesifejä ryhmienvälisiä eroja, joiden tulkintaan tarvittiin kulttuurisesti ja sosiaalisesti sensitiivejä lähestymistapoja.

Tutkimuksen diskussio-osassa arvioitiin tulosten teoreettista ja käytännöllistä merkitystä sekä akkulturaatiotutkimuksen jatkokehityksen että kasvatus-, sosiaali- ja muiden alojen maahanmuuttajien integraatiosta vastaavien viranomaisten kannalta.

Avainsanat: Psykologinen akkulturaatio, sopeutuminen, maahanmuuttajanuoret, paluumuutto, Venäjä, entinen Neuvostoliitto.

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January, 2000

Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This study is based on the following publications and together with them constitutes the doctoral dissertation of the author:

Study I Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (1998). Content and Predictors of the Ethnic Identity of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 39*(4), 209-219.

Study II Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (1999). Exploration of the Ethnic Identity of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 30*(4), 527-539.

Study III Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (in press). Predictors of the Actual Degree of Acculturation of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations.*

Study IV Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Liebkind, K. (in press). Perceived Discrimination and Psychological Adjustment among Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland. *International Journal of Psychology.*

Study V Liebkind, K., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (in press). Acculturation and Psychological Well-being among Immigrant Adolescents in Finland: A Comparative Study of Adolescents from Different Cultural Backgrounds. *Journal of Adolescent Research*.

In the text the publications are referred to by the number of the study (I - V) they belong to**.**

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Immigrants in Finland

1.1.1. An Overview

In comparison with the other Nordic countries and with the whole of Europe as well, because of its very restrictive immigration policy, Finland has until quite recently been highly isolated from the consequences of massive migration. The number of immigrants remained fairly constant at something over 10,000 for a long time, so that where the exact figure in 1950 was 11,423 (0.3% of the host population), it was still just 12,000 in 1976 (Statistics Finland, 1998). The recent history of Finnish immigration actually only dates from 1973, when the first hundred refugees from Chile were admitted. The first Vietnamese boat people arrived in 1979, and since the 1970s, small voluntary immigrant groups (e.g., Turks) have also been arriving.

A slow increase during the 1970s and 1980s was followed by a larger wave of immigration beginning in 1990, when the status of "returnee" (or returning migrant or remigrant) was accorded to those people in Russia, Estonia and other parts of the former Soviet Union who are of Finnish descent. This led to an immediate increase in immigration, and brought over 33,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Finland, especially to the Helsinki area, between 1989 and 1997. Of these, approximately 70% were accorded remigrant status and are officially considered remigrants or their relatives (Kyntäjä & Kulu, 1998). Since 1991, the number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union has remained relatively stable, i.e., 3,000 - 3,500 annually. In addition, thousands of refugees from Somalia and the former Yugoslavia have also been accepted in Finland since the beginning of the 1990's.

Although the increase in the number of immigrants has been more dramatic during the 1990's than ever before during the history of this country, the immigrant population in Finland is still proportionally the smallest in Europe. At the end of 1998, the total number of immigrants in Finland was only 80,060 (Central Population Register, 1999) (i.e., 1.65% of the total population). Russian-speaking immigrants from Russia and the former Soviet Union form the largest immigrant (non-citizen) group (at the end of 1998: 68% of all immigrants from the former Soviet Union, i.e., over 23, 000) (Central Population Register, 1999). In 1997, the unemployment rate among immigrants (42.8%) was almost three times greater than among the larger population (12.7%) (Ministry of Labour, 1999). In 1997, the groups which were worst hit by unemployment were refugees from the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iraq, Iran and Somalia, among whom over 70% were unemployed. Outside the refugee population, the worst affected by unemployment were the Russian-speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union (almost 60% of those eligible to work). (Ministry of Labour, 1999.) This can be seen as one of the clearest indicators of the fact that the integration of immigrants into Finnish society is far from smooth. Unemployment and uncertainty about the future experienced by immigrants, for example, have also been the major problems that the municipal mental health offices have been dealing with in recent years (Perkinen, 1996).

The reasons for the problems encountered by immigrants are manifold, but a rough division into two categories can be made. On the one hand, problems may arise from a lack of human or material resources which prevents immigrants from functioning as full members of society,

and on the other hand, they may encounter intentional or unintentional discrimination (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). The attitudes of the Finnish host population towards immigrants have been found to be relatively intolerant compared to many European countries, including Sweden (CRI(97)51, 1997; Eurobarometer Opinion Poll No 47.1, 1998). While Sweden had the lowest percentage of declared "very racist" persons (2%) among all 15 countries of the European Union in 1997, the percentage for Finland was the fifth highest (10%) (Eurobarometer Opinion Poll No 47.1, 1998). According to the Finnish national survey, in Spring 1997, 20% of 506 15-16 years old adolescents accepted racism and xenophobia as patriotic phenomena (Virrankoski, 1997). There are also signs of relative stability of racist attitudes, especially towards groups that are visible or have arrived in Finland recently (i.e., Somalis and Russian speakers) (Jaakkola, 1999).

1.1.2. Remigration Policy and Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Finland

The special characteristic of the Finnish immigrant population is that the biggest and most rapidly increasing group of foreign citizens are Russian-speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union, making up about 40% of the total. As explained earlier, the majority of these are remigrants of Finnish descent, who were officially first initially invited to remigrate to Finland with the same domiciliary rights as remigrants from Sweden by the President of the Republic of Finland, Mauno Koivisto, in his statement on 10.4.1990 (Ministry of the Interior, 2/96). According to Nevalainen (1992), there were several reasons for such a statement, including the labour shortage in Finland, a need to make Finnish foreign policy more liberal, so-called glasnost and perestroika in the former Soviet Union, and current interest in Ingrian issues in Finnish society.

The term "remigrant" or "returnee" as used in Finland has many different connotations (Kyntäjä, 1997). For a long time it referred to Finns who had emigrated abroad, for instance to Sweden, and later returned to Finland. However, after the President's statement in 1990, this concept began to refer basically to two groups of citizens of the former Soviet Union (mostly from Russia and Estonia). The first mainly represents descendants of Finns who emigrated from Finland to the territory of the former Soviet Union mostly during the 1920s and 1930s, either directly from Finland or via Canada and the USA. The second mostly represents descendants of the Ingrian Finns who are, in turn, descendants of Finns who emigrated during the period ranging from the 17th to the beginning of the 20th century to rural Ingria, which is located partly in Russia and partly in Estonia. The main reason for the emigration of the latter group was Sweden's interest in replacing the Orthodox population with Lutherans in the Ingrian area, which was transferred from Russia to Sweden by the Stolbova Peace Agreement in 1617. The former group (so-called Canadian or American Finns) emigrated mostly for political reasons and the economical situation in Finland at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s. One small group of remigrants consists of persons who are descendants of the Finns who emigrated to parts of Russia other than Ingria between the 17th and 18th centuries as well as those who emigrated to the Soviet Union after World War II. Thus, it is incorrect to speak only of Ingrians or Ingrian Finns meaning ethnic remigrants from the former Soviet Union, as is often done, because there are other remigrants from the former Soviet Union who perceive themselves as Finns, and have nothing to do with Ingria. In addition, even those considered correctly as Ingrians or Ingrian Finns in Finland often consider themselves as Finns as they used to do when they lived in the former Soviet Union with the corresponding registration in their passports (Laari, 1997).

Although a small number of remigrants from the former Soviet Union had arrived in Finland before the President's statement, the large wave of remigration started only when the official possibility presented itself in 1990. As stated by Kyntäjä (1997), the older, usually Finnish-speaking remigrants wanted to return to Finland, which was spiritually close to them. Middle-aged migrants who are usually bilingual, speaking Finnish with their parents but mainly Russian with their spouses and children, remigrated mostly because of the political and economic instability in the former Soviet Union, and those in the Russian Federation with children of call-up age, because of the fear that their sons would be drafted into the Russian army and involved in a war like the one in Chechenya. Generally, however, migration appeared to be the one way of keeping up a satisfactory level of existence, and when children were involved, the criteria determining what constitutes a satisfactory existence level obviously also included consideration of their needs and future prospects.

It is worth pointing out that the Finnish authorities started to organise the immigrant reception system only after the first wave of immigrants had already arrived. In fact, at first, the whole process of remigration from the former Soviet Union was dealt with by the officials mainly on a hit and miss basis (Koivukangas, 1999). As a consequence, the authorities were immediately faced with a whole cluster of problems, such as massive unemployment, monolingualism in Russian among working-age and young remigrants, and sometimes also document falsifications. These problems were partly due to the fact that the criteria for getting remigrant status, encompassing different social rights, were very liberal at the beginning of the 1990s (Kyntäjä, 1997). The last-mentioned problem also resulted in a situation where not all people arriving in Finland under returnee status were really of Finnish descent, which was reminiscent of the German situation with Jewish immigrants from the former USSR in the early 1990s (for more details see Doomernik, 1997).

In fact, there are three categories of remigrants: (1) Those who are of Finnish descent, i.e., persons who have at least one Finnish or Ingrian Finnish parent. In the majority of cases these persons were also identified as Finnish by the Soviet authorities. Others had one Finnish or Ingrian Finnish parent but had inherited the nationality of the other, non-Finnish parent. However, both groups may also include people who did not arrive under remigrant status, but who had temporary work permits, or were married to a Finnish citizen, or had come to study, and therefore do not perceive themselves as remigrants. (2) Those who are not of Finnish descent and arrived as spouses in mixed marriages. (3) Those who claim to be Finnish and arrived on forged or bought documents. Thus, it is not justified to generally label the entire migration flow from the former USSR purely ethnic, especially considering that there are also others than returning migrants from the former USSR in Finland, and taking into account youngsters who migrated as family dependants. It might therefore be more appropriate generally to speak about immigrants from the former Soviet Union, a great proportion of whom are of Finnish descent.

All these problems also indicated to the authorities the need for preparatory training of these immigrants, and for specification of the criteria according to which residence permits should be granted for those who may be considered remigrants (Kyntäjä, 1997). The situation has also been noted in the ECRI report on Finland (CRI(97)51), where Finland was encouraged rapidly to develop clear policies and measures "to cope with the new situation" (p. 5), and it has also been described as "a good example of how in terms of Finnish migration and immigration policy things have a tendency to be dealt with only after the fact" (Koivukangas, 1999, p. 3). The amendments to the Aliens Act that specified the criteria according to which

residence permits should be granted to ethnic remigrants came into force in August 1996 (Aliens Act 18a§ 28.6.1996/511). The most significant change compared to previous practice was the requirement that at least two (cf. earlier only one) of the four grandparents must be registered as having Finnish nationality.

The growing remigration, together with the continuously increasing economic and political instability and criminality in Russia on the one hand, and an economic recession in Finland on the other, also served to bring out a highly increased level of negative stereotyping among the host population towards those immigrants from the former Soviet Union who are considered Russians (Jaakkola, 1995, 1999; Söderling, 1997). For instance, in 1995, 17% of the host Finnish population had negative attitudes towards Russians (Söderling, 1997), and in 1996, 37% of the adult host nationals reported that they would be bothered or disturbed by the prospect of neighbours from Russia (Helakorpi, Uutela, Prättälä, & Puuska, 1996). Furthermore, according to Jaakkola's (1999) recent results, in 1998, Russians were thirdly last group in ethnic hierarchy formed by 24 different ethnic groups, which is significantly lower than in 1987. This raises special concerns for the integration of Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland, given the fact that remigration from Russia is clearly going to continue in the foreseeable future (Kyntäjä & Kulu, 1998), especially if the present economic and political crisis in Russia goes on for long.

With respect to integration and adaptation of this immigrant population, the most problematic group seems to be the youngest Russian-speaking generation (Nylund-Oja, Pentikäinen, Horn, Jaakkola, & Yli-Vakkuri, 1995; Kyntäjä & Kulu, 1998). This group differs fundamentally from the other generations mostly because of its mixed ethnic background and marked tendency towards monolingualism in the Russian language. However, behind the inter-generational differences, the different socialisation of the generations is also evident. The main reasons for these differences are to be found in the assimilation policy practised in the Soviet Union during the Stalinist era and after World War II. That policy was aimed at absorbing all the contemporary Soviet nations into a new Russian-speaking nation with a denationalised cultural identity and a new national self-awareness (Nevalainen, 1990; Hint, 1991). One example of these efforts is the relocation of Finns in Siberia and other parts of the former Soviet Union, which led to ethnic deconcentration, nationally mixed marriages and monolingualism in Russian. For decades, Finns who lived in the former Soviet Union were isolated from contemporary Finnish society, and they had only a theoretical chance of maintaining their own Finnish identity. The political opening of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s allowed them to express their own national interests as well as to rediscover their Finnish identity.

The question "Who are we?" appears nowadays to trouble these people in Finland (Nylund-Oja et al., 1995), especially the youngsters. This is especially difficult for the young immigrants, since Russian-speaking youth is almost unanimously considered to be Russian by the Finnish majority population (e.g., Kyntäjä & Kulu, 1998), and for many of them this stands in sharp contrast to their own views of themselves as being at least partly "Finnish", either because they consider themselves to be so or because they have been defined as such by others (i.e., by the Soviet or Finnish authorities). This question also elicits a special interest in and represents a great challenge to the study of their ethnic identity and acculturation in Finland. It also becomes increasingly important to understand the processes that promote positive adaptation among them and to work to prevent their marginalisation. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive scientific literature on the acculturation of young immigrants from the

former Soviet Union, except for a few studies concerning the very specific issue of ethnic remigration to Israel (e.g., Mirsky, Ginath, Perl, & Ritsner, 1992; Mirsky, 1997).

Consequently, this study focused on psychological acculturation and adaptation among Russian-speaking immigrant[1] adolescents in Finland. The topic was approached by assessing, integrating and further developing existing theories and empirical models of young immigrants' acculturation. The participants were restricted to Russian speakers because of the different attitudes of the Finnish host population towards the second largest remigrant group from the former Soviet Union in Finland, i.e., Estonian speakers (e.g., Jaakkola, 1999). The main terms and concepts used in the study, as well as the theoretical orientations, are presented before the specific questions addressed and the main results are discussed.

1.2. Acculturation - Conceptual and Methodological Background

1.2.1. Definitions and Conceptual Distinctions

Enculturation or *socialisation* has been seen as lifelong processes of individual development, which involve changes and continuities of the human organism in interaction with the surrounding cultural environment (Kâğitçibaşi, 1988). The total cultural context affects these processes, resulting in the development of similarities within and variations between cultures in their socialisation patterns, and therefore also in the psychological characteristics of the representatives of these cultures (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). Given this relationship, cross-cultural research has increasingly investigated what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context while attempting to re-establish their lives or acculturate in another one (Berry, 1997a).

The term "*acculturation*" was introduced by American anthropologists, as early as in 1880, to describe the process of culture change between two different cultural groups who come in contact with each other (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). Within anthropology, the first major studies on *acculturation* were carried out, however, only in the 1930s, and the first classical definition of acculturation was presented by Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits in 1936 (pp. 149-152):

> 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... under this definition acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.

[1] In this study as well as in the original publications, to avoid wrong labelling and generalisation, the Russian-speaking adolescents were, as a rule, referred to by the larger term "immigrants", while the term "remigrants" was used when the specific migration or ethnic background of most of them had to be emphasised and acknowledged.

In another formulation, built upon the definition proposed by Redfield et al. (1936) and presented by the Social Science Research Council (1954, p. 974), acculturation was defined as

> culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modification induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of values systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors.

According to these definitions, acculturation involves a contact, a process and a state, i.e., there needs to be dynamic activity during and after continuous and first-hand contact or interaction between the cultures, and there is a result of the process that may be relatively stable, but which may also continue to change in an ongoing process (Berry, 1990a). Thus, from the beginning, acculturation has been understood as a bi-directional process with the changes occurring within both groups in contact.

Although the concept of acculturation originated within the discipline of anthropology and sociology, and has most often been treated as a cultural group phenomenon, the original formulations also included the terms "individuals" and "peoples" in contact. This fact was mostly noticed within cross-cultural psychology, as the field of acculturation also became an area of inquiry in the 1960s. The group and individual levels were clearly distinguished, with subsequent introduction of the term "*psychological acculturation*" to replace the anthropological use of the term "acculturation" (Sam, 1994a; Ward, 1996). This distinction was originally made by Graves (1967) when he described the process of psychological acculturation as the changes that an individual experiences as a result of being in contact with other cultures, and as a result of participating in the process of group-level acculturation that his/her cultural or ethnic group is undergoing. Following Graves (1967) and the early definitions of acculturation as applied to acculturating individuals, acculturation was later also conceptualised within psychological disciplines as a process of resocialisation involving psychological features such as changes in attitudes, values and identification; the acquisition of new social skills and norms; changes in reference- and membership-group affiliations; and adjustment or adaptation to a changed environment (Berry et al., 1992; Sam, 1994a). Finally, in the recent literature on acculturation and adaptation, a distinction has also been drawn between two types of adaptive outcomes, *psychological* and *sociocultural* (Ward & Kennedy, 1993 a & b). The first type refers to a set of internal psychological outcomes, including good mental health, psychological well-being, and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context; the second type refers to a set of external psychological outcomes that link individuals to their new context and means the acquisition of the appropriate social skills and behaviours needed to successfully carry out day-to-day activities.

Literature on acculturation has accumulated since the turn of the century. However, there is still a gap between the accumulation of empirical research on acculturation and the development of a theory to systematise and codify the central concepts involved in the process of change resulting from cultural contact (Ward, 1996). Different terms such as adjustment, adaptation and assimilation have been used interchangeably with the term acculturation (Searle

& Ward, 1990), or at least considered as interdependent to reflect the process of change undergone by immigrants (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). Among clinical and cross-cultural psychologists, acculturation is especially often equated with individual adaptation and adjustment to a new culture. This situation, where both the theory and the research continue to be plagued by fundamental conceptual and methodological problems (Ward, 1996; Liebkind, in press), is also reflected in the predominant models on acculturation. Although these models, especially the recent ones, use the term acculturation to refer to a two-way reciprocal relationship as opposed to assimilation which is seen as unidirectional, they often suffer from methodological inconsistencies which sometimes may result in a different operationalisation of acculturation than might have been theoretically assumed.

1.2.2. Models of Acculturation

A sociologist, Gordon (1964), proposed a *unidimensional assimilation model* to describe the cultural changes undergone by members of a minority group. In his model, acculturation is presented as a sub-process of assimilation, with biculturalism representing only a transitory phase of the process from complete segregation to total assimilation. The underlying assumption is that a member of one culture loses his or her original cultural identity as he or she acquires a new identity in a second culture (e.g., LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Moreover, in this model, problems of acculturation experienced by immigrants are attributed to the members of the minority group themselves, who are held responsible for their failure in assimilating into the host society (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Similar unidirectional models of acculturation have been developed within social psychology (e.g., Lambert, Mermigis & Taylor, 1986) to describe individuals' acculturation on the continuum from approval of total heritage maintenance to approval of total assimilation. Since then, unidimensional theories have continuously influenced research on acculturation and they even seem to have made a forceful comeback in recent work by social and cross-cultural psychologists (Liebkind, in press).

Criticism of the unidimensional models have led to the development of *bidimensional models of acculturation*, in which immigrants' identification with two cultures is assessed on two independent dimensions, and change is measured along each dimension (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Bourhis et al., 1997). Within cross-cultural psychology, Zak (1973, 1976) and Der-Karabetian (1980) were the first to propose and test the hypothesis that heritage and host cultural identities do not fall at either extreme of one bipolar dimension, but are orthogonal and independent of each other. On the basis of his findings, Zak (1973, 1976) proposed that a person may identify him/herself positively or negatively on both identity dimensions, or positively on one dimension and negatively on the other and vice versa. These results were later confirmed by Der-Karabetian's (1980) study, where the relationship of the two identities was also found to be dependent on the phenomenological situation in which the members of a minority find themselves.

