



**The Value of Cultural Values:
Reinvestigating the Relationship Between Culture-
Level Values and Individual-Level Psychological
Phenomena**

by

David Schiefer

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Psychology

Approved Dissertation Committee

Prof. Dr. Klaus Boehnke (Chair)

Prof. Dr. Ulrich Kühnen

Prof. Dr. Ulrich Wagner

Date of Defense: 30.05.2012

Acknowledgement

The completion of this doctoral thesis would not have been possible without the support of a number of people to whom I want to express my deep gratitude.

First of all, I want to thank Klaus Boehnke for his permanent support during all years of my PhD studies. His content-wise and methodological advices were of inestimable value. Under his supervision I have learned tremendously much. Likewise, I am thankful for his motivational support and the faith he had in me from the beginning to the completion of the thesis. Finally, he gave me the chance to be part of the German-Israeli research project major parts of this thesis are based on which was a great experience and for which I am very thankful.

I furthermore want to thank Ulrich Kühnen and Ulrich Wagner for being interested in my research, for joining my dissertation committee and for taking the time to review the thesis.

I am greatly indebted to Anna Möllering and Ella Daniel, who worked with me on the German-Israeli research project mentioned above. I want to thank them for jointly mastering this ambitious project in two countries, which was an experience that I do not want to miss. Without Anna's commitment the German part of the project would have never been a success. Also, I am thankful to Anna for her always very constructive and helpful feedback concerning all kinds of decisions, obstacles and problems that had to be dealt with regarding my thesis. Ella, who ran the Israeli part of the project, has also helped me tremendously with her critical feedback as well as her inspiring ideas concerning the thesis.

I am also thankful to all colleagues and fellow PhD-students for the exchange, feedback, and all the shared worries that all of us have gone through at one time or the other. I especially thank Jeanette Winkelhage, Jolanda van der Noll, Marieke van Egmond, and Jens Hellmann.

I am furthermore grateful to my parents, who always believe in me and who have supported me in any possible way throughout my life. Without them, I would – in every sense – not be where I am now.

Last but not least, I want to thank you, Claudia – the love and strength of my life – for just being there, for sharing your life with me, and for your patience with me while writing the thesis. And I thank Magdalena, for having entered my life and for delighting me each day ever since.

Declaration

I herewith declare that this thesis is my own work and that I have used only the sources listed. No part of this thesis has been accepted or is currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification at this university or elsewhere.

Bremen, April 30, 2012

David Schiefer

Table of Contents

Summary.....	I
Overview: Essence and Structure of the Thesis	1
1. Introduction.....	2
1.1. What is Culture? A Localization.....	3
1.2. Cultural Values	6
1.2.1. Schwartz’s cultural value theory: A cultural dimension approach	7
1.2.2. Digression 1: Are values cultural or individual?.....	10
1.3. Cultural Values and Individual-Level Phenomena	12
1.3.1. The relevance of culture for individuals	14
1.3.2. Cultural emergence and transmission	15
1.3.3. Not a one-way street.....	18
1.3.4. Digression 2: What is transmitted - individual or cultural values?.....	19
1.4. Central Research Hypotheses.....	19
1.4.1. Hypothesis 1: Age	22
1.4.2. Hypotheses 2 and 3: Migratory background and cultural minority status	23
1.4.3. Summary of research hypotheses	26
1.5. Research Designs	26
1.5.1. Study 1	26
1.5.2. Study 2	30
1.5.3. Study 3	32
1.6. About the Study Manuscripts.....	33
2. Cultural Values and Out-group Negativity: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Early and Late Adolescents	35
2.1. Abstract	36
2.2. Introduction.....	37
2.2.1. Beyond childhood: The development of out-group negativity in adolescence	37
2.2.2. Out-group negativity among adolescents: The role of cultural values	40
2.2.3. Hypotheses	42
2.2.4. The cultural groups under scrutiny	42
2.2.5. Assessing out-group negativity among majority and minority adolescents.....	43
2.3. Methods.....	44
2.3.1. Participants	44
2.3.2. Procedure.....	46
2.3.3. Measures	46
2.3.4. Questionnaire translation	50
2.4. Results.....	51

2.4.1. Descriptives	51
2.4.2. Testing the hypotheses	52
2.5. Discussion	59
2.5.1. Critical reflection	64
3. Cultural Values and Group-Related Attitudes: A Comparison of Individuals With and Without Migratory Background Across 24 Countries	66
3.1. Abstract	67
3.2. Introduction	68
3.2.1. Schwartz's theory of cultural values and its implication for group-related attitudes	68
3.2.2. Digression: Values – cultural versus individual.....	69
3.2.3. Do cultural values of a society also relate to group-related attitudes of immigrants?.....	70
3.2.4. Hypotheses	71
3.2.5. Methodological aspects	72
3.3. Methods.....	73
3.3.1. Sample.....	73
3.3.2. Measures	73
3.4. Results.....	79
3.4.1. Descriptives.....	79
3.4.2. Testing the hypotheses	82
3.5. Discussion	91
3.5.1. Limitations	93
3.5.2. Conclusion.....	94
4. Cultural Value Fit of Immigrant and Minority Adolescents: The Role of Acculturation Orientations	95
4.1. Abstract	96
4.2. Introduction	97
4.2.1. Cultural fit: Focusing on cultural values	97
4.2.2. Cultural value fit among immigrants and cultural minority members: The role of acculturation orientations	99
4.2.3. Schwartz's cultural value theory as a theoretical base.....	101
4.3. Methods.....	103
4.3.1. Participants	103
4.3.2. Procedure.....	104
4.3.3. Measures	104
4.4. Results.....	107
4.5. Discussion	112
4.5.1. Interpretation and implications of the findings	112
4.5.2. Strength and limitations of the current study	115

4.5.3. Conclusion.....	118
5. General Discussion.....	119
5.1. Summary of Studies	120
5.2. What do the Studies Tell us, and Which Direction do They Send us?	122
5.2.1. Study 1	123
5.2.2. Study 2 and 3.....	125
5.2.3. Further moderators	128
5.3. Cultural Values: Where to Place Them in the Research Design?.....	130
5.4. The Harmony-Mastery Dimension	131
5.5. Can we Measure Cultural Values?.....	133
5.5.1. Values as a core feature of culture	133
5.5.2. Individual self-reports	134
5.5.3. Aggregation.....	136
5.5.4. Sampling	138
5.6. Conclusion	140
References.....	142
Appendices.....	171

List of Tables

Table 1.	<i>Division of Participants Across Ethnic and Age Groups.....</i>	45
Table 2.	<i>Intercorrelations of Out-group Negativity Measures, for Both Age Groups.....</i>	48
Table 3.	<i>Reliabilities of all Key Variables, Documented for all Cultural and Age Groups</i>	50
Table 4.	<i>Means and Standard Deviations of all Key Variables</i>	51
Table 5.	<i>Individual-Level and Group-Level Effects of Cultural Values on Out-group Negativity.....</i>	54
Table 6.	<i>Direct Effects of Cultural Values on Out-Group Negativity and Interactions With Age</i>	56
Table 7.	<i>Linear Trends of Out-Group Negativity as a Function of Cultural Values (Contrasts Obtained From the ANOVAs)</i>	58
Table 8.	<i>Sample Characteristics of the ESS Round 4 Data Used for the Present Analyses</i>	74
Table 9.	<i>Means and Standard Deviations of the Three Cultural Value Dimensions.....</i>	80
Table 10.	<i>Means and Standard Deviations of the Dependent and Control Variables</i>	81
Table 11.	<i>Effects of the Cultural Value Dimensions on the Enmity Index and Interactions with Migration Status and the Control Variables</i>	84
Table 12.	<i>Models Including two or All Three Cultural Value Dimensions (Overview Over Central Coefficients)</i>	88
Table 13.	<i>Reliability Coefficients for the Cultural Value Scales in the Four Scrutinized Samples</i>	107
Table 14.	<i>Means and Standard Deviations of all Variables Used in the Analyses....</i>	108
Table 15.	<i>Cultural Value Fit among Adolescents with Different Acculturation Orientations (ANOVA Results)</i>	111

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1.</i>	Ecocultural model, adapted from Berry et al. (2002), Matsumoto and Juang (2008)	13
<i>Figure 2.</i>	Moderation of the relationship between culture-level values and individual level psychological phenomena (adaptation from Figure 1)	21
<i>Figure 3.</i>	Comparison of non-immigrants with second- and first generation immigrants from EU and non-EU countries regarding the relationship between the cultural value dimension harmony-mastery and enmity.	90
<i>Figure 4.</i>	Cultural value fit among adolescents with different acculturation orientations (mean scores).....	111

Summary

Culture is a complex and multi-dimensional construct that is difficult to grasp. It refers to a complex system of (material and non-material) elements that are shared by the members of a social collective, which in turn is most often determined by national boundaries, ethnicity, religion, or geographical concentration. In literature, culture has been understood as resulting from an adaptive interaction between humans and the environment. It is learned by its people and transmitted across generations and therefore relatively stable over time.

This thesis is about culture. In particular, it is about cultural values which have been viewed by many cultural researchers as core features of culture. Cultural values “represent the implicitly and explicitly shared abstract ideas about what is good, right and desirable in a society” (S. H. Schwartz, 1999, p. 25). They reflect what has been agreed upon to be a functional response to challenges that a society faces (Knafo, Roccas, & Sagiv, 2011). These implicit or explicit fundamental agreements or ideals find expressions in poetry and art, communication, childrearing and other everyday practices, but also in societal institutions such as educational, economic or judicial systems (Knafo et al., 2011; S. H. Schwartz, 2008).

Cultural values shape individuals’ thoughts, feelings and actions (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b). They serve as a reference frame for individuals regarding what the world is like, how it should be, and what kind of behavior is appropriate (Knafo et al., 2011). Individuals use these guiding principles as reference for evaluating their thoughts, feelings, and behavior (Rokeach, 1973; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b; Triandis, 2004).

In this thesis, the relationship between cultural values and individual’s thinking, feelings and behavior is (re-)investigated. The main proposition of the thesis is that not all individuals living in a particular culture are guided by its values to the same extent, and that particular assumptions can be made regarding who is more guided than the other.

Three general research hypotheses are tested. The first takes a developmental psychological perspective by focusing on adolescents. It is hypothesized that the relationship between a cultural group’s values and its members’ thoughts, feelings, and actions is stronger among older than among younger adolescents. The former have more likely gone through a period of identity exploration during which they have elaborated

the personal meaning of their cultural group membership, have more likely committed to the cultural group's values and are thus more likely to be guided by them.

The second and third hypotheses regard to the role of migratory background and cultural minority status, respectively, as a moderator of the link between a culture's values and the thinking, feelings and behavior of the individuals living in that culture. Immigrant and non-immigrant cultural minorities are not only exposed to the cultural values of the society's cultural majority but in addition to cultural values prevalent in their cultural minority community. These potentially compete with the cultural majority's values, which is why the latter are less likely to be adopted by cultural minority members as strongly as by cultural majority members. Hypothesis 2 states that the relationship between a cultural group's values and its individuals' thinking, feeling, and behavior is weaker among immigrants living in that group than among non-immigrants, which regards especially to first- as compared to second-generation immigrants and those coming from a culturally more distant compared to those from a culturally closer region. Hypothesis 3 also relates to cultural value adoption in the context of migration and cultural minorities but pursues a different approach: It states that immigrant- and non-immigrant cultural minority members differ in their similarity to the cultural values of their country's majority (cultural value fit) depending on their acculturation orientations (integration, marginalization, assimilation, and separation). The cultural value fit is expected be highest among individuals pursuing an assimilation orientation, and lowest among those pursuing a separation orientation.

The hypotheses are investigated using the cultural value model introduced by Schwartz (1994b; 2006b) – the thesis' recurrent theme – which has so far only insufficiently been used with regard to these questions. Schwartz proposed that cultures can be aligned along three cultural value dimensions. Each dimension provides two opposing answers to a particular basic issue a society is confronted with when regulating human activity. The first dimension is constituted by *egalitarianism* at one pole and *hierarchy* at the other pole, the second dimension differentiates between cultures that value *autonomy* versus those valuing *embeddedness*, and the third dimension distinguishes between *harmony* versus *mastery*.

Each hypothesis is tested in a separate study. Hypothesis 1 is investigated in Study 1 with six samples of cultural majority and minority adolescents. Hierarchical linear models and ANOVA-based trend analyses are performed using Schwartz's cultural value dimensions as the group-level variables and individuals' group-related

attitudes as an exemplary individual-level psychological variable. Results confirm the age-related hypothesis for the culture-level value dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy. Regarding the other two dimensions relationships with individuals' group-related attitudes are evident but not significantly stronger in the older compared to the younger age group. In general, the results indicate that the hypothesis can be confirmed only with regard to the cultural value dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy, whose content is most relevant for the explanation of group-related attitudes.

Hypothesis 2 is investigated in Study 2 with data from 24 representative country-samples from Round 4 of the European Social Survey. Again, hierarchical linear models are performed using Schwartz's culture-level value dimensions as group (country)-level variables, and group-related attitudes as an exemplary individual-level variable. In addition, migratory background is included as an individual-level variable, and cross-level interactions with cultural values are examined. The hypothesis is confirmed showing that the relationship between all three cultural value dimensions and group-related attitudes is weaker among immigrants than non-immigrants, especially among first-generation immigrants and those from a culturally more distant region. The results for the harmony-mastery dimension, however, show a somewhat different pattern than the other two dimensions.

Hypothesis 3 is investigated in Study 3 with the same data of immigrant and cultural minority adolescents used in Study 1. The results confirm the hypothesis: Immigrant and cultural minority adolescents with an assimilation orientation show a stronger cultural value fit to the country's cultural majority compared to those with a separation orientation. The unexpected, though interesting finding is that this result pattern was much more evident among Former Soviet Union immigrants (diaspora immigrants) as compared to Turkish immigrants in Germany and Arab Israelis.

The three studies provide new insights that can potentially stimulate further research. Each study is therefore re-evaluated in an appertaining discussion section and additionally in a general discussion at the end of the thesis. Implications for future research are derived based on each study's findings. Furthermore, a number of additional moderators and ideas that are worth investigating in future studies are outlined. Finally, regarding each study, and regarding the general approach of the thesis, a number of content-related and methodological aspects that have received some debate in literature are critically addressed.

Overview: Essence and Structure of the Thesis

An individual's development takes place within a complex network of various interfaced physical and social contexts. Hence, when attempting to understand people's thoughts, feelings and actions, different levels of examination need to be taken into account (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1986). They result from the individual him- or herself (e.g., genetic configuration, personality), from inter-personal relations, from phenomena within and between social groups (e.g., family, peer, or ethnic groups), and they are also shaped by the macro-context the individual finds him- or herself in (e.g., a culture).

These levels do not stand alone, rather, they interact and interweave. This interwoven state constitutes the starting point for this doctoral thesis. It probes a proposition that has been made in literature, namely that cultural values – conceptualized as core characteristics of a cultural group – serve as reference frames for the cultural group's members and guide their thoughts, feelings and actions. More precisely, the thesis investigates whether this proposed relationship between a cultural group's values and its members' thinking, feeling and acting can be further specified by taking individual-level variables into account which potentially moderate this relationship.

The thesis starts with an introductory chapter that provides an outline of the research questions to be pursued. The chapter first places the thesis within the research field of culture and introduces cultural values as core features of culture. Then, the relationship between cultural values and individual's thinking, feeling and behavior, as it has been discussed in current literature, is drawn up. Finally, the chapter derives three basic research hypotheses, followed by a short description of three studies that test these hypotheses and which constitute the core of the thesis. Following the introduction, these three studies are outlined in full detail in chapters 2 to 4. These chapters are based on three manuscripts that have been submitted to and partially already been published in scientific journals. The last chapter of the thesis provides an overarching discussion of all three studies' findings.

1. Introduction

1.1. *What is Culture? A Localization*

“Culture is said to be one of the two or three most complex words in the English language.” (Eagleton, 2000, p. 1)

Statements such as the above can be found in various monographs dealing with culture (see also Jenks, 1993; R. Williams, 1976), pointing to the fact that there is not one single definition of culture (see Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Triandis, 2004). Giving a comprehensive overview of the different concepts of culture in the various disciplines would exceed the scope of this thesis (for reviews see, e.g., Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Griswold, 2008; Heine, 2008; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Kuper, 1999; Lane & Ersson, 2002; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; van de Vijver & Hutschemaekers, 1990). However, in this thesis, culture is often referred to in the framework of cultural values. Therefore, it seems necessary to at least define a scope of the term, in order to have a shared understanding of what is being referred to when using expressions such as culture, cultural, or culture-level in the course of this thesis.¹

The following section roughly locates the thesis within the numerous approaches to the concept of culture, based on some general distinctions proposed by several authors.

Firstly, in this thesis, culture is not viewed as ‘high culture’ in the sense of what has been proclaimed as culture in the humanities of the 19th century (Griswold, 2008; see also Ghaziani, 2009; Kaufman, 2004). At that time, culture comprised a rather

¹Two additional terms will occasionally be used synonymously with the term culture: The first one is country, a social unit based on national borders. I am aware that synonymising these terms is an oversimplification, given that cultures can span across national borders but can also refer to smaller social units (see Cohen, 2009). It is owed to (a) the research design pursued in study 2 (countries as units of analyses), and (b) to the theoretical approach of Study 2 and 3 (migration, which most often means migration from one country to another). Furthermore, it is theoretically justified, given that national frontiers enforce cultural homogenization (citizens have exclusive rights, often share a language, educational and political systems, or specific media; Smith & Schwartz, 1997). The second term is society, whose differentiation from culture is difficult and has initiated many discussions in the academic fields (Rohner, 1984). Society has a more structural, functional connotation, emphasizing “institutions and relationships within which a relatively large group of people live” (Williams, 1976, p. 291, as cited in T. Bennett, Grossberg, & Morris, 2005, p. 327), whereas culture is more related to sharedness and meaning (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; Rohner, 1984). A society can be described as a large social collective – a group of internally organized people living together in a particular geographical region bounded by (political-national, language, or physical) borders (see definitions by Matsumoto & Juang, 2008, p. 12; Rohner, 1984, p. 131). The equalisation of culture and society is also oversimplified. However, both terms are often used synonymously, which most likely reflects the reality of today’s world (Rohner, 1984). Based on Rohner (1984) one can crisply summarize that individuals live in a country, they are members of a society, and share a culture.

evaluative component (“ [...] the best which has been thought and said [...]”, Arnold, 1869, p. viii) and was seen as resembling progress and improvement in the sense of cultivation (T. Bennett et al., 2005; Griswold, 2008). Instead, this thesis follows the social science tradition that countered the elitist view of culture in the late 19th and early 20th century (Griswold, 2008; Kaufman, 2004). Here, culture was seen as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society” (Tylor, 1958, p. 1, as cited in Griswold, 2008). The social science approach avoids evaluations and puts culture more in the midst of the people in a way that it “is not what lies in the museum [...], instead, it is the way museum-goers (and everyone else) live their lives” (Griswold, 2008, p. 10).

Secondly, this thesis does not view culture as being strictly ‘out there’, separated from and acting upon the people living in that culture. Rohner (1984) has called this a nominalist view on culture. Rather, culture is dynamically related to its people, who interact and share common ideas and practices, which in turn serve as a reference frame for their thoughts, feelings and actions.

Thirdly, in their remarkable collection of more than 160 definitions of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) differentiated between descriptive (listing-all possible aspects), historical (historical legacies), normative (shared rules and values), psychological (adjustment, learning, habits), structural (integrated patterns of interrelated features), and genetic (origin and genesis) approaches to the concept of culture. Using values as an indicator of culture, the present thesis is located in both the normative and the psychological approaches.

Finally, the thesis pursues a universalistic as opposed to a relativistic approach, a differentiation made by Berry et al. (2002) and other authors (Goldberger & Veroff, 1995; Triandis, 2007; van de Vijver & Hutschemaekers, 1990; see also Lane and Ersson, 2002, from a political science perspective). Relativistic approaches view cultures as unique entities with incomparable characteristics (Berry et al., 2002). Scholars following this approach try to understand human thinking, feeling and behavior as being reciprocally related to their unique cultural context (Berry et al., 2002; Heine, 2008; Triandis, 2007). This view is more prominent in anthropology (well-known names are Herskovits, Boas, or Mead, see Berry et al., 2002; Norenzayan & Heine, 2005; Triandis, 2007) but also in the fields of indigenous and cultural psychology (Greenfield, 2000; Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997; Triandis, 2007).

Universalistic approaches, in contrast, assume that there are universal psychological phenomena that can be found across cultures and whose expressions are at best shaped and formed by the respective cultural context (Berry et al., 2002; Lonner, 1980; Norenzayan & Heine, 2005). The existence of cultural universals has been an issue of controversial debate in anthropology (Lonner, 1980; Norenzayan & Heine, 2005). The field of cross-cultural psychology emphasizes (but is by far not limited to) this view more than in the case of cultural and indigenous psychology (see Berry et al., 2002; Greenfield, 2000; Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). A related debate is the emic-etic discussion. An etic phenomenon can be found across cultures, whereas an emic phenomenon emerges out of a unique cultural context and is not transferable to other cultural groups (see, e.g., Jahoda, 1995).

The present thesis resembles a universalistic, or etic approach because it assumes the existence of universal psychological phenomena (social identification and evaluative differentiation between in- and out-group, based on theories from Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Zick et al., 2008, see section 1.5) which are supposed to be shaped by culture. Furthermore, culture is operationalized by means of a universal ideational construct – cultural values – based on the work of Schwartz (1992; 1994b; 2006b). Cross-cultural differences in the acceptance of certain values are assumed, but the construct itself is considered to have the same meaning and denotation in all cultural groups.

In this thesis, the following definition of culture is used as a working framework:

“To begin with, we define culture as networks of knowledge, consisting of learned routines of thinking, feeling, and interacting with other people, as well as a corpus of substantive assertions and ideas about aspects of the world. Importantly, culture as a knowledge tradition is unique in that it is (a) shared (albeit incompletely) among a collection of interconnected individuals, who are often demarcated by race, ethnicity, or nationality; (b) externalized by rich symbols, artifacts, social constructions, and social institutions [...]; (c) used to form the common ground for communication among members; (d) transmitted from one generation to the next or from old members to new members; and (e) undergoing continuous modifications as aspects of the knowledge tradition may be falsified or deemed not applicable by newer social order and reality” (Hong, 2009, p. 4).

This definition was chosen because it captures two domains that Triandis (1996; 2004) has called objective (all tangible or observable constituents) and subjective (e.g., values, beliefs, attitudes) culture. Furthermore, it includes a number of elements most scholars from the different disciplines agree upon to be constitutive of culture (Fischer, 2009; Matsumoto, 1997; Rohner, 1984; Schein, 2012; Taras, Kirkman, & Steel, 2010;

Triandis, 2004): Culture is a complex and multi-dimensional construct. It describes social collectives, most often determined by national boundaries, ethnicity, religion, or geographical concentration but also refers to groups within these social units. It consists of (material and non-material) elements that are shared by the cultural group's members, and that provide some kind of order and regularity. It results from an adaptive interaction between humans and the environment. It is learned by its people and transmitted across generations and therefore relatively stable over time.

1.2. *Cultural Values*

“Culture is a fuzzy construct. If we are to understand the way culture relates to social psychological phenomena, we must analyze it by determining dimensions of cultural variation.”
(Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988, p. 323)

Scholars from different disciplines have stated that the core features of a culture are the values shared by its members (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Marin & Gamba, 2003; R. A. Peterson, 1979; Smith & Schwartz, 1997; Taras, Rowney, & Steel, 2009). Values can be seen as „conceptions of the desirable“ (R. M. Williams, 1968, p. 283). For example, Rokeach (1973) defined a value as „an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence“ (p. 5). More elaborated, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) consider values as “(a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors, (c) that transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance” (p. 551).

Values can characterize individuals, but also cultural groups (Fischer, Vauclair, Fontaine, & Schwartz, 2010; Hofstede, 2001; S. H. Schwartz, 2011b; Smith & Schwartz, 1997). When cultural groups are characterized by means of values, one usually refers to the term cultural values, or alternatively, culture-level values. In this thesis, both terms will be used synonymously. In analogy to the above reviewed definitions of values as desirable end states, “cultural values represent the implicitly and explicitly shared abstract ideas about what is good, right and desirable in a society” (S. H. Schwartz, 1999, p. 25). They reflect what has been agreed upon to be a functional response to challenges that a society faces (Knafo et al., 2011). These implicit or explicit fundamental agreements or ideals find expressions in poetry and art,

communication, childrearing and other everyday practices, but also in societal institutions such as educational, economic or judicial systems (Knafo et al., 2011; S. H. Schwartz, 2008).

