

On a Way Toward Integration Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland



Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti

Abstract

This article explores both state and process facets of psychological acculturation among Russian-speaking immigrant adolescents in Finland. The phenomenon of acculturation is considered with special reference to changes over time, ethnic identity, and acculturation attitudes. The acculturation attitudes of the Russian-speaking adolescents are compared with the acculturation preferences expressed by their native Finnish peers. The results show that immigrants continually work at the meanings they give to their own ethnic belonging. In addition, the study demonstrates that both the host national and the Russian-speaking adolescents preferred an integration to other

PhD Inga Jasinskaja-Lahti is a co-ordinator of psychological services for immigrant and ethnic minority children in the Educational Board of the City of Vantaa. This article is based on her doctoral dissertation "Psychological Acculturation and Adaptation among Russian-Speaking Immigrant Adolescents in Finland" which has been presented for public examination at the University of Helsinki on March 15, 2000.

acculturation options. This 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.

Introduction

The immigrant population in Finland is proportionally the smallest in Europe. At the end of 1999, the total number of immigrants in Finland was only 85,060 (Central Population Register, 2000) (i.e., 1.65% of the total population). 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 over 30% of the total (at the end of 1999, over 25,000). The majority of these are remigrants of Finnish descent, who were officially first initially invited to remigrate to Finland in 1990. According to Nevalainen (1992), there were several reasons for such an invitation, 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.

For a long time the term "remigrant" or "returnee" was used in Finland to refer to Finns who had emigrated abroad, for instance to Sweden, and later returned to Finland. However, after 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 so-called 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 emigrated mostly for political reasons and the econom-

ical 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).

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. Although a small number of remigrants from the former Soviet Union had arrived in Finland before 1990s, 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.

The integration of these immigrants into Finnish society appeared to be far from smooth. The unemployment rate among immigrants is many times greater than among the larger population. For instance, in 1997, outside the refugee population, the worst affected by unemployment were the Russian-speaking immigrants (almost 60% of those eligible to work) (Ministry of Labour, 1999). 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 generally been found to be relatively intolerant compared to many European countries (CRI(97)51, 1997; Eurobarometer Opinion Poll No 47.1, 1998). Regarding Russians, in 1995, 17% of the host Finnish population had negative attitudes towards them (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). Further-

more, 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 facts that (a) Russian-speaking population is almost unanimously considered to be Russian by the Finnish majority population, and (b) remigration from Russia is clearly going to continue in the foreseeable future (Kyntäjä & Kulu, 1998). However, with respect to integration and adaptation, 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. This elicits a special interest in and represents a great challenge to the study of their ethnic identity and acculturation in Finland. Consequently, this article focused on ethnic identity and attitudes towards acculturation among Russian-speaking immigrant¹ adolescents in Finland.

Acculturation

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.

According to this definition, 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, 1990). Thus, from the beginning, acculturation has theoretically been understood as a bi-directional process with the changes occur-

ring within both groups in contact.

In the 1960s, the field of acculturation also became an area of inquiry within cross-cultural psychology. 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". 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.

The first model of acculturation was a unidimensional assimilation model proposed by a sociologist Gordon in 1964. 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.

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. Some years later, Hutnik (1986, 1991) provided a new social psychological perspective on ethnic minority identity, in which 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, 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).

However, 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, 1997; 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., 1987, 1989). 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, 1997), 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).

Developing acculturation research

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, 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 claimed that the fact that the first dimension of Berry's model 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 his two dimensions.

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 identifi-

cation with the host culture and the heritage culture independently of each other, 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). Thus, 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.

Acculturation as ethnic identification

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). 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). 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.

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. 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).

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). 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, Pon and Clément (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).

Phinney (1989) scrutinised various models of ethnic identity development (e.g., Cross, 1978; Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983) and further elaborated Berry's ideas on biculturality². 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 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 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.