Some years later, Hutnik (1986, 1991) provided a new social psychological perspective on ethnic minority identity, in which, consistently with Zak's (1973, 1976) and Der-Karabetian's (1980) studies, she suggested that "the two dimensions - ethnic minority identification and majority group identification - must be used in conjunction with each other, in order to arrive at an accurate understanding of the various styles of cultural adaptation" of ethnic minority individuals (Hutnik, 1991, p. 158). In her quadri-polar model developed and tested in a sample of Indian girls living in England, Hutnik (1986, 1991) proposed four strategies for the

individuals' ethnic self-identification: Assimilative (i.e., the individual concentrates on the majority group label of his/her identity), Acculturative (i.e., the individual categorises him/herself with a hyphenated identity), Marginal (i.e., the individual is indifferent to ethnic group identifications or chooses to identify with neither group), and Dissociative (i.e., the individual defines him/herself entirely within the bounds of the ethnic minority group). She also pointed out that these four styles should not be seen as static in nature, but rather as dynamic (Hutnik, 1991).

The only bidimensional model of acculturation within social psychology which is clearly based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) is the mobility model of cultural integration developed by Moghaddam (1988). In this model, acculturation is not, however, a central concept, and cultural or ethnic minorities are viewed as no different from other socially and economically disadvantaged groups (Liebkind, in press). In particular, this model examines strategies used by individual immigrants to get ahead economically and socially in Canada by measuring their position along two dimensions: assimilation versus cultural heritage maintenance, and normative versus non-normative behaviours. The model proposes four mobility strategies: Normative / Assimilation, Normative / Heritage culture maintenance, Non-normative / Assimilation, Non-normative / Heritage culture maintenance, with normative assimilation being the most appropriate integration strategy for immigrants.

The bidimensional model of acculturation developed within clinical psychology by Szapocznik and his colleagues for Hispanic-American youth (e.g., Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980) focuses, in turn, on the behaviour and values of the individual when assessing his or her level of acculturation. The first dimension in this model measures biculturalism on a bipolar scale, from involvement in the heritage or host culture only to involvement in both cultures simultaneously. The second dimension measures the intensity of cultural involvement, from cultural marginality to cultural involvement. Four styles of acculturation are possible from combinations of the two dimensions: 1) the bicultural individual with a high degree of involvement in both cultures; 2) the monocultural individual with a high degree of involvement in either heritage or host culture; 3) the marginal monocultural individual with a low degree of involvement in heritage or host culture; and 4) the marginal bicultural individual with a low degree of involvement in both cultures.

Although Zak (1973, 1976), Der-Karabetian (1980), and Hutnik (1986, 1991) have advocated and independently assessed heritage and contact culture identifications, perhaps the best-known acculturation model of this type is the one proposed within cross-cultural psychology by Berry and his colleagues (e.g., Berry, 1984, 1986, 1990a, 1992, 1997a; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). According to Berry, immigrants settled in the host society must confront two basic issues: (1) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?" and (2) "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with the larger society?" (e.g., Berry et al., 1986, 1987, 1989; Berry, 1990a). In his model these two dimensions of cultural change are crossed, resulting in four acculturation attitudes (e.g., Berry et al., 1989), also referred to as acculturation strategies (e.g., Berry, 1997a), which immigrants can adopt: Assimilation, Integration, Separation and Marginalisation. The integration strategy reflects a desire to maintain key features of the immigrant cultural identity while having relationships with members of the host society. The assimilation strategy is characterised by the desire of the immigrants to adopt the culture of the host society while rejecting their own cultural identity. Immigrants who adopt the separation strategy try to maintain all features of their own

cultural identity while rejecting relationships with members of the majority host culture. Finally, marginalisation characterises immigrants who reject both their own culture (often because of enforced cultural loss) and lose contacts with the host majority (often because of exclusion or discrimination). This model explicitly distinguishes between the cultural and the social dimensions, and acknowledges their relative independence of each other (Liebkind, in press).

The complex literature on acculturation has also been the subject of numerous conceptual frameworks which attempt to systematise the process of acculturation and to illustrate the main factors that affect it on an individual level. In this respect, the acculturation framework proposed by Berry (1990a, 1992, 1997a), which is largely based on his two-dimensional acculturation strategy and acculturative stress models (e.g., Berry et al., 1986, 1987, 1989), has been recognised as one of the most comprehensive. This framework combines cultural-level (mainly situational variables) and psychological-level (predominantly person variables) phenomena, as well as structural and process features of acculturation. According to Berry (1997a), the main point of the framework is to show the key variables that should be attended to in studies of immigrants' psychological acculturation, with particular attention given to the prediction of acculturative stress. However, as Berry notes, his framework is not theoretically integrated, empirically testable and refutable, but rather "a composite framework, assembling concepts and findings from numerous studies" (Berry, 1997a, p. 16) or "a ´skeleton´ onto which various ´bits of flesh´ have been fitted, in order to attain a broader understanding of acculturation and adaptation" (Berry, 1997b, p. 63). Berry's (1990a, 1992, 1997a) acculturation framework was used in this study as a basis for organising concepts and reviewing findings. However, with a view to further developing the theory of acculturation and the field of research, this framework was critically evaluated in terms of the degree of theoretical relevance and applicability to concrete situations and current problems of migrant populations, and it was also enriched by theoretical notions providing deeper or better explanations of some acculturation phenomena.

1.3. Developing Acculturation Research

1.3.1. Acculturation and Orthogonal Ethnic Identification

In their review, Sayegh & Lasry (1993) provided a comprehensive and cohesive assessment of the various bidimensional models and measurements of acculturation. Most interestingly, they showed that most of the existing models are incapable of providing truly orthogonal dimensions of acculturation. With regard to Hutnik's model (1986, 1991), they observed that although, it is based on two orthogonal identifications, the results are clearly contaminated by the fact that the heritage culture dimension is given a negative and the host society dimension a positive form (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). They also criticised the model proposed by Szapocznik and his colleagues (Szapocznik et al., 1980; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980) because, although it is described as being orthogonal with regard to involvement in heritage and host cultures, both identification scores appear on each axis, constituting a clear methodological weakness (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). They stressed that the assumption in Moghaddam's (1988) model that the normative behaviours which are assessed along the second dimension, must be endorsed by the host society before they can be adopted by the immigrant refers to interrelatedness between this dimension and the first one (i.e., ethnic identity). Finally, they claimed that the fact that the first dimension of Berry's model (e.g., Berry et al., 1986, 1987, 1989) measures identification with the heritage culture, whereas the

second assesses a behavioural intention regarding the desirability of contacts with the host society, also speaks against the assumed orthogonality of the two dimensions.

Partly due to these problems with conceptual and metric orthogonality, the bipolar measurement scales applied in most of the predominant bidimensional models of acculturation and presented above seem to have the built-in assumption that if involvement in the host society increases, then engagement with the immigrant's traditional culture automatically decreases (Laroche, Kim, & Hui, 1997; Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Tomiuk, 1998). Measuring different constructs, these scales thus clearly seem to incorporate many of the sub-processes of assimilation outlined by Gordon (1964), but on an individual level only. Therefore, a view on acculturation reflected in these approaches is more consistent with the assimilationist perspective than with ethnic or cultural pluralism (Laroche et al., 1997, 1998).

Consequently, it has been proposed that, in order to provide a truly orthogonal model of acculturation, the two bipolar dimensions should be reformulated so that their contents reflect identification with the host culture and the heritage culture independently of each other (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993; Lasry & Sayegh, 1992; Bourhis et al., 1997; Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996; Laroche et al., 1997, 1998), with the subsequent formulation of bidimensional models such as those in Sayegh & Lasry's (1993), Sanchez & Fernandez's (1993), and Bourhis's et al. (1997) work. It has also been suggested that, since it was first based only on two orthogonal dimensions of identification, the acculturation model can be further validated using measures of identification in the areas of attitudes, values and behaviours (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). Altogether, this evidently constitutes a reacknowledgement of the ideas suggested much earlier by Zak (1973, 1976) and Der-Karabetian (1980), as well as of the ethnic identity model proposed by Hutnik (1986, 1991), who suggested that "ethnic minority identity must be conceptualised along at least two main dimensions: one relating to the degree of identification with the ethnic minority group; and the second relating to the degree of identification with the majority group" (Hutnik, 1991, p. 128). Moreover, ethnic identity has finally been brought back in empirical acculturation research as one of the most fundamental aspects of acculturation, one which determines other phenomena of the acculturation process.

Although there seems to be a tendency at the conceptual level to move back towards a two-dimensional acculturation model based on ethnic identification, few scales have translated this idea into action (Nguyen, Messé, & Stollak, 1999). The empirical studies of Lasry & Sayegh (1992) and Sanchez & Fernandez (1993) are among the few that have employed this approach to measurement. Both of these studies found that immigrants' identification with the heritage culture was unrelated to their identification with the host culture. In addition, Sanchez & Fernandez (1993) found that these identifications were differentially related to indices of adjustment.

One reason for the problems in achieving an acculturation model based on ethnic identification may be that existing measures of the two concepts (i.e., acculturation and ethnic identification) reveal the confounding of the two constructs, since the same items are often included in measures of ethnic identification as well as in measures of numerous other aspects of acculturation (Phinney, 1998). As a consequence, the failure of some recent models of acculturation which have attempted to provide the orthogonal dimensions of identification but have used other constructs could be partly attributed to the fundamental problems of research on ethnic identification. Specifically, these problems include the absence of a consistent and systematic approach (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Phinney, 1990, 1992, 1998; Rosenthal &

Feldman, 1992), as well as the absence of a widely agreed-on definition of ethnic identity (Lange & Westin, 1985; Phinney, 1990; Sprott, 1994; Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). For instance, behavioural and attitudinal markers of acculturation, such as language and behavioural preferences, cultural preferences and acculturation attitudes, are still often included in measures of ethnic identification (Noels et al., 1996; Phinney, 1992, 1998). Thus, it is not only acculturation research, but also independent empirical research on ethnic identity in general, that often fails to make a clear distinction between different aspects of ethnic identification (Rosenthal, 1987; Phinney, 1990, 1992; Liebkind, 1992; Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997).

Part of the problem is also a far-from-uncommon conflation of the two meanings of the term "identification": identification *of* and identification *with* (e.g., Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). The first meaning of identification (identification of), according to Lange (1989), pertains to the purely cognitive act of recognition and categorisation of somebody (including oneself) as the possessor of a particular labelled identity, in most cases connected with membership in some category or group. According to self-categorisation theory (SCT) (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), this process is conceptualised as social identification, referring mainly to identification of oneself as a member of a social category. In this study, the term ethnic self-identification was chosen from the wide range of terms (e.g., ethnic self-definition, self-categorisation and self-labelling) for this first, more cognitive form of identification. However, since ethnic self-identification may differ from ethnicity (i.e., objective group membership as determined by the parents' ethnic heritage), the two concepts must be distinguished from one another (Phinney, 1992). Thus, ethnic self-identification is best measured through an open-ended question eliciting a spontaneous statement of one's chosen ethnic label, or by checklists from which respondents select the appropriate label (or labels) (Phinney, 1992, 1998).

While categorical ethnic self-identification is an important indicator of identification, it does not encompass the full range of the psychological meaning of ethnic identity and, therefore, should not be confused conceptually with the aspects of the construct that reflect variation in strength, valence or understanding of the meaning of one's ethnicity (Phinney, 1998). Furthermore, defining oneself as a member of some particular category does not necessarily imply that one identifies with this category (Lange, 1989; Liebkind, 1992). However, such identification of oneself may induce identification with other members of the same category in the sense that the category is perceived as attractive and as a collective reference model. The important feature of the process of identification with is a wish to emulate the attractive characteristics perceived in the membership group, and a deepening of feelings of belonging to that group (Liebkind, 1992).

In social identity theory (SIT), a person's social identity is described as "that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (e.g., Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). On the basis of social identity theory, ethnic identity in terms of strength or degree has been conceptualised as one's sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group (or groups), together with the valence, or degree to which one's group membership is emotionally loaded (Phinney, 1998). Thus, ethnic identity has to be seen as a subjective process and as a matter of degree (Lange & Westin, 1985) as well as a matter of choice (Liebkind, 1984), and its significance for an individual must be taken into account (Wallman, 1983). In addition, it has been found that the different forms of ethnic identity (i.e., ethnic self-

identification and degree of ethnic identity) may have a cumulative relationship (i.e., ethnic self-identification is embedded in degree of ethnic identity, with the salience of ethnicity being less dependent on context in the latter than in the former) (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). Despite this extensive theoretical debate, the most recent empirical research on ethnic identity and acculturation seems to consider the individual's membership in the relevant ethnic groups and different forms and levels of identification interdependently of one another. Rather than being assessed as an individual's knowledge and subjective feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group, ethnic identity is still often indexed through various other facets of acculturation (Phinney, 1998; Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997).

The five studies constituting this thesis incorporated 12 distinct aims, or purposes. *The first three aims* addressed the following questions: (1) What are the specific ethnic self-identifications (i.e., identifications of) among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland? (2) What are the structure and content of their ethnic identity (i.e., do they identify independently with Russian and Finnish ethnic groups and if so, to what extent)[2]? (3) Do different ethnic self-identifications of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents reflect some actual differences between them in the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity? Two methodological distinctions were made. Firstly, the two meanings of "identification", identification of and identification with, were distinguished by using two independent measures of ethnic identification. Firstly, the identification of oneself as a member of a specific ethnic group / groups (i.e., ethnic self-identification) was measured separately from the degree to which the young immigrants identified with the Russian and Finnish groups (i.e., degree of ethnic identity). Secondly, the latter form of identification (i.e., identification with) was assessed separately along two bipolar scales, with the first scale measuring identification with the Russian culture and the second scale measuring identification with the Finnish culture.

1.3.2. Factors Influencing Multiple Ethnic Identification

In examining factors and processes likely to be involved in acculturation, several authors have found that the degree to which individuals endorse their ethnic identities is a function of linguistic practice, and that under specific circumstances language can even be the most critical attribute of ethnic identity (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Liebkind, 1992; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990; Noels et al., 1996). Of the various language factors, language usage and comprehension in particular, but sometimes also language choice in a communicative situation, have been seen as major indices of ethnic identification (e.g., Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1980; Lanca, Alksnis, Rose, & Gardner, 1994). Much social-psychological research has also suggested that language and identity can be seen as being reciprocally related: language use influences the formation of group identity, and group identity influences patterns of language attitudes and usage (e.g., Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). Evidence showing the linguistic and cultural assimilation of minorities who adopt majority group identities (Edwards & Chisholm, 1987; Bourhis &

[2] Ethnic identity is often defined and studied by researchers only with regard to the group the respondent initially has defined as his or her own. In this study, following the definition of ethnic identity presented earlier, this concept refers to the individual's identification with both the ethnic minority and the ethnic majority groups.

Sachdev, 1984) may also be considered supportive of a language-identity association (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990).

According to Clément (1980, 1986) and Phinney (1998), the degree to which individuals endorse their identities depends on two process variables: language and social interaction. In his sociocontextual model of second-language learning, Clément (1980, 1986) related the aspects of social interaction with the second-language group (e.g., frequency and quality of contact) with the individual's linguistic self-confidence. Increased usage of and self-confidence in a second language also makes contacts with the second-language group more effective, and increased interaction will help the individual to identify with this group. Phinney (1998) found a similar pattern in a sample of US-born and foreign-born adolescents; more orientation towards interaction with in-group members was associated with immigrants' stronger original ethnic identity, and more interaction with the outgroup with stronger American identity. However, her results regarding language differed by birth cohort; for the foreign born, greater English-language proficiency predicted a stronger American identity, but ethnic language was unrelated to original ethnic identity; whereas for the US-born, greater ethnic-language proficiency predicted stronger original ethnic identity, but English was not related to American identity. From these results, Phinney (1998) concluded that, in each case, as language proficiency changes over time as part of the acculturation process, the sense of group identity is likely to depend on these changes.

However, there are also contra-indicative results concerning the cruciality of language in identity formation and maintenance (Pak, Dion, & Dion, 1985; Edwards & Chisholm, 1987; Streitmatter, 1988; Edwards, 1992). For example, the tenacity of Alaskan natives living in Anchorage (Sprott, 1994), and Ingrian Finns living in the former Soviet Union (Laari, 1997), with both groups being characterised by a high degree of language loss and intermarriage, has been explained by the assumption that the maintenance of their own original ethnic identity has more of a symbolic than a linguistic basis. Thus, it has been suggested that the association between language and identity depends on the social context pertinent to the language groups in question, and that this association must be empirically assessed in each language context (Edwards, 1992; Phinney, 1992; Liebkind, 1995). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that no consistent distinction between different concepts related to language, such as linguistic self-identification, linguistic self-confidence, language usage, language proficiency, language choice, social interaction and contact orientation towards a particular linguistic group, is usually made. Without distinct assessment of these language and social interaction variables in each language context, it is impossible to assess to what extent they explain variations in identification with different language groups.

In this study, various language-related concepts were differentiated and the following questions were raised in connection with the first and third aims of the study as set out above. What are the specific linguistic self-identifications among Russian-speaking adolescents in Finland? (*addition to the first aim*). Do their different ethnic and linguistic self-identifications reflect some actual differences between them in their Russian and Finnish language usage and proficiency, and to what extent is their identification of themselves as speakers of a particular language reflected in their degree of identification with Russian and Finnish cultural groups? (*addition to the third aim*).

There is, however, one additional issue that should be addressed here, namely the lack of clear theoretical models concerning the ethnic identity of young immigrants. This is partly due to the

fact that almost all the useful paradigms for understanding the process of acculturation have been developed for adult populations and directly applied to children and adolescents (Aronowitz, 1984; Williams, 1991) (see Chapter 1.3.7., for more extensive discussion). As a consequence, the parents' role, which is widely recognised as central in mediating children's experiences, has received little attention in acculturation research, and the mechanisms of parental influences on children's ethnic identity still remain unclear (Aronowitz, 1992; Sam, 1995). In some studies, however, the parents' involvement in their own ethnic culture and community (Rosenthal & Cichello, 1986) and their ethnic background (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & Ocampo, 1993) have been found to be strong predictors of adolescents' ethnic identity. In addition, it has been suggested that children's attitudes towards and sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group are highly influenced by the parents (Phinney, 1992), and that this influence is mediated by children's socialisation experiences (Knight et al., 1993).

However, it has often been overlooked that the effect of such influences also depends on the perceived quality of family relationships, as has been found in investigations of the self-esteem, psychological well-being and socialisation behaviour of young adolescents (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Furnham & Bochner, 1990; Hortaçsu, Oral, & Yazak-Gültekin, 1991). The perceptions of good family relations, as opposed to actual good relationships, may thus similarly be an important factor that minimises intergenerational differences in ethnic identity within the immigrant family (Rogler et al., 1980), and may therefore support the maintenance of the heritage culture among adolescents. For instance, in their study on Vietnamese adolescents in the United States, Zhou & Bankston (1994) found a relationship between ethnic self-identification and perceived solidarity within the family. It also has to be taken into account that adolescents' perceptions of their relationships with their parents on the one hand, and parental influence on adolescents' development on the other, have been found to be gender-differentiated, with both reflecting more general patterns in parents' role differentiation and gender-differentiated socialisation practices (Gjerde, 1986; Siegal, 1987).

Thus, *the fourth aim* of this study was to examine the factors that predict the degree of Russian and Finnish identity among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. In particular, this concerned the relationships between language usage, language proficiency, cultural contact orientation, experiences of parental support and understanding, and degree of ethnic identity, as well as gender-differentiated patterns in the last of these.

1.3.3. The Dynamic Nature of Acculturation

Acculturation may be viewed as a state as well as a process (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993). In their investigations of acculturation attitudes, Berry and his colleagues have generally found that individuals usually experience, or choose, integration (e.g., Berry et al., 1989), which can be successfully maintained, especially when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (Berry, 1997a). However, the examination of acculturation profiles using ethnic identity measures has given different results in some studies than those observed using the acculturation attitudes measure presented by Berry and his colleagues (e.g., Berry et al., 1989). For instance, Noels and her colleagues (1996) found that bicultural individuals do not endorse both identities to the same degree at the same time. Instead, their identity profiles vary across situations, with the *separation* and *assimilation* profiles generally best describing their acculturation in terms of situated ethnic identity (Noels et al., 1996). Schönpflug (1997) and Phinney (1998) also found Berry's model highly taxonomic. For them, the redefinition of ethnic identity, which is conceptualised by two

opposing processes, the need for unification and the need for differentiation, is one of the most basic forces underlying other acculturative changes.