1.2.1. Schwartz's cultural value theory: A cultural dimension approach

Cultures can be described by means of cultural syndromes (Triandis, 1996) or dimensions of cultural variation (Hofstede, 2001). These are patterns of characteristics that can be found in all cultures to different degrees or in different alignments. One can locate a culture within the range of such syndromes or dimensions. In the last decades, various such dimensions have been proposed that refer to cultural values and related concepts. A comprehensive review of this research cannot be given here (for overviews see Gould, 2005; Hofstede, 2001; Lane & Ersson, 2002; Smith & Schwartz, 1997; Triandis, 2004; Wyers, Chiu, & Hong, 2009). However, some 'major players' in the field shall be named. A first prominent suggestion was made by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) who proposed that cultures can be described alongside the dimensions of the general kind of human nature (crudely put: good, bad, or both), the relationship between humans and the natural environment (subordination vs. mastery), the time orientation (past, present, future), the relationship to other people (individualism, collateralism, linear hierarchies), and the modality of human activity (crudely put: being vs. doing). Another often cited dimension distinguishes individualism from collectivism (Green, Deschamps, & Paez, 2005; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Triandis, 1995). In his seminal IBM study, Hofstede (2001) also identified the individualism-collectivism dimension, and additionally the dimensions of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity-femininity, and long-term vs. short-term orientation. Another prominent research group is the one around the political scientist Inglehart (1997; Inglehart & Baker, 2000) who proposed the value dimensions traditional authority vs. secular-rational values, and survival vs. self-expression.²

The strength of such dimensional approaches is that one does not simply compare individuals across cultures and predict cultural differences based on theoretical considerations. It enables the researcher to operationalize culture; dimensions on which

²Several further, partly overlapping cultural dimensions have been proposed by, for example, Parsons and Shils (1951, as cited in Hofstede, 2001), Lynn and Hampson (1975, as cited in Hofstede, 2001), Trompenaars (1994, as cited in Gould, 2005; Smith & Schwartz, 1997), Bond et al. (2004), House, Javidan, Hanges, and Dorfman (2002), as well as Gelfand and colleagues (Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006; Gelfand et al., 2011).

cultures vary, and whose variance on that dimension can be related to variance of the phenomenon of interest. It enables the researcher to ‘unpack’ culture (Leung & Bond, 1989; Rohner, 1984). The necessity of such measurable cultural dimensions has been highlighted by several authors (e.g., Goldberger & Veroff, 1995; Triandis et al., 1988).

This thesis is based on a theory that resembles a dimensional approach to the description of culture as introduced above: The cultural value theory by Schwartz (1994b; 2006b). Schwartz distinguished three dimensions of cultural values, on which societies can be aligned. Each dimension provides two opposing answers to a particular basic issue a society is confronted with when regulating human activity.³ The first dimension Schwartz suggested deals with the issue of establishing a stable social fabric within a society. It encompasses the necessary coordination among humans and the management of human interdependencies to enable the individuals to be productive instead of destructive for the good of the society (S. H. Schwartz, 2008, 2011b). This dimension is constituted by *egalitarianism* at the one pole and *hierarchy* at the opposite pole. Egalitarianism promotes the equality of human beings: Social justice and mutual responsibility are the central intentions. Human productivity is enforced through the internalized commitment to cooperate, concern and act voluntarily for the welfare of all others (S. H. Schwartz, 2008, 2011b). The latter pole promotes the legitimization of status differences within a society. It states that an unequal distribution of power within a society is a natural and desirable condition. Roles are hierarchically structured with a certain number of people being superior while others are comparatively subordinate. In societies high on hierarchy, people rely on hierarchical structures with ascribed roles to ensure productive behavior, instead of a basic commitment to care for others (S. H. Schwartz, 2008, 2011b). Schwartz’s (1994b) consideration regarding these dimensions was based on Hofstede’s (2001) power distance dimension as well as his own findings on the existence of power as an individual-level value (S. H. Schwartz, 1992).

The second dimension, *autonomy* versus *embeddedness*, refers to relations and boundaries between the person and the group. It describes the degree to which people should be treated as individuals vs. as group members (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). The assumption of the importance of this issue is based on the individualism-collectivism concept by Hofstede (2001) as well as – again – Schwartz’s own findings on individual-

³Such a problem-solving perspective can also be found in earlier approaches of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961, as cited in Carter, 1991) and Hofstede (2001), who also viewed value orientations as resembling solutions for human problems that have emerged in a cultural group.

level value priorities (S. H. Schwartz, 1992). In autonomous cultures, individuals are encouraged to think, feel, and act as unique individuals. This value can be differentiated into *intellectual autonomy* (follow own ideas and thinking, e.g., being creative and curious) and *affective autonomy* (follow own attempts for positive affective conditions, e.g., having pleasure and excitement). The embeddedness value, in turn, emphasizes the integration in a social entity with shared goals and ways of living. Meaning in life comes through social relationships and identification with groups (S. H. Schwartz, 2008, 2011b). The interests of the in-group are considered to precede those of the individual.

The third dimension, *harmony* versus *mastery*, deals with people's treatment of human and natural resources. To what degree should the natural and social environment be utilized and controlled (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b)? Schwartz (1994b) derived this dimension from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) cultural dimension describing the man-nature relationship as well as Hofstede's (2001) masculinity-femininity distinction. Harmony values stand for unity with the social and natural environment. One should strive for a world at peace and the protection of the environment. Fitting into the world is more valued than directing it. Mastery, in contrast, emphasizes active self-assertion in order to master, change and direct the social and natural world. Being ambitious and seeking success to reach group or personal goals is valued.

The seven value types (egalitarianism, hierarchy, intellectual and affective autonomy, embeddedness, harmony, and mastery) constituting the poles of the three dimensions are structured in a dynamic relationship of contradictions and compatibilities. The pursuit of values located on one pole contradicts the pursuit of values located on the other pole. All values can be arranged in a circle, with contradicting values being located on opposite sides of the circle, and more compatible values being located closer to each other (see Appendix 1). This means that the more compatible certain values are (the closer they are to each other in the circle) the more likely a cultural group will hold these values simultaneously (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b).

Examining survey data on cultural values from a large number of countries, Schwartz (2004; 2006b) was able to develop a 'map' of countries based on their locations on the three culture-level value dimensions. As Schwartz (2006b) emphasized, this map shows an astonishing overlap with the value-based cultural world regions postulated by Hofstede (2001) and Inglehart (1997). This shows that there are some theoretical and empirical similarities between Schwartz's model and other concepts of

culture-level dimensions (Basabe & Ros, 2005; Knafo et al., 2011) such as Hofstede's individualism-collectivism dimension or Inglehart's secular-traditional and survival-self-expression dimensions. However, as Schwartz (1994b; 2004; 2006b) argues, his theory is more fine-tuned and comprehensive, and is – as the author emphasizes –based on an a priori developed theoretical model. It differs in a number of theoretical and empirical aspects, and can be seen as a further extension of previous research on cultural values (for details see S. H. Schwartz, 2004, 2006b). Schwartz's model is one of the most highly elaborated cultural value theories available (Maercker, 2001).

1.2.2. Digression 1: Are values cultural or individual?

It was stated above that values describe both individuals and cultures. However, are cultural and individual values the same? These questions have been raised in prior scientific debates and refer to the term 'construct isomorphism'. Construct isomorphism focusses on the degree to which a concept has the same meaning on both the individual and the group-level (Chen, Bliese, & Mathieu, 2005; Fischer, 2011; Fischer et al., 2010). With regard to values, there is less consent about cross-level construct isomorphism. Hofstede (2001) claimed that his proposed cultural value dimensions can only be applied to the culture- (i.e., country) level. Similarly, Triandis, Leung, Villareal, and Clack (1985) differentiate between individualism-collectivism on the cultural group-level, and idiocentrism-allocentrism on the individual level. However, Inglehart and Baker (2000) argue that the structure of value dimensions (traditional vs. secular-rational, survival vs. self-expression) is highly similar at the cultural-group and the individual level.

Schwartz (1992; 1994b) – whose value concept is referred to in this thesis – has presented two value theories. One suggests 10 universal individual-level values (e.g., universalism, power, or hedonism; S. H. Schwartz, 1992) the other suggests culture-level values (introduced above). Schwartz empirically derived the individual-level and culture-level value models based on multidimensional scaling analyses (e.g., Borg & Groenen, 1997) of questionnaire-based data. Roughly put, this technique plots interrelations between a measure's items into a two- or three-dimensional space, in which the strength of the interrelation of any two items is reflected in the distance between the two in that space (Borg & Groenen, 1997; S. H. Schwartz et al., 2001). This way, the items form a particular structure in the space based on their compatibilities and contradictions. Schwartz investigated the structure of values using both individuals' scores and aggregated group scores as the unit of analysis (see S. H.

Schwartz, 2006b; S. H. Schwartz et al., 2001). He found that the items relate to each other in a different way on the individual and the group-level. They form overlapping, yet different value structures (Fischer et al., 2010). Recently, Fischer et al. (2010) empirically confirmed that Schwartz's individual-level and group-level value models substantially overlap yet show no complete isomorphism. Schwartz (1994b; 2011b) suggested to refer to the cultural value structure when describing differences in value preferences between cultural groups, and to the 10 individual-level value structure when describing differences in value preferences between individuals.

Schwartz's work shows that values shared by a collective are structurally somewhat different than values preferred by an individual. Both also serve different purposes and are derived from different sources (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). Individual-level values are more strongly rooted in personal needs of individuals as human beings and requirements of the individuals' social encounters (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). Cultural values, in turn, rather concern societal issues, such as the coordination of social interactions, establishment of a social order, or the distribution of resources. A simple example may illustrate these conceptual differences. On the individual level, a particular questionnaire statement is empirically grouped together with a number of other items, each resembling the individual-level value of power (over other people). Based on individuals' responses, one can thus say that individual A values power more than individual B. On the group-level, the same statement is grouped together with different items, forming the value of hierarchy (the acceptance of power differences between people). Therefore, one cannot say that group A values power more than group B, but rather that group A values hierarchy more than group B. Content wise this makes sense, since comparing groups based on their preference for power would imply that some groups highly endorse power over other people, which would make social life rather difficult to coordinate. Instead, on the group-level the *distribution* of power is resembled in the culture-level value hierarchy.

1.3. Cultural Values and Individual-Level Phenomena

“What people think, feel; what holds their attention, how they know and understand, and what counts as knowledge is shaped importantly by the theories, values, and commitments of their various sociocultural contexts.”

(Kitayama & Markus, 1995, p. 368)

The cultural context a person lives in shapes his or her thoughts, feelings and actions (Fiske, 2000; Gibson, Maznevski, & Kirkman, 2009; Lehman, Chiu, & Schaller, 2004; Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). It serves as a reference frame for individuals regarding what the world is like, how the world should be, and what kind of behavior is appropriate. It has been proposed that cultural values in particular - introduced above as a core feature of culture - direct humans (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b). “They are the goals and objectives that members of a society are encouraged to view as worthy and serve to justify actions taken in the pursuit of these goals” (Knafo et al., 2011, p. 179). Individuals use these guiding principles as reference for evaluating their thoughts, feelings, and behavior (Rokeach, 1973; Schönplflug, 2001; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b; Triandis, 2004).

Empirically, this implies that differences in culture-level characteristics, in particular cultural values, across cultural groups co-vary with individuals’ ways of perceiving, processing, evaluating, judging and responding to the physical and social environment. Indeed, there is a large body of empirical work that demonstrates such a link. Culture-level characteristics have been demonstrated to relate to individuals’ attitudes, for example towards out-groups (Leong & Ward, 2006; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b), towards work (Taras et al., 2010), sexuality (Villarruel, 1998) or abortion, divorce (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b), and childrearing (Wang & Phinney, 1998). Differences in cultural features across cultural groups have also been shown to relate to personality traits (Big Five; Taras et al., 2010), but also to feelings of control, coping strategies and emotion regulation (Bardi & Guerra, 2011; Basabe & Ros, 2005; Matsumoto, Yoo, & Nakagawa, 2008). Also individuals’ behavior seems to co-vary with culture-level characteristics, for example interpersonal help and cooperation (Knafo, Schwartz, & Levine, 2009; Probst, Carnevale, & Triandis, 1999), political activism (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b), conflict management (Morris et al., 1998), violence

and corruption (Basabe & Ros, 2005; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b) and even styles of responses in surveys (Smith, 2011).⁴

The question is why are culture-level characteristics and individual-level phenomena related? Why is culture meaningful to its members? And what are the processes behind this relationship? In the following, these questions will be given some further attention.

Berry and colleagues (e.g., Berry & Georgas, 2009; Berry et al., 2002) provide a useful eco-cultural framework which has often been referred to by many scholars to elaborate on cultural meaning and processes (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). A similar model has been suggested by Matsumoto and Juang (2008). Figure 1 depicts a modified version of these two models. In both frameworks, culture is seen as emerging from the adaptation to the ecological and sociopolitical environment. Culture is then passed on to new members of the group by parents, peers, teachers, and others via processes of transmission, enculturation or socialization. This then has an impact on psychological outcomes within the individual (attitudes, personal values, beliefs, behavior, etc.). While the main paths of both models run from the environment via culture and the transmission process to the individual, the eco-cultural model by Berry and colleagues additionally contains a reverse path from the individual to the environment. However, Figure 1 also includes a path from the individual to culture, emphasizing their mutual relationship. Furthermore, the figure differs from the one by Berry et al. (2002) as well as Matsumoto and Juang (2008) in that it includes the time dimension. Guided by the model in Figure 1, the following section outlines some considerations regarding the relationship between culture and the individual.

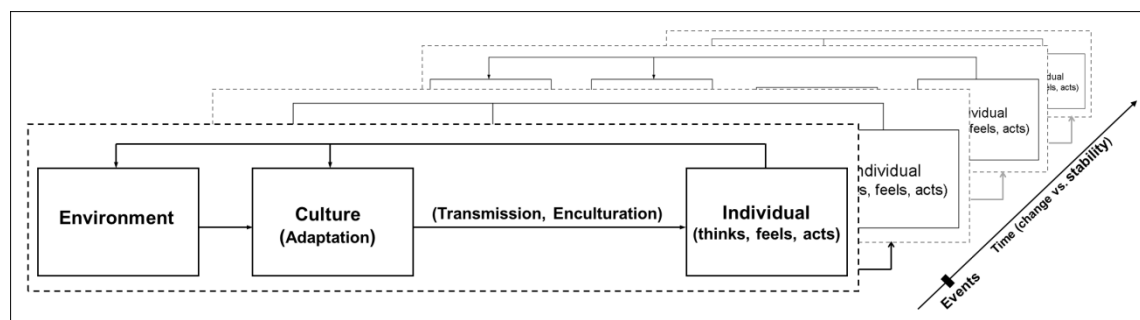


Figure 1. Ecocultural model, adapted from Berry et al. (2002), Matsumoto and Juang (2008)

⁴Reviews can be found in, for example, Kirkman, Low, and Gibson (2006), Basabe and Ros (2005), Gibson et al. (2009), Taras et al. (2010), Sagiv, Schwartz, and Arieli (2011), or Oyserman et al. (2002).

1.3.1. The relevance of culture for individuals

Why should people refer to the cultural environment when evaluating their own thinking, feeling and behavior? Why is culture meaningful to people? In the following, a few theoretical considerations that have been proposed in the current literature will be reviewed.

Firstly, culture is said to provide order and regularity for its members, which helps them to gain control over their environment. Having a sense for what other people think and feel, how they judge and react, and also how events and processes take place is very helpful for the coordination of a complex social life (Fiske, 2000; Lehman et al., 2004). Customs and culture make the future more predictable (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 2004). Lehman et al. (2004) suggest a number of psychological theories that support this view. Terror Management Theory, for example, argues that culture serves as a buffer against anxiety when facing the perishability of one's life (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997). Furthermore, culture provides a type of shared reality (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). Humans tend to view their experiences with and knowledge about the world as more reliable and valid, when it is verified and shared by others. Such a shared reality (Hardin & Higgins, 1996) helps them to obtain a sense of predictability and control. Similarly, Kruglanski (1989; Kruglanski & Webster, 1996) suggested that humans have a basic desire for knowledge, which is essential for daily living. In this regard, individuals to more or less a degree strive to find immediate and permanent answers to any given issue, they seek order and predictability and avoid confusion and ambiguity – termed need for cognitive closure (Kruglanski, 2004; Webster & Kruglanski, 1994). Culture, e.g. cultural values, provides a useful reference frame to fulfill such a need for cognitive closure (Lehman et al., 2004).

Secondly, human orientation towards culture has been viewed by some authors as utilitarian behavior (Batson, 1994; Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). Conformity to norms and values results from the attempt to receive access to material and social resources, and to avoid sanctions and exclusion (see Batson, 1994; Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). Humans have the desire for social affiliation (Berry et al., 2002), as well as existential needs. In this regard, they regulate their behavior based on anticipations of consequences with respect to their needs. Such consequences, in turn, are partly based on what is valued and viewed as normative in the cultural group (Triandis, 1980, as cited in Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). This view is related to rational choice approaches which social scientists have also applied to social

interactions (Scott, 2000). Jagodzinski (2004) suggested theories of action such as prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979) or the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) as useful approaches to understand the link between cultural values and behavior, because they postulate that expected outcomes guide behavioral choices.

However, the orientation towards group norms as a rational choice of individuals based on self-interests has been questioned, a debate that cannot be reviewed here (see, e.g., Scott, 2000). A variation of this view is to see culture as a kind of tool kit (DiMaggio, 1997). It provides opportunities and limitations for action (Boesch, 1991; Brandtstädter, 1997; Swidler, 1986), it can be used by individuals instrumentally to verify one's own behavior. Items such as language, rituals, beliefs and practices are tools for the coordination of social life (Fiske, 2000).

1.3.2. Cultural emergence and transmission

What are the processes behind the relationship of culture and individuals' thinking, feeling and behavior? How does culture emerge and how is it passed on? In the following, a few aspects will be outlined.

Culture is said to emerge from the adaptation to the particular environment humans find themselves in (Berry et al., 2002; Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). Particular ways of life have developed as an adaptive response to environmental conditions (Barkow, Cosmides, & Tooby, 1992; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). As a simple example, ecological features have historically shaped the way individuals structured subsistence (e.g., agricultural versus hunting, or settled versus nomadic collectives; Heine, 2008). What has been viewed as being a functional response to challenges that a collective faces has been kept and then transmitted to the next generations as well as to newcomers (Kitayama & Markus, 1995; Lehman et al., 2004; Triandis, 2004).

A useful model that describes how culture (in terms of shared beliefs, values, and practices) emerges and is carried on is social impact theory (Latané, 1996). According to this theory, individuals interact with and communicate their ideas, beliefs and values to each other. Naturally, people of a particular geographical region are more likely to meet one another, interact, and communicate. Over time, this dynamic mutual communication process creates the emergence of shared patterns of beliefs and values which increasingly become normative in a particular group. Individuals are exposed to these patterns and use them as reference frameworks for their individual values, beliefs, attitudes, and practices, which they in turn constantly express in social interaction

processes. Heine (2008) describes it similarly: One or several individuals develop an idea, communicate it to others, who themselves take it up, process and modify it, and communicate it further. In this way, the core idea spreads continuously while being constantly adapted. Sociologist Berger (1969) suggests that individuals produce culture by externalizing values, beliefs and attitudes, which then become objective realities within a cultural group that are again internalized by its members. In a very recent study, Imada and Yussen (2012) showed that cultural values are indeed anchored in communication patterns.

The mutual communication process described above is accompanied by processes of group identification. Individuals tend to follow cultural norms and values because they identify with them. We know from social identity theory that individuals define and evaluate themselves to some extent by means of their membership in groups (D. T. Miller & Prentice, 1994; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). Through processes of exploration and commitment, an individual elaborates on the meaning of his or her cultural group and develops a sense of belonging and commitment. Group identification thus leads to the internalization of group norms and values which are then viewed as personally important (Jetten, Postmes, & McAuliffe, 2002; Leung, Bhagat, Buchan, Erez, & Gibson, 2005; Phinney, 1989).

DiMaggio (1997) views the establishment of shared cultural patterns and their relationship to individuals' thinking, feeling and behavior as partly rooted in humans' schematic knowledge organization. Cognitive schemata comprise categorical thinking, prototypes and event scripts that allow general assumptions about subjects, objects, and events when only sparse information is available. This helps humans to organize their experiences in a time- and energy-efficient way. DiMaggio (1997) argues that cognitive schemata are partly culturally derived and at the same time stabilize cultural patterns. In everyday life, individuals' schematic knowledge is constantly reinforced by cultural patterns (DiMaggio, 1997; Heine, 2008). Schematic information processing, in turn, is selective to the effect that schema-consistent information is stored and recalled easier than schema-inconsistent information. Thus, patterned and shared cultural beliefs, norms, values or practices are more likely to be taken for granted, viewed as legitimate and reproduced. This leads to cultural patterns being stabilized and carried on (DiMaggio, 1997).

Once an individual is born into a particular cultural group, it needs to acquire the knowledge that is necessary to successfully participate in it. The transfer process of

carrying cultural knowledge to new members is described by the term cultural transmission (Schönpflug, 2009). It can take place in three directions: horizontal, vertical, and oblique (Berry et al., 2002). Vertical transmission refers to the passing on of cultural knowledge from parents to their children, or from one generation to the next. Parents raise their children according to the socio-ecological requirements of the particular context (Lehman et al., 2004; Triandis, 2004). This becomes apparent in parenting practices and attached parental ethnotheories (parental beliefs about their role as nurturer and the way a child should be raised and develop; Berry et al., 2002; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; Super & Harkness, 1986). Parental ethnotheories and parenting practices resemble the basic values and principles shared in a cultural group, which are in this way learned by the child (Berry et al., 2002; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008).⁵ Oblique transmission refers to the reception of cultural knowledge from other adults and institutions. Here, the most important institution is the school (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). In school, children get taught what is viewed as important in a culture in order to grow up as a competent mature person. Finally, horizontal transmission comprises the transfer of cultural knowledge from peer to peer in everyday encounters. Culture-specific values and ideas are expressed in every day practices, event scripts, rituals, and customs (Kitayama & Markus, 1995). The way other people express their attitudes, beliefs, and values; the way they act upon and respond to the individual – this all transfers culturally-rooted information. This is in line with social impact theory, as introduced above. One can say that through horizontal transmission, individuals (children; but also adults) learn the contemporary cultural climate, the *zeitgeist* (see Boehnke, 2001; Boehnke, Hadjar, & Baier, 2007).

The developmental processes by which individuals acquire the knowledge and skills that are necessary to live in a particular cultural group have been termed enculturation and socialization (Berry et al., 2002; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, Washienko, Walter, & Dyer, 1996). Both processes are difficult to conceptually disentangle. Whereas the term enculturation originates from anthropology, the term socialization is more rooted in sociology and social psychology (Berry et al., 2002). Both encompass learning norms, rules, values and behaviors of a culture, but enculturation takes place less consciously and more through every day

⁵Whiting and Whiting (1975, as cited in Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997) and Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957, as cited in Berry et al., 2002) have for example shown how parenting practices and parental ethnotheories vary across cultures and how that reflects cultural preferences for, in example, independence versus interdependence.

experiences, whereas socialization involves more deliberate teaching (Sam, 2006). According to Bronfenbrenner (1986), enculturation and socialization take place over time (chronosystem) and within a complex network of different social systems, such as relationships to individuals or groups (microsystems), the interactions between these relationships (mesosystem), as well as the macro-social context relationships and their interfaces are embedded.

Cultural transmission, enculturation, and socialization involve social learning as a key mechanism (Fiske, 2000; Tomasello, Kruger, & Ratner, 1993). Three ways of social learning have been suggested which appear successively as cultural learning mechanisms during an individual's ontogenesis: imitative, instructed, and collaborative learning (Tomasello et al., 1993). Social or cultural learning, respectively, takes place in all social systems: Via culture-specific parenting and day care practices, interaction patterns with peers, in education systems and so on (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). It is based on human abilities for social cognitions (Heine, 2008; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). Humans are able to take on the perspective of others and to understand motives and goals that make someone act in a particular way. They can internally evaluate their observations and experiences and can establish the relationship between other peoples' actions and desired outcomes. These capabilities make humans able to learn from others via observation and communication.

1.3.3. Not a one-way street

However, as the above section on the emergence and continuation of culture conveyed, the relationship of culture with individuals' thoughts, feelings and behavior is reciprocal and dynamic (see also Gibson et al., 2009; Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Veroff & Goldberger, 1995). Contemporary events and changes call for new adaptations, new beliefs, values and practices which are again communicated, taken up, modified, carried on and transmitted (Berger, 1969; Heine, 2008; Latané, 1996). Culture and the individual mutually shape each other (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). Research has, for example, shown that value transmission can also have the reverse direction from the younger to the older generation (see Piquart & Silbereisen, 2004).