Phinney (1998) also provides empirical support for the model, showing 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. However, this does not say anything about possible behavioural or attitudinal changes that may provide the underlying

explanation of changes in ethnic identity. Although some researchers have suggested that the degree of identification with minority and majority ethnic groups may be relatively independent of the styles of acculturation people adopt for themselves (e.g., Hutnik, 1991; Noels et al., 1996), there is one conceptual model that links ethnic identity exploration and acculturation attitudes. Basing their model on Berry's acculturation typology Leong & Chou (1994), 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, 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.

The interactive nature of acculturation

Although both Phinney's (1989, 1990) and Berry's (1990, 1997) 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 orienta-

tions 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 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).

The aims of this study

This study incorporated six distinct aims:

- 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)?
- 3 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?
- 4 Which of Berry's four acculturation options³ 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?
- 5 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?

- 6 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?

Methods

Participants

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. In this article, the sample of Russian-speaking adolescents was compared to native Finnish adolescents ($N = 190$).

Both samples 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. The author personally visited the schools and invited immigrant and native pupils to partici-

pate 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. The questionnaire was translated into Finnish and Russian from the original English version. 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.

Measures

All the measures used in this study were assembled by the researchers of a Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY)⁴ and were either developed for that project or taken directly or with modification from existing scales, as described below. The measures reported below are those used for this article. The reliability of the scales was generally high ranging between .53 and .90, with exception of marginalisation attitude measured among immigrants which alpha was equal to .38.

Ethnic self-identification. Ethnic self-identification of immigrant adolescents was assessed by asking the respondents to choose the ethnic label they applied to themselves, also allowing for bicultural self-identification.

Ethnic identity. 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.

Acculturation attitudes. 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. 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 later analyses.

Perceived discrimination. 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.

Results

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. 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.

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 immi-

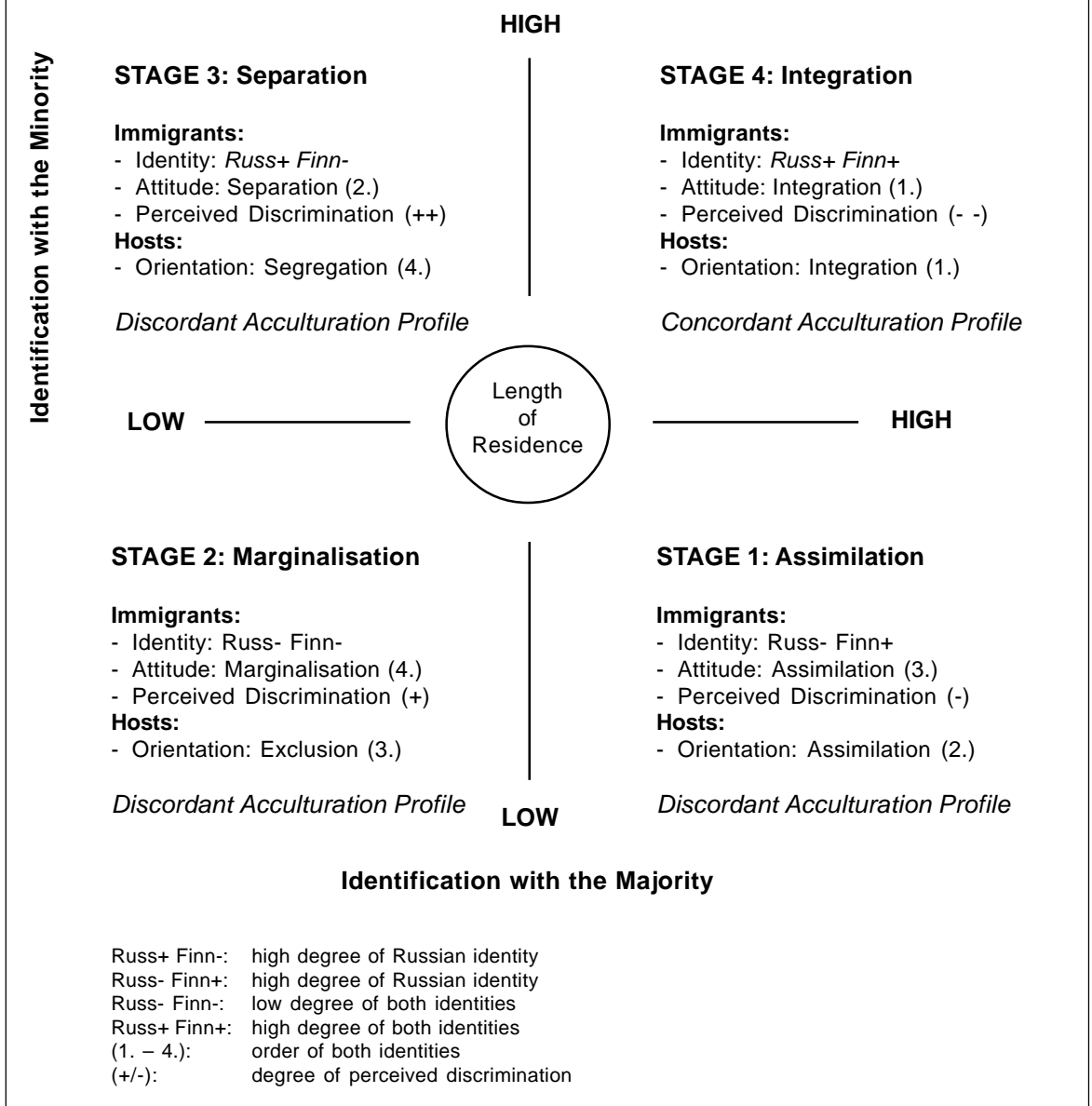
grants' strongly bi-ethnic identity with a clear preference for its Russian component, referring to achieved ethnic identity as described by Phinney (1989).