These inconsistent results have supported suggestions that the degree of identification with minority and majority ethnic groups may be relatively independent of the styles of acculturation people adopt for themselves (Hutnik, 1991; Noels et al., 1996). However, there are still two problems inherent in interpreting the results presented above. The first of these is methodological, and is due to the fact that Berry (1997b) has subsumed the question of cultural identity under the broader notion of acculturation strategies. At this point, the suggestion of Sayegh & Lasry (1993) presented earlier, that these two constructs (i.e., identity and attitudes) should be measured separately since they constitute different phenomena, seems to be highly relevant. Secondly, there are clear differences between the researchers in the emphasis they give to the dynamic nature of acculturation and to the need to distinguish acculturation as a state and as a process. In this respect, although Berry's framework (1997a) is presented as theoretically processual, it is generally insensitive to the dynamic nature of the process of acculturation (Horenczyk, 1997; Schönpflug, 1997; Phinney, 1998), and to the ways in which ethnic minority members can actually understand and express their sense of being part of two cultures (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). This kind of critique has been directed towards the acculturation framework especially when it is used for investigating the acculturation of young members of an ethnic minority who are examining their ethnicity and who to are trying to establish a secure ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989, 1990; Rosenthal, 1987; Rotheram & Phinney, 1987; Deaux, 1993; Ethier & Deaux, 1994).

Phinney (1989) scrutinised various models of ethnic identity development (e.g., Cross, 1978; Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983) and further elaborated Berry's ideas on biculturality[3]. For her, the fact that individuals' ethnic self-identification has generally been found to be stable over time (e.g., Edwards, 1992; Ethier & Deaux, 1994) does not mean that these individuals could not widely vary in their sense of belonging to the ethnic group or groups chosen, in attitudes towards these groups, and in their understanding of the meaning of their ethnicity (Phinney, 1990, 1992). Specifically, Phinney (1989, 1990) proposed a three-stage progression from unexamined ethnic identity through a period of exploration to achieved or committed ethnic identity. She sees the process of the exploration of the ethnic identity of minority members as dynamic, changing over time and context. More importantly, she investigated changes in ethnic identity along both dimensions: retention of, or identification with, the original culture, and adaptation to, or identification with a host or "new" culture (Phinney, 1998). In addition, she stressed that being a member of two cultures does not mean being between two cultures, but rather being part of both, to varying degrees (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

In the first stage of this model, ethnic identity is unexamined or diffuse. The individual may not be interested in ethnic issues, or may have absorbed positive ethnic attitudes from their family

[3] In speaking about biculturality, Phinney (1989, 1990) does not refer to the individuals' subjective experience of having achieved bicultural identity. Rather, the label is meant to refer to those individuals who are in extensive contact with two cultures (i.e., their native and non-native cultures) irrespective of their degree of identification with these cultures, and therefore also of their position in Berry's acculturation typology.

or other adults, or may show a preference for the majority group (Phinney, 1989). This stage is thought to continue until the individual realises that he or she is simultaneously a member of two cultures, and particularly of a minority group. The thorough exploration of one's own ethnicity does not take place until the second stage of Phinney's model. This stage may be the result of significant experiences which force awareness of ethnicity (Phinney, 1990). These experiences may include discrimination and prejudice from the majority group. To some extent, the salience and awareness of the protective nature of a particular ethnic identity and valued cultural features may increase through such experiences (Ethier & Deaux, 1994). Identity exploration culminates in the third and last stage of the process, characterised by an achieved or internalised ethnic identity. Phinney stresses that the meaning of ethnic identity achievement is different for different individuals and groups because of their different historical and personal experiences (Phinney, 1989, 1990). Minority ethnicity may be rejected completely or fully embraced, and the same is true of majority ethnicity.

In contrast to many other developmental models, which assume automatic conformity of immigrants regardless of their migration histories (Sue & Sue, 1990), the preference for the majority is not, according to Phinney (1989, 1990), a necessary characteristic of the first stage of ethnic identity exploration. Despite this, Phinney (1998) herself provides empirical support for the model, with the first stage characterised by assimilation. In particular, she showed that the strength and valence of ethnic minority identity are low at the beginning of acculturation, followed by greater stabilisation of minority and majority identities as acculturation progresses (Phinney, 1998). However, this result does not say anything about possible behavioural or attitudinal changes that may provide the underlying explanation of changes in ethnic identity. One conceptual model that links ethnic identity exploration and acculturation attitudes, and therefore connects identity exploration with the acculturation strategy model (Berry et al., 1986, 1987, 1989), has been proposed by Leong & Chou (1994). Basing their model on Berry's acculturation typology, they suggest that the earliest or unexamined stage is equivalent to assimilation, in that individuals at this stage wish, and perhaps try, to be part of the larger society and may deny or downplay their own ethnicity. During the second stage, they become deeply involved in exploring and understanding their own culture, and thus may appear to be oriented towards separation. Finally, with ethnic identity achievement, they accept and value both their own group and the larger society, and so appear integrated (i.e., oriented towards both the maintenance of their own culture and contacts with the larger society).

However, Leong & Chou (1994) do not provide data to support their model. This reflects a more general picture where the empirical research on the dynamic nature of acculturation lags far behind the theoretical writing (Kinket & Verkuyten, 1997). Specifically, studies focusing on identity redefinition among immigrants at different stages of their acculturation process (Horenczyk, 1999), as well as on the relationship between the personal meaning of their membership in a particular ethnic category (ethnic identity) and their attitudes towards cultural change (acculturation strategies) are really scarce.

This led to the formulation of *three further aims (aims no. 5 - 7)* of this study, to find answers to the following questions. (5) Do the ethnic self-identification of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents on the one hand, and the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity on the other, change over time during their residence in Finland? To what extent are these changes

consistent with the ethnic identity stages proposed by Phinney (1989)? What is the pace of these changes? (6) Which of Berry's four acculturation options[4] best describes Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents' acculturation as a state in terms of their ethnic identity on the one hand, and of acculturation strategies on the other? (7) Do the different ethnic identity dimensions and acculturation profiles observed among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents using a bidimensional model of ethnic identification correspond to the acculturation options observed using the acculturation strategy model?

1.3.4. The Interactive Nature of Acculturation

Although both Phinney's (1989, 1990) and Berry's (1990a, 1997a) models recognise the existence of environmental influences (e.g., degree of multiculturalism in the host society, perceived discrimination and prejudice) on the course of acculturational changes experienced by members of immigrant and ethnic minority groups, these factors are not explicitly integrated into either of these models. According to Bourhis et al. (1997), however, this reflects a common shortcoming of most bidimensional models of acculturation, i.e., the lack of importance given to how the host community can shape the acculturation preferences of minority-group members. Consequently, Bourhis et al. (1997) propose the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), which suggests that the acculturation strategies of ethnic-minority members are interrelated with the acculturation orientations of host-majority members, with the latter group having a stronger impact on the acculturation preferences of the former group than the converse. According to the IAM, concordance occurs when the host-community and the ethnic-minority group in question share virtually the same profile of acculturation orientations. Discordance between the host community and the minority group prevails when the profile of acculturation orientations obtained for the host and minority groups match very little or not at all.

Concordant and discordant acculturation profiles yield different relational outcomes as measured through intergroup discrimination, which is more frequently directed towards minority-group members than host-community group members. Consensual relational outcomes are predicted when both host-community members and minority-group members share either integration or assimilation options. Problematic relational outcomes emerge when the host community and the minority group experience both partial disagreement and partial agreement as regards their profile of acculturation attitudes. Host-majority members who endorse segregation and exclusion orientation towards minority-group members are likely to foster the most conflictual relational outcomes. The IAM also assumes that both problematic and conflictual relational outcomes will foster negative stereotypes concerning minority-group members and lead to discriminatory behaviours against them. However, the model predicts most intergroup conflict in encounters between exclusionist host-community members and minority-group members who have a separatist orientation. (Bourhis et al., 1997). Phinney (1998) also stressed that the intergroup climate and attitudes within the society can set the

[4] Various terms (e.g., modes, styles, strategies, options, preferences) have been used to describe acculturation responses of individuals, while using Berry's model (Berry et al., 1986, 1987, 1989) based on the measurement of strategies/attitudes. The term "acculturation option" was preferred here over the others in order to use Berry's four-fold typology when referring to individuals'acculturation responses on two different acculturation measures, i.e., ethnic identification and acculturation strategies.

limits for the degree of integration. However, she sees the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation strategies and experiences of discrimination in a different way; the more perceived discrimination that is reported, the greater the separation or ethnic exploration (i.e., commitment to one's own ethnicity).

Consequently, *the eighth purpose of this study* was to examine the interactive nature of immigrants' acculturation by the following questions. Do the acculturation strategies of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents correspond to the acculturation orientations of the host nationals? With what kind of relational outcomes is this relationship associated?

1.3.5. Acculturation and Adaptation

By definition, psychological acculturation involves not only changes in identification and attitudes, but also changes in values, the acquisition of new social skills and norms, and adjustment or adaptation to a changed environment (e.g., Berry et al., 1992). In order to determine which of these different areas of change best constitute the actual acculturational outcome for the acculturated individual on the one hand, and what constitutes the most appropriate or adaptive response to the acculturative experience on the other, diverse indices of acculturation and cross-cultural adaptation have been examined in literature on immigrants, sojourners and refugees (Ward, 1996). However, there is still great diversity in the field, and still no answer to these questions. One underlying reason for this has been the way in which the different approaches have defined and conceptualised acculturation and adaptive outcomes of cultural change (Sam, 1995).

By borrowing theoretical frameworks from areas of mainstream psychology and applying them specifically to work on acculturation, a number of authors have distinguished affective (e.g., psychological well-being), behavioural (e.g., interpersonal interactions with the host nationals), and cognitive (e.g., values and attitudes) dimensions of adaptation (Ward, 1996). In addition, a fourth adaptive outcome has recently been introduced: economic adaptation (Aycan & Berry, 1996), which refers to the degree to which work is obtained, is satisfying and is effective in the new culture (Berry, 1997a). By integrating the stress and coping approach on the one hand, and the social learning approach on the other, to the study of acculturation and adaptation, Ward and her colleagues have, in turn, argued for distinction only between two domains of adaptive outcomes, psychological adaptation or the emotional/affective domain, and sociocultural adaptation or the behavioural domain (Ward & Kennedy, 1993 a & b; Ward, 1996). The first domain refers to a set of internal psychological outcomes, including good mental health, psychological well-being, and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context; the second domain refers to a set of external psychological outcomes that link individuals to their new context, i.e., the acquisition of appropriate social skills and behaviours to successfully carry out day-to-day activities. With regard to cognitive factors such as attitudes and values, Ward (1996) has suggested that they can be either subsumed under the sociocultural adaptation domain, or understood as mediators of the affective and behavioural outcomes, thus ignoring the importance of social-psychological variables when investigating acculturation. It is worth noting that this kind of distinction of adaptational outcomes resembles some earlier attempts to differentiate the constructs of "cultural shock" (Furnham & Bochner, 1990) and "culture-learning" (Bochner, 1982, 1986), or "acculturative stress" (Berry et al., 1987, 1989) and "behavioural shifts" (Berry, 1980, 1992), approaching them as processes which reflect different acculturative changes.

According to Ward, there are two reasons for keeping psychological and sociocultural adaptive outcomes theoretically and empirically distinct. First, psychological adaptation may be best analysed within the context of stress and psychopathology, while sociocultural adaptation is more closely linked to the social skills framework (Ward & Kennedy, 1993 a & b), with each, although interrelated, representing rather independent bodies of empirical research (Ward, 1997). Second, research has indicated that these two adaptive outcomes are predicted by different variables. Acculturation strategies, for instance, are significantly related to sociocultural adaptation, but not to psychological adaptation, and show different patterns of variation over time (Ward & Kennedy, 1993 a & b; Ward, 1996). The need for such distinction has not been clearly acknowledged in the empirical research on acculturation, however, where a wide variety of indicators have been assessed to explain immigrants' adaptation without specifying and differentiating the precise psychological processes underlying its different domains (Phinney, 1990; Liebkind, 1984, 1989, 1992, 1996a; Ward, 1996). In order to examine the relationship between various acculturational processes and different acculturational outcomes, it is essential to define the particular aspects of each construct being investigated.

1.3.6. The Actual Degree of Acculturation among Young Immigrants

The emphasis of the approach to sociocultural adaptation lies on behaviour and skills rather than on affective or health outcomes (Ward, 1997). Within this framework, an adaptational outcome of acculturation is typically defined as the degree of acculturation, and is measured in relationship to culture-specific markers (Ward, 1996). Unfortunately, most of the recent relevant empirical studies have used terms such as adaptational outcome (e.g., Chataway & Berry, 1989), acculturation level (e.g., Rick & Forward, 1992; Ghaffarian, 1987; Gil & Vega, 1996), behavioural acculturation (e.g., Celano & Tyler, 1991), or simply acculturation (e.g., Padilla, Wagatsuma, & Lindholm, 1985), rather than indicating that the sociocultural domain is their main focus. Careful investigation of the measures used in these studies suggests that the following indices have been most frequently used to assess the level of sociocultural adaptation among immigrants: the amount or intensity of social contacts or friendship patterns with host nationals (Padilla et al., 1985; Tran, 1987; Alreshoud & Koeske, 1997), the adoption of customs, habits, language, life style, behaviour and family ideology of a host culture (Padilla, et al., 1985; Celano & Tyler, 1991; Rick & Forward, 1992; Gil & Vega, 1996; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990; Ghaffarian, 1987); and academic performance and academic satisfaction (Chataway & Berry, 1989).

The acquisition of these new culture-specific practices and skills has been found to be primarily affected by cultural distance and societal dissimilarities between the culture of origin and the culture of entry, acculturation strategies and attitudes towards contacts with host nationals, and by the time spent in a new culture and age at migration (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1993a; Ghaffarian, 1987; Alreshoud & Koeske, 1997). In particular, the greater the cultural distance and societal dissimilarities as perceived by the immigrants, the weaker their orientation towards integration and contacts with host nationals, and the shorter their time of residence and the older their age at migration, the more problematic their acculturation seems. However, it is still unclear, theoretically and empirically, what exactly constitutes the level or degree of acculturation among immigrants and what predicts it. For instance, one study may indicate that contact is a factor promoting a more positive attitude to assimilation which, in turn, represents an outcome of acculturation, while another might show that an initially positive attitude towards assimilation is conversely related to a person's seeking out more

contact which, in turn, indicates a result of acculturation (Berry, 1990a). Similarly, although Ward & Kennedy (1993a) showed that a strong original cultural identity is associated with a lower degree of acculturation, Laroche et al. (1997, 1998) stress that these two constructs are different, and that it is unlikely that the acquisition of new cultural values and traits always results in a comparable loss of original ethnic identity.

As mentioned earlier, the classical definition of acculturation concerns "changes in the original cultural pattern" of acculturating individuals (Redfield et al., 1936, p.149). Within all cultures, parents engage in practices aimed at socialising the child to become a responsible adult member of the society. Parents, especially mothers, and their child-rearing practices have also been found to have the greatest influence on children's development (Kâğitçibaşi, 1988). The values of the culture and society in which children are raised provide a framework that shapes parental behaviours and interactions with children and the resulting developmental outcomes (Kâğitçibaşi, 1988, 1996). The whole concept of "culture" is often defined as shared patterns of beliefs and feelings towards issues such as child-rearing practices, family systems and ethical values or attitudes (Fernando, 1991; Liebkind, 1996a). The emphasis given to the importance of the family has also been shown to be one of the fundamental values that provide stability and continuation in every culture (Smolicz, 1981; Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986). Very little is known about the acculturation pattern of these values over time (Triandis et al., 1986). It has been stressed that values should, in general, show less change than behaviours, behavioural intentions or role perceptions, which are more closely linked to overt and visible cultural elements (Triandis et al., 1986). However, several studies on acculturation show general agreement that the greater the level of acculturation of immigrants, the less the observed cultural difference (e.g., Laroche et al., 1998). As a consequence, it could be suggested that it is changes in traditional family-related cultural values which may most clearly represent the actual degree of young immigrants' acculturation within the domain of sociocultural adaptation, because they represent changes in deep cultural inheritance transmitted to the children by their parents.

The Russian-speaking subjects of this study are confronted in Finland with a culture with different attitudes towards the obligations of children towards their parents, as well as with different child-rearing practices, than in their country of origin. The prevailing family values in modern Finnish society emphasise individual independence and self-reliance in child development. These values, in particular the looseness of family bonds, have been related to the urbanised enterprise culture of the Western world (Kagan & Madsen, 1972; Smart & Smart, 1977). In contrast, the socialisation values that are stressed in Russian culture assume greater dependence on and orientation towards adult norms than is generally the case in Western families (Bronfenbrenner, 1970; Markowitz, 1994; Mirsky, 1997; Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998). For example, in the study conducted by Mirsky and her colleagues (1992), the adolescents in the former Soviet Union were clearly more dependent on their parents, especially on their mothers, than the American subjects, and their dependency extended to their everyday functioning as well as to their attitudes and beliefs. Similarly, the "time-tables" (i.e., the expected age of child achievements) of the immigrant parents from the former Soviet Union were found to be delayed in comparison with those of the Israeli-born and American parents (Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998). In addition, the objective socio-economic conditions that characterised the lives of these adolescents before their immigration were associated with higher material dependence, and this has also been related to closely-knit interpersonal ties and interdependence, rather than to independence (Kâğitçibaşi, 1988).

Despite the fact that there seems to be a tendency towards democratic child-rearing in present-day Russia, especially among urban, educated segments of the population (e.g., Williams & Ispa, 1999), this change has not been universal and many studies show lasting support for traditional ideas and conservative values (e.g., Goodwin, 1998; Schwartz & Bardi, 1997). According to Schwartz & Bardi (1997), this can be explained by the fact that Eastern Europeans in general, and Russians in particular, have adapted to the communist social system in which they lived, and this has deeply influenced their values. However, it has also been noted that Russians' traditional child-rearing attitudes are probably more a reflection of the close relationships generally characteristic of Russian life than of the influence of Soviet teachings regarding obedience and group-mindedness (e.g., Williams & Ispa, 1999). At all events, the results of a study conducted by Fernandez, Carlson, Stepina, & Nicholson (1997) indicated that Russia can still be generally considered a highly collectivist country compared with Western societies. Accordingly, the cultural gap experienced by young Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland may be substantial. At this point, however, the specific returnee background of most of these immigrants should be retrieved, since it, regardless of the influence of Russian socialisation, includes some sense of belonging to, knowledge of and contacts with Finnish culture and/or language prior to migration. Consequently, there is a strong reason to assume that it is not so much the variables measuring their subjective identification with Finnish culture, their use of or proficiency in the Finnish language, or their awareness or mastery of some particular behavioural codes prevailing in the Finnish society, than it is the degree of their adherence to the traditional family-related values to which they have been socialised that can best reflect their actual degree of acculturation within the domain of socio-cultural adaptation.

Thus, *the ninth aim of this study* was to carefully investigate the relationships between the different aspects of the acculturation process, and how these can be used to predict the actual degree of acculturation among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. In particular, the following questions were addressed. Do Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents differ from their native Finnish peers in adherence to family-related values? What factors predict their actual degree of acculturation?

1.3.7. Acculturation, Stress and Psychological Adaptation among Young Immigrants

One aspect of acculturation which has received considerable attention among psychologists and psychiatrists has been the psychological adaptation of immigrants. Considerable advances have been made in this area in the recent past. The previously-held view of a direct linear relationship between acculturation and stress has given way to perceptions of a more complex and interactive relationship. Moreover, the empirical research on acculturation has clearly concentrated on the explanation of the conditions under which the level of various psychological symptoms often observed among immigrants can be viewed as an indicator of their adaptational response to a new environment (Berry, 1990a). The most impressive example of research in this area is Berry's work on acculturation and acculturative stress (e.g., Berry et al., 1987, 1989; Berry & Kim, 1988; Williams & Berry, 1991).

According to the acculturative stress model (e.g., Berry et al., 1987, 1989), one fundamental condition for assuming acculturative stress is that the stress symptoms should be clearly anchored and related in a systematic way to known features or stressors of the acculturation process as experienced by the individual. In line with this notion, considerable empirical evidence has been provided in recent studies that perceiving oneself as a target or victim of

discrimination by members of a dominant group is one of the major acculturative strains that clearly associates with psychological symptomatology and decreased well-being among immigrants (e.g., Moghaddam, Ditto, & Taylor, 1990; Pak, Dion, & Dion, 1991; Dion, Dion, & Pak, 1992; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993; Sandhu & Asrabadi, 1994; Ying, 1996; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). Another acculturation problem often identified as a significant post-migration stressor is insufficient proficiency in the host country's dominant language, since this diminishes the immigrant's ability to function effectively in the new setting (Ying, 1996). For example, Ying (1996) found that immigrants who experienced problems with language were less satisfied with their lives, and Noels et al. (1996) found that greater self-perceived second-language proficiency was related to less stress, a greater sense of personal control, and higher self-esteem.