1.3.4. Digression 2: What is transmitted - individual or cultural values?

In section 1.2 it was stated that values can describe individuals and cultural groups, and that individual and cultural values are somewhat different in content and structure. In section 1.3 cultural values have been described as learned and internalized by individuals through processes of identification, transmission and enculturation. However, what is then transmitted; personal value preferences, the values of the culture, or both? Are a culture's values reflected in individual value preferences? The answer is most likely yes, it is both. An individual develops his or her personal value priorities within a particular cultural context, which to some extent sets opportunities and constraints for his or her value choices (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). Thus, value transmission comprises both the exchange of individual value preferences, and also the value preferences shared within a cultural collective. These can sometimes be contradictory. Boehnke and colleagues (Boehnke, 2001; Boehnke et al., 2007), for example, showed that for those values that are less strongly shared by a collective, parents and their offspring show a higher value congruence, because – so the authors' interpretation – parents need to engage more in making the importance of their personal value preferences explicit to their children.

1.4. Central Research Hypotheses

“When does culture matter?”

(Gibson et al., 2009, p. 46)

So far the thesis has been roughly located in the enormous body of literature on culture, and cultural values have been introduced as core components of culture. Furthermore, there was a review of how the relationship between culture and individuals' thinking, feeling and behavior can be understood. The empirical studies presented in this thesis deal with only a limited segment of the complexity of the culture-individual relationship as reviewed above. They examine the empirical co-variation between culture-level values and individuals' thinking feeling and behavior across cultural groups. They thus depict a cross-sectional 'snapshot' of the value climate – the zeitgeist (Boehnke, 2001; Boehnke et al., 2007) – in various cultural groups, and how that value climate co-varies with individuals' thinking, feeling and behavior across groups (see

Figure 2).

As will be outlined in this chapter, the main proposition of the thesis is that the relationship between culture-level values and individual's thinking, feeling, and behavior interacts with individual-level characteristics. Not all individuals living in a particular culture are guided by its values to the same extent, and particular assumptions can be made regarding who is more guided than the other. In past writings, several prominent authors have touched upon this point: Matsumoto (1997) stated that "a small but substantial portion of the population of many countries do not 'match' the dominant cultural stereotype of their country" (p. 5, quotation marks in original). In Rohner's (1984) view, the degree of cultural complexity, as it can be found in societies, would not be possible if all members were equivalent in their meaning systems. Finally, Miller (1997) stated that particular sub-groups of a society have different access to cultural stimuli and also differently influence their formation.

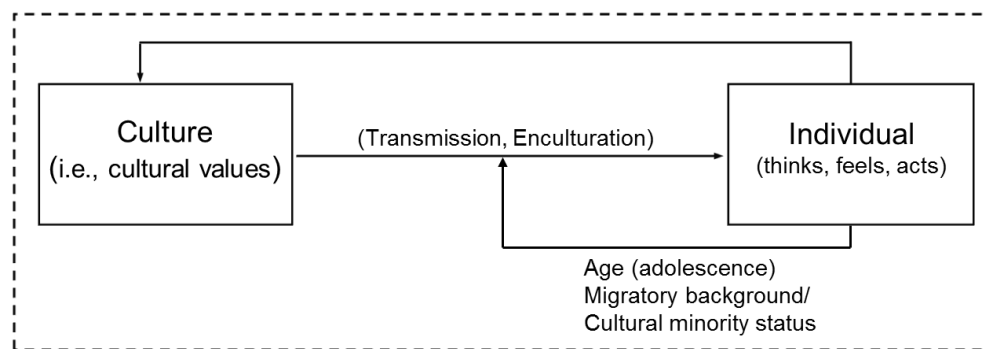
In recent writings, Kirkman and colleagues (Gibson et al., 2009; Kirkman et al., 2006; Taras et al., 2010) addressed this issue more explicitly. The authors argued that one needs to understand what *moderates* the effects of cultural values on other psychological phenomena: "Examination of potential moderators of cultural value main effects can help to determine when cultural values matter most" (Taras et al., 2010, p. 408). This would explain the relationship of culture and other psychological outcomes more precisely (Gibson et al., 2009). Researchers would better understand their findings, and practitioners could better determine the conditions under which cultural values impact relevant individual-level outcomes (Taras et al., 2010).

However, empirical examinations of potential moderators are scarce. Gibson et al. (2009) suggested a number of potential individual-level, group-level and situation-specific variables that moderate the link between culture (including cultural values) and individual-level characteristics. On the individual level, they described, for example, personality aspects (e.g., extraversion), the degree of identification with the culture and the degree of exposure to a different culture. On the group-level, aspects such as group homogeneity were suggested, and situation-specific conditions such as economic uncertainty. However, the paper remains theoretical. Leung et al. (2005) named the same moderators and provide a number of studies that give empirical evidence. Unfortunately, some of the studies referred to seem less convincing, given that they are either based on analyses with single samples (using cultural values as an individual-level variable), or they examine mediators of the culture-individual link, instead of moderators. Taras et al. (2010), in turn, were able to show that age, the nature of the

sample (students vs. business employees), gender, and education significantly moderates cultural value effects (stronger effects for older individuals, business employees, and men, compared to younger individuals, students, and women). Oyserman et al. (2002) gave evidence for the moderating role of sample composition (students vs. non-students) for effects of individualism-collectivism values. A very recent study that is relevant for the present purpose is the one by Arikan and Bloom (2011). They showed that the strength of the relationship between the cultural value embeddedness and individuals' support for public welfare systems is differs depending on people's political (right vs. left) ideologies.

The present thesis contributes to the current corpus of literature by empirically investigating potential moderators of the link between cultural values and individual's thinking, feeling and behavior (

Figure 2). In particular, three general hypotheses will be postulated and empirically tested.⁶ Hypothesis 1 regards to age, i.e. adolescence, as a moderator. It is postulated that during adolescence, individuals increasingly incorporate the cultural values they are exposed to into the self and use them as guiding principles for how they think, feel and behave. Hypotheses 2 and 3 refer to a second moderator: Migratory background and cultural minority status, respectively. In Hypothesis 2, it is expected that immigrants, especially first-generation immigrants and those from a culturally more distant country are less strongly guided by the receiving country's cultural values than non-immigrants. In Hypothesis 3, it is expected that the degree of similarity between value preferences of immigrants and cultural minority members, respectively, and those shared by the society's non-immigrant cultural majority is related to their acculturation orientations. In the following sections, each hypothesis and its theoretical derivation will be introduced in more detail.



⁶In this introductory chapter, the three hypotheses are still kept rather general. Each on is further specified in the respective paper manuscripts, in chapters 2 to 4.

Figure 2. Moderation of the relationship between culture-level values and individual-level psychological phenomena (adaptation from Figure 1)

1.4.1. Hypothesis 1: Age

In section 1.3.2, it was outlined that individuals are enculturated and socialized into their culture during the course of their ontogenesis. Furthermore, it was stated that social identification is one reason why a cultural group's values are internalized and viewed as personally important. Regarding the latter statement, Leung et al. (2005) and Gibson et al. (2009) argued that the relationship between cultural characteristics and individual-level outcomes is moderated by the degree to which individuals identify with the cultural group. Considering both the process of enculturation and the role of identification for individuals' commitment to cultural values, I claim that a crucial role can be ascribed to the life period of adolescence. Three psychological theories support this reasoning: Ego-identity theory, ethnic identity development theory, and social identity development theory.

From an ego-identity perspective, adolescence is a period where individuals increasingly deal with the question 'Who am I?', 'What constitutes myself?', and 'What is important to me in my life?' (Kroger, 1996; Steinberg, 2008). Erikson (1950; 1959), the founding father of ego-identity theory, suggested a stage-model of psychosocial development, which assigns the stage five – identity vs. identity diffusion – to adolescence. Marcia (1966) further developed Erikson's work suggesting that adolescents pass through a stage of exploration which results in commitments to certain values, beliefs and lifestyles. This process of ego identity formation also takes the cultural context and its meaning for the individual into account (Blasi, 1988). Phinney (1989; 1993) linked the ego-identity theory described above with social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979) in her stage model of ethnic identity development. She adopted Marcia's paradigm suggesting that during adolescence, ethnic minority individuals explore the meaning of their cultural origin to their life. In the course of this process, individuals commit to values, norms and practices of that group and view them as important features of the self.

Nesdale (1999b; 2008) puts social identity development into the context of intergroup relations. His social identity development theory builds upon social identity theory and suggests a four-stage model describing the development of in-group identification and out-group prejudice from childhood to adolescence. Nesdale ascribed

the first three stages (undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference) to childhood and the fourth stage (ethnic prejudice) to adolescence. Against previous assumptions that prejudice declines after the age of seven (Aboud, 1988), he postulated that during the course of adolescence prejudice does not necessarily decrease, rather may even increase (see also Kiesner, Maass, Cadinu, & Vallese, 2003). This depends on three crucial factors of which one is social identification.⁷ Children adopt, as their own, the norms, attitudes, and beliefs shared by the group they identify with (Nesdale, 1999b; see also Jetten, Postmes, & McAuliffe, 2002). If groups share norms that facilitate negative group-related attitudes, the individual is more likely to express these (Jetten et al., 2002; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997; Nesdale, 1999b).

The arguments and theories presented above form the basis for **Hypothesis 1**, which is the central focus in **Study 1**. It is expected that the relationship between cultural values and individuals' thinking, feeling and behavior is stronger among older rather than younger adolescents. The former have more likely gone through a process of identity exploration and commitment. Thus, they more likely have internalized the values exposed to them by the cultural group and use them as a reference frame for their thoughts, feelings and actions.

By using the three theories outlined above as a basis, Study 1 integrates different psychological disciplines (social, developmental, and cross-cultural psychology), an approach that has been suggested in the previous literature several times (Dunham & Degner, 2010; Rutland, Abrams, & Levy, 2007). The study is novel because Schwartz's cultural value model has – to the best of my knowledge – not been examined yet in the context of cultural value adoption in adolescence. There is good evidence that cultural values guide individuals' thoughts, feelings and behavior (see section 1.3), but less is known whether in adolescence there is a strengthening of the role of cultural values as guiding principles.

1.4.2. Hypotheses 2 and 3: Migratory background and cultural minority status

In section 1.3.2 I have reviewed how cultural content is transmitted to new members of a culture in the course of the enculturation and socialization process.

⁷The other two conditions are ethnic constancy (the understanding that ethnic-group membership is immutable) and social cognitive skills (perspective-taking, empathy and morality).

However, new members of a culture can also be individuals who were originally born into a different culture and have emigrated to a new cultural environment, but also those who are born into a culture as part of a culturally distinct minority. This regards to immigrants but also to non-immigrant cultural minorities, e.g., the Arab population in Israel. Hypotheses 2 and 3 refer to these two groups. When a person migrates to a different culture or is born into a cultural minority group, he or she is confronted with two distinct cultural value environments. If the person wants to successfully live in these two cultural worlds, he or she needs to align the values of the cultural majority with the value framework he or she was or still is socialized into, either in the culture of origin or the cultural minority community (Kwak, 2003; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). In both cases, the person must constructively handle inconsistencies and incorporate contradictory normative expectancies into a cohesive self (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Cultural transmission, therefore, is a twofold experience for immigrants and cultural minority members. Berry et al. (2002) have incorporated this exposition to two cultural frameworks in their description of vertical, horizontal, and oblique transmission (introduced in section 1.3.2). Juggling life in two cultural groups has been captured by the research field on acculturation. The term acculturation describes changes that individuals undergo as a consequence of having first-hand contact with another cultural group (Berry, 1997; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; Sam, 2006).

It is expected that the cultural value climate of a country serves less strongly as a guiding framework for the thinking, feelings and actions of immigrants and cultural minority members as compared to the non-immigrant cultural majority population of the country. Whereas for the non-immigrant majority population there is only one cultural reference frame, immigrants and minority members constantly need to weigh the values of the majority culture against divergent cultural values they are exposed to in the minority community. In line with that assumption, Gibson et al. (2009) named migration generation and the degree of exposure to a different culture as potential moderators of the culture-individual link.

In the thesis, three factors are being taken into account. Firstly, with regard to immigrants, one needs to differentiate between generations: First-generation immigrants, as opposed to second-generation immigrants, have been living in the country of origin at least for a while and thus were exposed to and learned its cultural values directly. For second-generation immigrants, the exposure to the cultural values of

the country of origin is not direct but only transmitted through their families and the minority community. Moreover, second-generation immigrants have grown up in the receiving country from birth, and will thus more easily incorporate its cultural values (Hwang, 2006; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Phinney et al., 2000).

Secondly, it is necessary to consider how different the cultural values of the majority population and those of the cultural minority are. An immigrant from a culturally close region will more likely be guided by the receiving culture's values than an immigrant from a culturally more distant region, because the former grew up in a cultural value climate more similar to the receiving culture than the latter (see Masgoret & Ward, 2006). The same is true for non-immigrant cultural minorities (e.g., the Arabs population of Israel): The larger the cultural distance to the majority's population is the less likely are the minority members to be guided by the majority's cultural values.

Thirdly, the degree to which the values of the cultural majority are adopted by the minority depends on the degree to which they identify with it (see section 1.3.1). More precisely, not only does the identification with the society of residence matter, but also the identification with the minority group. This is reflected in the concept of acculturation orientations. Its most prominent representative, Berry (e.g., Berry, 1997) suggested that the desire to maintain the culture of origin and the attempt to adopt the culture of the society of residence are independent dimensions within a person. These dimensions jointly form four acculturation orientations, depending on whether either both are strongly or weakly endorsed (integration and marginalization) or one is strongly and the other one is weakly endorsed (assimilation, separation).

The insights from acculturation research constitute the basis for Hypotheses 2 and 3. **Hypothesis 2** states that the relationship between a country's cultural values and its individual's thinking, feeling and behavior is weaker for immigrants than for non-immigrants. This regards especially to first-generation immigrants as opposed to second-generation immigrants, and to immigrants from culturally more distant countries as opposed to those from culturally closer countries (**Study 2**). **Hypothesis 3** draws on the previous one but goes a step further. It approaches the aspect of cultural minority membership from a different perspective, investigating the similarity of cultural minorities' values to those of the majority culture. It is assumed that immigrant and non-immigrant cultural minority members differ in their acculturation orientations, and

that these orientations are reflected in the degree of similarity to the majority population's cultural values, termed cultural value fit (**Study 3**).

1.4.3. Summary of research hypotheses

In the thesis, cultural values are conceptualized as core features of a culture, shared basic assumptions about what is good and desirable. As has been reviewed, cultural values shared by a group relate to its members' thinking, feeling and behavior by serving as a guiding reference framework. Central processes are transmission, enculturation, and socialization. This assumption will be further probed in the thesis, postulating that not all individuals living in a particular culture are guided by its values to the same extent, and that hypotheses can be postulated regarding who is more guided than another. In particular, it is hypothesized that the relationship between a cultural group's values and their members' thinking, feeling and behavior is stronger among older compared to younger adolescents. Furthermore, it is assumed that individuals with a migratory background or a cultural minority status, respectively, are less strongly guided by the cultural values of a country's majority population. For immigrants, this regards especially to first-generation immigrants as opposed to second-generation immigrants, and those from a culturally more distant as compared to a culturally closer region. Finally, the idea is put forward that immigrants and cultural minority members pursuing different acculturation orientations also differ in their cultural value fit to their country's cultural majority.

1.5. Research Designs

1.5.1. Study 1

Hypothesis 1 postulates that the relationship between a cultural group's values and its individuals' thinking, feeling and behaviour is stronger among older compared to younger adolescents. This hypothesis calls for a **multilevel research design**: Schwartz's model conceptualizes cultural values as a group characteristic. Cultural groups differ in their cultural values, but – following that principle – not individuals within such groups. In contrast, what has so far been described as 'individuals' thinking, feelings and behavior' refers to individual rather than group characteristics. With a multilevel design one can explain differences between individuals regarding a particular

phenomenon by characteristics of the group the individual is a member of (see, e.g., Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002).

In Study 1, the hypothesis is tested by a multilevel approach with six cultural (majority and minority) groups in Germany and Israel. It was decided to use group-related attitudes as an exemplary variable for what has so far been named ‘individuals’ thinking, feelings and behavior’.⁸ This decision was made for two reasons: Firstly, the relationship between cultural values and individuals’ group-related attitudes is empirically well documented (Leong & Ward, 2006; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b), designating this relationship as suitable for testing potential moderators. Secondly, research on the development of group-related attitudes has largely focused on childhood (see Aboud & Amato, 2001) or adults. Adolescence as a stage of life is far underrepresented in current literature which is why we do not yet know enough about what promotes prejudiced group-related attitudes in adolescence (Baker & Fishbein, 1998; Fishbein, 1996; Hoover & Fishbein, 1999; Kiesner et al., 2003). The social identity development theory described above (Nesdale, 1999b) provides a useful theoretical background for testing how cultural values relate to adolescents’ group-related attitudes and how that link is moderated by age. Therefore, in Study 1, individual-level group-related attitudes were regressed on group-level cultural values, and age (younger vs. older adolescents) was included as an individual-level moderator.

The **data** used in Study 1 stem from the German-Israeli research project “Identity Development and Value Transmission among Veteran and Migrant Adolescents and Their Families in Germany and Israel: Life Transitions and Contexts” (Hebrew University Jerusalem and Jacobs University Bremen), carried out between July 2007 and January 2010.⁹ In this project, adolescents from the following six cultural groups were surveyed: Non-immigrants in Germany and Israel, immigrants from countries of the Former Soviet Union to Germany and Israel, immigrants from Turkey to Germany, and the Arab minority in Israel.

Data of younger and older adolescents were collected in schools (grades five to six, and 10 to 11). Two data collection waves were carried out, of which this thesis only uses the data from the first wave. These were collected between fall 2007 and spring

⁸In Study 1, the term out-group negativity is used to describe (negative) group-related attitudes.

⁹The project was funded by the German Ministry of Education and Science (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung).

2009. In Germany, 22 schools located in the city of Bremen¹⁰ were surveyed. Due to a low response rate of immigrant students in these schools, the survey was then extended to 12 additional schools with an evidently high proportion of Former Soviet Union and Turkish immigrants, respectively, in the states of Lower Saxony (Hannover, Osnabrück, Cloppenburg), and North Rhine-Westphalia (Detmold, Cologne, Paderborn). Furthermore, extra-curriculum sampling of immigrants was pursued via mediators (individuals and associations that have access to the Turkish and Russian community) and direct mail contact.¹¹ In Israel, schools were selected throughout the country based on age group, sector (Jewish vs. Arab school), and, within the Jewish school sector, on the proportion of immigrants and of families with different socioeconomic statuses. Of the 18 schools approached, 16 agreed to participate. Since in Israel there was also a shortage of immigrant and minority participants after the first round of data collection, additional schools with sufficiently high proportions of these target groups were surveyed.

Study 1 is based on a preliminary version of the Wave 1 data (spring 2009). Subsequent analyses with the full data set confirmed the results of Study 1 (Schiefer, Möllering, Daniel, Benish-Weisman, & Boehnke, 2010b). For details on the sample characteristics see the methods sections of Study 1, chapter 2.3.

In Study 1, **cultural values** were measured by means of individual-level questionnaire responses aggregated to the cultural-group level. This approach is suggested by Schwartz (2006b), who states that “the average value priorities of societal members point to the underlying cultural emphases to which they are exposed” (p. 142). The measure utilized is the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ; S. H. Schwartz et al., 2001; S. H. Schwartz & Rubel, 2005). This questionnaire is a further development of the Schwartz Value Survey (S. H. Schwartz, 1992) which had turned out to be cognitively very demanding. The PVQ comprises descriptions (portraits) of a particular person’s goals, aspirations, or wishes (e.g., “She/He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally.”). For each item, participants are asked to indicate how similar the portrayed person is to them. The PVQ has been tested with over 50 samples and has been shown to be suitable for use with adults as well as children and adolescents (Bubeck & Bilsky, 2004; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003).

¹⁰All Bremen schools with students in the selected grades (N = 63) were approached and asked for participation, and 22 schools agreed to participate.

¹¹Addresses of families from the Former Soviet Union and Turkey were provided by the Bremen registration office.

The PVQ was originally created to capture Schwartz's 10 individual-level value types (S. H. Schwartz, 1992). However, by use of multidimensional scaling analysis (Borg & Groenen, 1997) with aggregated group scores, Schwartz (2006b) showed that the measure can also capture culture-level values. Schwartz (2006b) illustrates in a figure how the PVQ-items distribute in the two dimensional space and form regions reflecting the culture-level value types (p. 148). The computation of the cultural value scores as performed in Study 1 is based on these specifications.

The German-Israeli research project used a 25 item version of the PVQ, of which 21 items stem from a short form used in the European Social Survey (see Bilsky, Janik, & Schwartz, 2011). Four additional items were created by the Israeli research team, resulting in a 25-item questionnaire. However, Study 1 uses only the 21-item version, to make it more comparable to Study 2 (see below). Some of the item wordings were slightly changed in order to ensure that the youngest adolescents would understand them.

The choice of **group-related attitudes** as individual-level variables in Study 1 created the difficult task of finding corresponding measures applicable to both non-immigrant and immigrant individuals. The majority of established group-related attitude scales have been administered to the view of a country's majority population towards immigrants or cultural minorities (see, e.g., the work of Decker & Brähler, 2006; Heitmeyer, 2007; Lederer, 1995, in Germany). Items like 'foreigners take away our jobs' are examples of widely used measures of out-group prejudice, but they cannot be used with migrant or cultural minority individuals, since they themselves are the 'foreigners'. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, scales were composed measuring group-related attitudes excluding contents that referred to catch-all social categories such as 'immigrants' or 'foreigners'. Instead, items that referred to different specific out-groups were jointly used to capture an underlying syndrome of group-related enmity. The existence of such a basic group-focused enmity which 'feeds' attitudes to all kinds of out-groups has been impressively demonstrated by Zick et al. (2008). The introduction of Study 1 provides some further elaboration on this approach.

Two items were used that were assumed to measure negative group-related attitudes amongst all samples in a comparable way. The first item, "When I shake hands with [reference group member], I feel uncomfortable", was an adaptation from Lederer (1995), the second item, "It is better not to have too much to do with [reference group member] because they are unpleasant to interact with", was adapted from Liebhart and

Liebhart (1971). Participants were asked to estimate their agreement with these items with regard to four reference groups. The first two of these reference groups were the respective other groups that participated in the study in the respective country (e.g., a German participant evaluated Turkish and Former Soviet Union immigrants). In Germany, individuals with black skin color were presented as a third reference group, in Israel Ethiopian immigrants (the main minority group with black skin color in Israel). This additional reference group was chosen to broaden the range of social categories to those not solely based on national or cultural heritage (in this case, skin color as a visual characteristic determines the group membership, more than for the reference groups ‘Turkish immigrant’ and ‘Arab Israeli’). The fourth reference group was the participants’ in-group, which they evaluated for practical reasons¹² but also for a comparison of in- and out-group attitudes.

1.5.2. Study 2

Hypothesis 2 postulates weaker relationships between cultural values and individuals’ thinking, feelings and behavior among immigrants as compared to non-immigrants. This is expected to especially be the case with first-generation immigrants as compared to their second-generation counterparts, and for immigrants from a culturally distant as compared to those from a culturally close country. Like in Study 1, the hypothesis can best be investigated in a multilevel design. The research design is therefore similar to that of Study 1. This time, however, representative country samples were used instead of majority and minority adolescent samples. Group-related attitudes were again used as an individual-level variable (Study 2). In this way, so the idea, the findings can be compared more easily to those of Study 1. Again, individual-level group-related attitudes were regressed on group-level cultural values, and this time migration generation (non-immigrant, second-generation immigrant, first-generation immigrant) and origin (culturally close vs. culturally distant) were included as individual-level moderators.

The **data** from Study 2 stem from the European Social Survey, an academically oriented cross-national survey of social attitudes and values, covering more than 30, mostly European, countries. Funded by the European Commission and by national

¹²Each participant of a country received the same questionnaire comprising all four reference groups. It would have been difficult to present different questionnaire versions to the various non-immigrant and immigrant groups, because clearly deciding who belongs to which group and should get which version was not possible and also would have possibly evoked feelings of stigmatization among participants.

funding agencies, the survey program attempts to document changes in attitudes of European citizens in a number of social, political and cultural domains (e.g., trust, political attitudes, well-being, health, social capital). It aims at providing academics and policy makers with reliable information on how the populations in various countries perceive and evaluate their life and their social environment (European Science Foundation, 1999; Jowell, Kaase, Fitzgerald, & Eva, 2007; Stoop, Billiet, Koch, & Fitzgerald, 2010). A blueprint outlining the program's concept was published by the Social Sciences Committee of the European Science Foundation in 1999 (European Science Foundation, 1999). Round 1 was launched in 2001 (data collection started in 2002) and has since then been repeated biannually. Data from Round 5 have recently been published. Each round comprises a multi-faceted core module and a thematically centered rotating module. Participants are individuals aged 15 and over resident in a particular country, regardless of citizenship.