After 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 the results of Z-test showed that most of the adolescents preferred either separation ($n = 51$) or assimilation ($n = 55$) rather than integration ($n = 29$) or marginalisation ($n = 29$). In order to investigate which one of the four acculturation options best describes adolescents' acculturation in terms of acculturation strategies, t -tests for the paired samples were conducted. 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. They also preferred separation to assimilation ($M = 2.30$) or marginalisation ($M = 1.77$). One-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) revealed that 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. 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). 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.

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, Pearson's correlations and t -tests were conducted. 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, the native adolescents also preferred integration more than any other option ($M = 4.09$). How-

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.



ever, in contrast to the immigrants, the natives preferred the assimilation orientation ($M = 2.96$) more than segregation ($M = 1.88$) or exclusion ($M = 2.65$).

Mainly for theoretical and future research reasons, the results of all the analyses were united as presented in Figure 1 (the acculturation orientations of the host na-

tionals were 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 1, 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, 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).

Discussion

The results of this study indicated a wide variation in the ethnic self-identification of Russian-speak-

ing 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 results of this study did not explain the different ethnic 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 also can only speculate about the processes behind Finnish ethnic identification among the Russian-speaking adolescents in question. However, 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).

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, 1999). 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 for this assumption was also found from the other results of this study. 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 than 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 and plays a significant role in the preservation of minority identity among immigrants (e.g., Bourhis et al., 1997). A strong commitment to one's own reference group and its cultural values, together with support received from an ethnic community, may actually provide a sense of group solidarity in the face of discrimination, and promote psychological adaptation.

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 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).

Literature on acculturation emphasises the greater psychological benefits for immigrants of inte-

gration and biculturalism, in contrast to assimilation, separation, or marginalisation and monoculturalism (e.g., Berry, 1997). This issue also is 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. 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. 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 for both the host national and the Russian-speaking adolescents, the most preferred acculturation option on an attitudinal level was integration.

However, this 'concordant' acculturation profile was most clear-

ly 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 also 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. Thus, 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 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). 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.

Notes

1 In this study, 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 migra-

tion or ethnic background of most of them had to be emphasised and acknowledged.

- 2 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.
- 3 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., 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.
- 4 John Berry & Kyunghwa Kwak (Canada), Karmela Liebkind (Finland), Jean Phinney (USA), Colette Sabatier (France), David L. Sam (Norway), Charles Westin & Erkki Virta (Sweden).

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