In spite of considerable empirical research on factors threatening or promoting the psychological adaptation of immigrants during acculturation (Berry, 1990a, 1997a; Vega & Rumbaut, 1991), few studies have attempted to clearly demonstrate how these factors are related to each other (Sam, 1995). In addition, little research attention has been paid to the specific factors which influence the psychological outcome of acculturation among young immigrants (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Gil & Vega, 1996; Sam, 1994b), and especially to identifying the specific resources which enable the adolescents to protect themselves from the negative experiences related to their ethnicity and minority status (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). For instance, while immigrant youth has also been found to be confronted with prejudice and discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1995), only a few empirical studies have addressed their discriminatory experiences. These studies have clearly indicated that perceived discrimination has a powerful negative effect on the self-esteem (Gil et al., 1994; Gil & Vega, 1996), and psychological (Rumbaut, 1994) and behavioural adaptation (Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil, & Warheit, 1995) of young immigrants. This is not to say that investigation of the factors influencing the psychological adaptation of immigrant adolescents has been ignored by researchers, but rather to stress the scarcity of theoretical and empirical models addressing the acculturation process.

Studies which have investigated the effects of immigration and acculturation on the psychological adaptation of adolescents have produced variable and inconclusive results (Mirsky, 1997). Several literature reviews (e.g., Aronowitz, 1984; Canadian Task Force, 1988) and recent studies (e.g., Aronowitz, 1992; Sam & Berry, 1995; Williams, 1991; Mirsky, 1997) have identified immigrant adolescents as a group at risk of psychological distress. In this literature, young immigrants are usually found to manifest two distinct types of emotional disorders: antisocial behaviour and behavioural and conduct disorders on the one hand, and identity conflicts and low self-image on the other. In addition, their psychological distress is typically attributed to internal and external immigration- and acculturation-related losses, which complicate the process of their identity formation that is focal at this developmental phase (Mirsky et al., 1992; Mirsky, 1997).

In particular, two complex psychological processes overlap during the acculturation of immigrant adolescents (Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992). The first is the painful task of separation from old emotional attachments, dependencies and self-definitions, coupled with the integration anew of identity, both of which are the main focus of the developmental phase of adolescence (Erikson, 1968). The second process, involving the same mechanisms, is separation from the homeland and adjustment to a new culture. Thus, the process of internal separation from their native environment and the integration anew of their identity both take

place in interaction with their attempts at separation from their parents and their search for an autonomous, individual identity (Mirsky et al., 1992). This double task, if not properly supported, results in the disruption of their psychological functioning (Mirsky, 1997) and creates negative consequences including non-inhibition of antisocial impulses (such as aggression), negative emotional reactions (such as depressiveness), and handicaps in communication with peers and adults (Hautamäki & Podolski, 1997). However, other studies have failed to demonstrate higher psychological distress among immigrant adolescents than among their non-immigrant peers (e.g., Chiu et al., 1992; Klimidis, Stuart, Minas, & Ata, 1994), or have reported a curvilinear relationship, where moderate levels of acculturation are associated with non-problematic adjustment (e.g., Berry et al., 1987; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980).

Consequently, *the tenth aim of this study* was to investigate the level of psychological adjustment of Russian-speaking adolescents compared to the level of psychological stress symptoms among native Finnish and immigrant adolescents from other cultural backgrounds in Finland.

The contradictive results presented above could occur for a variety of reasons, including the different ways in which psychological adaptation has been operationalised (Searle & Ward, 1990). The majority of studies on psychological adaptation among young immigrants have dwelt on negative mental-health outcomes, such as anxiety, depression and psychosomatic symptoms (for a review see Aronowitz, 1984; Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991; Mirsky, 1997), or conduct disorders such as delinquency, substance abuse and behavioural problems in school (e.g., Vega, Gil, Warheit, Zimmerman, & Apospori, 1993; Vega et al., 1995; Sam, 1995), with the former being most often referred to as adjustment. However, given that psychological adaptation largely involves psychological well-being (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1993a), and that the World Health Organisation defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity" (WHO, 1993), it is important to focus on positive aspects of health as well.

One area of psychological well-being, particularly among adolescent immigrants, which is clearly less studied as an independent indicator, is the domain of self-concept and self-esteem (Aronowitz, 1984). Although this often seems to be either directly or indirectly related to mental health status or psychological resilience among minority-group members (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Gil et al., 1994; Gil & Vega, 1996), there is abundant evidence to suggest that the constructs of well-being and self-esteem do not necessarily co-vary in unison (Rosenberg, 1986), and therefore self-esteem may also be used as a separate indicator of psychological well-being (Sam, in press). Life satisfaction and a personal sense of being able to master what is required in a new culture are also less frequently used as indicators of psychological well-being among young immigrants (Sam, 1998). Life satisfaction is usually considered a direct expression of avowed happiness, and is concerned with "global" well-being, happiness or satisfaction with life as a whole (Andrews & Robinson, 1991; Tran, 1987; Ying, 1996), whereas a sense of mastery indicates a general personal feeling of being in control (Grob, 1998; Noels et al., 1996). While all of these are valid indicators of well-being, and correlate with each other, they all concern different aspects of adolescents' subjective sense of well-being and reflect the complexity of this construct (Grob, 1998). Consequently, a better understanding of the relationship between acculturation problems and psychological well-being seems to require the simultaneous use of a large range of existing indicators of the

latter. Up until now, such studies have been rare (for some exceptions, see Roberts & Bengtson, 1993; Wentzel & Feldman, 1996; Noels et al., 1996).

It has been proposed that the relationship between acculturative stressors and psychological adaptation is not deterministic, but rather depends on a number of mediating and moderating factors (Aronowitz, 1992; Berry, 1990a, 1997a; Vega & Rumbaut, 1991). In this respect, cross-cultural psychologists have recognised the relevance of the stress and coping framework (e.g., Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lazarus, 1997) to the acculturation as experienced by immigrants (Chataway & Berry, 1989; Furnham & Bochner, 1990). According to social-stress models of acculturative stress (e.g., Williams & Berry, 1991; Gil et al., 1994), any move to a new place creates major stressful demands, and a major task confronting individuals in stressful situations is a cognitive one. This implies interpretation of the situation and the activation of the coping response that could maximise a sense of control over the situation and ensure the continuation of a positive self-concept. Consequently, negative outcomes occur only when stressors exceed the individual's coping resources, or mediators (Williams & Berry, 1991; Gil et al., 1994). Thus, despite the fact that migration *per se* may not necessarily compromise the psychological adaptation of immigrants (Aronowitz, 1984, 1992; Munroe-Blum, Boyle, Offord, & Kates, 1989), psychological acculturation can be very problematic in some circumstances (Berry & Kim, 1988). Consequently, it has been emphasised that good a understanding of the complexity of the relationship between migration and mental-health outcomes requires a deeper analysis of the factors involved in the acculturative process as experienced by young immigrants (Aronowitz, 1992; Gil et al., 1994). This notion is very important since, as mentioned above, almost all useful paradigms for understanding the process of immigrants' acculturation have been developed for adult populations, and have been also considered valid for children and adolescents (Aronowitz, 1984; Williams, 1991).

In order to cope effectively with and to resist the negative influence of stressors, individuals usually need social support from the environment (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Several recent studies have found that perceived social support might buffer the effects of stressors on psychological well-being, either directly by reducing the perceived threat of the stressor, or indirectly by enhancing self-esteem which, in turn, evokes adaptive responses to the stressor (Komproe, Rijken, Ros, Winnubst, & Hart, 1997; Davis, Morris, & Kraus, 1998). There is strong empirical evidence that social support also facilitates psychological well-being during acculturation (Chataway & Berry, 1989; Ward, 1996). Acculturation attitudes, cultural values, self-perceptions, ethnic identity and locus of control have also been found to shape immigrants' acculturative experiences and to diminish the negative influence of acculturative stressors on their psychological adaptation (e.g., Moghaddam et al., 1990; Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a, 1994; Liebkind, 1993, 1996a; Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997; Dion et al., 1992).

However, young immigrants cannot be expected to have all the coping mechanisms that are assumed to be protective during the acculturation process, especially in the case of recent immigration (Aronowitz, 1992; Gil & Vega, 1996). As mentioned earlier, in this case, they must negotiate the developmental transition to adulthood by mastering new developmental tasks (Erikson, 1968), while simultaneously dealing with exposure to possibly conflicting sets of cultural values and other demands of acculturation (Chiu et al., 1992). Several empirical studies have suggested that, in this situation, the family is often the only effective resource that promotes the adjustment of young immigrants and helps them to overcome problems that arise during acculturation (Markowitz, 1994; Gil & Vega, 1996). To young immigrants who have

come from cultures which value close and interdependent family relations, the role of the family is especially important. Consequently, it has been proposed that the support provided by parents may serve as the critical resource, or specific factor, that protects immigrant adolescents from a maladaptational response to acculturation strains (Chiu et al., 1992; Markowitz, 1994; Gil et al., 1994; Gil & Vega, 1996; Vega et al., 1993; Feldman, Mont-Reynaud, & Rosenthal, 1992; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Furthermore, it has been stressed that it is the sense of support (i.e., perceived security and quality of the family atmosphere and of the parent-adolescent relationship) rather than the actual availability of supporting parental relationships that is the most crucial factor associated with the ability of adolescents to psychologically adapt to a new social context in terms of their self-esteem, psychological well-being and socialisation behaviour (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Furnham & Bochner, 1990; Hortaçsu et al., 1991; Mirsky et al., 1992; Gil et al., 1994; Wentzel & Feldman, 1996; Hovey & King, 1996). As a consequence, it has been proposed that the fact of migration or belonging to an ethnic minority may be less important for adolescents' adjustment than the way in which such experiences are mediated to them and supported by their parents (Aronowitz, 1992).

Moreover, as mentioned earlier, adolescents' perceptions of their relationship with their parents on the one hand, and the parental influence on their well-being on the other, have been found to be gender-differentiated (Gjerde, 1986; Siegal, 1987). The parents' role has received little attention in research on acculturation of young immigrants, however (Aronowitz, 1992; Rosenthal & Cichello, 1986; Sam, 1995). A general stress and adaptation paradigm developed by Lazarus & Folkman (1984), and recent studies on the relationship between social support and individual well-being, seem, in turn, to provide a useful framework for understanding the mechanism through which parental support could also operate. If this approach is applied to adolescents, it might be proposed that their perceptions of parental support and understanding may promote their psychological well-being by diminishing their experiences of stressors and enhancing their positive self-evaluatory tendencies which, in turn, may further soften the harmful psychological effects of the stressors on their psychological well-being (Roberts & Bengtson, 1993).

As mentioned earlier, the longer immigrants stay in the host society, the higher their degree of acculturation. Moreover, it has been found that, especially at the beginning, young immigrants acculturate much more quickly than their parents (e.g., Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Gil & Vega, 1996), whose cultural core values may show strong resistance to change, even at the expense of coming into conflict with the host culture. This situation often results in a decrease of family cohesion and an increase of conflicts between children and parents (Liebkind, 1993; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Rick & Forward, 1992; Gil & Vega, 1996). For instance, Rosenthal, Ranieri, & Klimidis (1996) found that perceived discrepancies in values between Vietnamese adolescents and their parents in Australia significantly correlated with the frequency of disagreements and conflicts. In addition, many immigrant parents suffer from chronic stress that directly influences their ability to promote the psychological adaptation of their children (Hautamäki & Podolski, 1997). It is thus evident that the perceived quality of parental emotional and social support may deteriorate during acculturation (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Mirsky, 1997), further complicating young immigrants' adaptation (Rick & Forward, 1992; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Vega et al., 1993), and the general functioning and welfare of the family as a whole (Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998).

Individuals usually use various strategies to actively maintain their perceptions of the availability of desired social support (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Some recent studies on acculturation have found that, in immigrant families, adolescents' involvement in the original culture and adherence to traditional, especially family-related, cultural values, seem to promote family functioning and, therefore, also their psychological adaptation (Feldman et al., 1992; Zhou & Bankston, 1994; Sam, 1995; Liebkind, 1994, 1996a; Gil & Vega, 1996; Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Nguyen et al., 1999). Gil & Vega (1996) questioned a sample of Cuban and Nicaraguan adolescents in the US and found that adherence to family values was related to the use of the family as a source of support, and to the maintenance of family cohesion during acculturation. It therefore seems reasonable to propose that the maintenance of traditional, especially family-related, cultural values may, at least at the beginning of acculturation, serve as one of the strategies which assists immigrant adolescents to overcome acculturation problems directly by promoting their psychological adaptation, and indirectly by diminishing intergenerational conflicts and maximising the experiences of support provided by the family.

Nevertheless, immigrant adolescents continuously and increasingly confront the competing norms of the host society. They have to make choices that decisively map out their pathways within the historical, social and economic conditions in which they live. These choices, resulting in the actual degree of acculturation, are also influenced by the degree of interaction between the immigrants and their hosts (Berry, 1997a; Liebkind & Kosonen, 1998). For most young people, especially in Western societies, the second decade of their lives means a decrease in the perceived importance of and intimacy with the family, but an increase in extra-familial interaction and intimacy with peers (Kroger, 1985; Hortaçsu et al., 1991; Hortaçsu, Gençöz, & Oral, 1995; Grob, 1998). When adolescents spend their free time with peers from their own ethnic group, they are likely to reinforce each other's cultural values and attitudes. However, with time in a new society, they typically try to broaden their social networks to include friends from the host nationals that expose them to contrasting values and attitudes.

From this perspective, although the importance of parental support on the psychological well-being of young immigrants seems to be evident, accentuated psychological dependency on parents and traditional family practices may not be totally beneficial. Firstly, warm familial affiliation and interrelatedness in child-rearing systems may, if combined with heavy restrictions on the children's autonomy, also prevent them from acquiring decision-making competence and developing self-regulatory skills, as well as deprive them of the chance to establish or voice their own desires and attitudes (Liebkind & Kosonen, 1998; Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998). Therefore, the effect of adherence to traditional family-related values on the psychological well-being of immigrant youth may depend not only on the specific values in question, but also on the index of personal well-being that is being used. Secondly, there is a danger that the more immigrants receive support only from members of their own group, the more they may stick to that group and, consequently, they may learn less about how to deal with the new cultural environment (Van Selm, Sam, & Van Oudenhoven, 1997). Thus, strong psychological dependency on parents and great adherence to traditional family values and practices may complicate immigrant adolescents' participation in, and correspondingly increase their distance from, the wider society. This may predispose them to more negative acculturation experiences and psychological maladjustment, as proposed by Berry et al. (1987), Ying (1996), Ward (1996), and Phalet & Hagendoorn (1996). Consequently, this raises a general question about the costs and benefits of acculturation, especially at the beginning of the process and concerning young immigrants.

In this study, the relationship between acculturation and psychological well-being among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland was investigated in two ways in response *the final two aims* to be addressed. (11) What factors threaten and promote psychological adjustment in terms of acculturative stress among Russian-speaking adolescents in Finland? (12) How do different factors (i.e., perceived discrimination, proficiency in Finnish, traditional family-related values and experiences of parental support) affect various indices of psychological well-being (i.e., psychological stress symptoms, behavioural problems, life satisfaction, sense of mastery and self-esteem) among immigrant adolescents from different cultural backgrounds in Finland? The idea behind these two questions was to improve our understanding of the factors directly and indirectly influencing the psychological adaptation of immigrants during adolescence.

1.3.8. Conclusions - The Necessity of Theoretical Integration and Methodological Clarification in Studies on the Acculturation of Young Immigrants

Many theoretical perspectives have been advanced in the study of acculturation. However, decades of research in the area have unfortunately also contributed to a state of confusion arising from overlapping theoretical constructs and numerous paradigms. Thus, in spite of their relevance, many of the studies on acculturation may be characterised as sporadic, isolated and cursory (Stein, 1986), reducing the possibility to draw generalised conclusions. Moreover, it has to be noted that very few of the recent empirical studies in this area have succeeded in revealing the complexity of the acculturation process, i.e., the multiple relationships between acculturation and psychological outcomes (Gil et al., 1994). According to Gil et al. (1994), this is due to the fact that most of the studies have been based on linear theories and empirical models, and therefore are generally insufficient to explain the process of the psychological acculturation of immigrants. The same problem has also been acknowledged by Berry (1997a), who stresses that theoretical models and empirical studies still, at this point of acculturation research, cannot unambiguously show different factors as being directly influencing, moderating or mediating. One consequence of this is that we do not yet have a good understanding of which aspects of the acculturation process are stressful as such, and which serve as protectors of psychological adaptation among immigrants in general, and among young immigrants in particular. Given this present state of affairs, there is, consequently, an evident need for the thorough integration of existing theories and the further development of acculturation models (Ward & Kennedy, 1993a).

In this study, Berry's **(**1990a, 1992, 1997a) acculturation framework was used as a basis for organising concepts and findings. In order to investigate the process of psychological acculturation and adaptation among young Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland and to further develop the existing theoretical and empirical models of acculturation among immigrant youth, Berry's acculturation strategy and stress (e.g., Berry et al., 1987, 1989) models were enriched by the following: an orthogonal model of acculturation as ethnic identification proposed by Sayegh & Lasry (1993) and Bourhis et al. (1997); Phinney's (1989, 1990) and Hutnik's (1986, 1991) models of ethnic identity; and an interactive acculturation model developed by Bourhis et al. (1997). The adaptational outcomes of the adolescents studied were investigated by distinguishing between socio-cultural and psychological adaptational domains of acculturation, as proposed by Ward and her colleagues (Ward & Kennedy, 1993 a & b; Ward, 1996). In addition, in order to increase our understanding of the specific features of the acculturation process as experienced by young immigrants, an attempt was made to integrate the extensive body of psychological literature that addresses the

individual in the context of the family into an acculturation framework. Finally, in order to examine the complex structure of the relationship between the various aspects that are involved in the acculturation process as experienced by young immigrants, and which affect their adaptation their acculturation was also approached through constructing empirical multivariate models. However, it should be stressed at this point that there was no intention to present exhaustive answers to the questions raised in previous research. It was rather hoped that this study will catalyse further discussion and research on the topic in general and, as a first serious attempt at a complex approach to psychological acculturation and adaptation among young Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland, also on this group in particular.

1.4. Summary of the Aims of the Present Study

The main aim of this study was to increase theoretical understanding and to provide some empirical models of factors influencing *psychological acculturation and adaptation among young Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland.* For this purpose, twelve specific questions were raised and presented in the introduction. These questions can be classified into four main themes (A-D below) and they were addressed in five separate studies, and to some extent in some additional analyses.

A. What are the structure, content and predictors of the ethnic identification among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents and does it change during their residence in Finland?

> (1) What are the specific ethnic and linguistic self-identifications of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland? *(Studies I & II)*
>
> (2) What are the structure and content of the ethnic identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents? *(Study I)*
>
> (3) Do different ethnic and linguistic self-identifications of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents reflect some actual differences between them in their Russian and Finnish language usage and proficiency and in the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity? *(Study I)*
>
> (4) What factors predict the degree of Russian and Finnish identity among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland? *(Study I)*
>
> (5) Do the ethnic self-identification of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents on the one hand, and the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity on the other, change over time during their residence in Finland? To what extent are these changes consistent with the ethnic identity stages proposed by Phinney (1989), and what is the pace of these changes? *(Study II)*

B. Which acculturation options describe the acculturation of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in terms of their ethnic identification and acculturation strategies, and do they correspond to the acculturation orientations preferred by the native Finnish adolescents?

(6) Which of Berry's four acculturation options best describes Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents' acculturation as a state in terms of their ethnic identity on the one hand, and of acculturation strategies on the other? *(Study II together with additional analyses)*

(7) Do the different ethnic identity dimensions and acculturation profiles observed among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents using a bidimensional model of ethnic identification correspond to the acculturation options observed using the acculturation strategy model? *(additional analyses to Study II & Study III)*

(8) Do the acculturation strategies of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents correspond to the acculturation orientations preferred by the host nationals? With what kind of relational outcomes in terms of perceived discrimination is this relationship associated? *(additional analyses to Study II)*

C. What are the degree and predictors of actual degree of acculturation among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents?