The implementation of the European Social Survey is based on the principle of a highest level of comparability across nations. The program provides highly qualitative probability country-samples and is stringent in measurement equivalence (e.g., through elaborated translation procedures, question-testing and fieldwork guidelines for the national research teams) (Jowell et al., 2007; Stoop et al., 2010). Another quality feature is the public accessibility of the data and a transparent documentation of questionnaire development, data collection, data preparation as well as the data's strengths and shortcomings.

Study 2 is based on the latest version of the Round 4 data (European Social Survey, 2010-forthcoming), which cover more than 50000 individuals from 30 European and non-European countries. Not all countries and not all individuals per country were used for the analyses. Details on the selection criteria can be taken from the methods section of Study 2 (section 3.3).

To measure **cultural values** in study 2, the PVQ, which has been included in the European Social Survey since Round 1, was used once more. As already introduced above, the PVQ is implemented in the survey in an abridged 21-item version (see Bilsky et al., 2011). The computation of the cultural value scores as performed in Study 2 was again based on the specifications made by Schwartz (2006b).

Regarding **group-related attitudes**, the Round 4 data of the European Social Survey provide only a limited number of variables that comprise attitudes towards reference groups other than immigrants. Using exploratory factor analyses, all potential

items were tested regarding their usefulness as a joint measure. Four items were finally chosen and jointly transformed into an index of group-related enmity. These items assessed attitudes towards gender equality, homosexuals, other age groups and towards unemployed people. Details on the theoretical approach and procedure of the index's creation can be taken from the methods section of Study 2 (section 3.3).

1.5.3. Study 3

Hypothesis 3 postulates that immigrants and cultural minority members pursuing different acculturation orientations differ in their degree of similarity to the country's majority population, termed cultural value fit. This hypothesis requires a research design that differs from the one of Study 1 and 2 in that only individual-level analyses can be performed.

The study used the same **data** like Study 1 (see the description above), with two deviations: This time, the complete Wave 1 data set was used, which was finished only in summer 2009. This means that the number of participants differs from the one in Study 1. Furthermore, only the four immigrant and minority samples, respectively, were used. The sample characteristics are documented in the methods section of Study 3 (section 4.3).

In order to operationalize the **cultural value fit**, the PVQ was used yet again. This time, however, the questionnaire was not used as a group-level measure (group mean scores). Instead, the differences of each individual's PVQ-based cultural value scores from the average of representative German and Israeli country samples is used as an individual-level indicator of cultural value fit. Details on the creation of this cultural value fit measure are provided in the methods section of Study 3 (section 4.3).

Acculturation Orientations – the degree of orientation towards both the dominant majority culture and the culture of one's minority – encompass, broadly put, cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2011). In Study 3 of this thesis, acculturation orientations of immigrant and minority adolescents were operationalized using identification with both cultural groups, an affective component of acculturation (S. J. Schwartz et al., 2011). Two identical three-item scales measuring identification with the country of residence (Germany and Israel, respectively) and with the minority group (an immigrant from the Former Soviet Union, from Turkey, and an Arab Israeli, respectively) were used. The items were taken from a 16-item group identification scale developed by Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, and Eidelson

(2008).¹³ The scale is based on a review of different theoretical approaches to group identification, in which the authors identified four general dimensions: ‘Importance of the group to one’s self’, ‘commitment to the group’, ‘perception of the group as being superior to other groups’, and ‘deference to the group’s norms, rules and leaders’. For Study 3, three items were taken from the ‘importance’ dimension of the scale. The decision to focus on the identification component of acculturation partly rested on practical reasons¹⁴ but also on the fact that group identification is a crucial developmental aspect in adolescence (see section 1.4.1). The latter fact designates this component of acculturation as especially interesting because it touches upon a fundamental core matter in adolescents’ life.

1.6. About the Study Manuscripts

In chapters 2 to 4, each study is described in detail. Each chapter is based on an article manuscript that has been submitted to and partly already published in a scientific journal. The chapters’ outlines therefore resemble the classical structure of journal articles, comprising a theoretical introduction, a method and results section, and a concluding discussion. Because the manuscripts were included in the thesis in the versions they have been submitted to the journals (except for the changes described below), some contents will appear repeatedly (e.g., the description of Schwartz’ cultural value theory).

Chapter 2 describes Study 1 and is based on the article *Cultural Values and Out-group Negativity: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Early and Late Adolescents*, published in 2010 in the *European Journal of Social Psychology* (together with Anna Möllering, Ella Daniel, Maya Benish-Weisman, and Klaus Boehnke). Chapter 3 describes Study 2 and is based on the article *Cultural Values and Group-Related Attitudes: A Comparison of Individuals With and Without Migration Background Across 24 Countries*, which has been accepted for publication by the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. Chapter 4 documents Study 3 and is based on the manuscript *Cultural Value Fit of Immigrant and Minority Adolescents: The Role of Acculturation Orientations*, which has been accepted for publication by the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (together with Anna Möllering and Ella Daniel).

¹³Through personal contacts, the project was able to use the scale already in 2007 before it had been published.

¹⁴Group identification was the only variable included in the questionnaire of the German-Israeli research project that was suitable for operationalizing acculturation orientations.

Although Chapters 2 to 4 are based on article manuscripts, they have been slightly adapted for the purpose of the current thesis. The following changes have been made:

- A number of minor linguistic changes have been made for reasons of keeping consistency across the thesis chapters and of phrasing some content-related statements more precisely.
- The original manuscripts each include a reference list. In this thesis, there is only one overall list containing the references of all studies as well as those of the general introduction and general discussion.
- Hypotheses are numbered according to the way they have been introduced in the general introduction (Hypothesis 1-3, see section 1.4). Hypotheses 1 and 2 are further differentiated, which is indicated by alphabetic characters (e.g., Hypothesis 1a, 1b).
- Tables and figures are numbered chronologically throughout the thesis. Therefore, the numbers of tables and figures in chapters 2 to 4 differ from the numbers of the same tables and figures in the original journal articles.
- The result and discussion section of Study 1 (sections 2.4.2 and 2.5) differ from the journal article: In the results section, an additional analysis was included (see footnotes 18 and 20). The discussion section was partly rephrased (see footnote 23).

2. Cultural Values and Out-group Negativity: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of Early and Late Adolescents

This chapter is based on the journal article ‘Cultural Values and Out-group Negativity: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Early and Late Adolescents’ by David Schiefer, Anna Möllering, Ella Daniel, Maya Benish-Weisman, and Klaus Boehnke (2010). The final definite version of this paper has been published in the *European Journal of Social Psychology*, volume 40, pages 635–651, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., All rights reserved ©. The electronic version is available via <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/ejsp.745/abstract>.

2.1. Abstract

Based on Schwartz' theory of cultural values, the present research tested whether the level of out-group negativity among adolescents is influenced by the preferred values shared by the individual's cultural group. Furthermore, it was expected that this correspondence increases during adolescence, due to (individual and social) identity development in that age period. Measures of cultural values as well as derogatory attitudes towards out-groups were administered to young (age 9-12) and older (age 15-18) adolescents in Germany (Native Germans, Turkish and Former Soviet Union immigrants) and Israel (Native Israelis, Former Soviet Union immigrants, Arab Israelis). Data were analysed on both the individual and the group level. Results confirm the hypothesis that cultural values are associated with out-group negativity, especially for the culture-level value dimension of egalitarianism versus hierarchy. Both the degree to which a cultural group prefers one value and the degree to which the individual accepts this value for itself are influential for the level of out-group negativity. On both levels of analyses, the data show that the relationship between the culture-level value dimension of egalitarianism versus hierarchy and out-group negativity is stronger among older compared to younger adolescents. The data imply that the cultural context an individual lives in needs more attention when examining origins of out-group negativity among adolescents. Furthermore, it is argued that relationships between out-group negativity and relevant predictors undergo crucial changes during adolescence.

2.2. Introduction

The general phenomenon of out-group negativity has been widely examined in psychological research. Previous work demonstrated a large number of factors that might explain why members of ethnic or cultural groups tend to derogate out-groups (see, e.g. Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001; Brown, 1995; Kessler & Mummendey, 2008). In recent years, the emergence of derogatory intergroup attitudes¹⁵ have also been approached from a developmental perspective (c.f. Levy & Killen, 2008), knowing that understanding its developmental basis is of high importance to the early prevention of intergroup hostility. Studying out-group negativity in childhood and adolescence provides an opportunity to explore its ontogenetic development and its relationship with other variables across an age span where identity, social relations and cognitive abilities are rapidly developing (Aboud & Amato, 2001; Levy & Killen, 2008; Nesdale, 2001).

2.2.1. Beyond childhood: The development of out-group negativity in adolescence

Most of the theoretical and empirical work has focused on childhood, offering important insights into the complexity of intergroup attitude development (Aboud, 1988, 2003; Aboud & Amato, 2001; Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001; M. Bennett & Sani, 2004; Bigler & Liben, 2007; Fishbein, 1996; Hoover & Fishbein, 1999; Katz, 1976; Levy & Killen, 2008; Nesdale, 1999a, 2004). However, while research on the development of intergroup attitudes among children has received increased attention, much less research has been performed on further developmental aspects that pertain to the age period of adolescence (Fishbein, 1996; Hoover & Fishbein, 1999). Aboud (1988) resumed that there is a systematic decline in prejudice beyond the age of seven. Fishbein (1996) as well as Hoover and Fishbein (1999) also argued that during late childhood and adolescence, there should be a decline in prejudice due to massive improvement in social, cognitive and moral abilities. However, this argumentation has been empirically challenged, with some studies showing a remaining level of prejudice and others even an increase in prejudice beyond the age of seven (Nesdale, 1999b, 2004). Nesdale (2008) argued that there is a variety of circumstances that determine the emergence of prejudice in the following years. The author provided a developmental approach to intergroup attitudes and prejudice that takes into account both childhood and adolescence: Social identity development theory

¹⁵In the journal article this chapter is based on, the term intergroup attitudes is used synonymously for the term group-related attitudes, which in turn was used in the other chapters.

(SIDT, Nesdale, 1999b, 2004). This approach is based on the previously developed social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, & Reicher, 1987). In SIDT, Nesdale (1999b; 2004) proposes that children pass through four different stages of social identity consolidation that may result in prejudice. Children younger than two or three years are still in the *undifferentiated* stage, with social categories and corresponding bias not yet being evident. In stage two at around three years of age, children develop *ethnic awareness*, meaning they learn from significant others that the people around them belong to social categories. In this stage, the maturing child also learns that he or she is also a member of some type of social category (ethnic self-identification). The increasing awareness of social groups then leads the child to proceed to stage three, *ethnic preference*. In the consideration of this stage, SIDT differs from Aboud's (1988) sociocognitive theory and from social categorization theory, stating that ethnic awareness does not directly initiate negativity towards out-groups but rather an increasing focus and preference for the in-group. Children learn from their social environment that the in-group is positively distinct from relevant out-groups. Then, under certain circumstances, this in-group focus can turn into an out-group focus, and ethnic preference can turn into stage four, *ethnic prejudice*. Out-groups are not merely liked less than the in-group anymore; they are disliked or even hated. One of these circumstances deals with the fact that, according to SIDT, the potential emergence of prejudice is associated with social identity processes (Nesdale, 2004, 2008). The maturing individual increasingly identifies with the own social group. In the course of this identification process, out-group negativity is developed through adopting the negative attitudes that are prevalent in the individual's social in-group (Nesdale, 1999b, 2004, 2008; see also Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005). Similarly, Verkuyten (2003) assumes that in-group bias depends on the norms of a social entity that an individual finds itself in. In contrast to the assumptions of sociocognitive theory (Aboud, 1988), SIDT presumes that the fourth stage may emerge beyond the age of seven. Nesdale (2004) argued "that it is precisely in this period [beyond the age of seven] that prejudice actually crystallizes and emerges in those children who come to hold such attitudes" (p. 229).

The assumption that the development of prejudice is related to social identification processes leads us to the life phase of adolescence. The consolidation of an individual's identity is one important developmental step that has been shown to proceed drastically especially during this age period (e.g., Adams & Marshall, 1996;

Erikson, 1959; Marcia, 1966; S. H. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; S. J. Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006; for an overview see Steinberg, 2008). In early adolescence, the individual begins to explore the own self concerning who he or she is and what he or she considers to be important to him- or herself (e.g., Erikson, 1959; Luyckx, Goossens, & Soenens, 2006; Marcia, 1966; S. H. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Over time, the individual then makes a number of commitments to certain aspects of the personality, to beliefs, norms and ways of life, and increasingly perceives them as integral components of the own self (Erikson, 1959; Marcia, 1966; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2006). At this it is important that an individual's identity has been proposed to be also influenced by its membership in social groups (M. Bennett & Sani, 2004; Phinney, 1990; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). From the work of Phinney (1989) it is even known that in adolescence the development of ethnic identity undergoes similar stages like the development of individual identity, as postulated by Marcia (1966). The individual includes group membership in the own identity and to some extent takes over the group's norms and values (M. Bennett & Sani, 2004, 2008; Phinney, 1989, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Identifying with a group means – at least partly – accepting the group norms and values as one's own norms and values (Nesdale, 2004). This refers also to a possible adoption of values, ideals, and beliefs from the *cultural* group the individual lives in (Jensen, 2003; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2006).

Thus, it is postulated that adolescence is an important age period for the internalization of group norms and values. The central theoretical assumption of this present article is that in adolescence, out-group negativity is influenced by norms and values – i.e. the value climate – of a cultural group an individual lives in. It is expected that (a) the more an individual accepts cultural values that promote negative perceptions of out-group, and (b) the more the individual's cultural group shares such values, the more will the individual show out-group negativity. The strength of these relationships are expected to increase in the course of adolescence, since with a more mature identity, individuals increasingly commit to the group's norms and values and accept them as guiding standards for their lives.

In the next section, it will be outlined how this cultural value climate a maturing adolescent is exposed to is approached.

2.2.2. *Out-group negativity among adolescents: The role of cultural values*

Schwartz et al. (2006) postulate that “the wider cultural context sets parameters on what individuals can count on during the process of identity development” (p. 5). In the present article, a societal variable that can explain negative attitudes towards out-groups in adolescence is suggested: *Cultural values* (S. H. Schwartz, 1999, 2008).

Values can be seen as a fundamental part of an individual’s identity (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Verplanken & Holland, 2002). They are incorporated into the self-concept of a person and serve as a guiding standard for attitudes and behavior (S. H. Schwartz, 1994a). Values can be held by individuals (c.f. the work of S. H. Schwartz, 1992, 1994a) but also by cultural groups. According to Schwartz (1999; 2008) “cultural values represent the implicitly and explicitly shared abstract ideas about what is good, right and desirable in a society” (S. H. Schwartz, 1999, p. 25). Individuals are exposed to these cultural values through a variety of societal institutions (such as economic institutions, legal systems, child-rearing institutions or schools, S. H. Schwartz, 2008). Schwartz’ theory has some overlaps with other concepts of culture-level dimensions such as Hofstede’s approach which describes – among others – the dimension of individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 2001). However, it differs in a number of theoretical and empirical aspects and can be seen as a further extension of previous research on culture specific characteristics (for details see S. H. Schwartz, 2008).

Schwartz (2008) proposes three central dimensions of cultural values, each suggesting two opposing answers to a particular basic issue that a society is confronted with when regulating human activity. The first dimension deals with the issue of establishing a stable social fabric within a society. This dimension is constituted by *egalitarianism* at the one pole and *hierarchy* at the opposite pole. Egalitarianism promotes the equality of human beings: social justice and mutual responsibility are the central intentions. The latter promotes the legitimization of status differences within a society. It states that an unequal distribution of power within a society is a natural and desirable condition. Roles are hierarchically structured with a certain number of people being superior while others are comparatively subordinate. The second dimension, *autonomy* versus *embeddedness*, deals with the issue of defining the nature of the relations and boundaries between the person and the group. In autonomous cultures, individuals are encouraged to think, feel, and act as unique individuals. This value can be differentiated into intellectual autonomy (follow own ideas and thinking, e.g., being creative and curious) and affective autonomy (follow own attempts for positive

affective conditions, e.g., having pleasure and excitement). The embeddedness value emphasizes the integration in a social entity with shared goals and ways of living. The interests of the in-group are considered to precede the ones of the individual. The third dimension deals with the issue of people's treatment of human and natural resources and distinguishes *harmony* from *mastery*. Harmony values stand for unity with the social and natural environment. One should strive for a world at peace and the protection of the environment. In contrast, mastery values focus on an active self-assertion in order to master, change and direct the social and natural world. One should be ambitious, seek success and competence in order to attain group or personal goals.

To the best of my knowledge, examining the relationship between cultural values and out-group negativity, especially taking a developmental perspective, has been rarely accomplished in previous research. One study that was based on data of a large European survey (Eurobarometer 2000, c.f. Thalhammer, Zucha, Enzenhofer, Salfinger, & Ogris, 2001) showed that Schwartz' cultural values relate to attitudes towards immigrants (Leong & Ward, 2006). However, the Eurobarometer survey includes mainly adults, which does not allow the examination of the developmental aspects proposed in the present article.

The cultural value types proposed by Schwartz (1999; 2008) are prone to relate to the rejection of out-groups, though to different degrees (see also Leong & Ward, 2006). The strongest predictions can be made for the *egalitarianism-hierarchy dimension*. Egalitarianism emphasizes the equality of all people in the world. In cultures higher on egalitarianism, members of out-groups may less likely be devaluated. On the contrary, in a society where hierarchical relationships between individuals and groups are valued as legitimate, individuals might be more prone to differentiate in- and out-groups, which is one motor of out-group negativity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Thus, cultures that are located on the hierarchy end of this culture-level value dimension should show the most negative out-group perception. Furthermore, intellectual and affective *autonomy*, as opposed to *embeddedness*, is a value that emphasizes the individual rather than the group, which in turn should decrease the likelihood of rejecting others based on their group membership. Thus, cultures that are closer to the embeddedness end pole of this culture-level value dimension should also state more out-group negativity. Last, the aspiration for *harmony* with the social environment should be associated with a weaker tendency to feel negative towards out-groups, since this value is assumed to encourage living in accordance and avoiding conflict with the

whole social world (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). Somewhat less clear hypotheses can be generated with regard to the mastery value. Directing and changing the environment to reach individual and group goals can be positively *or* negatively related to the rejection of out-groups, which can, among others, depend on the cooperative vs. competitive nature of the relationship to a particular out-group (Sherif & Sherif, 1953). Hence, less strong effects on out-group negativity are expected for the *harmony-mastery* dimension.

2.2.3. *Hypotheses*

To summarize, Hypothesis 1a assumes that an adolescent's level of out-group negativity is a function of cultural values. It is expected that this relationship can be found on both the individual and the group-level: Firstly, an individual's level of negativity towards out-groups is a function of this individual's acceptance of a particular cultural value type. Stronger out-group negativity is assumed among individuals who are closer to the hierarchy, the embeddedness or the mastery pole of the corresponding culture-level value dimension. Over and above this relationship on the individual level, it is expected that a person's out-group negativity is a function of the shared cultural values of the group the person lives in. Members of groups that are closer to the hierarchy, embeddedness or mastery pole will show more negativity towards out-groups.

Hypothesis 1b predicts – on both levels – stronger effects for older compared to younger adolescents, since identity development proceeds through the course of adolescence and cultural values increasingly serve as guiding standards for an individual's life.

2.2.4. *The cultural groups under scrutiny*

The above introduced hypotheses were examined using data of six native as well as immigrant and minority youth groups in two countries, *Germany* and *Israel*. In both countries, data from the majority groups, *Native Germans* and *Native Israelis*, were collected. In addition, in both countries adolescents with a *migratory background from the Former Soviet Union* (FSU) were sampled. These immigrants are culturally embedded in the Eastern European culture. However, although coming from similar regions of upbringing (Former Soviet Union countries), these immigrant groups tend to have different cultural backgrounds in the two receiving countries (e.g., Rosenthal, 2005; R. Silbereisen, Lantermann, & Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). FSU immigrants in Israel are mostly of Jewish heritage, whereas those that migrated to Germany were of

German descent (German *Aussiedler*). Additionally, in each country a second important minority group was studied: In Germany, data from *Turkish immigrants* were collected, a large minority group that in sizable parts immigrated as guest workers in the 1960s (Böttiger, 2005). In Israel, *Arab* citizens were sampled, who form an important minority, albeit without the classical migratory background (e.g., Bar-Tal, 1996).

All these groups were expected to differ in their cultural values, based on the findings presented by Schwartz (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b; 2008). For example, Native German adolescents represent the values of Western European countries, with high preference for egalitarianism and autonomy. The Israeli society is similar to Anglo-Saxon countries such as the USA (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b, 2008) which are high in autonomy and mastery. The Arab minority of Israel represents the Muslim Middle Eastern cultures that favor embeddedness and hierarchy values. The Turkish immigrants in Germany are still strongly attached to their Turkish heritage (e.g., Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdržálek, 2000), and can therefore be considered to be more similar to Muslim Middle Eastern cultures than to Western European cultures. The two FSU groups represent cultures such as Russia or Ukraine that are prone to favor mastery, hierarchy, and embeddedness values (see S. H. Schwartz, 2006b; S. H. Schwartz, 2008). Nevertheless, as described above, the cultural socialization of both groups may not be completely the same, due to their religious affiliation (FSU immigrants in Israel) respectively their descent (FSU immigrants to Germany).

2.2.5. Assessing out-group negativity among majority and minority adolescents

Previous studies that assessed out-group-related attitudes have usually been focusing on host culture members' views of certain immigrant groups or 'the other' in more general terms (e.g., Decker & Brähler, 2006; Heitmeyer, 2007). Items like "Foreigners take away our jobs" are widely used to assess out-group hostility, but they cannot be used in the current study as the samples include immigrants themselves. Hence, it was attempted to assess out-group attitudes among members of the majority and of minority groups in a comparable manner. In the present study, the term *out-group negativity* is used to describe a general tendency to show negative attitudes towards out-groups. It is argued that such an underlying out-group negativity can be derived from assessing attitudes towards different significant out-groups. This assumption refers to the approach of Zick et al. (2008). Based on large-sample survey data in different European countries, the authors showed that prejudices towards a variety of different groups are substantially interrelated. The authors identified a general

underlying syndrome which they called group focused enmity (GFE). From their findings they reasoned that attitudes towards different out-groups “mirror a general devaluation of out-groups, that is, GFE” (Zick et al., 2008, p. 364). Interrelations of attitudes towards different (ethnic) groups have also been shown by previous researchers, such as Guimond, Dambrun, Michinov and Duarte (2003), Bratt (2005) as well as Stangor, Sullivan and Ford (1991). Empirical evidence for the existence of a general out-group negativity factor has also been provided by Hoover and Fishbein (1999). Based on these findings it is supposed that this approach is convenient when examining out-group negativity among majority and minority individuals.

2.3. Methods

2.3.1. Participants

Participants of the research reported here were 3223 students from public schools in Israel and Germany. To compare younger with older adolescents, individuals were divided into two groups. The younger age group consisted of 1585 children (767 male and 809 female, 9 did not report their gender) aged 9-12 ($M = 11$ years and 2 month, $SD = 0.72$). The older age group comprised 1638 adolescents (771 male and 855 female, 12 did not report their gender) aged 15-18 ($M = 16$ years and 1 month, $SD = 0.74$).

As described in the previous section, data of six cultural groups were collected: Native Jewish Israelis, Israeli Arabs, FSU immigrants to Israel, Native Germans, Turkish immigrants to Germany, and FSU immigrants to Germany. A child or adolescent was seen as having a migratory background if she/he or at least one of the parents was born in the FSU or in Turkey, respectively. Individuals were assigned to the Arab sample based on the school she/he was interviewed at. This was a technically reliable assignment, because in Israel a separate school system for Arab students exists. Hence, children whose parents were both born in Israel but who learned in an Arabic school were considered Arab.

Table 1 shows how the participants from the six samples were distributed in the two age groups.