(9) Do Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland differ from their native Finnish peers in adherence to traditional family-related values, and what factors predict their actual degree of acculturation? *(Study III)*

D. What are the level and predictors of psychological adaptation among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents?

(10) What is the level of psychological adjustment of Russian-speaking adolescents compared to the level of psychological stress symptoms among native Finnish adolescents and the immigrant adolescents from other cultural backgrounds in Finland? *(Studies IV & V)*

(11) What factors threaten and promote psychological adjustment in terms of acculturative stress among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland? *(Studies IV & V)*

(12) How do different factors (i.e., perceived discrimination, proficiency in Finnish, traditional family-related values and experiences of parental support) affect various indices of psychological well-being (i.e., psychological stress symptoms, behavioural problems, life satisfaction, sense of mastery and self-esteem) among immigrant adolescents from different cultural backgrounds in Finland? (*Study V*)

Gender differences in the relationships were also investigated.

2. METHODS

2.1. Outline of the Present Study

This study constitutes an independent part of a Finnish national project, which further Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY). The ICSEY was developed by an international group of researchers[5] to study the adaptation and integration among immigrant and ethnic minority adolescents across cultures.

The main aim of the ICSEY project is to compare the results obtained in different Western host countries with diverse histories of immigration and immigration policies adopted, in order to produce a comprehensive framework within which to understand migrant adaptation. The ICSEY research program includes the following countries: Canada, Finland, France, Norway, Sweden, Israel, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the USA.

2.2. Participants

2.2.1. Sample of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents

A total of 170 Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents aged between 12 and 19 were studied. The sample consisted of 93 boys and 77 girls who arrived in Finland between 1987 and 1996 and who resided in the region of the City of Helsinki. On the basis of reported parental ethnicity or/and migration status, 96% of these adolescents were identified as coming from families of some Finnish descent. On the basis of parental reports of education and occupational position prior to immigration, the socio-economic status (SES) of the participating families reflected a middle-class bias. However, 70% of the mothers and 56% of the fathers were unemployed in Finland at the time of the data collection.

2.2.2. Comparison Groups

The sample of Russian-speaking adolescents was compared to (a) native Finnish adolescents (N = 190) (*Studies III & IV*) and (b) immigrant adolescents of Turkish, Vietnamese and Somalian backgrounds in Finland (N = 418) (*Study V*). The demographic characteristics of the sample of Russian-speaking adolescents and comparison groups are presented in Table 1. For more details and further clarification of the differences in demographic characteristics between the Russian-speaking sample and the comparison groups, see the original publications.

[5] John Berry & Kyunghwa Kwak (Canada), Karmela Liebkind (Finland), Jean Phinney (USA), Colette Sabatier (France), David L. Sam (Norway), Charles Westin & Erkki Virta (Sweden).

Table 1. *Demographic Characteristics of the Sample of Russian-Speaking Adolescents and the Comparison Groups*

	Russian Speakers	Comparison Groups				Total
		Native Finns	Vietnamese	Turks	Somalis	
	N (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*N* (%)
Sample size	170 (100.0)	190 (100.0)	271 (100.0)	89 (100.0)	58 (100.0)	778 (100.0)
Gender Boys	93 (54.7)	103 (54.2)	139 (51.3)	35 (39.3)	32 (55.1)	402 (51.7)
Girls	77 (45.3)	87 (45.8)	132 (48.7)	54 (60.7)	26 (44.8)	376 (48.3)
Generation: 1.	169 (99.4)		262 (96.7)	40 (44.9)	58 (100.0)	529 (90.0)
	0 (0.0)		9 (3.3)	48 (53.9)	0 (0.0)	57 (9.7)
2.						
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
Age, years	15.0 (1.5)	14.5 (1.0)	15.4 (2.2)	15.3 (2.4)	15.9 (1.8)	15.2 (1.8)
Age at arrival, years	12.6 (2.1)		8.4 (4.0)	10.7 (4.3)	11.8 (3.5)	10.3 (4.0)
Years in Finland	2.5 (1.5)		7.3 (3.5)	10.8 (6.6)	5.3 (4.6)	6.3 (4.8)

2.3. Procedure

The samples of Russian-speaking and native Finnish adolescents were taken from secondary schools in the region of Helsinki during the Spring term in 1996. All secondary schools identified as having Russian-speaking immigrant pupils were contacted and invited to participate in the study. None of them refused. The author personally visited these schools and invited immigrant and native pupils to participate in the study at a designated time. The natives were randomly selected from the same school levels and, when possible, also from the same classes as the immigrant respondents. All the participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that their responses would be confidential. In principle, all pupils present in school at the designated time completed the questionnaire, which took approximately one hour.

The questionnaire was translated into Finnish and Russian from the original English version by two researchers at the University of Helsinki. The native pupils were given the Finnish version, and the Russian-speaking immigrants were given a choice of answering the questionnaire in Finnish or Russian, Russian being the preferred alternative. The pupils were also given a brief questionnaire with a postage-paid return envelope to take home for their parents.

A similar procedure was primarily used to collect data on the comparison immigrant group (i.e., Somalis, Vietnamese and Turks). Official and native-speaking language translators translated the questionnaire from the original English version into the respective languages. However, a substantial number of the Vietnamese and Turks required an additional postal survey. All the Turkish and Vietnamese respondents, and 67% of the Somalis, completed the questionnaire in Finnish.

2.4. Measures

All the measures used in this study were assembled by the ICSEY researchers (see Footnote 5) and were either developed for the ICSEY project or taken directly or with modification from existing scales, as described below. In addition to these measures which were common for all the countries participating in the ICSEY project, the questionnaire involved measures or single items which were initiated by and included only in some national projects, in this case in the Finnish project (these are marked below by *). The measures reported below are those used in the original publications of this study and in additional analyses conducted for this thesis. The reliability (Cronbach alpha) of the scales was generally high[6].

Ethnic self-identification (Studies I, II, III, & IV). Ethnic self-identification of immigrant adolescents was assessed by asking the respondents to chose the ethnic label they applied to themselves, also allowing for bicultural self-identification.

Linguistic self-identification (Study I). Linguistic self-identification among the respondents was assessed by asking them to indicate the language they felt was their mother tongue, also allowing for bilingual identification.

Ethnic identity (Studies I, II, & III). Ethnic identity was assessed using a 14-item scale modified from Phinney's ethnic identity measure (1992). This measure was designed to examine the bicultural content of ethnic identity, in this case the degree of Russian and Finnish identity. The measure included items to tap three internal components of Russian and Finnish identity, namely, an individual's sense of belonging to, attitudes towards, and evaluation of being part of the respective groups. Two factors extracted from the factor analysis were named Degree of Russian Identity and Degree of Finnish Identity, and the factor scores were used in the later analyses.

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[6] Due to space limitations and the variety of samples and comparison settings used in this study, see the original publications for the sample items, the response options, and the Cronbach's alphas of the scales.

Language use and proficiency (Studies I & V). The immigrants' Russian and Finnish language use and proficiency were assessed using a 12-item measure which consisted of six items regarding the Russian language and six items regarding Finnish. Of the six items, two assessed the frequency of speaking Russian and Finnish with parents, relatives and friends, and four items assessed proficiency in understanding, reading, and writing Finnish and Russian. In *Study V*, only a summed variable measuring the adolescents' proficiency in the Finnish language was used.

Cultural orientation of contacts (Studies I, III, & IV). Ten items regarding the frequency of the immigrants' involvement in Russian and Finnish activities covering five domains were used to assess their contacts with Russians and native Finns. The five domains were: friends, free time in and out of school, athletic activities, and involvement in culture-specific customs. Two factors extracted from the factor analysis were named Russian Contact Orientation and Finnish Contact Orientation, and the factor scores were used in the later analyses. In *Study IV*, only a summed variable measuring Finnish Contact Orientation was used.

Acculturation attitudes (Study III and additional analyses to Study II). Twenty items were formulated by Berry and his colleagues (Berry et al., 1989) to tap acculturation attitudes among immigrant adolescents. The scale assessed assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation acculturation attitudes in each of five domains: marriage, cultural traditions, language, social activities and friends. Four factors extracted from the factor analysis were named Assimilation, Separation, Integration and Marginalisation, and the factor scores were used in the later analyses.

Acculturation orientations of the host nationals (additional analyses to Study II). Seven items were formulated to assess the native Finnish adolescents' preferences for the immigrants' acculturation option. Two items on the scale assessed assimilative, two items assessed integrative, two items assessed segregative, and one item assessed exclusive acculturation orientation. On the basis of Berry's model (e.g., Berry et al., 1987, 1989) four summed variables were constructed: Assimilation, Integration, Segregation and Exclusion, and these were used in the additional analyses to *Study II*.

Experiences of parental support and understanding* (Studies I, III, IV, & V). The measure of immigrants' experiences of their parents' support and understanding consisted of six items: three that assessed their experiences of maternal support and understanding and three items assessed the experiences of paternal support. In order to allow separate investigation of the experiences of relationships with the mothers and the fathers, and of the possibility of gender-differentiated influences of perceived support provided by the mothers and the fathers on acculturation, the two factors were extracted from the factor analysis: the Mother's Support and the Father's Support, and the factor scores were used in the later analyses. A total score, calculated as a summed variable from all the six items, was also used in *Study IV*, whereas in *Study V*, two summed variables calculated on the basis of the factor solution were used instead of factor scores.

Family-related values (Studies III, IV, & V). A 14-item questionnaire concerning family-related values developed by the researchers from the scales of Nguyen & Williams (1989), Georgas (1989) and Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas (1996) was used to assess family values characteristic of the immigrants and the natives on the one hand, and the

actual degree of acculturation of the immigrant adolescents on the other. This scale consisted of items assessing attitudes towards parental authority and adolescent autonomy. Two factors extracted from the factor analysis were named Parental Authority and Children's Rights, with the former indicating adherence to hierarchical family structures based on age and gender, and the latter indicating the extent of acceptance of children's autonomy and freedom of choice. The factor scores were used in the later analyses in *Study III*. In the same study, however, in order to compare the immigrants' and the natives' values, the immigrant and native samples were merged into the same factor analysis, which produced the same factors as for the immigrant sample. In *Study V*, in turn, two summed variables calculated on the basis of factor solution were used instead of factor scores, and a total score, calculated as a summed variable from all fourteen items (Experiences of Parental Support), was used in *Study IV*.

Perceived discrimination (Studies IV & V, and additional analyses to Study II). The perceived discrimination scale was developed by the researchers and consisted of nine items: four items that assessed perceived frequency of being treated unfairly or negatively because of one's ethnic background by school peers and teachers, as well as by other adults and children or adolescents outside of school; and five items that assessed experiences of being teased or threatened, or feeling unaccepted because of one's ethnicity. A total score, calculated as a summed variable from all nine items, was used in the later analyses to assess the overall amount of perceived discrimination as experienced by the immigrant adolescents.

Psychological well-being (Studies IV & V). The psychological well-being of the immigrant adolescents was assessed using five different measures:

1). Acculturative stress (Studies IV & V). This scale consisted of 15 items measuring depression, anxiety and psychosomatic stress symptoms. The items were taken from the following questionnaires: Beiser & Fleming (1986); Kinzie, Manson, Vinh, Tolan, Anh, & Pho (1982); Kovacs (1980/1981); Mollica, Wyshak, de Marneffe, Khuon, & Lavelle (1987); Reynolds & Richmond (1985); and Robinson, Shaver, & Wrightsman (1991). In *Study IV*, a total score calculated as a summed variable from all the 15 reversed items was used to assess the degree of psychological adjustment[7] among the immigrant adolescents, and compared to the level of psychological stress symptoms among their native Finnish peers. In *Study V*, on the other hand, a total score calculated as a summed variable from all the 15 non-reversed items was used to assess the degree of acculturative stress among the immigrant adolescents.

2). Behavioural problems (Study V). This scale was based on Olweus's (1989) measure, with modifications by the researchers. It included ten items assessing frequency of antisocial behaviours such as stealing, destroying property, bullying and misbehaving in school. A total

[7] In *Study IV*, the immigrants' psychological adjustment was operationalised as the absence of acculturative stress and used instead of the term "psychological well-being" (cf. *Study V*) in order to differentiate between the various meanings these terms have in acculturation research. The term psychological adjustment is traditionally used to refer only to the absence / presence of acculturative stress among immigrants (usually anxiety, depression and psychosomatic symptoms), whereas the term psychological well-being refers to a larger domain of psychological adaptation that includes not only stress-related symptoms but also numerious other aspects of individual well-being.

score (i.e., Behavioural Problems) calculated as a summed variable from all ten items was used in the later analyses.

3). Self-esteem (Studies IV & V). Global self-esteem was measured using Rosenberg's (1986) 10-item self-esteem inventory. A total score (i.e., Global Self-esteem), calculated as a summed variable from all ten items, was used in the later analyses to assess the global self-esteem of the immigrant adolescents. In *Study IV*, this score was used as a mediating factor between the acculturation problems and psychological adjustment of the immigrant adolescents, whereas in *Study V* it was used as one of the indices of their psychological well-being.

4). Life satisfaction (Study V). This scale was developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin (1985), and it consisted of five items. A total score (i.e., Life Satisfaction), calculated as a summed variable from all five items, was used in the later analyses to assess the overall degree of life satisfaction as experienced by the immigrant adolescents.

5). Sense of mastery (Study V). This scale consisted of six items and measured the degree to which adolescents felt that they were in control of their lives. It was based on several existing scales: Connell (1985), Levenson (1981), Paulhus (1983), and Pearlin & Schooler (1978). A total score (i.e., Sense of Mastery), calculated as a summed variable from all six items, was used in the later analyses to assess the degree to which the adolescents felt competent in their lives.

3. MAIN RESULTS

The main results of this study are summarised in this chapter following the order of both the original publications and the research aims (1-12) set out in the introduction and summarised in Chapter 1.4. The details are given in the separate *Studies I-V* .

3.1. Study I: Content and Predictors of the Ethnic Identity of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland

3.1.1. What are the specific ethnic and linguistic self-identifications of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland?[8] (aim no. 1)

The ethnic self-identification of 43% (*n* = 72) of the total sample was "Russian", it was "Finn" for 16% (*n* = 27), and "Ingrian" Finn for 30% (*n* = 49) of all the immigrant adolescents. Eleven percent (*n* = 18) of the sample identified themselves as being other nationalities of the former Soviet Union. Four adolescents did not identify themselves ethnically at all. Eighty-three percent of the adolescents (*n* = 142) reported Russian as their mother tongue, i.e., their linguistic self-identification was Russian, 9% of the immigrants reported being bilingual in Russian and Finnish (*n* = 15), 3% reported bilingualism in Russian and some other language (*n* = 5), 2% of them identified themselves as pure Finnish-speakers (*n* = 4), and the remainder, 3% (*n* = 4), reported languages other than Russian or Finnish to be their mother tongue.

3.1.2. What are the structure and content of the ethnic identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents? (aim no. 2)

The findings of the factor analysis clearly revealed that the ethnic identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents consists of two dimensions, one reflecting their Russian identity and the other their Finnish identity, with both dimensions being composed of separate cognitive, evaluative and emotional components. The two factors were orthogonal to each other and accounted for 53.5% of the common factor variance. Corresponding to previous research (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Der-Karabetian, 1980), the two subscales did not show statistically significant gender or age differences.

3.1.3. Do different ethnic and linguistic self -identifications of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents reflect some actual differences between them in their Russian and Finnish language usage and proficiency and in the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity? (aim no. 3)

The results of one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) and *t*-tests of significance for independent samples revealed that the adolescents divided according to their ethnic and linguistic self-identifications did not differ statistically in frequency of using nor proficiency in the Russian and Finnish languages. However, the different ethnic self-identification groups

[8] The results regarding ethnic self-identifications are from *Studies I & II*.

differed significantly from each other on both ethnic identity dimensions, Russian and Finnish. Those whose ethnic self-identification was “Russian” had a greater degree of Russian identity and a smaller degree of Finnish identity than the other ethnic self-identification groups. Those whose ethnic self-identification was “Ingrian Finn” had, in turn, a greater degree of Russian identity than those who identified themselves as “Finns” or as “Others”, and they also had a smaller degree of Finnish identity than those who identified themselves as “Finns”. Finally, the immigrants whose ethnic self-identification was “Finn” had a greater degree of the Russian identity than those who identified themselves as “Others”.

The differences in the degree of Russian and Finnish identity between the immigrants whose linguistic self-identification was Russian and those who linguistically identified themselves as bilingual, only Finnish or other, resembled those that characterised the different groups divided according to ethnic self-identification. Those who reported being monolingual in the Russian language had a much greater degree of Russian identity and a lower degree of Finnish identity than the other groups divided according to reported mother tongue.

3.1.4. What factors predict the degree of Russian and Finnish identity among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland? (aim no. 4)

The structural equation model (LISREL 8) of factors predicting the Russian or Finnish identity of the immigrant adolescents studied revealed that it was not their proficiency in the Russian or Finnish language, but rather the extent to which they used the respective languages in their every-day life that was a strong predictor of the degree of their Russian and Finnish ethnic identity. The cultural orientation of adolescents was another factor that strongly predicted the degree of Russian and Finnish identity, especially among the boys. Proficiency in the Finnish language appeared to promote their orientation towards contacts with native Finns, however, and thus indirectly supported their Finnish identity. In addition, the adolescents’ experiences of their relationships with their parents were strongly related to the degree to which they endorsed their ethnic identity. Despite the fact that all of the Russian-speaking adolescents identified, at least to some degree, with both the Russian and the Finnish cultures, it was their Russian identity, which was related to perceived parental support, and experiences of same-sex parental relations, which were, especially important for both genders.

3.2. Study II: Exploration of the Ethnic Identity of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland

3.2.1. Do the ethnic self-identification of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents on the one hand, and the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity on the other, change over time during their residence in Finland? To what extent are these changes consistent with the ethnic identity stages proposed by Phinney (1989), and what is the pace of these changes? (aim no. 5)

According to the results of a χ^2 -test, there were no differences in ethnic self-identifications among the immigrant adolescents who had spent different periods of time in Finland. However, there were clear differences in the meaning they gave to the Russian and Finnish components of their ethnic identity at different stages of their residence in Finland. According to the results of a correspondence analysis, their ethnic identity changes generally supported the three-stage progression model of ethnic identity exploration proposed by Phinney (1989). Specifically, the first stage of the ethnic identity exploration process was found to last until at least the end of the first year of residence. In this stage, the greater prevalence of the Finnish component of ethnic identity and the rejection of its Russian component was evident, which is related to unexamined ethnic identity in Phinney's model. Two clearly distinct phases were found in the second ethnic identity stage, with the first one (between the first and the second years of residence) relating to the total questioning of ethnic belonging and the second (between the second and the third years of residence) relating to finding and accepting that part of ethnic identity which had previously been rejected, together constituting the exploration stage in Phinney's model. The findings at the final stage (after three years of residence) indicated the immigrants' strongly bi-ethnic identity with a clear preference for its Russian component, referring to achieved ethnic identity as described by Phinney (1989).

3.2.2. Which of Berry's four acculturation options best describes Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents' acculturation as a state in terms of their ethnic identity on the one hand, and of acculturation strategies on the other? (aim no. 6)

In *Study II*, the subjects were classified into four groups according to the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity by using a median-value split on these ethnic identity dimensions. If we further want, as other researchers have done, to use Berry et al's (1986, 1987, 1989) typology of four acculturation options to refer to ethnic identification profiles, which could be observed in such a division, then the results of *an additional Z-test* (i.e., not included in the original *Study II*) showed that most of the adolescents preferred either separation (n = 51) or assimilation (n = 55) rather than integration (n = 29) or marginalisation (n = 29); Z = 2.10, p < .05. In order to investigate which one of the four acculturation options best describes adolescents' acculturation in terms of acculturation strategies, *additional t-tests for the paired samples* were conducted (i.e., not included in the original *Study II*). The results showed that, on the attitudinal level, the immigrant adolescents rather preferred integration (M = 4.08) more than any other option; a comparison between their preference for integration and their second most-preferred option (separation, M = 2.88) gave statistically significant results (t = 12.45, df = 169, p < . 001). They also preferred separation to assimilation (M = 2.30) (t = -5.62, df = 169, p < . 001) or marginalisation (M = 1.77) (t = -14.83, df = 169, p < . 001).

3.2.3. Do the different ethnic identity dimensions[9] and acculturation profiles observed among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents using a bidimensional model of ethnic identification correspond to the acculturation options observed using the acculturation strategy model? (aim no. 7)

Pearson correlations revealed that the Russian and Finnish dimensions of the immigrants' ethnic identity were differently related to their acculturation attitudes, with the Russian identity relating positively to a separation strategy and negatively to an assimilation strategy, and the Finnish identity relating positively to an assimilation strategy and negatively to a separation strategy. However, the degree of neither Russian nor Finnish identity was *per se* related to integration or marginalisation strategies. *Additional one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs)* (i.e., not included in the original *Study II*) revealed that, consistently with the results reported above, the adolescents who had a high degree of Finnish identity and a low degree of Russian identity (stage 1; assimilation profile) preferred the assimilation strategy more than those with a low degree of Finnish identity and a high degree of Russian identity ($F(3, 169) = 8.38$, $p < .001$). Those with high degrees of both identities (stage 4; integration profile) preferred the integration strategy more than those with low degrees of both identities (stage 2; marginalisation profile) ($F(3, 169) = 3.13$, $p < .05$). Those with a high degree of Russian identity and a low degree of Finnish identity (stage 3; separation profile) preferred the separation strategy more than those with a high degree of Finnish identity and a low degree of Russian identity, and also more than those with low degrees of both identities ($F(3, 169) = 12.83$, $p < .001$).

3.2.4. Do the acculturation strategies of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents correspond to the acculturation orientations preferred by the host nationals? With what kind of relational outcomes in terms of perceived discrimination is this relationship associated? (aim no. 8)

In order to investigate whether the different acculturation strategies of the Russian-speaking adolescents corresponded to the acculturation orientations preferred by the native Finnish adolescents and related to their perceptions of discrimination, *additional Pearson's correlations and t-tests* were conducted (i.e., not included in the original *Study II*).

According to the results, the more the Russian-speaking adolescents were oriented towards integration, the less perceived discrimination they reported ($r = -.21$, $p < .01$). Their assimilation attitudes were also slightly and negatively related to their perceptions of discrimination ($r = -.20$, $p < .05$), whereas the more they were oriented towards separation ($r = .38$, $p < .001$) or marginalisation ($r = .24$, $p < .01$) the more discrimination they perceived. In line with the suggestions of Bourhis et al. (1997), the acculturation orientations towards immigrants expressed by the Finnish adolescents were similarly classified into four categories: integration, assimilation, segregation and exclusion. *T*-tests for paired samples were further used in order to reveal the general acculturation preferences of the native adolescents. The results showed that, as with the immigrants (for the preferences observed among the

[9] The results regarding the relationship between ethnic identity dimensions and acculturation strategies are from *Study III*.

immigrant adolescents, see the results reported in Chapter 3.2.2.), the native adolescents also preferred integration more than any other option (M = 4.09). However, in contrast to the immigrants, the natives preferred the assimilation orientation (M = 2.96) more than segregation (M = 1.88) (t = 8.27, df = 189, p < . 001) or exclusion (M = 2.65) (t = 2.90, df = 169, p < . 01).

Mainly for theoretical and future research reasons, the results of the original analyses done in *Study II* combined with the additional analyses are presented in Figure 1 (the acculturation orientations of the host nationals are placed in the figure according to their content and theoretical position in Berry's 2x2 typology, whereas the position of the variables measured in the immigrant sample was based on empirically-tested relationships between the immigrants' ethnic identity, acculturation attitudes and perceived discrimination as reported above). As can be seen in the Figure, the associations between the variables seem to be consistent with the predictions outlined in the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis et al., 1997). In particular, partial discordance in acculturation options between the host nationals and the immigrant group (compare the order of preferences among the immigrants and the natives) seems to yield "problematic relational outcomes" (i.e., more perceived discrimination in the cell in which the order of preferences is different). This discordance seems to be characteristic of only the first three stages of ethnic identity exploration found among the immigrant adolescents in *Study II* , and to disappear in the last stage when they identified highly with both groups and were more oriented towards the acculturation attitude which corresponded best to the acculturation orientation most preferred by the host nationals (i.e., integration). The concordant acculturation profile observable among the immigrants and host nationals in this fourth stage of the ethnic identity exploration model also seems to result in the most "consensual relational outcome" (i.e., least perceived discrimination).

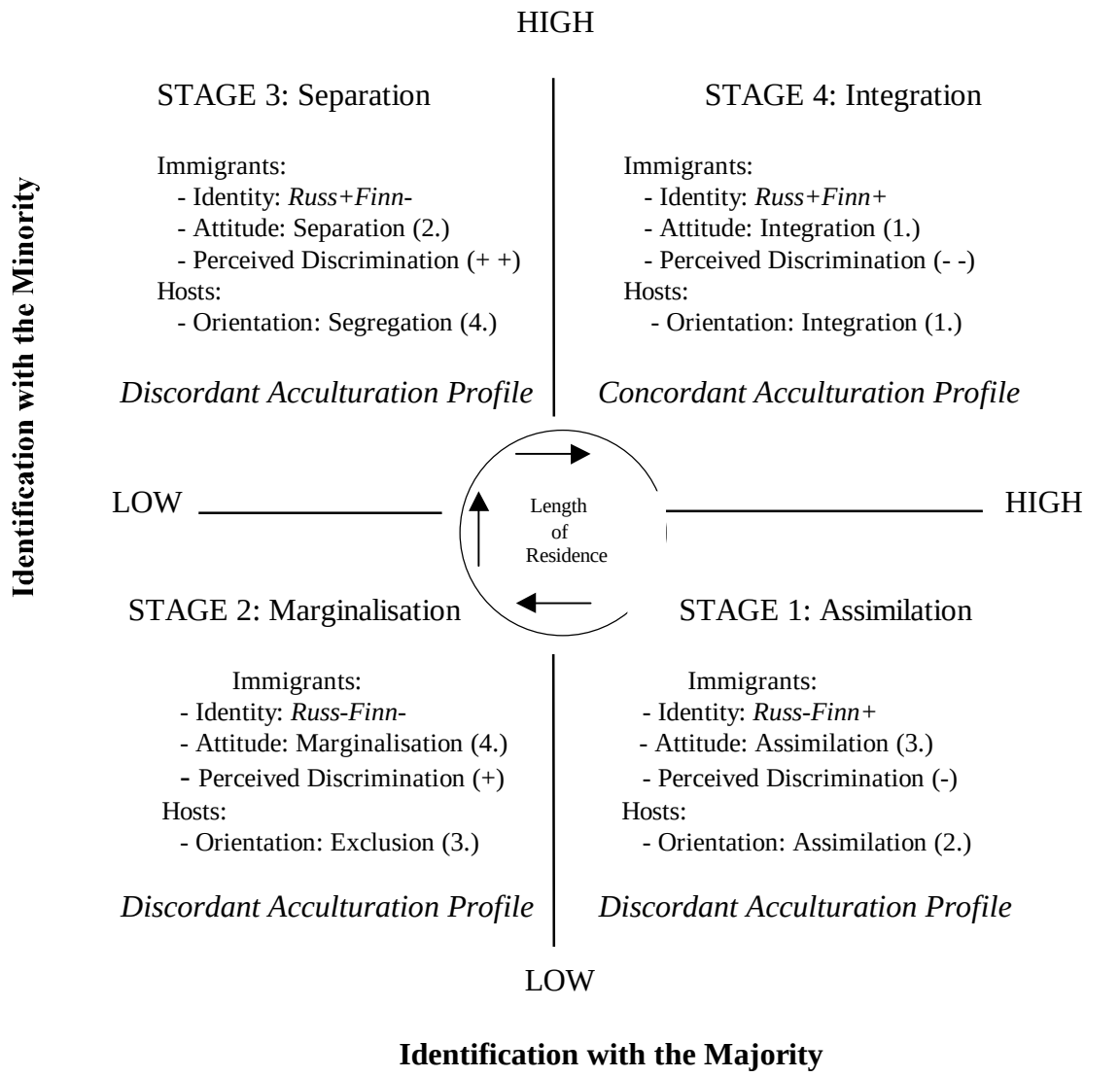

Figure 1. Associations between the ethnic identity of the Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents, their acculturation attitudes, perceived discrimination and the acculturation orientations preferred by the native Finnish adolescents (time of residence in Finland is given only in order to schematically connect this model to the ethnic identity exploration model presented in the original *Study II*).

3.3. Study III: Predictors of the Actual Degree of Acculturation of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland

3.3.1. Do Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland differ from their native Finnish peers in adherence to family-related values, and what factors predict their actual degree of acculturation? (aim no. 9)

According to the results of *additional one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA)*(i.e., not included in the original *Study III*), the different ethnic self-identification groups of immigrant adolescents (i.e., Russians, Finns, Ingrian Finns, Others) did not differ from each other on the two subscales measuring their adherence to traditional family-related values (for acceptance of parental authority $F(3, 162) = 1.65$, ns; and for acceptance of needs for limitations of children's independence $F(3, 162) = 1.31$, ns). These results allowed us to merge the immigrants' different ethnic self-identification groups for comparison with the native Finnish adolescents. The results of two-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the immigrant adolescents shared more traditional family values than their native Finnish peers did. In particular, they accepted more parental authority and the need for limitations on children's independence. In addition, the immigrant boys accepted the needs for limitations on autonomy more than the girls did.

In *Study III*, the results of the discriminant analysis revealed that a high degree of Finnish identity was not associated with a high degree of acculturation in terms of adherence to traditional family-related values but, on the contrary, with a low degree of acculturation. The less acculturated immigrant adolescents also experienced a higher degree of maternal support and understanding. Surprisingly, the more acculturated immigrants also seemed to be more oriented towards separation. Those who had been in Finland for a longer time were more acculturated than those who had lived in the country for a shorter time, while age on arrival in Finland did not in itself discriminate significantly between more and less acculturated immigrants.

3.4. Study IV: Perceived Discrimination and Psychological Adjustment among Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland

3.4.1. What is the level of psychological adjustment of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents compared to the level of psychological stress symptoms among native Finnish adolescents and immigrant adolescents from other cultural backgrounds in Finland?[10] (aim no. 10)

Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) revealed that the Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents did not differ significantly from their native Finnish peers in the prevalence of psychological stress symptoms. With respect to differences observed between the Russian-speaking adolescents and adolescents from other cultural backgrounds in Finland (i.e., Vietnamese,

[10] The results regarding the comparison data for differences in psychological stress symptoms between the Russian-speaking adolescents and the immigrant adolescents form other cultural backgrounds are from *StudyV*.

Turks, and Somalis), the results of ANCOVAs, with length of residence in Finland as a covariate, and post-hoc comparisons (*t*-tests with Bonferroni's adjustment) revealed that, generally, the Somalis suffered less from stress symptoms than the Vietnamese. However, the group differences varied across the different subscales of acculturative stress. The level of anxiety was higher for the Russian speakers, the Turks and the Vietnamese than for the Somalis**.** In addition, the Vietnamese reported a higher level of depression than the Somalis did. There were no group differences in the degree of psychosomatic stress symptoms.

3.4.2. What factors threaten and promote psychological adjustment in terms of acculturative stress among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland? (aim no. 11)

A structural equation modelling approach (Amos 3.6) was used to examine the hypothesised causal model of relationships between perceived discrimination, adherence to traditional family-related values, self-esteem, experiences of parental support, Finnish contact orientation, and psychological adjustment among the Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents (see Chapter 1.3.7. and *Study IV*, for more details regarding hypothesised causal model). According to the results for the total sample, the global self-esteem of the adolescents was strongly and positively related to their psychological adjustment, and also mediated the indirect negative influences of perceived discrimination and the positive influences of experiences of family support and understanding on their psychological adjustment. Adherence to traditional family-related values not only strengthened their experiences of parental support, and therefore indirectly enhanced their psychological adjustment, but it also directly diminished the degree of acculturative stress. However, the immigrants adherence to traditional family-related values was slightly and negatively related to their Finnish contact orientation, and thus it seemed not only to increase their distance from broader Finnish society, but also to predispose them to a greater amount of perceived discrimination.

The results regarding gender-differentiated patterns in the influence of parent-adolescent relationships on psychological distress revealed that the girls' experiences of the support and understanding provided by their mothers were directly and positively related to their psychological adjustment. In addition, their experiences of good relationships with both parents diminished their perceived discrimination, and thus also indirectly promoted their psychological adjustment. However, these experiences were not related directly to their self-esteem, and rather had a mediating influence on it through perceived discrimination. For the boys, it was only their experiences of a good relationship with their fathers that were significantly and positively related to their psychological adjustment. As in the total sample, this relation was indirect, and was mediated by self-esteem and also slightly by perceived discrimination. For both the boys and the girls, adherence to traditional family-related values promoted psychological adjustment not only directly, but also indirectly through their experiences of support and understanding provided by at least one of their parents. In both gender groups, traditional family-related values were negatively related to their Finnish contact orientation which, in turn, seemed to diminish perceived discrimination, especially among the boys.

3.5. Study V: Acculturation and Psychological Well-being among Immigrant Adolescents in Finland: A Comparative Study of Adolescents from Different Cultural Backgrounds

3.5.1. How do different factors (i.e., perceived discrimination, proficiency in Finnish, traditional family-related values and experiences of parental support) affect various indices of psychological well-being (i.e., psychological stress symptoms, behavioural problems, life satisfaction, sense of mastery and self-esteem) among immigrant adolescents from different cultural backgrounds in Finland? (aim no. 12)

With respect to group differences in psychological well-being, the results of ANCOVAs, with length of residence in Finland as a covariate, revealed that the four immigrant groups (i.e., Russian speakers, Turks, Vietnamese, and Somalis) also differed significantly from each other in indices of psychological well-being other than the one indicating acculturative stress (see Chapter 3.4.1., for results regarding acculturative stress). In accordance with expectations, post-hoc comparisons (*t*-tests with Bonferroni's adjustment) indicated that the Turks and the Russian speakers had a higher sense of mastery than the Vietnamese and the Somalis, and the Russian speakers had higher self-esteem and more behavioural problems than the Vietnamese; the Turks had even higher self-esteem than the Russian speakers. The Somalis, in turn, expressed greater life satisfaction than the Vietnamese and the Russian speakers.

Multiple regression analyses for each of the five psychological well-being measures were performed to determine the extent to which acculturation problems measured as perceived discrimination and lack of proficiency in Finnish, experiences of parental support measured as maternal support and paternal support, and traditional family-related values measured as parental authority and limitations on children's rights, accounted for the variance in psychological well-being, with length of residence in Finland included as a control variable. According to the results observed in the total sample of immigrant adolescents, increased acculturative stress was associated with increased perceived discrimination, less adherence to traditional family-related values, and with less experience of paternal support and understanding. The same pattern of results was observed for predictors of behavioural problems, except that this time it was experience of maternal support and understanding that decreased such problems. Regarding self-esteem, the less the adolescents perceived discrimination, the better skills in Finnish they had, and the more they experienced support and understanding provided by both parents, the higher was their self-esteem. Adherence to traditional family-related values did not have a significant impact on self-esteem. In addition, a greater degree of life satisfaction was related to less perceived discrimination, more experience of support and understanding provided by both parents, and to greater acceptance of parental authority. The only index of well-being not affected by perceived discrimination was sense of mastery. The adolescents' greater sense of mastery was, in turn, related to their better Finnish, more experience of maternal support and understanding, and to less acceptance of limitations on children's rights. No statistically significant interaction effects were found between any of the predictor variables in the total sample.

Equivalent regression analyses were performed separately for each subgroup divided by gender and immigrant group. No significant interactions between gender and the predictor variables were observed, but the following group-specific results emerged through significant interactions between immigrant group and predictor variables. Perceived discrimination increased acculturative stress especially among the Vietnamese, but did not predict

behavioural problems among them or the Turks. In addition, the stress the Vietnamese expressed did not depend on their degree of acceptance of parental authority. Although no significant interaction effects were observed between gender and the six predictors, it seemed that, in line with the results observed in Study IV, maternal support was positively associated with a lower degree of acculturative stress and higher self-esteem especially in the female sample, whereas perceived paternal support was positively related to self-esteem especially among the males.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. Discussion of the Main Results

4.1.1. The Complexity of the Ethnic Identity of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents

The results of this study indicated a wide variation in the ethnic and linguistic self-identification of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. They also revealed that their ethnic identity is composed of two clearly independent dimensions, one reflecting their Russian identity and the other their Finnish identity, corresponding to the findings of Sayegh & Lasry (1993) and Sanchez & Fernandez (1993). The ethnic self-identification of the immigrant adolescents on the one hand, and their linguistic self-identification (i.e., reported mother tongue) on the other, were both found to be related to the extent of their Russian and Finnish identity. Although all the immigrants in this study in practice preferred Russian to Finnish, did not differ in proficiency in the Finnish language, and usually had a family background of intermarriage, some of them nevertheless seemed to identify themselves linguistically as Finns, as well as to value and maintain a Finnish ethnic identity more than the other Russian-speaking immigrants.

The results of this study did not explain the different ethnic and linguistic self-identifications observed among these adolescents. The complexity of mixed ethnicity seems enormous, as many factors can be argued to affect identification in any one individual. According to Sprott (1994), such factors may be related to the ethnic composition of the family genealogy and to attitudes towards ancestors, to the residential history of the family of origin over time, to ethnic-oriented life experiences, to the importance the individual places on ethnic heritage, and to the larger forces of culture change that influence ethnic groups and regions. Furthermore, subjective ethnic-group membership and more symbolic identity processes may compensate for the loss of cultural content in maintaining social-group boundaries (Sprott, 1994). As far as this study is concerned, we can only speculate about the processes behind Finnish ethnic identification among the Russian-speaking adolescents in question. It seems reasonable to base such speculations on the arguments provided by Laari (1997) regarding strong Finnish identification generally characteristic of returnees from the former Soviet Union in Finland. Specifically, she mentions four factors that may explain their strong sense of belonging to the Finnish group: institutionalisation of ethnicity in the former Soviet Union so that it formed a significant social, statistical and juridical category; the Finnish language spoken among and the Lutheran religion actively practised mostly by elderly people; and a so-called “common history of suffering” characteristic of their life, especially before and after World War II (Laari, 1997, pp. 305-306).

Both ethnic and linguistic self-identification were found to be crucial factors that determined the degree of the adolescents’ identification with the majority and minority groups, supporting similar findings reported by Rosenthal & Feldman (1992) and Phinney & Devich-Navarro (1997) for ethnic youth in the USA. For most of the adolescents in this study, the tendency to use the Russian language in their everyday lives and their uniform proficiency in Finnish were not related to the salience of Finnish identity. This supports findings obtained by De Vos (1980), Giles (1978) and Giles & Johnson (1981), according to which multicultural individuals

can maintain or obtain their multiple ethnic identities irrespective of their proficiency in the languages of the respective ethnic groups. In this respect, these results also correspond to Streitmatter's (1988), Sprott's (1994), and Laari's (1997) notions that the sense of "groupness" of ethnic-minority individuals can, in a specific cultural and historical context, be related to how close or tangible they feel to, or perceive their linguistic links to be with earlier generations, rather than to the actual maintenance of their own linguistic heritage.

The structural equation model of factors predicting the Russian and the Finnish identity of immigrant adolescents further increased our understanding of this phenomenon. In particular, it was not their proficiency in the Russian or Finnish language, but rather the extent to which they used the respective language in their every-day post-migration life which was found to be a direct predictor of the degree of their Russian and Finnish ethnic identity, supporting findings obtained by Ethier & Deaux (1990). The cultural orientation of the adolescents was another factor that strongly predicted the degree of their Russian and Finnish identity, especially among the boys. The more they were orientated towards contacts with native Finns, the higher was the degree of their Finnish identity; and the more they were orientated towards contacts with Russians, the higher was the degree of their Russian identity. Proficiency in the Finnish language, however, appeared to promote orientation towards contacts with native Finns, and thus also indirectly supported their Finnish identity.