Table 1. *Division of Participants Across Ethnic and Age Groups*

	Participants Younger age group				Participants Older age group			
	Total	Age range (<i>M</i>)	Male	Female	Total	Age range (<i>M</i>)	Male	Female
Native Germans	770	9-12 (10.98)	378	392	439	15-18 (15.99)	227	212
Turkish immigrants to Germany	315	10-12 (11.09)	153	162	161	15-18 (15.95)	76	85
FSU immigrants to Germany	181	9-12 (11.24)	98	83	171	15-18 (16.02)	75	96
Native Israelis	171	11-12 (11.78)	79	92	343	15-18 (16.30)	164	179
FSU immigrants to Israel	62	11-12 (11.80)	30	32	332	15-18 (16.13)	179	153
Arab Israelis	86 ^a	11-12 (11.67)	33	53	192	15-18 (16.52)	57	135
Total ^b	1585	9-12 (11.19)	767 ^b	809 ^b	1638	15-18 (16.14)	771 ^b	855 ^b

Note. ^aThe original sample size of young Arabs was higher. Analyses of data quality revealed a number of younger Arabs who answered items measuring negativity towards the in-group systematically high, and those measuring out-group negativity systematically low. Presumably, these individuals had comprehension difficulties, because such an answer pattern is highly unlikely, given the fact that additional measures not reported here (c.f. Schiefer, 2009) show very high scores of in-group identification among these individuals. In order to correct possible data distortion, 128 participants were excluded based on the following criterion: all Arab Israeli individuals younger than 14, who had a score higher than 2.5 (indicating agreement to the item) on both of the in-group negativity items. Among the other five samples this issue was not a problem. ^bThe sum of males and females in this table is lower than the total numbers, due to the fact that a few individuals did not report their gender.

2.3.2. *Procedure*

Children and adolescents participated in the study voluntarily without being rewarded. In Israel, parent's consent was obtained for all participants, whereas in Germany this was only required for youngsters below the age of 16. Questionnaires were distributed to the students in their schools and were filled during class time in the presence of a member of the research team. Students were assured that their answers were being kept anonymous and were asked to answer spontaneously. Trained research assistants explained the instructions and assisted the adolescents in case of any question.

2.3.3. *Measures*

Out-group negativity. Two items were selected from a larger set of items, which were meant to measure derogatory intergroup attitudes among all groups in a comparable way, resembling an indicator of a general out-group negativity. Participants answered the statement "When I shake hands with a member of [a particular group], I feel uncomfortable." (adapted from Lederer, 1995) as well as the statement "It is not good to have too much to do with [a particular group] because they are unpleasant to interact with." (adapted from Liebhart & Liebhart, 1971). In each of the six samples, respondents had to answer these items with regard to three groups that were considered relevant out-groups. Each participant of a sample had to evaluate the respective two other groups that were part of the study in Germany respectively Israel (e.g., a German child evaluated Turkish and FSU immigrants). Additionally, participants had to rate the two items for "Blacks"; in Israeli this was narrowed to Ethiopian immigrants. This additional out-group was chosen because it represents a social category that is not solely based on national or cultural heritage but to a much greater extend (even greater than the category "Arab" or "Turk") on skin colour as a visible characteristic, thus representing what the literature sometimes calls visible minorities (see Lavergne, Dufour, Trocmé, & Larrivée, 2008; Tafarodi, Kang, & Milne, 2002). This was done to broaden the variety of relevant out-groups. Finally, participants also had to evaluate the items with regard to the own cultural in-group. This was implemented to test whether the items are validly measuring attitudes towards out-groups, and not, e.g., a general aversion against shaking hands (as formulated in item 1) or interaction with other people (item 2).

Since it was attempted to create an indicator of a general out-group negativity, it was checked whether all items in all subgroups would form a uni-factorial structure. Results of an exploratory principal component factor analysis showed that all six

variables (two derogation items x three out-groups) load on a single factor explaining 60.29% of the variance of the items with an eigenvalue of $\lambda = 3.61$. This presence of an overlapping factor of out-group negativity fits to previous work (e.g. Bratt, 2005).

In addition, the three attitudes scales (one for each particular out-group) were created using the mean of the two items and correlated them with each other. Table 2 documents the intercorrelations of the attitude scales, for all cultural groups and age groups. As can be seen, nearly all correlations show substantially high scores (range of $r = .87$ to $r = .42$). A comparison of the scores with data presented by Zick et al. (2008) shows that the inter-correlations of attitudes towards different out-groups replicates such previous research.

Only in five cases, the correlations are rather low (between .09 and .38). Four of these five lower correlations can be found in the Native Israeli group and the group of FSU immigrants to Israel. In all cases, they represent correlations of attitudes towards other Jewish groups with the attitude towards Arab Israelis. Obviously, among these samples attitudes towards Arab Israelis have a somewhat different meaning than attitudes towards other Jewish groups, which is not surprising given the ongoing conflict in the Middle East.

The above presented results made it possible to use the overall mean of the six out-group attitude items to form an indicator of the individual's general out-group negativity. Study participants rated their agreement on a 6-point Likert scale (6 = strongly agree to 1 = strongly disagree). Consistencies for the out-group negativity measure ranged between $\alpha = .74$ and .91 in the younger age group, respectively $\alpha = .81$ and .91 in the older age group (Table 3).

Table 2. *Intercorrelations of Out-group Negativity Measures, for Both Age Groups*

Ethnic group	Age group	Att1 x Att2 ^a	Att1 x Att3 ^b	Att2 x Att3 ^c
Native Germans	9-12	.75**	.64**	.68**
	15-18	.82**	.75**	.72**
Turkish immigrants to Germany	9-12	.52**	.61**	.65**
	15-18	.71**	.69**	.64**
FSU immigrants to Germany	9-12	.27**	.44**	.53**
	15-18	.42**	.64**	.59**
Native Israelis	9-12	.54**	.57**	.54**
	15-18	.29**	.76**	.38**
FSU immigrants to Israel	9-12	.09	.47**	.51**
	15-18	.18**	.43**	.66**
Arab Israelis	9-12	.75**	.84**	.78**
	15-18	.66**	.61**	.87**

Note. ^aCorrelation of attitude towards out-group 1 and out-group 2. ^bCorrelation of attitude towards out-group 1 and out-group 3. ^cCorrelation of attitude towards out-group 2 and out-group 3.

** $p < .01$.

Cultural values. Scales of culture-level values were calculated on the basis of ratings given by study participants in the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ; S. H. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; S. H. Schwartz & Rubel, 2005). The questionnaire has been primarily used as an individual-level measure, based on Schwartz' (1992) original theory of – ten – individual-level value types (S. H. Schwartz, 1992, 1994b; for a comparison of individual and cultural values see S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). The PVQ has been shown to be suitable for use with children and adolescents (Bubeck & Bilsky, 2004; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003; S. H. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). It has also been shown that the instrument can validly be used in a variety of populations and cultures (S. H. Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). The questionnaire consists of 25 short descriptions of a particular person's goals, aspirations, or wishes (e.g. "She/He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. She/He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life."). Each of the portraits represents certain value types. For each item, participants are asked to indicate how similar the portrayed person is to them. The response scale ranged from 6 (very much like me) to 1 (not like me at all).

Although the scale has been primarily used to measure individual-level value preferences, it can also be used to assess the seven culture-level value preferences, based on the theory of Schwartz (2008; 2011b). Using the data presented by Schwartz (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b; 2008), one can match the PVQ-items to the appertaining culture-level values. For example, the above mentioned exemplar item stands for the cultural value of egalitarianism. All items that jointly represent one cultural value type were averaged, based on the concept presented in Schwartz (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b; 2008), in order to obtain indicators of culture-level values.¹⁶

Table 3 shows the reliabilities of the cultural values for each cultural group. As can be seen, a number of Chronbach's α coefficients fall in the range below .60. This can be ascribed to the small number of items that were available for these scales (most scales consist of three to four items). Following the logic of the Spearman-Brown formula (e.g., Spearman, 1910) one can estimate based on these coefficients that a higher number of items with the same quality would have led to a sufficient reliability (see Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). However, the succeeding analyses need to be interpreted having these reliabilities in mind. In addition, further analyses showed that the combined items of intellectual and affective autonomy lead to a higher reliability ($\alpha = .52$ to $.74$ in the younger cohort and $\alpha = .62$ to $.72$ in the older cohort). Therefore, a joint scale of autonomy was used for the subsequent analyses.

Since conceptually two cultural values each form the end poles of a culture-level value dimension, they are assumed to be negatively related. This is the case in the present data; correlations of cultural values that form the end poles of a value dimension range between $r = -.34$ and $r = -.50$. To account for that mutual relation, the cultural value *dimensions* were examined instead of the actual values. Variables that indicate the individual's location on a given culture-level value dimension were generated by subtracting one culture-level value score from the other. The dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy was calculated by subtracting the score for egalitarianism from the score for hierarchy. Higher scores on this new variable indicate a tendency towards hierarchy. The dimension autonomy-embeddedness was calculated similarly by subtracting the score for autonomy from the score for embeddedness. Higher scores on this new variable indicate a tendency towards embeddedness. The same was done for the

¹⁶Before doing that, the score for each item was centered around each participant's mean rating across all items, as recommended by Schwartz' (1992) to control for scale use.

dimension harmony-mastery, with higher scores indicating a higher tendency towards mastery.

Table 3. *Reliabilities of all Key Variables, Documented for all Cultural and Age Groups*

Variables	Chrohnbach's α by age group (9-12/15-18)					
	Germany			Israel		
	Native Germans	Turkish immigrants	FSU immigrants	Native Israelis	FSU immigrants	Israeli Arabs
Affective autonomy	.69/.73	.62/.67	.58/.71	.41/. 77	.64/.73	.35/.53
Intellectual autonomy	.57/.47	.49/.48	.40/.41	.38/.52	.50/.57	.43/.35
Embeddedness	.72/.67	.71/.63	.65/.68	.67/.69	.71/.69	.69/.63
Egalitarianism	.65/.56	.62/.35	.58/.61	.56/.47	.78/.52	.31/.38
Hierarchy	.41/.30	.43/.32	.45/.42	.13/.35	.16/.32	.44/.39
Harmony ^a						
Mastery	.78/.72	.72/.65	.74/.70	.64/.65	.63/.69	.56/.61
Out-group negativity	.86/.91	.85/.87	.77/.83	.84/.81	.74/.82	.91/.91

Note. FSU = Former Soviet Union.

^aNo reliability can be computed for the harmony value, because it consists only of one item.

2.3.4. Questionnaire translation

In Germany, the questionnaires were given to all children in German. In Israel, Arab Israeli participants received questionnaires in Arabic, whereas all other participants received questionnaires in Hebrew. Individuals, who actively requested this, were given a Russian version of the questionnaire. Since the original items chosen for the questionnaire were either in English or in German, items were translated into all of the different languages using strict back-translation procedures, with bilingual translators.

2.4. Results

2.4.1. Descriptives

Table 4 presents the means and standard deviations of the key measures for the six groups in Germany and in Israel. Israeli Arabs show the highest tendency towards hierarchy, the Native Germans the lowest. Turkish Immigrants in Germany show the strongest tendency towards embeddedness, Native Germans show the lowest. Native Israelis show the highest tendency towards mastery, whereas Native Germans show the lowest. The highest out-group negativity was found among the Israeli Arabs, the lowest scores among the FSU immigrants to Germany. To estimate, whether the scores of out-group negativity do not simply reflect an aversion against shaking hands (item 1) or interaction with people (item 2), attitudes towards the own group are documented. As can be seen, attitudes towards the in-group are all less negative than attitudes towards the out-groups.

Table 4. Means and Standard Deviations of all Key Variables

Variables	<i>M (SD)</i>					
	Germany			Israel		
	Native Germans	Turkish immigrants	FSU immigrants	Native Israelis	FSU immigrants	Israeli Arabs
Egalitarianism- Hierarchy ^a	-1.61 (1.19)	-1.43 (1.29)	-1.32 (1.27)	-1.29 (1.11)	-1.36 (1.13)	-1.02 (1.07)
Autonomy- Embeddedness ^a	-0.51 (0.86)	0.04 (0.80)	-0.33 (0.88)	-0.13 (0.91)	-0.49 (0.96)	-0.09 (0.82)
Harmony- Mastery ^a	-0.61 (1.67)	-0.29 (1.57)	-0.04 (1.59)	0.81 (1.65)	0.54 (1.42)	-0.39 (1.30)
Out-group negativity	2.38 (1.37)	2.78 (1.56)	2.37 (1.23)	2.96 (1.36)	2.75 (1.34)	3.37 (1.60)
Derogation 'in- group' ^b	1.75	2.19	1.83	2.02	1.69	2.77

Note. FSU = Former Soviet Union.

^aScores represent the difference of one value from the other (e.g., egalitarianism subtracted from hierarchy; see methods section). ^bIn-group attitudes are documented for comparison. All in-group attitude scores are significantly lower than out-group attitude scores.

2.4.2. *Testing the hypotheses*

The hypotheses were tested with two different statistical methods: multilevel analyses using HLM (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) and univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) with trend tests using SPSS (SPSS Inc., 2007).

Let's come to the HLM-analyses first. On Level 1 the relationship between the individual's acceptance of a particular cultural value dimension and the individual's out-group negativity was examined. Secondly, it was tested whether the actual location of the person's cultural group on a cultural value dimension (Level 2) is related to his or her out-group negativity. It was postulated that there are significant effects on both levels, and that these effects would be stronger among older compared to younger adolescents.

In a first step it was tested whether a sufficient proportion of the overall variance of out-group negativity can be attributed to group specific differences. This can be done by calculating the intra class coefficient (*ICC*) in an *empty model* that has no predictors included. Using the group level variance (τ_{00}) and the individual level variance (σ^2) one can calculate the share of the group level variance (τ_{00}) of the overall variance ($\tau_{00} + \sigma^2$): $p = \tau_{00} / (\tau_{00} + \sigma^2)$. In the present case, 1.01 % ($p < .01$) of the overall variance can be explained by group specific differences in the younger age group, whereas 15.48% ($p < .01$) can be explained in the older age group. The stronger proportion of explained variance in the older age group shows that multilevel analyses in the different age groups are worthwhile, and suggests that group level variables may indeed play a larger role in determining the attitudes of older adolescents.

In a second step a particular cultural value dimension was added on both the individual level (individual preferences, Level 1) and the aggregated group level (group mean, Level 2), and effects on the individual's degree of out-group negativity were analyzed (for information about the mathematical principle behind HLM see Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). The analyses were performed separately for both age groups, in order to examine possible age-related differences in the predicted relations between cultural values and out-group negativity. Furthermore, the analyses were also performed separately for each cultural value dimensions, a procedure that is suggested by Schwartz (2003) to technically avoid problems associated with multicollinearity and substantively provide for the circumplex structure of value interdependence that would be lost when including all value dimensions simultaneously. Table 5 documents the

relevant coefficients for all three cultural value dimensions, separately for both age groups.

As can be seen in Table 5, on both levels there is a significant effect of the cultural value dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy. All coefficients are positive, which means that the closer the individual location on this cultural value dimension is to the hierarchy pole (Level 1), and the higher the group mean is closer to the hierarchy pole (Level 2), the higher is the tendency to show negative attitudes towards out-groups. Importantly, on both levels this effect is stronger for the older compared to the younger age group.

With regard to the autonomy-embeddedness dimension, results are different for the two levels of analyses. On the individual level, the coefficient is stronger (and marginally significant) for the older age group compared to the younger age group, indicating for the older adolescents that individuals that are closer to the embeddedness pole of the dimension show more out-group negativity. On the group level it is the other way around: The coefficient for the younger age group is stronger (and significant) compared to the older age group, indicating for the younger adolescents that a group's location that is closer to the embeddedness pole of the dimension is associated with more out-group negativity among its members.

Regarding the dimension harmony versus mastery, significant effects can be found only on the individual level, indicating that individuals closer to the mastery pole of this dimension show more out-group negativity. The coefficients are stronger among the younger age group.

Table 5. *Individual-Level and Group-Level Effects of Cultural Values on Out-group Negativity*

	Younger age group			Older age group		
	Coefficient	<i>T</i>	<i>df</i>	Coefficient	<i>T</i>	<i>df</i>
<i>Egalitarianism-Hierarchy</i>						
Intercept	2.875676**	30.052	4	2.577829**	19.690	4
Individual-Level effect	0.213775**	6.904	1405	0.222473**	7.550	1473
Group-Level effect	0.616610	1.206	4	2.339434*	3.409	4
<i>R</i> ² Level 1 ^a	3.21%			3.67%		
<i>R</i> ² Level 2 ^b	—			69.77%		
<i>Autonomy-Embeddedness</i>						
Intercept	2.824028**	64.802	4	2.574636**	10.771	4
Individual-Level effect	0.047850	0.990	1405	0.066787 (<i>p</i> < .08)	1.768	1473
Group-Level effect	0.894363**	4.805	4	1.010787	0.841	4
<i>R</i> ² Level 1 ^a	—			0.14%		
<i>R</i> ² Level 2 ^b	97.82%			—		
<i>Harmony-Mastery</i>						
Intercept	2.868547**	30.104	4	2.573429**	10.282	4
Individual-Level effect	0.119794**	4.824	1405	0.075955**	3.318	1473
Group-Level effect	0.221537	1.143	4	0.278526	0.549	4
<i>R</i> ² Level 1 ^a	1.54%			0.68%		
<i>R</i> ² Level 2 ^b	—			—		

Note. ^aReduced Error Variance Level 1 (*r*) compared to empty model, for significant effects; ^bReduced Error Variance Level 2 (*u*₀) compared to empty model, for significant effects.

p* < .05. *p* < .01.

So far, it can be stated that the predictions can be confirmed with regard to the cultural value dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy. A higher individual tendency to accept the culture's preference for hierarchy together with a lower tendency to accept the culture's preference for egalitarianism is associated with higher out-group negativity (Level 1). In addition, a more hierarchical and less egalitarian cultural value climate of the cultural group a person lives in is associated with more out-group negativity of the person (Level 2). The individual acceptance (Level 1) of the culture's autonomy-embeddedness values seems to be more important for out-group negativity in the older age group, whereas the group's value climate regarding autonomy and embeddedness is more important for out-group negativity in the younger age group. Furthermore, the group's level of the harmony-mastery dimension is not predictive for the degree of out-group negativity of its members, whereas the individual acceptance of this cultural value dimension is.¹⁷

A major hypothesis of this article concerns age-related differences in the effect of cultural values prevalent in a cultural group (Level 2) and the level of out-group negativity among the individuals of that group. In order to get additional estimation of the significance of these age differences, a second HLM-model was performed.¹⁸ This second model included both age groups as one overall sample. All variables from the first model were also included in the second model, and in addition age was included as an individual-level variable.¹⁹ Of particular interest in this model was the relationship of culture-level values (Level 2) with out-group negativity as well as interactions between culture-level values (Level 2) and individuals' age (Level 1). Table 6 documents the results. Direct effects of culture-level values (group-level effects on intercept) are only significant for the egalitarianism-hierarchy dimension (see row six of the table). Likewise, the interaction between culture-level values and individuals' age (group-level effect on age slope) is only significant for egalitarianism-hierarchy (see row seven of the table). Hence, age-specific differences in the relationship between culture-level values and out-group negativity can only be assumed for the dimension of egalitarianism versus hierarchy.

¹⁷ A concern one might have when interpreting the presented results is that the impact of cultural values on outgroup negativity is (on both levels) confounded with the fact that in the different samples different outgroups were evaluated. This assumption was tested using negativity towards Blacks (who were evaluated by all individuals of this study) as a dependent measure. All HLM results remained the same.

¹⁸ This second HLM-analysis is not reported in the journal article this chapter is based on. There, age-specific differences were only tested using ANOVA-analyses (see below).

¹⁹ Age was included as a dichotomous variable (9- to 12-year-olds and 15- to 18-year olds). In a third model (not reported here) age was also included as a continuous variable. The results were the same.

Table 6. *Direct Effects of Cultural Values on Out-Group Negativity and Interactions With Age*

	Coefficient	<i>T</i>	<i>df</i>
<i>Egalitarianism-Hierarchy</i>			
Intercept	2.760188**	27.900	4
Individual-Level effect (egalitarianism-hierarchy)	0.218730**	10.247	2879
Individual-Level effect (age group)	-0.293866*	-2.921	4
Group-Level effect (egalitarianism-hierarchy) on intercept	1.497228*	2.874	4
Group-Level effect (egalitarianism-hierarchy) on age slope	1.826413*	3.445	4
R^2 Level 1 ^a		6.45%	
R^2 Level 2 ^b		61.00%	
<i>Autonomy-Embeddedness</i>			
Intercept	2.762046**	20.165	4
Individual-Level effect (autonomy-embeddedness)	0.059857*	1.996	2879
Individual-Level effect (age group)	-0.307371	-1.531	4
Group-Level effect (autonomy-embeddedness) on intercept	1.048833	1.528	4
Group-Level effect (autonomy-embeddedness) on age slope	0.175328	0.175	4
R^2 Level 1 ^a		3.25%	
R^2 Level 2 ^b		—	
<i>Harmony-Mastery</i>			
Intercept	2.758680**	16.058	4
Individual-Level effect (harmony-mastery)	0.097693**	5.798	2879
Individual-Level effect (age group)	-0.381412	-1.866	4
Group-Level effect (harmony-mastery) on intercept	0.110976	0.318	4
Group-Level effect (harmony-mastery) on age slope	0.119210	0.289	4
R^2 Level 1 ^a		4.18%	
R^2 Level 2 ^b		—	

Note. ^aReduced Error Variance Level 1 (r) compared to empty model, for significant effects; ^bReduced Error Variance Level 2 (u_0) compared to empty model, for significant effects.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Since the HLM-analyses described above were performed with only six group-level units (ideally the number should be much higher, see Hox, 2010), it was decided to verify the results with a different statistical method. Therefore, the hypotheses were additionally tested with ANOVAs and contrast analyses.²⁰

Firstly, it was tested whether the six cultural samples as well as the two age groups differed with regard to their scores on out-group negativity. Cultural group membership was used as a factor with six levels, each representing one sample. The second factor was age, a two-level factor (9- to 12-year-olds and 15- to 18-year-olds). The main effect of cultural group was significant, $F(5, 2920) = 26.34, p < .01, \eta^2 = .04$. Also, a main effect of age was confirmed, $F(1, 2920) = 20.74, p < .01, \eta^2 = .007$, younger adolescents expressed more out-group negativity than older adolescents. To test how cultural values prevalent in the cultural groups predict out-group negativity among its members, the cultural groups were rank-ordered according to their location on the three dimensions of cultural values. To give an example, the group's locations on the egalitarianism-hierarchy dimension²¹ were -1.02 for Arab Israelis, -1.29 for Native Israelis, -1.32 for FSU immigrants in Germany, -1.36 for FSU immigrants to Israel, -1.43 for Turkish immigrants in Germany, and -1.61 for Native Germans. Based on these scores, Arab Israelis are then treated in the analysis as the group with the strongest tendency towards hierarchy, Native Israelis are treated as having the second strongest tendency, and so on. This way, different rank orderings were obviously obtained for the cultural value dimensions that Schwartz proposes.²² If, so the rationale, one finds a linear trend in out-group negativity according to the value-guided rank ordering of cultural groups, one can infer that cultural value dimension of the kind at stake in a given analysis is a relevant determinant of levels of out-group negativity. For the three rank orders one-way ANOVAs were repeated with the two age groups. Contrast estimates were used to examine a possible

²⁰In the journal article this chapter is based on, only this ANOVA-analysis was reported, but not the second HLM-model testing for age-specific differences.

²¹Note that the location on the dimension is indicated by the difference between the two end poles of the dimension. The less negative respectively more positive the score is, the closer is the group to the hierarchy (respectively embeddedness or mastery) pole.

²²In the ANOVA, only the ordinal information was used, which means that the distances between the factor levels were treated as equal. Obviously this does not numerically reflect the measured differences between the groups (e.g., the difference between Arab and Native Israelis regarding the scores on the egalitarianism-hierarchy dimension is weaker than the difference between FSU immigrants to Germany and Israel). However, it was decided to not analytically account for these numerically unequal distances because – with norm samples providing representative information on the ‘true’ cultural value levels of the corresponding groups not being available – group-level scores were estimated from the study samples. In this situation, weighted contrast analyses, so the assumption, would have implied an overinterpretation of the sample's estimated location on the cultural value dimensions.

linear trend and to compare the two age groups with each other, in order to find out whether the linear trends are stronger among the older compared to the younger cohort. Differences in the linear trends were seen as statistically significant when the contrast estimate of one age group did not fall into the 95% confidence interval of the contrast estimate of the other age group. Higher order trends were left uninterpreted.

Table 7 documents the contrast parameters relevant for the hypotheses. A contrast score below zero indicates less out-group negativity among groups higher on a cultural value dimension, a score above zero indicates more derogation among groups higher on a cultural value dimension. As can be seen in Table 7, cultural groups that are closer to the hierarchy pole, the embeddedness pole and the mastery pole of the particular value dimension show a linear trend to more negative out-group attitudes.

Table 7 also documents that the contrast parameters are different in both age groups. It can be seen that the criterion for a significant age difference is only fulfilled for the dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy. Regarding the other two dimensions there is an overlap of the 95% confidence intervals in both age groups. This confirms the results of the HLM-models documented above. Significant age differences are only evident for the egalitarian-hierarchy dimension.

Table 7. *Linear Trends of Out-Group Negativity as a Function of Cultural Values*
(Contrasts Obtained From the ANOVAs)

Value	Age groups	Linear contrast	<i>p</i>	95% Confidence interval	
				Lower bound	upper bound
Egalitarianism-Hierarchy	9-12	.27	*	.01	.52
	15-18	1.02	**	.85	1.18
Autonomy-Embeddedness	9-12	.40	**	.17	.63
	15-18	.52	**	.35	.69
Harmony-Mastery	9-12	.16	.21	-.09	.42
	15-18	.24	**	.08	.39

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

2.5. Discussion

The present study examined the relationship between the culture-level value dimensions postulated by Schwartz (S. H. Schwartz, 1994b, 2006b) and negative perceptions of out-groups. A cross-cultural design was established using data of adolescents coming from two different countries, Germany and Israel. Furthermore, in each country participants from the majority society as well as individuals with ethnic minority background took part in the study. The research was implemented to gain further insights regarding developmentally induced variations in the relationship between cultural values and out-group negativity among adolescents. Hypothesis 1a postulated that (a) the individual acceptance of particular cultural values would be systematically related to their degree of negativity towards out-groups, and (b) that over and above this individual acceptance differences between cultural groups regarding their location on a particular culture-level value dimension would be related to the degree of out-group negativity among the group's members. These assumptions were based on the consideration that the content of a number of cultural values regards to the importance of social group membership as well as the evaluation of others, including out-groups. In addition, Hypothesis 1b predicted that the relationship between cultural values and out-group negativity enhances during the course of adolescence. This assumption was based on theoretical considerations regarding identity development during adolescence. Identity development involves the exploration of the own person and the finding of an answer to the question "Who am I?" (Erikson, 1959). As has been described, this also includes the incorporation of cultural values into the own self (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Nesdale, 2004; Phinney, 1989, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Verplanken & Holland, 2002). These values increasingly serve as guiding principles for attitudes and behavior – including attitudes towards out-groups.

The findings of both the HLM- and ANOVA-analyses²³ support the hypotheses, yet the data show that the three culture-level value dimensions are differently predictive for out-group negativity.

The HLM-models show that the more an individual has a preference for hierarchy values as opposed to egalitarian values, the more negativity this person states towards out-groups. Furthermore, both the HLM- and ANOVA-results show that

²³This discussion section revised version of the one in the journal article this chapter is based on. There, the differences between the HLM-analyses and the ANOVA-analyses were not addressed due to space constraints.

individuals of a sample that in the present data is located closer to the hierarchy pole of the egalitarianism-hierarchy dimension tend to state more out-group negativity. Both the HLM- and the ANOVA-analyses give evidence that this relationship is stronger for older compared to younger adolescents. Thus, the hypotheses were confirmed for the egalitarianism-hierarchy dimension.

Regarding the other two dimensions, results show a different pattern: With regard to the autonomy-embeddedness dimension, the HLM-models reveal that the individual acceptance of embeddedness (as opposed to autonomy) is (marginally) related to out-group negativity only among the older adolescents. In turn, the group's locations on the autonomy-embeddedness dimension relates to out-group negativity among the group's members only with respect to the younger adolescents. In the ANOVA-analyses, group-level autonomy-embeddedness relates to out-group negativity in both age groups. Both statistical methods imply that regarding this dimension age differences are not significant.

Regarding the harmony-mastery dimension, the ANOVA-analyses reveal a significant relationship to out-group negativity among older adolescents. However, the HLM-analyses indicate that only the individual acceptance of mastery versus harmony values (and not the group's location on that dimension) is predictive for out-group negativity. Both the HLM- and the ANOVA-analyses do not show significant age-related differences regarding this dimension.

Altogether, results of both the HLM- and the ANOVA-analyses are most consistent for the cultural-level value dimension hierarchy versus egalitarianism. This finding is comprehensible. The content of the values egalitarianism and hierarchy as described by Schwartz (1994b; 2006b) allows the most confident predictions with regard to out-group negativity, given the fact that a hierarchical thought pattern and a general belief in the equality of individuals and groups has been incorporated by numerous widely acknowledged approaches that attempt to explain origins of out-group negativity, such as the concept of the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), right wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1998) and social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The present study showed that this value dichotomy of egalitarianism versus hierarchy is related to the negative perception of out-groups on both the level of individual acceptance and the level of the group's acceptance of such values. To the best of my knowledge, such multilevel finding has rarely been documented. Moreover, the data support the proposition of a

developmentally-induced change in adolescence due to a further consolidated individual and social identity. The data suggest that beyond the developmental processes that take place in childhood, such as the ability to distinguish between social categories and an increasing preference for the own in-group (Aboud, 1988, 2003), identity processes become increasingly important in the following years, and the group an individual lives in can set standards for the individual's thinking and behavior (Phinney et al., 2000; S. H. Schwartz, 2008, 2011b).

For autonomy-embeddedness, however, the HLM-model indicates that the group's locations on this dimension predict out-group negativity among younger but not among older adolescents, a finding that contradicts the hypothesis. Although this age-specific difference does not seem to be significant, it is an interesting finding. The embeddedness value emphasizes the importance of being integrated in social groups. The way of life and the goals of the group should provide a meaning of life for individuals. In cultures that prefer embeddedness values, autonomy is preferred less. Own feelings, ideas, ambitions and attempts for individual independence are suppressed to some extent. Interestingly, being involved in a group versus being an autonomous individual is a theme that becomes important in adolescence as well. It is known that during the course of adolescence, the individual increasingly separates from close family surroundings and develops a more and more autonomous way of life (Fend, 2003; Grotevant, 1998; Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck, & Duckett, 1996; Steinberg, 2008). One could argue that a group's expectations towards an individual to favour embeddedness are less influential to older adolescents because during the course of adolescence the individual per se increasingly strives for individual autonomy for itself. The fact that in the HLM-model the autonomy-embeddedness dimension predicts out-group negativity on the *individual* level (indicating that an individual's tendency towards autonomy reduces out-group negativity, see Table 6, row 12) and that this prediction is somewhat stronger for older adolescents (see Table 5, row 11) may support this reasoning. However, it is difficult to infer that such an individuation process can account for the less predictive power of a group's embeddedness values for the out-group attitudes of older adolescents, because such an individuation process refers mainly to the separation from the family environment, not necessarily from the cultural group (see Phinney, 1989, 1990). Further studies are needed to explore the validity of such a finding. One would need to show that in the course of an individuation process older adolescents accept the embeddedness values of the cultural in-group less strongly

and prefer a more autonomous way of life compared to younger adolescents, and therefore are not influenced in their attitudes by such a value climate as strong as younger adolescents might be.

In the HLM-models, the culture-level value dimension harmony versus mastery is only predictive for out-group negativity on the individual level, not on the group-level. This indicates that a group's location on this culture-level value dimension is not significantly related to the out-group negativity of its members. This finding is not surprising, given the ambiguous predictions one can formulate regarding the relations between a group's preference for mastery and its members' out-group perception. The quality of the relationship with a specific out-group might indeed play a role. Directing and changing the surrounding world, as it is emphasized by the mastery value may be seen as threatened when an out-group is judged as competitive (Sherif & Sherif, 1953), thus, a group's stronger emphasis of mastery values would predict a stronger rejection of competitive out-groups. The perceptions of groups that are seen as cooperative (Sherif & Sherif, 1953) should not be impacted by the group's higher preference for mastery. This could be a task for further examination. As described earlier in this article, attitudes towards different out-groups were assessed in the study, but the inclusion of this hypothesis would have exceeded the frame of this article.

Another interpretation of the HLM-finding that harmony-mastery is only predictive at the individual level is that this variable – the way it was measured – might more reflect an individual-level variable. Boehnke, Hadjar and colleagues (Boehnke et al., 2007; Hadjar, 2004, 2005), for example, introduced an individual-level construct named hierarchic self-interest. This latent construct includes individualism, strong ambitions for success, also on the cost of others, as well as the acceptance of status differences between groups. Hierarchic self-interest has been demonstrated to be a strong predictor for out-group negativity (Boehnke et al., 2007; Hadjar, 2004). In the present case, a location close to the mastery pole of the harmony-mastery dimension might rather express such a tendency.

The HLM-analyses and the ANOVA-analyses in part reveal different results. As a general tendency, the HLM-analyses show less significant group-level effects compared to the ANOVA-analyses. Regarding group-level autonomy-embeddedness, the HLM-models show a significant relationship with out-group negativity only in the younger age group, whereas in the ANOVA-analyses significant relationships are evident in both age groups. Regarding group-level harmony-mastery, the HLM-models

do not show a significant relationship to out-group negativity in any of the age groups, whereas in the ANOVA-analyses the relationship is at least significant in the older age group. This difference needs to be kept in mind when interpreting the results. However, the overall result pattern – confirmation of the hypotheses primarily for the egalitarianism-hierarchy dimension – can be shown with both statistical methods.

Altogether, it is argued that the research on origins of out-group negativity in adolescence needs to take into account the cultural context an adolescent individual lives in. Adolescence is a crucial age period where an individual's identity is further developed. In the course of identity consolidation cultural values increasingly become guiding standards for a person's thinking and behavior. It is suggested to conduct further research on this issue, incorporating measures in the analyses that directly tap identity development. Especially whether individuals with various levels of both commitment and exploration (based on the postulations by Marcia, 1966) or various stages of ethnic identity (see the stage model of ethnic identity development, Phinney, 1989) differ regarding the link between cultural values and out-group negativity is an important task for future research.

Over and above the developmental-psychological arguments of this paper, a general statement can be made that when looking at variables which might explain out-group negativity, the present results indicate that culture might have a moderating function. Most of the research on out-group negativity has focused its attention on variables on the individual level, e.g., work on right wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1998), social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), or other personality variables such as tolerance of ambiguity and need for closure (e.g., Shah, Kruglanski, & Thompson, 1998). However, research on group-level variables and their influence on out-group negativity is an issue that has been almost totally neglected so far. In line with Schwartz (2008; 2011b) it is argued that the above mentioned individual-difference variables and their relation to out-group negativity are influenced by group-level variables such as the values preferred in a culture. For example, in a meta-analysis, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that in 5% of the studies contact was related to more out-group negativity, which is contrary to theoretical considerations (e.g., Allport, 1954). Pettigrew (2008) emphasized the need to further study conditions under which contact might lead to more rejection. „Factors that curb contact's ability to reduce prejudice are now the most problematic theoretically, yet the least understood“ (Pettigrew, 2008, p. 190). Cultural values may explain some of that variance. An

individual must be ready and open for positive contact experiences. The values one receives from a culture can hinder or promote the positive effects of contact. For example, in egalitarian cultures, contact has a higher chance to positively impact out-group attitudes. In a culture that promotes hierarchy values, contact to a group lower in status might differentially impact the attitudes towards this group compared to cultures that ascribe less importance to this value.

2.5.1. Critical reflection

Some limitations are to be noted regarding the present findings. The first is the cross-sectional nature of the study that precludes talking about causal relations. Hence, in this study one can (and so it was done) only claim relations instead of causes.

Furthermore, the mean scores of the samples on the culture-level value dimensions served as an indicator of the cultural values prevalent in that cultural group. Whether the sample means represent the values prevalent in the particular culture can be discussed. However, Schwartz (2008; 2011b) postulated that such a procedure is an appropriate way of assessing cultural values. The author stated that the average importance of a certain value reflects the impact of exposure to the same culture and hence, the averaged individual responses can point to the latent cultural value orientations in a society. Nevertheless, the reader is reminded that the rank order of the cultural samples regarding their locations on the value dimensions is derived from the samples' means. A replication of this study using different cultural samples would further support the present findings.

Another critical point is that reliabilities are in some case rather low, indicating that the findings have to be interpreted with some caution. Furthermore, the reader could argue that stronger effects in the older age group may be due to comprehension problems among the younger participants that might have led to less reliable data. However, the analyses of psychometric properties described above do not show any serious age differences regarding the reliability of the data. Hence, it is argued that age-related differences in comprehension cannot account for the findings.

Furthermore, out-group negativity is a complex issue and regards to different dimensions, such as intergroup attitudes, intergroup emotions, social distance and intergroup behavior (e.g., Fishbein, 1996; Kleinert, 2004). Developmentally induced changes may be differently evident in various dimensions of out-group negativity. In the present study a narrow aspect of out-group negativity was focused on. In the widest sense, the measure taps social distance or readiness for contact. Furthermore, items were

used that contain mainly emotional aspects such as intergroup anxiety. The inclusion of items that additionally capture the cognitive, evaluative aspects of out-group perception might lead to more differentiated insights.

At last, the measure of out-group negativity was operationalized as a general negativity extracted from derogatory attitudes towards three particular out-groups. However, although previous research strongly supported an underlying factor of out-group negativity (see Zick et al., 2008), the way cultural values relate to out-group negativity might also depend on the particular out-group that is evaluated. For example, whether or not cultural values influence the attitude of a Native Israeli adolescent towards a certain out-group depends on whether the out-group is that of Jewish immigrants from the Former Soviet Union or that of Arab Israelis. The relationship between Native Israelis and these two out-groups is highly different. FSU immigrants may be perceived as belonging to a common in-group (see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) based on the shared religious background (and corresponding values). In contrast, the Arab group is much more perceived as an out-group by Jewish Israelis. Hence, the specific role of cultural values for negative attitudes towards particular out-groups should earn more attention in future research.

3. Cultural Values and Group-Related Attitudes: A Comparison of Individuals With and Without Migratory Background Across 24 Countries

This chapter is based on the journal article ‘Cultural Values and Group-Related Attitudes: A Comparison of Individuals With and Without Migration Background Across 24 Countries’ by David Schiefer (2012). The final definite version of this paper has been published online on May 18th, 2012 in the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, DOI: 10.1177/0022022112444898, Sage Publications Ltd./Sage Publications Inc., All rights reserved ©. The electronic version is available via <http://jcc.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/05/15/0022022112444898.abstract>.

3.1. *Abstract*

This paper argues that individuals' attitudes towards members of other groups are at least partly shaped by the cultural environment the individuals live in. Based on the theory of cultural values by Schwartz it was tested whether cross-country differences in cultural value preferences can explain individual differences in negative group-related attitudes. Furthermore, the present article postulates that individuals with a migratory background are less strongly guided by the cultural values of the society they live in, because they are additionally exposed to cultural values originating from their heritage culture. Samples from 24 countries that were part of the fourth wave of the European Social Survey were examined. Cultural values were assessed using the Portrait Value Questionnaire. Group-related attitudes were operationalized through an index of attitudes towards four different groups. Analyses of hierarchical linear models supported the hypotheses: Participants' degree of negative group-related attitudes varied as a function of the cultural values inherent in the individuals' countries. Moreover, weaker effects were found for individuals with migratory background compared to individuals without migratory background, especially for first-generation immigrants and immigrants from culturally more distant countries. Moreover, country-level cultural values were found to moderate the relationship of individual education and income level with group-related attitudes. Results are discussed with regard to their contribution to the literature on acculturation and with regard to the validity of Schwartz's cultural value theory.

3.2. Introduction

Based on the theory of cultural values by Schwartz (2006b) this study tested whether cross-country differences in cultural value preferences explain individual differences in group-related attitudes. Furthermore, the study compares individuals with to those without a migratory background, assuming that cultural values differently relate to group-related attitudes among these groups. This comparison is considered providing a further validity test of Schwartz's theory as well as suggesting a new perspective in acculturation research.

3.2.1. *Schwartz's theory of cultural values and its implication for group-related attitudes*

According to Schwartz (1999, p. 25), "Cultural values represent the implicitly and explicitly shared abstract ideas about what is good, right and desirable in a society." They are the central feature of a culture and form the underlying basis that manifests itself in poetry, art, education or childrearing practices and shapes societal institutions such as schools and the economic and judicial systems (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b, 2011b). Individuals are exposed to the cultural value climate they live in, which provides stimuli that guide the individual's attitudes and behavior (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b, 2008). In this respect, cultural values also shape the relations between groups in the society through guiding group-related attitudes of their members.

Schwartz (1994b; 2006b) proposed three *cultural value dimensions*, on which societies can be aligned. Each dimension has been described to relate to individuals' group-related attitudes in particular ways (Leong & Ward, 2006; Schiefer, Möllering, Daniel, Benish-Weisman, & Boehnke, 2010a; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b). The first dimension ranges from *egalitarianism* at the one pole to *hierarchy* at the opposite pole. Egalitarian societies promote human equality and mutual cooperation for the welfare of all others, whereas in hierarchical societies an unequal distribution of power and status is viewed as natural and desirable. Hence, in more hierarchical and less egalitarian societies negative group-related attitudes are more likely to emerge among the individuals (Leong & Ward, 2006; Schiefer et al., 2010a; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b). The second dimension distinguishes *autonomy* from *embeddedness*. In autonomous cultures, individuals are encouraged to think, feel, and act as unique individuals. They should follow own ideas and thinking (*intellectual* autonomy) and own attempts for positive affective conditions (*affective* autonomy). Conversely, societies committed to

embeddedness emphasize the integration in social entities with shared goals and ways of living. This stronger emphasis on the group in more embedded societies makes group-based differentiations and judgements more likely to occur, less so in autonomous societies where the individual rather than the group is valued (Schiefer et al., 2010a). The third dimension distinguishes *harmony* from *mastery*. Harmony values stand for unity with the social and natural environment. Fitting into the world is more valued than directing it (S. H. Schwartz, 2008, 2011b). The mastery value, in turn, emphasizes an active managing, changing and directing of the social and natural world in order to attain group or personal goals. Harmony is assumed to be associated with a weaker tendency to express negative group-related attitudes (S. H. Schwartz, 2006b), whereas mastery is seen as promoting group-based competitions, which can (if the other group is viewed as competing with own goals) lead to negative group-related attitudes (Leong & Ward, 2006; Schiefer et al., 2010a; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b).

There is empirical evidence for the outlined assumptions. Schwartz (2006b) documents correlations with attitudes towards homosexuality, gender equality and immigrants, Fischer and Hanke (2009) with the level of peace. Still, results are somewhat inconsistent. Based on data from the European Social Survey, Schwartz (2006b; 2007) found relations with attitudes towards immigrants only for the value types egalitarianism and autonomy. Leong and Ward (2006) proved only the harmony-mastery dimension to be related to attitudes towards immigrants. Schiefer et al. (2010a) reported only the dimensions egalitarianism-hierarchy and autonomy-embeddedness to be predictive for attitudes towards ethnic out-groups.

3.2.2. Digression: Values – cultural versus individual

The three-dimensional value structure proposed by Schwartz (2006b) applies to cultural groups, not individuals. Schwartz empirically derived this structure using countries as units of analysis (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). Country mean scores of individual questionnaire-based data were utilized for smallest space analyses (Borg & Lingoes, 1987, as cited in Schwartz, 2006) from which the value types and dimensions were obtained based on inter-item correlations. However, in previous work Schwartz (1992) had conducted the same analyses with the same measure but with individuals as units of analysis. He found the items to arrange in a different way forming a value structure of 10 individual-level value types (e.g., universalism, power, or achievement) along two higher-order dimensions (openness to change vs. conservatism, self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence). Schwartz (S. H. Schwartz, 1994b; 2011b)

suggested to refer to the cultural value structure when describing differences in value preferences between cultural groups, and to the 10 individual-level value structure when describing differences in value preferences between individuals. Both value structures overlap, but cannot be considered completely the same (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). The term isomorphism has often been used in this regard, describing the correspondence between the value structures on the individual and cultural level (see Chen et al., 2005; Fischer et al., 2010). Fischer et al. (2010) and Fischer (2011) tested the degree of isomorphism between the country-level and individual-level value structure and found substantial overlap yet no complete isomorphism.

Since the current article examines whether individuals' attitudes vary according to the values of the culture they live in (and not according to their own personal values), the culture-level value structure was taken up, and as will be demonstrated, a multilevel design was applied.

3.2.3. Do cultural values of a society also relate to group-related attitudes of immigrants?

Cultural values are assumed to direct the thinking of all individuals in a society. However, as known from acculturation research, immigrants are exposed to both the culture of the host society as well as the culture of their heritage group (e.g., Berry, 2005) compared to individuals without a migratory background, who are only socialized in one cultural setting. Thus, cultural values of a host society can be expected to less strongly guide the attitudes of its immigrants, because they are additionally exposed to values that are rooted in another culture (e.g., Kwak, 2003). This assumption can be further differentiated in two ways. The first differentiation regards to generational status. First-generation immigrants have spent a part of their life in the country of origin prior to their emigration and were thus directly exposed to the values shared by that culture. Especially when they are already adolescents or adults by the time they migrate, they enter the new country with a developed set of cultural values in mind. Compared to immigrants who were already born in the host culture they are more motivated to retain their cultural heritage (Kwak & Berry, 2001; Phinney et al., 2000). Second-generation immigrants, in turn, were socialized in the receiving society from the very beginning through the social environment and through educational and social institutions. Compared to their foreign-born parents they more easily adopt the values of the host country (Hwang, 2006; Phinney et al., 2000). Though they also receive values from the culture of origin, it is not directly but only transmitted through their families and co-

ethnic peers (Kwak, 2003). Thus, the assumption that cultural values of a host society less strongly guide the attitudes of its immigrants should apply even more to first- compared to second-generation immigrants. Secondly, also immigrants' origin may play a role. This assumption is based on the concept of cultural distance, defined as the degree of dissimilarities between cultures regarding aspects such as language, values, religion, forms of governance and so on (Chirkov, Lynch, & Niwa, 2005). An immigrant from a culturally close country (e.g., a German migrating to Denmark) can be assumed to be more strongly guided by the host country's cultural values than an immigrant from a culturally more distant country (e.g., a Chinese or Egyptian migrating to Denmark), because the former was socialized in a cultural environment more similar to the host country than the latter. The present article therefore compares individuals without migratory background to second- and first-generation immigrants from both a culturally close region and a culturally more distant region.

This comparison is thought to bring a new perspective into acculturation literature, examining immigrants' adaptation to their host society's culture using cultural value theory as a base and – as will be shown – analysing across countries instead of across individuals. Furthermore, if the data show that the relationship between cultural values and group-related attitudes is weaker among immigrants compared to non-immigrants, this – so the argument – is empirical evidence for the validity of Schwartz's cultural value theory, because its rationale clearly suggests that the degree of exposure to the particular culture plays a crucial role.

3.2.4. Hypotheses

Based on the above literature review, it is hypothesized that cultural values of a country are related to its individuals' group-related attitudes. The closer a country is to the hierarchy, embeddedness or mastery pole of the corresponding value dimension, as opposed to egalitarianism, autonomy and harmony, the more negative group-specific attitudes will be shown by its individuals (Hypothesis 2a). Secondly, the relationships assumed in Hypothesis 2a are expected to be weaker among immigrants (Hypothesis 2b). Thirdly, the assumption of Hypothesis 2b regards especially to first-generation immigrants and immigrants from culturally distant countries. Therefore, among immigrants strongest effects are expected for second-generation immigrants from culturally close countries, and weakest effects for first-generation immigrants from culturally distant countries (Hypothesis 2c).

3.2.5. *Methodological aspects*

Measuring group-related attitudes among immigrants. A majority of the scales used in intergroup relation research focuses on attitudes of members of the host society towards foreigners or immigrants. However, assessing attitudes towards immigrants among individuals who are immigrants themselves raises a question of validity. To account for that problem, the present study examined a general tendency to show group-related attitudes jointly expressed in attitudes towards diverse groups. This approach is based on assumptions laid out by Zick et al. (2008). The authors empirically showed that negative attitudes towards various groups are substantially interrelated. They identified a general underlying syndrome which they call group-focused enmity (GFE). Based on these findings the authors reasoned that attitudes towards different out-groups “mirror a general devaluation of out-groups, that is, GFE” (Zick et al., 2008, p. 364). Interrelations of attitudes towards different groups have also been shown by previous researchers (e.g., Bratt, 2005). Based on these findings this approach was seen as appropriate for the current purpose of comparing individuals with and without migratory background.

Control variables. Migrants often have a socioeconomic status that differs from that of non-migrants (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Clark & Berkowitz King, 2008). Socioeconomic status, operationalized, e.g., by level of education, income or occupational status, has in turn be shown to relate to group-related attitudes (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Malchow-Møller, Munch, Schroll, & Skaksen, 2009; Wagner & van Dick, 2001; Walker & Smith, 2002). Hence, since in the current study individuals with and without a migratory background are to be compared, socioeconomic status was included in the analyses as a control variable. The multilevel approach utilized here allows including such individual-level characteristics in the analyses.