It was also revealed that the adolescents' experiences of their relationships with their parents were strongly related to the degree to which they endorsed their ethnic identity. Despite the fact that all the Russian-speaking adolescents identified, at least to some degree, with both the Russian and the Finnish cultures, it was their Russian identity which was related to family interaction, particularly to their relationship with their mothers among the girls, and to their relationship with their fathers among the boys. This could be explained by the objective conditions (the Russification policy) of the former Soviet Union, in which truly multicultural socialisation was next to impossible, especially for the ethnic groups that were subjected to ethnic deconcentration (Hint, 1991). As a consequence, parental support for these adolescents seemed to be directed towards the culture which, in fact, dominated in most of their families. This explanation seemed especially to apply to the boys' relationship with their fathers and their degree of Russian identity. The reverse was the case for the girls (i.e., the better their perceptions of their relationship with their mothers, the lower the degree of their ethnic identity). In Finland, as in other Nordic countries, there is a stronger emphasis on equality between the sexes than in the Russian culture. As a consequence, immigrant parents may, in general, be less willing to allow girls to behave like Finns. Clear emancipatory advantages, however, may make girls more motivated than boys to acculturate. In many immigrant families, the acculturation of girls in particular may make parents feel threatened so that they demand even more adherence to traditional behavioural norms (Liebkind & Kosonen, 1998). As a consequence, immigrant girls need an understanding and supporting mother in order to acculturate at will, and that is why their minority identity may be less dependent on parental support than that of the boys.

However, the life-cycle period of parenthood also relates to evaluation of ethnic-group identity. Parenthood brings to the foreground for many the "problem" of how best to raise a child, and is likely to promote the re-evaluation of the meaning of one's cultural heritage (Sprott, 1994). The thoughtful parent is also faced with decisions about which values and behaviours he or she wishes to instil and encourage in the child. As already mentioned in the Introduction, the traditional socialisation values that are stressed in Russian culture, although

changing (e.g., Williams & Ispa, 1999), still assume greater dependence on and orientation towards adult norms than in Western families (e.g., Mirsky, 1997; Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998). In line with this, the immigrant adolescents' adherence to family-related values, especially to the acceptance of parental authority, was associated with the positive quality of their relationships with both parents in this study.

Thus, there is another possible explanation for the finding concerning the relationship between the adolescents' experiences of parental support and their ethnic identity. Parental behaviours and support in ethnic minority families or families with mixed ethnic backgrounds, deriving from both unconscious socialisation processes and consciously selected preferences of a parent to teach a child particular socialisation norms, may be oriented toward the socialisation to the culture which best represents such values and norms without being in conflict with the transmission of the original ethnic heritage. This explanation also seems to be supported by the other findings of this study, according to which the Finnish identity of immigrant adolescents was not related to their degree of acculturation in terms of the cultural values they actually adhered to. This supports notions of the relative independence of ethnic identity and actual degree of acculturation as two different aspects of the acculturation process (Driedger, 1976; Der-Karabetian, 1980; Hutnik, 1986, 1991). Furthermore, the absence of a linear relationship between the immigrants' ethnic identity and their family-related values provides strong support for the important theoretical point made by Rosenthal & Feldman (1992) that the characteristics that reflect crucial cultural values and distinguish cultural groups from one another are not a basis for adolescent identification with their membership groups.

4.1.2. The Dynamic and Interactive Nature of Acculturation of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents

There were no differences in ethnic self-identification among the immigrant adolescents who had lived for different periods of time in Finland, supporting the notion of the general stability of the self-concept as proposed by Edwards (1992) and Ethier & Deaux (1994). However, there were clear differences in the meaning the immigrants gave to the Russian and Finnish components of their ethnic identity at different stages of their residence in Finland. These results show the need for a clear distinction between different aspects of ethnic identification, specifically between self-identification (identification of) on the one hand and the degree of identification with an ethnic category on the other, as suggested by Lange (1989). The ethnic identity of the Russian-speaking immigrant adolescent subjects of this study seemed to follow the three-stage progression model of ethnic identity exploration proposed by Phinney (1989). The results of this study also provided some interesting empirical evidence for assigning different stages of identity exploration to specific time points in the acculturation process.

In the first stage of the ethnic-identity exploration process (until at least the end of the first year of residence), the degree of the Finnish component of ethnic identity and the rejection of the Russian component were both of a greater magnitude than could be expected on the basis of the strong Russian socialisation of these adolescents. This strong preference for the dominant culture, in this case the Finnish culture, thus seems to support the models proposed by Cross (1978) and Atkinson et al. (1983), who perceived such a preference as characteristic of minorities in early stages of ethnic- identity development. This first stage of ethnic-identity exploration is called unexamined in Phinney's (1989) model. For her and Sue & Sue (1990), unexamined ethnic identity can be expressed in many different ways, a clear preference for the majority group being only one. Other ways include the absorption of positive ethnic attitudes

from the family (Phinney, 1989). Normally, this would imply preference for different ethnic groups, but in view of the multi-ethnic background of the particular immigrant group studied, it is quite possible that the preferred ethnic group would be the same. The appropriate cultural context in Finland could easily activate positive attitudes among the adolescents towards their Finnish family roots. The great amount of discussion in Russia, Estonia and other parts of the former Soviet Union about remigration, returnee status and Finnish community membership of people of Finnish descent also may strongly influence young Russian-speaking immigrants. Whether it is due to the positive attitudes absorbed from the family or to a preference for the majority group, the strong emphasis on Finnishness among these adolescents leaves the Russian part of their ethnic identity unexplored. In this respect, their ethnic identity is still unexamined.

With respect to the second ethnic-identity stage of Phinney's model, support was found for two clearly distinct phases, with the first one (between the first and second years of residence) relating to the total questioning of one's own ethnic belonging and the second (between the second and third years of residence) relating to finding and accepting that part of one's own ethnic identity which had previously been rejected. These two phases also fit well with the "encounter" and "immersion" stages of ethnic identity suggested by Cross (1978), and the "dissonance" and "resistance" stages proposed by Atkinson et al. (1983) and Sue & Sue (1990). According to social identity theory, being a member of a minority group poses a threat to one's self-concept that can be counteracted by accentuating positive distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1981). In Phinney's model, the second stage of ethnic identity exploration in particular has been related to individual experience of being a member of a minority group (e.g., perceiving discrimination), which can force awareness of ethnicity (Phinney, 1990). Irrespective of the fact that many of the Russian-speaking immigrants recently migrated to Finland and have some Finnish roots, the attitudes of the host population towards them have been found to deteriorate continuously (Jaakkola, 1995). Thus, the adolescents' accentuation of their Russian identity observed in the second phase of the second stage might be seen as their reaction to the negative stereotypes that they start to perceive after some time in Finnish society.

Some evidence of this assumption was also found from the additional results calculated for *Study II*. In particular, the adolescents who had a low degree of Finnish identity (the first and second phases of the second stage) were also more oriented towards marginalisation or separation and perceived more discrimination that those who preferred the integration or assimilation options. It could be argued that those with less orientation towards integration or assimilation are more likely to be discriminated against than those who are well integrated or assimilated. However, although cross-sectional data do not permit evaluation of the two paths in this relationship, previous research indicates the opposite causal direction (i.e., discrimination causes acculturation preferences) (Horenczyk, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997).

It has been stressed that the meaning of ethnic-identity achievement varies for different groups because of their particular historical and migration experiences (Phinney, 1989, 1990). With respect to the immigrant group in this study, the findings for the final stage (after three years of residence) indicate a strongly bi-ethnic identity with a clear preference for the Russian component. This stage could be considered the achieved ethnic identity described by Phinney (1989), because it represents bi-ethnic identity with a more realistic balance between the components. By this stage, immigrants seem to have learned to recognise better the different components of their ethnic identity and to have tested it to see if it fits the new cultural

environment better. However, the ethnic-identity process "amounts to a continuous defining and redefining, evaluating and re-evaluating of oneself on the basis of one's past and present experiences, ideals, wishing, dreaming and intending the future, internalising as well as rejecting definitions and evaluations suggested or imposed by others" (Lange & Westin, 1985, p. 18). As a consequence, the process of ethnic-identity exploration observed among the adolescents in this study will most probably continue and form cycles, as proposed by Phinney (1990).

4.1.3. The Actual Degree of Acculturation of Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents

As expected, the immigrant adolescents shared more traditional family values than their native Finnish peers did. In this study, as in other comparable ones (Garcia & Lega, 1979; Rogler et al., 1980; Liebkind, 1996 a & b), the longer the immigrants had lived in the host country, the greater their reported degree of acculturation. Most importantly, the increasing level of acculturation was strongly associated with a decrease in experiences of support and understanding provided by the parents, especially the mothers. This supports similar findings reported by Rick & Forward (1992), and is in line with findings of Chiu et al. (1992). Their results were based on adolescents' self-reports, where second-generation immigrant adolescents experienced less family harmony than first-generation youth. It is important to understand how and to what extent the acculturation conflict is manifested in tensions within immigrants' families. Immigrant parents, especially mothers, who often feel that they are the only "guardians" of their culture and responsible for child-rearing (Liebkind, 1996a), may feel insecure and worry about the children, especially daughters, moving away from the parental control. Thus they may become increasingly authoritarian, which is likely to result in frustration and loss of confidence in the adolescent. In this situation, the adolescents' choice to adhere to traditional family-related values may be a means of supporting family cohesion and avoiding manifestations of intergenerational conflict (Feldman et al., 1992; Sam, 1995).

An interesting point relates to the finding that some degree of the immigrants' acculturation was associated with a high degree of Russian identity as well as with separation attitudes. This clearly demonstrates that cultural adaptation does not necessarily follow the same acculturation patterns as identification or attitudes. Recent investigations by Laroche and his colleagues (e.g., Laroche et al., 1997) also revealed a substantial negative correlation between the degree of acculturation and ethnic identification for French, Italian and Greek Canadians. The researchers consequently presented a two-dimensional model of ethnic identification and acculturation which recognises the phenomenon that immigrants preserve their heritage ethnic identity while, on the behavioural level, they are adapting to the mainstream society (Laroche et al., 1998). The finding also shows the specific nature of the Finnish identity of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in terms of their traditional family values. Their Finnish identity seems to differ from that of the natives, and it could be characterised as an "imagined" identity reflecting their awareness of their own Finnish roots as learned from their family history, rather than actual Finnish values prevailing in Finland today.

The results of this study also indicated a conflict between the immigrants' acculturation attitudes and the actual degree of acculturation. Although at the attitudinal level they wanted to keep their own culture, they actually acculturated to that of the majority. It seems that changes in the direction of the adoption of norms, values and behaviours that are generally associated with the majority culture may thus not be evidence for the weakening of prior cultural allegiances. According to Horenczyk (1997), such a pattern may rather reflect a

situation in which immigrants reconstruct their culture of origin in a way that incorporates the new norms and behaviours. Finally, the contrast between the results regarding relationships between ethnic identity, acculturation attitudes and actual degree of acculturation found in this study and those that could have been expected on the basis of Berry's (1990a, 1992, 1997a) framework demonstrates the importance of a multivariate approach to the study of the acculturation process and the need for separate assessment of acculturation in terms of ethnic identity, acculturation attitudes and actual degree of acculturation.

4.1.4. Acculturation Problems and Psychological Well-being among Immigrant Adolescents

Although the Russian-speaking immigrant and the native adolescents did not differ in their level of psychological stress symptoms, the results of this study clearly supported the notion that perceived discrimination is one of the major psychological stressors that decrease the psychological adjustment of immigrants (e.g., Dion et al., 1992). They also showed the complexity of the relationship between acculturation problems and different adaptational outcomes among the adolescents studied, compared with other young immigrants from different cultural backgrounds. Of the different immigrant groups, the Somalis and the Russian speakers reported much more perceived discrimination than the Vietnamese and the Turks. This reflects previous national findings according to which victims of discrimination more often belong to groups which have arrived more recently and have increased rapidly in number (Jaakkola, 1995, 1999; Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1997). However, due to extreme visibility (Somalis) or historical antagonism in Finland (Russian speakers), hostile reactions in Finland to these groups might persist. This should be monitored in subsequent studies. Perceived discrimination clearly and systematically increased acculturative stress and behavioural symptoms on the one hand, and decreased self-esteem and life satisfaction on the other, among all the immigrant adolescent subjects. This finding is clearly in line with previous findings on the negative influence of negative acculturation experiences not only on psychological health, but also on various other indices of the psychological well-being of adolescents (Rogler et al., 1991; Gil et al., 1994; Vega et al., 1995). When self-esteem was used as a predictor of acculturative stress (*Study IV* conducted only among the Russian speakers), it was found that it may mediate the influence of perceived discrimination on psychological adjustment.

The only well-being measure not affected by perceived discrimination among the Russian-speaking, Turkish, Somalian and Vietnamese adolescents was their sense of mastery, which is conceptually close to so-called efficacy-based self-esteem: "By learning that one can control and manipulate one's environment, one acquires a view of the self as competent, successful, and able" (Crocker & Major, 1989). Global self-esteem, in contrast, is not synonymous with competence appraisal, but is also strongly influenced by the value placed on one's skills by others and by society (Cheung, 1997). According to Crocker & Major (1989), members of stigmatised groups are afforded special opportunities to protect their self-esteem by attributing negative feedback (i.e., discrimination) to external causes (i.e., prejudice). Activation of this self-protecting strategy may, however, be more difficult for global than for efficacy-based self-esteem (sense of mastery), since the former is more vulnerable to social comparison and evaluation by others than the latter. In this study, perceived discrimination did have a negative effect on global self-esteem, but external attribution may have prevented this from affecting the sense of mastery of those other than the Turks, for whom both of these well-being indices were negatively affected by perceived discrimination. Since many of the Turks in this study were actually born in Finland, or had lived in the country longer than members of the other

groups, external attribution of discrimination to prejudiced attitudes towards them may have been more difficult for them than for the others.

The differences between the immigrant groups in second-language proficiency directly corresponded to their length of stay in the host society; those who had arrived earlier had better proficiency in Finnish. This proficiency clearly increased self-esteem and sense of mastery, but not life satisfaction. Noels and her colleagues (1996) have obtained similar results. Any new skill, especially if valued by the environment, is likely to enhance a positive self-image. However, in this study, second-language proficiency did not directly decrease stress symptoms or behavioural problems, and even increased the former among the Somalis. It seems, therefore, that second-language proficiency does not in itself increase immigrant adolescents' life satisfaction, nor does it protect them from stress symptoms or behavioural problems.

4.1.5. The Importance of Perceived Parental Support and Traditional Family-Related Values

The results of this study concerning the total sample of immigrant adolescents from different cultural backgrounds (*Study V*) revealed that perceived parental support may considerably ease both developmental tasks and the acculturative process of immigrant adolescents. In particular, the more the adolescents experienced parental support and understanding provided by at least one parent, the fewer behavioural problems and psychological stress symptoms they reported, and the higher was their self-esteem, degree of life satisfaction and sense of mastery. In addition, the results of the studies on ethnic identity and psychological adjustment conducted only among the Russian-speaking adolescents (*Studies I & IV*) revealed that, in accordance with expectations, experiences of parental support and understanding were an important predictor of their ethnic identity, and influenced the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment. Overall, these findings clearly support studies and theoretical notions linking the strength of ethnic identity and the psychological well-being of adolescents in general to the perceived quality of the interaction with their parents (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Rogler et al., 1980). They also indicate that perceived parental support is of critical importance in diminishing adolescents' sensitivity to acculturative stressors and in ameliorating the negative effects of these stressors on their psychological adaptation, as proposed by Gil et al. (1994) and Vega et al. (1993).

In addition, the mechanism through which perceived parental support seems to influence the effects of acculturation stressors on the psychological adjustment of adolescents in terms of acculturative stress was clearly shown in *Study IV*. Experiences of parental support and understanding seem to promote adjustment directly and indirectly by reducing the perceived threat of stressors and by enhancing self-esteem which, in turn, eases response to the stressors. The importance the adolescents gave to their traditional family-related values was also found to be a factor which, together with perceived parental support, seemed to influence the relationship between perceived discrimination and acculturative stress. As with perceived parental support, the results observed among the Russian-speaking adolescents indicated that the role of family-related values can be protective in two ways. They maximise experiences of parental support, and therefore indirectly influence psychological adjustment, but they also directly diminish the level of acculturative stress. Direct influence was investigated among all the immigrant adolescents, and adherence to traditional family-related values was found to have a significant effect on various aspects of their psychological well-being. Thus, in spite of

the fact that the Somalis and the Vietnamese were more traditional than the Turks and the Russian speakers, adherence to traditional values decreased acculturative stress and behavioural problems in the total immigrant sample, which was consistent with previous studies (Liebkind, 1994, 1996a; Phalet & Hagendoorn, 1996; Gil & Vega, 1996). Acceptance of parental authority also increased life satisfaction among all the immigrants. This result is consistent with that in a recent study of Phinney & Madden (1999), who found that immigrant adolescents were less satisfied with their lives when they differed from their parents in values concerning obligations and responsibilities within the family.

One reason for this influence may be the accentuated need of adolescents to ensure parental support during acculturation. Confronted with majority discrimination, adult immigrants resort to whatever resources they have in order to clarify the political and historical reasons behind the discrimination and to maintain a positive self-image. Young immigrants may still lack such resources, and are consequently more dependent on the social and psychological support provided by their parents (Chiu et al., 1992; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). In this study, adherence to family-related values among the Russian-speaking adolescents, and especially the acceptance of parental authority, was associated with the quality of their relationships with both parents. Most importantly, as indicated earlier, an increasing level of acculturation (i.e., less adherence to traditional family-related values) was strongly associated with lower experiences of support and understanding provided by the parents, especially by the mothers. This study thus seems to provide evidence for the notion that adherence to traditional family-related values may maximise first-generation adolescents' perceptions of parental support, and thereby promote their psychological adaptation.

However, the more the Russian-speaking adolescents in this study adhered to traditional family-related values, the less they seemed to be oriented towards contacts with the host society, and this, in turn, was found to slightly increase perceived discrimination. While directly decreasing their acculturative stress, the maintenance of traditional family-related values thus also indirectly predisposed them to more perceived discrimination, supporting the notion of acculturation as a phenomenon with different ramifications (Gil et al., 1994). Consistently with some previous studies (e.g., Dona & Berry, 1994; Ying, 1996), the results suggest that, if combined with a positive orientation towards contacts with the host society, traditional family-related values indicate highly adaptive potential in terms of immigrant adolescents' psychological adjustment.

Moreover, the simultaneous use of several measures of well-being showed that the acculturation of values stressing limitations on children's autonomy may also have positive effects on some aspects of psychological well-being. According to the results observed among all the immigrant adolescent subjects, the more accepted the traditional values which stressed limitations on children's rights were, the lower was their sense of mastery. However, coupled with the positive link of values with perceived parental support, this pattern suggests that it may rather be consistencies or inconsistencies between the individual's degree of independence and the demands of the context than these values *per se* which facilitate or impede adaptation. As suggested by previous researchers (e.g., Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Searle & Ward, 1990), so-called "cultural fit" could play an important role in the links between acculturation and adaptation. This could also be observed in comparisons among the different immigrant samples in this study. In particular, the groups assumed to be closer to Finnish culture (i.e., Russian speakers and Turks) adhered less to traditional family-related values, showed less respect for adult authority and scored more highly than those from more distant cultures (i.e.,

Vietnamese and Somalis) on the measure most related to Western achievement orientation (i.e., sense of mastery).

These results may also reflect the more general developmental task of immigrant as well as non-immigrant adolescents to successfully combine the social-normative world of their peers with that of their parents. Adolescents frequently become increasingly aware of the contrast between the co-operative relationships they have with their peers and the more unilateral ones they experience with their parents (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). This developmental task may be more difficult for traditional immigrant youth than for non-immigrant youth, since they may adopt Western values sooner than their parents. Consequently, these adolescents' struggle for autonomy may be exacerbated by differences in acculturation across generations (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Thus, it seems that immigrant adolescents who are fairly traditional in terms of parental authority, who perceive parental support but also try to achieve some degree of independence and to have contacts with the host society, have the best chances of successful acculturation. The perceived dual effect of adherence to traditional values during the process of acculturation (i.e., positive relation to parental support and psychological adjustment, but negative to contacts with hosts and sense of mastery) further accentuates the importance of good parental relations, which were found to have an unambiguously positive influence on psychological adaptation in general.