3.3. *Methods*

3.3.1. *Sample*

The current study used data from Round 4 of the European Social Survey (ESS), conducted 2008 in 30 European countries. Participants were assigned to categories of non-immigrants as well as (a) second-generation immigrants and first-generation immigrants²⁴ and (b) immigrants from a culturally close and from a culturally distant country. The latter distinction was operationalized by differentiating between immigrants from European countries (EU immigrants) and immigrants from non-European countries (non-EU immigrants).²⁵ In order to receive reliable results, only those country samples were selected which comprised at least 20 second-generation and 20 first-generation immigrants as well as 20 EU immigrants and 20 non-EU immigrants. This cut the number of included countries down from the original 30 to 24 countries. Table 8 presents sample characteristics.

3.3.2. *Measures*

Cultural values. According to Schwartz (1994b), country scores of cultural values can be derived by aggregating individual-level questionnaire-based data. One such measure is the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ; S. H. Schwartz et al., 2001), which has been implemented in the ESS. The items comprise descriptions of a particular person's goals, aspirations, or wishes (e.g., "She/He²⁶ thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally."). Participants are asked to indicate how similar the portrayed person is to them. The response scale ranged from one (very much like me) to six (not like me at all).²⁷ Schwartz (2006b) demonstrated that the PVQ-data of the ESS reflect the three-dimensional structure proposed in his theory. He also reported substantial correlations (mean .63) between the PVQ-based scores and those derived from another measure, the Schwartz Value Survey, which had

²⁴ A person was seen as a non-immigrant, when he/she and both parents were born in the country of data collection. When he/she was born in the country but at least one parent was born in a foreign country, he/she was considered a second-generation immigrant. A person who was him-/herself born in a foreign country was considered a first-generation immigrant.

²⁵ A person was considered being an EU immigrant when he or she or at least one of the parents was born in a country that is a member of the European Union, or in the European countries Norway, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, and Monaco. A person who him- or herself or one parent was born in a country other than the above named was considered a Non-EU immigrant. Participants born in the country of data collection and with one parent from an EU country and one from a non-EU country were omitted from the sample (N = 109).

²⁶ The PVQ exists in different versions for males and females.

²⁷ Items had to be recoded to receive higher scores that indicate higher value priorities.

Table 8. *Sample Characteristics of the ESS Round 4 Data Used for the Present Analyses*

	Individuals without migratory background					Individuals with migratory background						
	<i>N</i>	% Female	Age			<i>N</i>	% Female	Age			% First- Generation immigrants	% Non-EU immigrants ^a
			<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>			<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>		
Belgium	1399	51.7	47.40	18.99	15-105	333	47.1	42.05	16.95	15-97	45.0	28.5
Switzerland	1170	54.8	50.80	18.75	15-96	611	55.0	44.16	16.71	15-90	64.3	30.3
Cyprus	1092	49.2	45.55	18.00	15-89	84	54.8	38.29	13.53	15-78	67.9	31.0
Czech Republic	1827	50.4	46.93	17.38	15-95	164	59.8	49.09	16.85	15-85	17.1	14.0
Germany	2274	47.0	49.75	17.56	15-91	427	49.2	44.71	16.32	15-84	46.1	40.5
Denmark	1424	49.5	49.71	17.92	15-96	147	53.7	45.13	17.68	15-86	47.6	44.2
Estonia	994	56.7	45.91	19.64	15-91	555	58.2	50.51	17.57	15-96	48.1	91.5
Spain	2305	52.7	48.08	19.32	15-97	247	51.4	35.61	13.58	15-92	85.8	68.0
Finland	2106	51.0	48.31	18.77	15-94	61	54.1	42.36	16.94	16-82	50.8	60.7
France	1671	54.4	49.25	19.05	15-94	361	55.1	45.69	17.18	16-98	36.6	49.6
United Kingdom	1921	54.4	50.31	18.55	15-124	366	52.5	44.02	17.78	15-96	51.9	59.8
Greece	1864	54.7	45.32	16.70	15-91	170	50.6	42.84	17.84	15-82	53.5	82.4

continued

Table 8 (continued). *Sample Characteristics of the ESS Round 4 Data Used for the Present Analyses*

	Individuals without migratory background					Individuals with migratory background						
	<i>N</i>	% Female	Age			<i>N</i>	% Female	Age			% First-Generation immigrants	% Non-EU immigrants ^a
			<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>			<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>		
Croatia	1220	57.0	47.34	18.23	16-89	220	50.9	47.90	18.42	16-88	42.7	86.4
Hungary	1449	53.5	47.57	19.09	16-95	83	69.9	50.98	18.38	16-85	26.5	25.3
Ireland	1417	54.8	49.86	18.11	15-95	271	50.9	37.42	14.33	15-90	78.2	30.3
Israel	707	46.8	33.70	14.48	15-89	1756	57.0	50.21	18.63	15-99	50.1	72.8
Lithuania	1790	49.7	44.61	18.86	15-88	165	53.9	49.58	19.00	15-89	38.2	81.2
Latvia	1376	62.3	47.13	19.08	15-89	520	62.5	50.86	16.90	16-88	41.3	86.3
Netherlands	1502	54.5	50.28	17.83	15-94	245	50.6	44.03	16.77	15-95	57.1	66.1
Norway	1347	47.2	46.59	18.06	15-97	181	53.0	40.02	15.38	15-90	60.8	32.6
Portugal	2175	61.1	53.88	19.75	15-95	143	55.9	38.27	17.08	16-84	66.4	86.7
Sweden	1454	49.9	48.61	19.29	15-91	347	49.0	43.66	18.45	15-95	54.8	33.7
Slovenia	1043	53.3	46.77	19.15	15-95	207	53.6	43.80	16.98	16-91	37.7	84.1
Ukraine	1393	63.0	47.91	18.78	15-92	393	61.6	52.18	17.97	15-94	42.5	43.0

Note. ^aThe full 100% of immigrants include on average 4.8% cases for which the information on the person's respectively the parents' country of origin was not available, or where one parents originated from an EU country and the other parent from a non-EU country (see footnote 25).

previously been demonstrated to be cross-culturally equivalent (see S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). Finally, Schwartz (2006b) documented correlations of his cultural value dimensions with those of Inglehart (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). For example, survival/self-expression conceptually overlaps with autonomy-embeddedness, which is reflected in correlations between .40 and .65 (see S. H. Schwartz, 2004, 2006b). Fischer (2011) recently demonstrated a high stability of the cultural value structure in the PVQ data across the first three rounds of the ESS.

Schwartz (2006b) specified precisely, which PVQ-item measures which cultural value. Based on these specifications, items that jointly represent one value type were averaged. These individual scores were calculated using only data of individuals *without a migratory background* to assess the values that are most typical for that particular country. The calculations were performed with weighted data, in order to get scores representative for the countries' non-immigrant population (see Häder & Lynn, 2007, for a documentation of weighting in the ESS). Next, since conceptually two particular cultural value types (e.g., egalitarianism and hierarchy) each form the opposite end of one dimension (in the current case correlations of opposite value types ranged between $r = -.37$ to $r = -.65$), the single value types were transformed into value *dimensions*. This was done by subtracting the score of one value type from the score of the one constituting the opposite end of the corresponding dimension (see S. H. Schwartz, 2006b, p. 162). For example, the dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy was calculated by subtracting the score for egalitarianism from the score for hierarchy. Resulting scores range between -5 (strongest tendency towards egalitarianism, autonomy, or harmony) and 5 (strongest tendency towards hierarchy, embeddedness, or mastery).

In a last step, the individual-level scores for the cultural value dimensions were aggregated to the country-level. Each participant of a country (migrant and non-migrant) received the same score, the mean of the non-migrant individuals of the respective country.

Enmity index. Based on Zick et al.'s (2008) concept of group-focused enmity, four items were selected to assess negative group-related attitudes. These items differed with regard to their scale range and coding, which is why a number of transformations had to be made prior to the scale construction:

The first three items assessed *attitudes towards homosexuality* (“Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish.”), *attitudes towards gender equality* (“Men should have more rights to get a job when jobs are scarce.”), and *negative perceptions of unemployed people* (“Most unemployed people do not really try to find a job.”). These three items had a scale range from one (strongly agree) to five (strongly disagree). Thus, since higher numerical scores on these items should indicate stronger negative attitudes, the items assessing attitudes towards gender equality and towards unemployed people were recoded. The fourth item assessed *attitudes towards members of other age groups* (“How important is it for you to be unprejudiced against people of other age groups?”).²⁸ This item had a scale range from zero (not at all important) to 10 (extremely important). Thus, this item was also recoded to receive higher numerical scores that indicate more negative perceptions of other age groups. Finally, since the first three items had a different scale range than the fourth item, all items were z-standardized.

Several analytical steps were performed to find the appropriate way of creating the measure. Firstly, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted with AMOS 6 (Arbuckle, 2005) to test whether the items tap the intended construct comparably among non-immigrants and immigrants in the different countries. A multi-group comparison model with 48 sub-groups (one non-immigrants and one immigrant group per country) was set up. The enmity index was modeled as a latent factor with the four items as observed indicators. To evaluate the model fit, the χ^2 coefficient as well as the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) were used. A good model fit is indicated by SRMR < .08, and RMSEA < .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

A model constraining the measurement weights (item loadings) on the enmity factor to be equal across the 48 sub-groups showed a good overall fit to the data, $\chi^2 = 1208.50$ (237), $p < .01$; RMSEA = .01; SRMR = .04. This implies that the assumption of equal factor structures in each group is compatible with the data. However, examining a model which allowed the measurement weights to vary freely between the groups (a model assuming group differences in the factor structures) showed that in eight of the 48 sub-groups one item (different in each group) loaded too strongly on the

²⁸The social categories were chosen based on the availability of such indicators in the ESS.

factor, which resulted in negative variances. Therefore, the overall fit of such an unconstrained model could not be estimated properly. This indicates that in some of the groups attitudes towards particular reference groups are more meaningful than others.

To account for these unequal factor loadings in some groups, items were not averaged to a mean scale but were transformed into an index: Firstly, the z-standardised items were summed up. Then, the distribution of the sum-score in the total sample was checked and cut-off points for 10 equal sections of this distribution were calculated. These cut-off points were used to locate each individual on the index ranging from one to 10. For example, all individuals with a summed z-score of -3.12 and lower received a score of one on the index, individuals with a summed z-score between -3.12 and -2.27 received a score of two, and so on. Higher scores on the index indicate higher enmity. The range of the index from one to 10 was chosen to make it more comparable to the scaling of the original items.²⁹

The use of an index instead of a mean scale was based on the formative indicator approach of construct measurement, which has been primarily applied in business and marketing research (e.g., Bollen & Lennox, 1991; Diamantopoulos & Winklhofer, 2001). The basic idea of this approach is that various indicators can be additively combined to ‘form’ a theoretically deduced construct. In the current case, attitudes towards four different groups are additively combined to form the construct of group-focused enmity, which is deduced from the theorization of Zick et al. (2008). Popular other examples are indices of socioeconomic status, combining, e.g., unemployment, education, or income (e.g., Hauser, 1973). According to the approach’s rationale, in different individuals or groups particular indicators of an index can theoretically have stronger weights than others (Bollen & Lennox, 1991). Transferred to the present case, in one country enmity can express itself more in less endorsement of gender equality, in other countries more in negative perceptions of unemployed people.

Individual-level predictors. Because attitudes towards gender equality were part of the enmity index, gender was included in all analyses as a control variable. Furthermore, participants’ *level of education* was included, using a scale based on the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED, 1997). The scale ranged

²⁹The enmity index based on the four items showed 5052 missing values. These were replaced applying a regression-based data imputation procedure with SPSS 19 (SPSS Inc., 2010). Changes in means and standard deviations were only minimal.

from one (lowest education level) to five (highest level). Thirdly, an item assessing participants' households' monthly net *income* was used. This item was z-standardized, because in one country (Cyprus), it had a different scale range than in all other countries (see European Social Survey, 2010-forthcoming).³⁰ Finally, participants' migration status and origin was included in the model by use of four dummy variables: one for second-generation EU immigrants, first-generation EU immigrants, second-generation non-EU immigrants, and first-generation non-EU immigrants. Non-immigrants served as the reference category in the analyses.

3.4. Results

3.4.1. Descriptives

Table 9 documents means and standard deviations of the cultural value dimensions for each country as well as the means of the total sample and the standard deviations across countries. Most countries are closer to egalitarianism, harmony or autonomy as opposed to hierarchy, mastery or embeddedness (mean scores below zero). Importantly, there is still variance between the countries with regard to all three cultural value dimensions. Table 10 shows the means for the individual-level variables (enmity index, education, income), separately for non-immigrants, second- and first-generation EU immigrants, as well as second- and first-generation non-EU immigrants. First-generation non-EU immigrants score highest on the enmity index, second- and first-generation EU-immigrants score the lowest (the latter two showing no significant differences). Interestingly, non-immigrants are significantly less educated than immigrants. Income is highest among second-generation immigrants from both EU and non-EU countries (both not significantly different from each other), and lowest among first-generation immigrants from non-EU countries.

³⁰The variable showed 9279 missing values. These missing values were replaced by a regression-based data imputation procedure with SPSS 19 (SPSS Inc., 2010). Changes in means and standard deviations were only minimal.

Table 9. Means and Standard Deviations of the Three Cultural Value Dimensions

Country	N	Egalitarianism- Hierarchy		Harmony- Mastery		Autonomy- Embeddedness	
		<i>M^a</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M^a</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M^a</i>	<i>SD</i>
Belgium	1398	-1.69	1.09	-0.13	0.97	-1.35	1.34
Switzerland	1163	-1.75	1.13	-0.52	1.12	-1.63	1.33
Cyprus	1109	-1.42	1.10	0.39	1.04	-1.14	1.42
Czech Republic	1817	-0.88	1.20	0.15	1.03	-1.20	1.50
Germany	2230	-1.77	1.18	-0.29	1.11	-1.45	1.40
Denmark	1424	-1.80	1.17	-0.42	1.04	-1.43	1.38
Estonia	994	-1.65	1.34	-0.01	1.05	-1.57	1.56
Spain	2294	-2.01	1.22	0.39	1.14	-1.75	1.36
Finland	2106	-2.09	1.25	-0.01	1.07	-1.72	1.47
France	1654	-2.17	1.20	-0.40	1.07	-1.63	1.55
United Kingdom	1885	-1.80	1.23	-0.05	1.01	-1.11	1.58
Greece	1844	-0.82	1.14	0.11	0.91	-0.88	1.31
Croatia	1208	-1.35	1.24	0.34	1.13	-1.00	1.42
Hungary	1447	-1.29	1.20	0.07	0.94	-1.48	1.35
Ireland	1406	-1.76	1.17	0.16	0.98	-1.06	1.57
Israel	645	-0.85	1.10	0.03	0.90	-0.26	1.26
Lithuania	1790	-0.45	1.16	0.42	1.17	-0.60	1.47
Latvia	1379	-0.55	1.25	0.09	1.06	-0.74	1.46
Netherlands	1503	-1.65	1.10	-0.33	0.94	-1.17	1.29
Norway	1347	-1.63	1.10	0.03	1.03	-1.08	1.50
Portugal	2171	-1.25	1.13	0.28	0.88	-0.92	1.13
Sweden	1454	-1.79	1.17	-0.34	0.96	-1.37	1.48
Slovenia	1043	-1.35	1.08	0.03	0.99	-0.96	1.29
Ukraine	1313	-0.67	1.31	0.54	1.12	-1.34	1.53
Country Level	24	-1.44	0.50	.02	0.29	-1.20	0.37

Note. Means are calculated using weighted data of non-immigrants.

aScores represent the difference of one value from the other (e.g., egalitarianism subtracted from hierarchy, see methods section). The scores can range from -5 to +5. A higher score indicates a location closer to the hierarchy, the embeddedness or the mastery end of the corresponding value dimension.

Table 10. *Means and Standard Deviations of the Dependent and Control Variables*

	Individuals without migratory background (<i>N</i> = 36917)		Second-Generation immigrants from EU countries (<i>N</i> = 1559)		First-Generation immigrants from EU countries (<i>N</i> = 1221)		Second-Generation immigrants from non-EU countries (<i>N</i> = 1997)		First-Generation immigrants from non- EU countries (<i>N</i> = 2181)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Enmity Index (range 1-10)	5.56	2.87	4.95 ^a	2.84	5.20 ^a	2.75	5.85	2.79	6.29	2.76
Education Level (range 1-5)	3.11	1.58	3.43 ^{b,c,d}	1.27	3.56 ^b	2.50	3.31 ^{c,e}	1.21	3.29 ^{d,e}	1.40
Income (z- Scores)	-.08 ^f	1.00	0.00 ^g	1.03	-.13 ^f	1.03	0.02 ^g	1.00	-0.27	0.97

Note. ^{a-g}All mean scores differ significantly between the sub-samples ($p < .05$), except for pairs tagged with the same superscripts.

3.4.2. *Testing the hypotheses*

Multilevel analyses using HLM 6 (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) were performed to examine the predictive power of the individual-level variables (gender, education, income, migration generation and origin) and the group-level variables (cultural values) on the individuals' scores on the enmity index, as well as cross-level interactions. Before, it was tested what percentage of the overall variance of the enmity index can be attributed to country specific differences (intra-class coefficient). Belonging to a particular country accounted for 20.36 % ($p < .01$) of the overall variance, indicating that multilevel analyses are worthwhile.

Altogether, seven models were examined. On the individual level, each model contained the four dummy variables representing second-generation EU immigrants, first-generation EU immigrants, second-generation non-EU immigrants, and first-generation non-EU immigrants, as well as the control variables gender, education and income. On the country-level, the cultural value dimensions were included – in different combinations (see below). All models tested whether (a) the countries' locations on particular cultural value dimensions explain variance in the individuals' scores on the enmity index, and (b) whether cultural values interact with the four individual-level dummy variables representing second-generation EU immigrants, first-generation EU immigrants, second-generation non-EU immigrants, and first-generation non-EU immigrants. Furthermore, interactions with the individual-level control variables gender, education and income were examined. For information about the mathematical principle behind HLM see Raudenbush and Bryk (2002).

Let's turn to the first three models for the moment: Each contained only one particular particular cultural value dimension. This separate analysis has been recommended by Schwartz (2003; 2007) to technically avoid problems associated with multicollinearity and and provide for the circumplex structure of value interdependence.

Table 11 provides a full documentation of the first three models. The individual-level predictors show significant relationships with the enmity index. Higher levels of education and income are associated with less negative group-related attitudes. Also, second-generation EU and non-EU immigrants score significantly lower on the enmity index, and first-generation non-EU immigrants score higher.

All three cultural value dimensions are significantly related to the enmity index (significant effects on the intercept,

Table 11, 14th row). In countries closer to hierarchy, embeddedness, or mastery, individuals show more negative group-related attitudes.

Furthermore, the three value dimensions show a number of interactions with the dummy variables representing immigrants' generation and origin. Egalitarianism-hierarchy and autonomy-embeddedness interact with being a first-generation EU immigrant (significant for egalitarianism-hierarchy, marginally significant for autonomy-embeddedness, see

Table 11, 20th row) and with being a first-generation non-EU immigrant (significant for both dimensions,

Table 11, 22nd row). The latter interaction (non-EU) shows higher coefficients than the former (EU). The dimension harmony-mastery significantly interacts with being a second-generation EU immigrant (row 19 of

Table 11) and, less strongly and marginal significant, with being a first-generation non-EU immigrant (row 22).

Interestingly, cultural values also interact with the control variables. Egalitarianism-hierarchy significantly interacts with education, and autonomy-embeddedness significantly interacts with education and income (e.g.,

Table 11, 17th row shows a t -value of 4.89, $p < .01$, for the interaction of egalitarianism-hierarchy and education).

Table 11. *Effects of the Cultural Value Dimensions on the Enmity Index and Interactions with Migration Status and the Control Variables*

	Model with Egalitarianism-Hierarchy				Model with Autonomy-Embeddedness				Model with Harmony-Mastery			
Fixed effects	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 22)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 22)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 22)</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	5.62	0.16	34.75	.00	5.62	0.17	32.65	.00	5.62	.22	26.09	.00
Individual-Level predictors												
Gender	-0.60	0.04	-13.74	.00	-0.60	0.04	-13.67	.00	-0.60	0.04	-13.60	.00
Education	-0.38	0.04	-10.40	.00	-0.38	0.05	-8.34	.00	-0.38	0.05	-7.69	.00
Income	-0.20	0.03	-6.38	.00	-0.20	0.03	-7.33	.00	-0.20	0.03	-6.17	.00
Second-Generation EU immigrant	-.21	0.09	-2.27	.03	-0.28	0.10	-2.72	.01	-0.24	0.08	-3.04	.01
First-Generation EU immigrant	.11	0.11	0.96	.35	0.11	0.12	0.94	.36	0.11	0.12	0.93	.36
Second-Generation non-EU immigrant	-.23	0.09	-2.41	.03	-0.28	0.10	-2.88	.01	-0.22	0.10	-2.27	.03
First-Generation non-EU immigrant	.59	0.14	4.15	.00	0.58	0.14	4.26	.00	0.59	0.15	3.82	.00

continued

Table 11 (continued). *Effects of the Cultural Value Dimensions on the Enmity Index and Interactions with Migration Status and the Control Variables*

	Model with Egalitarianism-Hierarchy				Model with Autonomy-Embeddedness				Model with Harmony-Mastery			
	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 22)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 22)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 22)</i>	<i>p</i>
Country-Level predictor												
Effect on intercept	1.66	0.33	4.99	.00	2.65	0.60	4.41	.00	1.26	0.60	2.10	.047
Effect on slopes												
Gender	0.04	0.09	0.45	.66	-0.07	0.15	-0.47	.64	0.04	0.12	0.37	.71
Education	0.36	0.07	4.89	.00	0.43	0.16	2.68	.01	0.23	0.14	1.71	.10
Income	0.08	0.06	1.27	.22	0.29	0.09	3.01	.01	0.00	0.09	0.04	.97
Second-Generation EU immigrant	-0.25	0.19	-1.28	.21	-0.24	0.34	-0.71	.49	-0.62	0.19	-3.26	.00
First-Generation EU immigrant	-0.58	0.25	-2.35	.03	-0.75	0.40	-1.87	.07	-0.47	0.31	-1.54	.14
Second-Generation non-EU immigrant	0.05	0.18	0.27	.79	-0.31	0.38	-0.81	.43	-0.22	0.22	-0.97	.34
First-Generation non-EU immigrant	-0.86	0.29	-3.00	.01	-1.52	0.47	-3.21	.00	-0.84	0.42	-2.02	.06

continued

Table 11 (continued). *Effects of the Cultural Value Dimensions on the Enmity Index and Interactions with Migration Status and the Control Variables*

	Model with Egalitarianism-Hierarchy			Model with Autonomy-Embeddedness			Model with Harmony-Mastery		
Random effects (remaining between-country variance)									
	VC	$\chi^2 (df = 22)$	p	VC	$\chi^2 (df = 22)$	p	VC	$\chi^2 (df = 22)$	p
Enmity index	0.62	3387.77	.00	0.71	4359.81	.00	1.11	6129.48	.00
Effect of gender	0.03	71.23	.00	0.03	72.10	.00	0.03	70.88	.00
Effect of education	0.03	888.54	.00	0.05	1037.73	.00	0.06	967.65	.00
Effect of income	0.02	129.89	.00	0.01	97.12	.00	0.02	137.68	.00
Effect of second-generation EU immigrant	0.09	35.23	.04	0.08	37.79	.02	0.03	24.03	.35
Effect of first-generation EU immigrant	0.11	44.79	.01	0.15	61.03	.00	0.17	51.54	.00
Effect of second-generation non-EU immigrant	0.09	51.50	.01	0.11	51.80	.00	0.09	45.44	.00
Effect of first-generation non-EU immigrant	0.38	121.27	.00	0.36	139.62	.00	0.48	135.48	.00

Note. Coeff = unstandardized effect coefficient, SE = Standard Error, VC = Variance Component.

Let's turn now to the subsequent models. These were performed to test how the results change when jointly including either two value dimensions or all three of them. Four additional models were performed: One included the dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy and autonomy-embeddedness, a second one combined egalitarianism-hierarchy and harmony-mastery, a third one autonomy-embeddedness and harmony-mastery, and a fourth one comprised all three value dimensions. Table 12 gives an abridged overview over the central coefficients (direct effects on enmity and interactions with the dummy variables resembling migrants' generation and origin).