Finally, the association between family-related variables and acculturation was found to be different for girls and boys. Experiences of paternal support seemed to be most important for the boys' ethnic identity and psychological well-being, whereas experiences of maternal support were important for the girls (for the relationship between experiences of parental support and ethnic identity, see also Chapter 4.1.1). In addition, for the girls, experiences of paternal support also influenced perceptions of discrimination, but only experiences of maternal support were found to be directly related to psychological adjustment. These findings clearly support studies linking the psychological adaptation of adolescents to the perceived quality of their relationship with their parents (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Rogler, et al., 1980), and the notion of gender-differentiated parental influence on children's development (Gjerde, 1986; Siegal, 1987), with perceived same-sex parental relations being especially important (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Hortaçsu et al., 1991). The results also justify the research decisions to separately assess the relationship with the mothers and the fathers rather than considering parents as a unit, as well as to test the empirical models separately for girls and boys.

4.2. Methodological Concerns

4.2.1. The Sample

The main target population of this study was young Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. In *Study I*, they were divided into four different groups according to their ethnic self-identifications: Russians, Finns, Ingrian Finns, and Others (i.e., other ethnic groups in the former Soviet Union). The existence of these different identification groups was taken into account when differences between the adolescents in their ethnic identity (*Study I),* degree of acculturation (*additional analyses to Study III*), psychological adjustment (*Study IV*), and ethnic identity exploration process (*Study II)* were investigated, but ignored when the focus

was on various indices of their psychological well-being compared with immigrant adolescents from different cultural backgrounds (*Study V*).

Cultural identity can be conceptualised as one aspect of subjective culture (Triandis, 1989), which represents cultural elements such as social norms, roles, beliefs and values that are shared by a distinguishable group of people and passed on from one generation to another. Consequently, members of different national groups share more of an identity with members of their own group than with members of other national groups, despite possible differences between subcultures within them. Thus, although - because of their multiple ethnic backgrounds - the group of immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union may not have shared the common cultural aspects that are based on ethnicity, they may have shared aspects of the larger national culture. This was actually confirmed by the results of *Study I* and by *the additional analyses to Study III;* different ethnic self-identification groups observed among the Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents differed significantly from each other in the degree of Russian and Finnish identity (*Study I*), but not in the degree of adherence to the family-related values typical of relatively traditional socialisation *(additional analyses to Study III)*. Thus, national identity and ethnic identity can be seen as different levels of cultural identity (Kosmitzki, 1996). The focus of the original *Study V* was mostly on the relationships between the variables involved in the acculturation of young immigrants from different cultural and migration backgrounds. It was thus considered more appropriate to treat the Russian-speaking sample as homogeneous, and focus on examining how the different variables involved in migration and cultural change interrelate to account for the differential adaptive/maladaptive outcomes among different immigrant groups, as proposed by Aronowitz (1984) and Gil et al. (1994).

4.2.2. The Data Collection

There are some methodological issues concerning the comparison of the data on the Turkish and the Vietnamese adolescents that also need to be addressed. The questionnaires were administered both by mail and in group sessions, and these differences in data collection might have influenced the results obtained from these comparison immigrant samples. The second issue concerns the small size and possible selection bias of the Somalian and Turkish samples. There are very few Turkish immigrants in Finland (N = 1300), and some of the adolescents may be technically difficult to identify (i.e., if the child lives with the Finnish parent of a separated Finnish-Turkish couple). The fact that the Turks were investigated through a postal survey may also have contributed to the small sample size. As far as the Somalis were concerned, the small sample could have been the result of non-participation, since the majority of these relatively recently arrived immigrants may still lack sufficient motivation, experience and cultural competence to participate in studies like this. This view is supported by the fact that there were many in the Somali sample who chose to answer the questionnaire in Finnish, and that the group surprisingly displayed higher levels of life satisfaction and lower levels of acculturative stress than the other immigrant groups. It is therefore possible that the Somalian sample consisted of the best-adapted individuals in the whole group.

4.2.3. The Validity of the Scales from a Cross-Cultural Perspective

One of the main aims of the ICSEY project is to compare different ethnocultural groups in different societies of settlement with each other. Correspondingly, the questionnaires for the

immigrant adolescents from different ethnocultural groups and from the different societies of settlement were constructed to be as identical as possible. According to the proposal of Berry & Dasen (1974), this means the achievement of two types of equivalence: the measures have to be *conceptually equivalent* to individuals in the different settings, and the data obtained have to be *metrically equivalent*.

A major problem in establishing *conceptual equivalence* is discovering translation equivalence (Berry, 1990b). The challenge is to adapt the instrument in a culturally relevant and comprehensible form while maintaining the meaning of the original items. There are two basic research situations that require approaches to the translation process, the first occurring when a research instrument is being developed *de novo* for use in different languages, and the second when a previously validated instrument is being translated for cross-cultural use but cannot be changed in any way (Sperber, Devellis, & Boehlecke, 1994). Several translation and evaluation methods are used in both situations, including direct translation, back translation, translation performed by bilingual persons, and field pre-testing (Sperber et al., 1994).

This task was addressed in the ICSEY project by heeding certain rules in the construction of the original version that was used as the basis for further translation. These rules were: the use of scales with existing translations into different languages; the use of relatively simple sentences; the avoidance of metaphor and colloquial expressions; and the avoidance of passive, hypothetical and subjunctive phrases. Although the use of this technique does not fully guarantee translation equivalence, it increases the probability of solving the very basic problem of conceptual equivalence in comparative research (Berry, 1990b). In addition, the questionnaire was translated from the Finnish-language version by a researcher who is bilingual in the Russian and Finnish languages (i.e., the author) and assessed accordingly. Hulin (1987) and Yang & Bond (1980), however, have noted that this method renders the validation of translations by bilingual persons questionable, since bilingual individuals adopt some concepts, values, attitudes and role expectations of the culture of the second language that they have mastered. Thus, they may represent a separate population whose responses cannot be generalised automatically to the monolingual population. However, because most of the participants in this study shared the same cultural experiences as the translator to some degree, the translation procedure used did not seem to pose such a problem. Back translation to the original language would have been desirable, however, especially for translation versions of the comparison immigrant samples for whom the questionnaires were translated by official translators.

The need for *metric equivalence* emerges from the recognition that comparisons of mean scores are not always sufficient for making valid behavioural comparisons across cultures. This usually means that (1) hypotheses should be explained both intraculturally and cross-culturally, and (2) similarities in correlational matrixes and factorial structures should be observed between the various samples before hypotheses concerning group differences may be validly made (Berry & Dasen, 1974; Berry, 1990b). In this study, both the subsystem and the factorial validation were conducted where possible by examining the factorial structures of the scales in the immigrant and comparison samples separately before merging them into the same factor analysis and comparing the factor scores, as well as by investigating relationships between the variables in the subsamples and the whole sample separately before discussing the group differences.

However, these procedures do not eliminate the possibility of *functional inequivalence* in behaviours that were assessed and compared among the different immigrant groups involved. This concern can be epitomised by the question "to what extent can one be sure that the scales used have captured the same constructs among the different ethnic or cultural groups represented in the study" (Sam, 1994a, p. 58). Thus, although measures may show adequate reliability or construct and metric equivalence, this does not guarantee adequate functional equivalence in each context studied. This issue is especially relevant here to the results obtained from the comparison data of Russian-speaking and native Finnish (*Study III*) or other immigrant (*Study V*) adolescents. This is a good point at which to introduce the notions of *emic* and *etic* in general, and of *emic* and *etic instruments* in particular.

According to Berry (1990b), there are five typical steps in a comparative research project, "starting with initial research on a question in one's own culture (Step 1: emic A); moving to an attempt to use the same instrument to study a behaviour in another culture (Step 2: imposed etic); then to the discovery strategy in another culture (Step 3: emic B); and finally to the act of comparison of emic A and emic B (Step 4). When there is no communality, then comparison is not possible (Step 5-1), but with some communality (the derived etic) it is possible (Step 5-2)". (Berry, 1990b, pp. 93-94.) Bearing in mind this so-called *emic-etic* controversy (e.g., Berry, 1990b) in transcultural studies, the measures used in the ICSEY project were developed to consist of several scales, some existing and validated in different ethnic and cultural groups before the project began, and some being designed specifically for the project, therefore representing the etic approach. In other words, instead of assessing specific features of acculturation among some particular ethnic or cultural groups in some particular societies of settlement, the emphasis of scale development was rather on measuring commonalties and differences in the acculturation process as generally experienced by the immigrant adolescents.

This can be clearly seen, for instance, in the ethnic identity measure used in the study which, according to Phinney (1992), provides a means of examining ethnic identity as a general phenomenon that is indicative of young people's degree of identification with their ethnic group, regardless of the unique characteristics of their group. Moreover, the traditional family-related values scale used in this study, consisting of items assessing the adolescents' attitudes towards parental authority and adolescent autonomy, was developed to reflect general differences in family values between less and more traditional cultures instead of reflecting culture-specific values of the adolescents studied. Similarly, the psychological distress scale was not meant to measure clinical entities of psychiatric disorders, but rather to represent self-report screening scales in normal populations and therefore also to measure something meaningful and consistent such as levels of symptom expression.

Moreover, in investigating the adaptation of young immigrants from different cultural groups, the focus of this study was also turned towards indicators of positive psychological outcomes such as life satisfaction, sense of mastery, and self-esteem, all of which are widely-used indicators of psychological well-being among ethnic-minority members. For instance, life satisfaction has been studied in a variety of cultures, and measures of this construct have been found to be reliable and particularly relevant for assessing psychological well-being in ethnically diverse samples which represent cultures with varying expectations for satisfying life (Diener & Diener, 1995; Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995). Some degree of functionality of the scales in this study can be seen from the resulting pattern of differences presented earlier in adherence to family values and psychological well-being between the different sample groups

studied. In brief, the Russian-speaking adolescents adhered more to traditional family-related values than did their native Finnish peers (*Study III*). The immigrant groups assumed to be closer to the Finnish culture also achieved higher scores than those from more traditional cultures on the measure most related to Western achievement orientation, they adhered less to traditional family-related values and showed less respect for adult authority (*Study V*).

According to Pike (1990), the value of the etic approach is manifold: it provides a broad global perspective, so that similarities and differences can be recognised and techniques for recording different phenomena can be acquired. It may also allow the researcher to overcome practical demands, such as financial limitations or time pressures. Pike also stresses the fact that emic and etic data do not constitute a rigid dichotomy, but often present the same data from two points of view (Pike, 1990). Thus, although the main purpose of this study was to contribute to testing and further elaborating a theoretical model of acculturation of young immigrants by investigating a sample of Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland, substantial attention was also paid to recognising the specificity of the cultural context and the subjects studied. This particularly applied to developing the research designs and interpreting the results. Consequently, although the etic approach taken in this study did not allow for a thorough understanding of the way in which the daily lives, motives, values, interests and personality of the individuals studied were constructed, neither did it prevent us from acknowledging and explaining acculturation as a process meaningfully related to the subjects' particular socio-cultural context.

4.2.4. The Cross-Sectional Design

The basic hypothesis of acculturation theory, and of this study, was that immigrant adaptation may be predicted by interaction among various sociopsychological and contextual factors, which leads to the ability to handle the stress that results from participation in two cultures (ethnic and larger society) simultaneously. Culture change and acculturation per se would be most accurately noted and assessed, however, only when sets of data are being collected from the same sample at different points in time (Berry, 1990a). This demand is often difficult to fulfil in acculturation research, largely because longitudinal research is usually plagued with problems of loss through out-migration, and by problems of the changing relevance of theoretical conceptions and the associated research instruments. According to Berry (1990a), a common alternative to longitudinal research is cross-sectional research employing a time-related variable such as length of residence or generational status. Because all the Russian-speaking adolescents participated in this study were first-generation immigrants, only the effect of their time of residence in Finland on their psychological acculturation was investigated and taken into account when meaningful and possible. For the future, longitudinal studies are still needed to test the causalities between the factors involved in migration and acculturation processes, and in adaptational outcomes among individuals.

4.3. Future Perspectives

From a social psychological perspective, the acculturation framework proposed by Berry (1990a, 1992, 1997a) has proved to be useful in explaining immigrant acculturation (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997). In this study, Berry's framework was enriched by an orthogonal model of acculturation proposed by Sayegh & Lasry (1993) and Bourhis et al. (1997), Phinney's (1989, 1990) and Hutnik's (1986, 1991) models of ethnic identity, and an interactive

acculturation model developed by Bourhis et al. (1997). By providing a larger perspective on acculturation and by identifying specific factors and processes that influence ethnic identity, degree of acculturation and psychological adaptation among the young immigrants, the theoretical integration and empirical results seem to contribute further to our understanding of acculturation among immigrant adolescents as a complex and dynamic process.

However, more theoretical development and empirical research is still needed. As noted by Nguyen et al. (1999), it would be useful to test the impact of contextual factors more directly and more carefully to identify and measure factors that appear crucial in moderating relationships between acculturation and adaptation. In addition, a theoretical comparison between the different operationalisations of acculturation provided by different researchers could further clarify our understanding of this process. This could also perhaps bridge the gap between acculturation and identity research (Nguyen at al., 1999). Although it is evident that acculturation involves regulatory and reorganisational processes, analogous to the process of development (Schönpflug, 1997), there still seems to be a gap in the empirical evidence integrating developmental perspectives on individual socialisation and learning with the acculturation perspective. Moreover, an extensive body of psychological literature concerning the young individual in the context of the family has also largely been neglected in acculturation research (e.g., Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993).

Finally, this study exemplified the shift from simply linear explanations to the construction of more complex empirical models to study the acculturation of immigrants. It is clear that the construction of multivariate process models is a highly relevant way to increase our understanding of the complex structure of the relationship between the various aspects involved in the acculturation process. However, it is important to acknowledge that the models proposed in this study are only one possible way to present the acculturation of young immigrants. As Berry noted, although it is true that “no text (no matter how generous the word allocation), nor figure (no matter how complicated), can represent every aspect of the realities of the acculturation process”, perhaps in the future, a theoretically integrated, empirically testable, and refutable model on acculturation may appear (Berry, 1997b, p. 62). Thus, more research is needed to clarify the theoretical issues and to provide additional empirical models in order to do justice to the multiple interacting factors which contribute to the successful acculturation of immigrant adolescents. This should then promote better understanding and more accurate prediction of the conditions under which new patterns of cultural socialisation might provide favourable circumstances for their adaptation to changed environmental demands.

4.4. Some Practical Implications

Literature on acculturation emphasises the greater psychological benefits for immigrants of integration and biculturalism, in contrast to assimilation, separation, or marginalisation and monoculturalism (e.g., Berry, 1997a). Despite the fact, as far as an immigrant’s well-being is concerned, the advantage of biculturalism is emphasised and recommended also for practical workers, even in culturally pluralistic societies, socialising agents such as educators and social workers are often convinced that the sooner immigrants are relieved of their cultural burden and acquire the values, developmental objectives and socialising practices of the host culture, the sooner the pressures of immigration will be alleviated (e.g., Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998). In this study, as in some other recent studies on acculturation (e.g., Phinney, Ong, & Madden, in press), one clear benefit of the relatively more traditional structure in immigrant families seems

to be in the greater support and understanding provided to the adolescents by their parents, and in better well-being outcomes for adolescents.

On the broadest level, however, immigrant adolescents must be understood in the context of family processes that occur in virtually all families in modern societies. In the transition to adulthood, adolescents become more separated from their parents and begin to make autonomous decisions about their lives. The results of this study provided evidence that the acceptance of a less traditional family structure in terms of children rights and autonomy increases immigrant adolescents' feelings of being able to master and control their own lives, independently of cultural background and acculturation experiences. Practitioners working with immigrant families should thus be sensitive to the presence of these two processes (i.e., children's needs for parental support on the one hand and for autonomy on the other), but they should not assume that they will necessarily be greater than in other non-immigrant families (Phinney et al., in press). An awareness of these processes could also provide the basis for interventions to reduce stress and conflict in recently-arrived immigrant families, and assist them in dealing with experiences both caused by and attributed to immigration. However, it seems to be crucial for the environment to provide opportunities and support for adolescents' involvement in their culture so that they may experience fewer differences with their parents and avoid this potential source of difficulty in the acculturation process. In addition, it would be more beneficial for the authorities to assume the role of "cultural interpreter", who clarifies cultural differences to immigrant families and helps to rise an awareness of the cultural rationale underlying their expectations and actions, rather than the role of "agents of change" (Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998).

4.5. Conclusions

The integration and adaptation of immigrants in general, and of young Russian-speaking immigrants in particular, is an issue of great importance for the future of multiculturalism in Finnish society. How this issue is approached is related to the type of society now developing in Finland, and depends on two factors: the integration policies of and attitudes towards foreigners within Finnish society on the one hand, and the immigrants' resources and motivation for integration on the other. When asked about their commitment to the minority and majority groups, and about their preferences for acculturation, the Russian-speaking adolescents answered differently depending on what acculturation aspect was in question, their ethnic identity or acculturation strategies. For most of them, their most declared identity was either more Russian or more Finnish, whereas their general acculturation preference on an attitudinal level was best described by a desire for integration towards both cultures.

This reflects the fact that the process of acculturation and ethnic-identity exploration among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents is far from complete. These adolescents may or may not develop a strong bicultural identity; the extent to which they begin to feel that they also are members of Finnish community appears to be associated, in part, with their learning and using the Finnish language and developing social contacts beyond their own group. Anderson (1991) has perfectly understood the role of language as one of the most important symbolic borders of national community: "It shows that from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood, and that one could be 'invited into' the imagined community... Seen as both a historical fatality and as a community imagined through language, the nation presents itself as simultaneously open and closed" (pp. 145-146). Thus, in order to be acknowledged as members of the same 'imagined community' and to overcome the cultural and interactional

border between the majority as ‘natives’ and the minority as ‘aliens’, the willingness to learn and to use the host language seems to be a serious pre-condition independently of ethnic roots and acculturation attitudes.

However, this solution cannot be seen as a final guarantee of stable, positive relations between the majority and the minority. Although 90% of the immigrant adolescents investigated in this study stressed their wish to be fluent in both the Russian and the Finnish languages, 28% still felt unaccepted by host nationals, and 45% felt that host nationals behaved in a negative way towards their cultural group. It is evident that perceived discrimination plays a significant role in the preservation of original ethnic identity among immigrants. A strong commitment to one’s own reference group and its cultural values, together with support received from an ethnic community, may provide a sense of group solidarity in the face of discrimination, and promote psychological adaptation. In this study, this strategy seemed to be applied by the adolescents even when it resulted in the decrease of their social interaction with the host nationals. The same pattern of acculturation has recently been observed among so-called forced ethnic remigrants within the former Soviet Union (Filippova, 1997). Thus, until immigrants are accepted and treated as equals in the host society, their identity and values strengthening the unity of the family and providing family support will remain the most important factors that promote their psychological well-being.

Given the existing data on relationships between the immigrants’ ethnic identity, attitudes and perceived discrimination on the one hand, and the acculturation preferences expressed by the young host nationals on the other, we can speculate about the probable future: for both the host national and the Russian-speaking adolescents, the most preferred acculturation option is integration. This ‘concordant’ acculturation profile was most clearly visible among the immigrants who had lived longer in Finland and who had therefore reached the fourth stage of the ethnic-identity exploration process. This profile seemed to be associated with the most ‘consensual relational outcome’ (i.e., least perceived discrimination), and therefore also seemed to challenge the attitudinal and behavioural patterns and stereotypes of both the host nationals and the immigrants. Preference for the integration option suggests greater tolerance and openness among the host nationals, and motivation for cultural adjustment and integration among the immigrants.

The recent results of Jaakkola’s survey (1999), according to which the attitudes of native Finns towards immigrants became more positive from 1993 to 1998, give us hope that the present development in Finland may make such processes (i.e., increasing tolerance among hosts and increasing motivation for integration among immigrants) more likely. However, the attitudes of native Finns towards immigrants were still more intolerant in 1998 than in 1987, when Finland did not have much experience of immigration (Jaakkola, 1999), and, for instance, in 1996, discrimination was experienced in reality by the majority of immigrants in Finland, and by Russian speakers in particular (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 1997). For real integration to take place and a pluralist, multicultural society to be achieved, more effort needs to be made to promote a better understanding and appreciation of the different cultures and languages existing side by side in Finnish society.

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