As can be taken from the table, the combined models reveal only a few significant effects: Regarding the direct effects on enmity, egalitarianism-hierarchy and autonomy-embeddedness remain significant predictors, no matter how they are combined with the other dimensions. Harmony-Mastery, in turn, does not reach significance level when adding one or two of the other dimensions. Regarding the interactions of cultural values with the four dummy variables, only four coefficients are significant: In three of the four combined models, the harmony-mastery dimension interacts with being a second-generation EU immigrant. In addition, in the model combining autonomy-embeddedness and harmony-mastery, autonomy-embeddedness interacts with being a first-generation non-EU immigrant.

The interaction of harmony-mastery with being a second-generation EU immigrant is most consistent. Therefore, Figure 3 additionally illustrates the co-variation of harmony-mastery and enmity, separately for all five sub-groups. Similar trends can be seen for all groups. The curves of non-immigrants and second-generation EU immigrants (for which the interaction was consistently significant) deviate most strongly in the Scandinavian samples Finland, Denmark, and Norway, but also in the samples of Spain, Greece, and Israel. Note that the curve for first-generation non-EU immigrants shows the smallest variations across countries.

Table 12. *Models Including two or All Three Cultural Value Dimensions (Overview Over Central Coefficients)*

	Model with dimensions eg-hier & aut-emb				Model with dimensions eg-hier & har-mas				Model with dimensions aut- emb & har-mas				Model with all three dimensions			
	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 21)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 21)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 21)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 20)</i>	<i>p</i>
Effect on intercept																
Eg-Hier	1.15	0.36	3.22	.01	2.06	0.48	4.32	.00	--	--	--	--	1.51	0.48	3.14	.01
Aut-Emb	1.57	0.61	2.59	.02	--	--	--	--	2.39	0.64	3.73	.01	1.52	0.60	2.51	.02
Harm-Mas	--	--	--	--	-0.74	0.64	-1.16	.26	0.58	0.51	1.14	.27	-0.64	0.58	-1.11	.28
Effect on Second-Generation EU immigrant slope																
Eg-Hier	-0.18	0.26	-0.69	.50	0.20	0.26	0.79	.44	--	--	--	--	0.20	0.32	0.64	.53
Aut-Emb	0.01	0.45	0.02	.99	--	--	--	--	0.10	0.35	0.30	.77	-0.02	0.42	-0.06	.96
Harm-Mas	--	--	--	--	-0.84	0.29	-2.85	.01	-0.59	0.23	-2.57	.02	-0.71	0.34	-2.10	.048
Effect on First-Generation EU immigrant slope																
Eg-Hier	-0.53	0.28	-1.88	.07	-0.73	0.41	-1.79	.09	--	--	--	--	-0.62	0.43	-1.44	.17
Aut-Emb	-0.27	0.43	-0.64	.53	--	--	--	--	-0.61	0.44	-1.38	.18	-0.26	0.44	-0.59	.56
Harm-Mas	--	--	--	--	0.21	0.43	0.48	.63	-0.35	0.32	-1.09	.29	0.15	0.45	0.33	.74

continued

Table 12 (continued). *Models Including two or all Three Cultural Value Dimensions (Overview Over Central Coefficients)*

	Model with dimensions eg-hier & aut-emb				Model with dimensions eg-hier & har-mas				Model with dimensions aut- emb & har-mas				Model with all three dimensions			
	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 21)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 21)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 21)</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Coeff</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t (df = 20)</i>	<i>p</i>
Effect on Second-Generation non-EU immigrant slope																
Eg-Hier	0.26	0.24	1.12	.28	0.43	0.28	1.51	.15	--	--	--	--	0.61	0.34	1.79	.09
Aut-Emb	-0.52	0.48	-1.08	.29	--	--	--	--	-0.16	0.43	-0.38	.71	-0.54	0.47	-1.15	.26
Harm-Mas	--	--	--	--	-0.65	0.34	-1.88	.07	-0.13	0.27	-0.48	.64	-0.61	0.36	-1.66	.11
Effect on First-Generation non-EU immigrant slope																
Eg-Hier	-0.52	0.33	-1.59	.13	-0.83	0.44	-1.89	.07	--	--	--	--	-0.44	0.47	-0.94	.36
Aut-Emb	-1.01	0.56	-1.82	.08	--	--	--	--	-1.30	0.51	-2.55	.02	-1.05	0.58	-1.80	.09
Harm-Mas	--	--	--	--	-0.04	0.58	-0.06	.95	-0.47	0.39	-1.18	.25	-0.11	0.55	-0.19	.85

Note. Eg-hier = egalitarianism-hierarchy, aut-emb = autonomy-embeddedness, har-mas = harmony-mastery, Coeff = unstandardized effect coefficient, SE = Standard Error. All models include the control variables gender, education, and income.

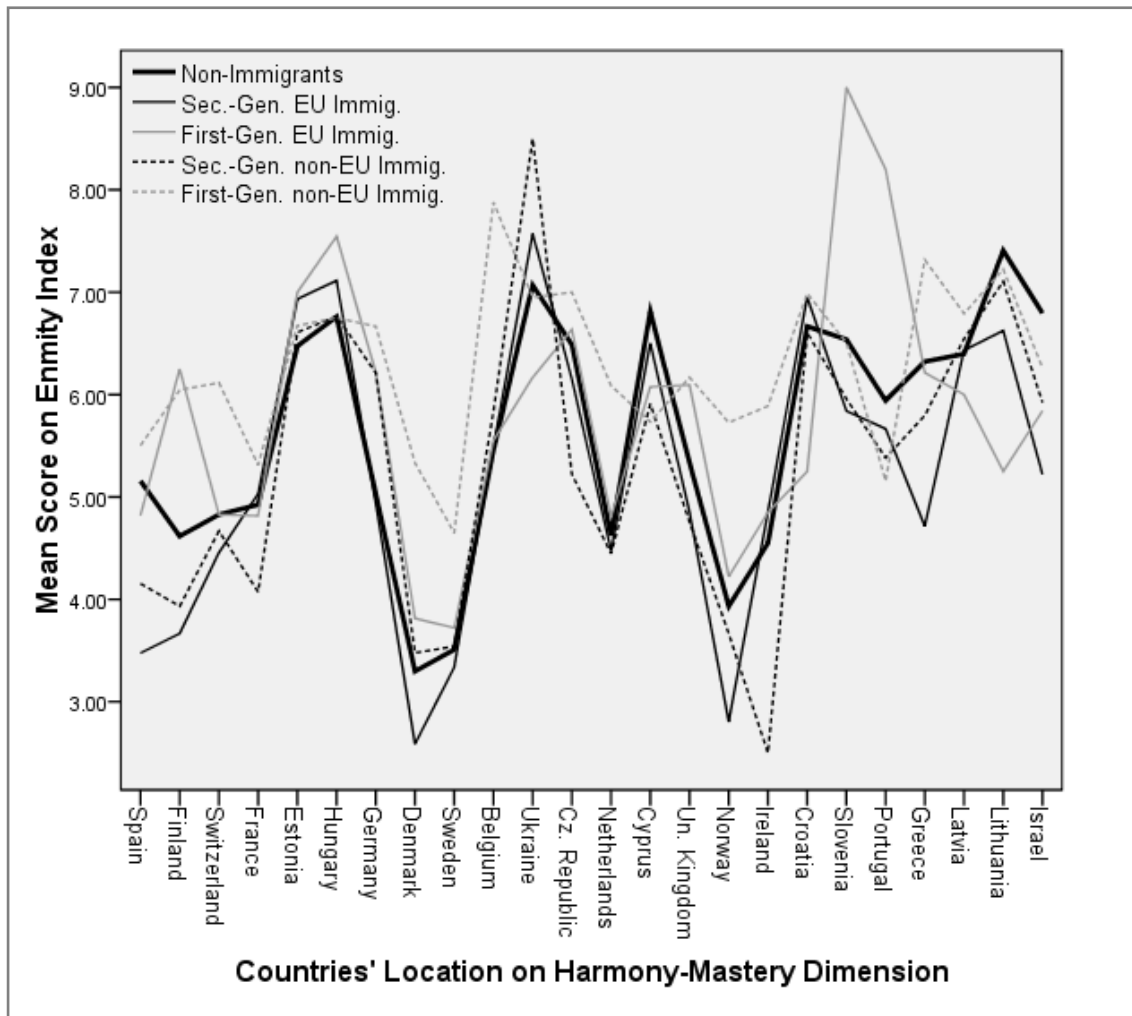


Figure 3. Comparison of non-immigrants with second- and first generation immigrants from EU and non-EU countries regarding the relationship between the cultural value dimension harmony-mastery and enmity.

To summarize, Hypothesis 2a is confirmed by the models that include only one particular cultural value dimension. Here, all three dimensions relate to the enmity index as predicted. Hypotheses 2b and 2c also receive support in these models, with some specifications: The relationships of the cultural value dimensions egalitarianism-hierarchy and autonomy-embeddedness with the individuals' enmity are weaker among first-generation immigrants (but not among second-generation immigrants) compared to non-immigrants. This regards especially to first-generation immigrants from non-EU countries. The relationship between the harmony-mastery dimension and individuals' enmity, in turn, is weaker among second-generation EU immigrants compared to non-

immigrants, and – with less strong coefficients – among first-generation non-EU immigrants.^{31,32}

In models jointly including one or two value dimensions, harmony-mastery is no significant predictor of enmity anymore. However, it appears to be the only dimension that shows consistent interactions with being a (second-generation EU) immigrant.

3.5. Discussion

The present study tested whether cultural values of a country are associated with group-related attitudes of its individuals (Hypothesis 2a). Furthermore, it was assumed that this relationship is stronger among non-immigrants compared to immigrants, since the latter are partly socialized in another cultural environment and thus less strongly guided by host country's value climate (Hypothesis 2b). This assumption was further differentiated. It was expected that first-generation immigrants are even less affected by the host country's cultural values than second-generation immigrants, and that immigrants from a culturally more distant country (non-EU immigrants) are even less affected than immigrants from a culturally closer country (EU immigrants) (Hypothesis 2c).

Hypothesis 2a receives support. In models examining the three value dimensions separately, all dimensions relate to the measurement of group-related attitudes used in this study. Models combining more than one value dimensions proof especially the dimensions egalitarianism-hierarchy and autonomy-embeddedness to be substantial predictors. Hypothesis 2b and 2c also receive support, however, with some specifications: In models analysing the value dimensions separately, the effects on enmity are found to be weaker among first-generation immigrants. For immigrants of the second generation effects are not different from those for non-immigrants. The only exception concerns the relationship between harmony-mastery and the enmity index, which is significantly weaker among second-generation EU immigrant. The result pattern shows that the differentiation between immigrants' generation was worthwhile. Second-generation immigrants not only seem to be stronger affected by the host

³¹Since the cultural value scores were derived from individual-level data, it was tested whether the results change when controlling for (1) individual scores of the cultural value dimensions, and (2) individual value preferences based on Schwartz's (1992) theory of ten individual values. The results remained the same.

³²All HLM analyses were also performed using the single items of the enmity index (e.g., attitudes towards homosexuality or gender equality). The result pattern remained the same.

country's cultural values than first-generation immigrants. By and large, they even seem to be guided by the host country's values as strongly as the non-immigrant population. This supports previous studies showing that immigrants' generational status has important implications in terms of the adaptation to the receiving country (e.g., Birman, 2006; Kwak, 2003). As has been reviewed in the introduction, second-generation immigrants more easily adopt the values of the receiving country, due to their life-long exposure to these values (Hwang, 2006; Phinney et al., 2000).

In models combining more than one cultural value dimensions, all but one interaction of cultural values with being an immigrant lose significance. This might be associated with multicollinearity, since the circumplex structure of cultural values implies substantial interrelations between the three dimensions. Interestingly, however, the interaction between the harmony-mastery dimension and being a second-generation EU immigrant 'survives' the inclusion of more than one value dimension, pointing to a stronger relevance of this interaction. It however contradicts the previously discussed results, because it implies weaker effects among second- instead of first-generation immigrants. This contradicting finding shows that additional studies with other available samples and measures (e.g., the Schwartz Value Survey, see S. H. Schwartz, 2006b) are required to corroborate the assumptions made in this article. Still, it supports the assumption of weaker effects among immigrants compared to non-immigrants.

The results call for a further examination within the framework of acculturation research. Besides generational status and origin, the role of individual acculturation orientations for the adoption of cultural values should be of interest for future research. Berry (e.g., 2005) proposes four acculturation orientations – integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization – resulting from the degree to which individuals incorporate either the culture of origin, the host culture, both, or none of them into their self. Assumingly, migrants that pursue a separation orientation are less strongly guided by the host society's cultural values compared to individuals favouring assimilation or integration. Unfortunately, the ESS Round 4 data do not provide appropriate measures of acculturation. Further studies should examine the role of individual acculturation orientations using multidimensional measures of orientation towards both the heritage and the host cultural group (see, e.g., Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000).

Individuals with lower education and income score higher on the enmity index. Such a relationship has often been interpreted in terms of relative deprivation, described as a perceived lack of resources relative to other individuals or groups (Walker &

Smith, 2002). When individuals perceive relative deprivation, they can react dismissively towards the particular reference groups or individual (e.g., Pettigrew, Christ, Meertens, van Dick, & Zick, 2008; Tripathi & Srivastava, 1981). Interestingly, in the present data education and income partly interact with cultural values. Education and income is less strongly related to group-related enmity in countries closer to egalitarianism and autonomy. Perhaps, in more egalitarian and autonomous countries individual who perceive relative deprivation less likely show stronger group-related enmity, because it is generally more normative to be open and tolerant towards other groups. In more hierarchical or embedded countries where differences in group status are more normative, deprived individuals are more prone to show group-related enmity. The present study cannot clarify whether this is the case. To shed light on this issue, one would need more accurate measures of relative deprivation, such as the subjective perception of personal and collective deprivation in different domains and corresponding appraisals and feelings (see, for example, Pettigrew et al., 2008).

3.5.1. Limitations

The study used aggregated individual-level scores from the ESS data to measure country-level cultural values instead of scores already provided by Schwartz (e.g., 1994b) based on student and teacher samples. Preference was given to this procedure, since the ESS country samples are in the author's view more representative than samples of students and teachers. Still, although controlled for in an extra analysis (see footnote 31) it can be argued that in the current data non-immigrants are stronger affected by cultural values because these are the individuals the cultural values were aggregated from. Ideally, one should have used data from different individuals of the same countries, at best from an earlier time. However, previous rounds of the ESS did not yet include all countries represented in Round 4. Nevertheless, correlations between the cultural values scores of Round 4 countries with the respective scores from countries that were also part of Round 3 (collected among different people) show strong relationships ($r > .90$, see also Fischer, 2011). Thus, the effects would have been comparable when deriving cultural value scores from different individuals.

The hypotheses were tested controlling for education and income. Still, one aspect worth considering is that in the present data immigrants are on average higher educated and partly have a higher income than non-immigrants. This is somewhat counter-intuitive given that immigrants are often described having a lower socioeconomic status (e.g., Ayman & Berry, 1996; Nielsen & Krasnik, 2010). A closer

inspection of the country samples showed that many immigrants originate from neighbor states. For example, the largest group in the German sample comes from Poland and in the Danish sample from Germany. Furthermore, Table 8 shows that in half of the country samples most immigrants come from EU countries. In the other half the majority are non-EU immigrants, but still originate from countries of the European continent or surrounding areas (e.g., most immigrants to Estonia or Finland come from the Russian Federation or Belarus). This indicates that the immigrant participants of the ESS are primarily labour migrants from EU or neighbor states instead of, e.g., refugees or individuals immigrating for economic reasons. Fleischmann and Dronkers (2010) reported a similar pattern in the ESS Round 2 data. They showed that compared to immigrants from other world regions, those coming from Europe have higher employment rates in the host countries, due to higher living standards in the heritage countries. However interpreted, it has to be kept in mind that higher status immigrants have been found to be more adapted to the host society (Negy & Woods, 1992; Shen & Takeuchi, 2001). Hence, one can assume that the higher status immigrants in the present data are more strongly guided by the host society's cultural values compared to low status immigrants, because they are more adapted to the host society. Presumably, differences between immigrants and non-immigrants would have even been greater if one had had a more representative sample of immigrants in each country.

3.5.2. Conclusion

The present study provides a further validation of the cultural value theory by Schwartz (e.g., 2006b) by showing that the relationship between countries' cultural values and group-related attitudes of the individuals in these countries is stronger among non-immigrants compared to immigrants, because the latter additionally are exposed to cultural values originating from their country of origin. The study brings in a new perspective into acculturation research showing that acculturation can also be approached by examining the degree to which immigrants are guided by the cultural values of the host society. Future research should examine the role of individual acculturation orientations, ideally using immigrant samples that are more representative for the particular country.

4. Cultural Value Fit of Immigrant and Minority Adolescents: The Role of Acculturation Orientations

This chapter is based on the journal article ‘Cultural Value Fit of Immigrant and Minority Adolescents: The Role of Acculturation Orientations’ by David Schiefer, Anna Möllering, and Ella Daniel (2012). The final definite version of this paper has been published in the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, volume 36, pages 486-497, Elsevier Ltd., All rights reserved ©. The electronic version is available via <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0147176712000193>.

4.1. Abstract

This study examined the similarity of immigrant and minority adolescents' cultural values to those shared by the majority of the country they live in, i.e. the cultural value fit. It was hypothesized that immigrant and minority individuals who show different acculturation orientations differ in their cultural value fit. The highest cultural value fit was expected for individuals pursuing an assimilation orientation, the lowest fit for individuals with a separation orientation. Individuals with a marginalization or integration orientation were expected to take a mid-position. Survey data were used from immigrant and minority adolescents: Immigrants from countries of the Former Soviet Union (FSU) to Germany ($N = 862$) and Israel ($N = 435$), immigrants from Turkey to Germany ($N = 664$), and members of the Arab minority in Israel ($N = 488$). Results of Analyses of Variance show similar patterns in all four samples in line with the hypothesis but point also to stronger effects among FSU immigrants as opposed to Turkish immigrants and Arab Israelis. Results are discussed with regard to the general contribution of the cultural fit research to the acculturation research and with regard to the role of cultural value fit for psychological well-being of immigrants and minority members. The stronger effects found among the FSU samples as opposed to the Turkish and the Arab Israeli sample, respectively, are discussed against the background of the fact that the former are mainly diaspora-immigrants for which cultural value adaptation to the receiving country might be easier compared to the latter.

4.2. Introduction

In times where migration numbers are skyrocketing and will continue to do so, the topic of acculturation and migration is high on the receiving countries' political agenda. As a result, the understanding of integration and adaptation processes became an urging necessity for policy-makers and scholars in the receiving countries (Berry, Phinney, Kwak, & Sam, 2006).

The present study attempts to contribute to this research field. It investigates the level of cultural value adoption among immigrant and cultural minority individuals. Moreover, it investigates the relations between cultural value adoption and identification with the country of residence as well as the heritage group. To answer these research questions, adolescents from four immigrant and ethnic minority groups in Germany and Israel were surveyed. The diversity of immigrant and minority groups sampled in this study, and this in two culturally distinct national environments makes it possible to not only follow the research question introduced above but also test the generalizability of findings across groups and countries. Furthermore, by intertwining two research frameworks –cultural fit research and acculturation research – this article intends to introduce a new perspective on the phenomenon of migration and societal adaptation.

4.2.1. Cultural fit: Focusing on cultural values

The term cultural fit describes the degree of correspondence between an individual's personality traits, values, beliefs and behavior, and the values, beliefs and practices normatively shared by the members of a group the individual lives in (Chirkov et al., 2005; Lu, 2006; Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Chang, 1997; Yang, Noels, & Saumure, 2006). Other terms used to describe the same phenomenon are cultural consonance (e.g., Dressler, Balieiro, Ribeiro, & Santos, 2007), or cultural congruence (Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001).

The literature on cultural fit distinguishes between subjective and objective fit (e.g., Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001). In studies following the objective fit approach, cultural fit is assessed by the difference of an individual's score on a particular measure from the mean scores of the same measure obtained from samples representing a particular reference group, e.g., an organization the person works in or the country the person lives in (Ward & Chang, 1997; Ward, Leong, & Low, 2004; Yang et al., 2006). Conversely, in studies using a subjective fit approach, participants are asked to what

degree they see a discrepancy in their own attitudes, beliefs or values and those they are confronted with in the particular reference group. Alternatively, individuals are presented measures of attitudes, beliefs, values, and practices which they are asked to respond to with regard to (a) themselves as individuals and (b) the particular reference group (e.g., Chirkov et al., 2005; van Vianen, De Pater, Kristof-Brown, & Johnson, 2004).

Previous studies on cultural fit have mainly focused on the fit to organizations (e.g., Parkes, Bochner, & Schneider, 2001) as well as countries (e.g., Fischer, 2006). The present article addresses cultural fit with regard to the latter. The fit between an individual and other members of a country has caught the interest of a number of authors in the last years. For example, Ward and colleagues (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward & Chang, 1997; Ward et al., 2004) showed that among sojourners, the relationship between personality aspects (such as extraversion) and adaptation to the receiving country is partly moderated by the degree to which these personality aspects match the norms, values, and practices shared by the people in this country. Furthermore, numerous studies have demonstrated that the degree of fit between the individual and the society in terms of values, beliefs, and personality characteristics enhances individuals' well-being (Juang, Nguyen, & Lin, 2006; Ratzlaff, Matsumoto, Kouznetsova, Raroque, & Ray, 2000; Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001).

A substantial number of studies that have examined the fit between individuals and their cultural environment have focused on values as a potential fit indicator (e.g., Bernard, Gebauer, & Maio, 2006; Elfenbein & O'Reilly, 2007; Fischer, 2006; Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001; van Vianen et al., 2004). Values have been postulated to be a core feature of cultures (Hofstede, 2001; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b) and thus are a popular measurement dimension to explore the person-culture fit (Elfenbein & O'Reilly, 2007). The current study follows this line of research by focusing on values, more precisely, cultural values shared by the residents of a particular country. The similarity of individuals to the cultural values of the country they live in – in the following termed the *cultural value fit* – is being examined. In addition, as will be described in the following section, cultural value fit will be looked at from the perspective of immigrants and cultural minority members, taking acculturation research as the underlying theoretical basis. This intertwining of cultural fit research and acculturation research – so the argument – has only insufficiently been empirically demonstrated so far.

4.2.2. *Cultural value fit among immigrants and cultural minority members: The role of acculturation orientations*

The current study probes the cultural fit proposition focusing on immigrants and cultural minority members. Every person living in a country is exposed to the cultural values that are shared by its residents. The same is true for immigrants and members of non-immigrant cultural minorities. However, these groups are not only exposed to the cultural values of the country's majority population, they are also exposed to the cultural values of the country of origin or to those prevalent in the cultural minority community, respectively. For example, a person who grew up in Germany but whose parents had immigrated to Germany from Turkey will be exposed to values rooted in the Turkish culture, through the family and through the Turkish immigrants' community. Hence, it can be expected that an immigrant or a cultural minority member will display a weaker fit to the cultural values of the country's majority population, due to this additional exposure to the cultural values of the country of origin or the minority community, respectively.

The abovementioned assumption can be further differentiated. It is postulated that the degree of cultural fit of immigrants and cultural minority members to the majority culture depends on both the degree of affiliation with the country of residence as well as the degree of affiliation with the culture/country of origin. This argument is theoretically based on the model of acculturation by Berry and colleagues (Berry, 2005; Sam & Berry, 2006). Berry and others (see also LaFromboise et al., 1993) have proposed that maintaining a positive affiliation with the culture of heritage and at the same time establishing a positive relation to the culture of the country of residence are not mutually exclusive but independent aspirations of a person (Berry & Kim, 1988; S. J. Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Berry and colleagues distinguished four acculturation orientations, depending on the degree of affiliation with the heritage group and the country of residence, respectively (see Berry, 2005): A *separation* orientation is determined by a pronounced affiliation with the cultural heritage group and an alienation from the culture of the country of residence, whereas an *assimilation* orientation is described as having cut oneself off from the heritage group and being strongly oriented towards the country of residence. When the individual is strongly affiliated with both the heritage group and the country of residence, he or she is considered to have an *integration* orientation. Conversely, having

lost the attachment to either of the cultural groups is framed by the term *marginalization*.

Acculturation orientations can be described on two different domains (Mariño, Stuart, & Minas, 2000; Searle & Ward, 1990). One domain refers to behaviors, such as language use, television and media consumption, eating habits, the participation in cultural activities and the establishment of social networks. The second domain refers to psychological processes, such as changes in evaluations and attitudes towards the two cultural groups as well as changes in the sense of belonging to and identification with the two cultural groups (see also Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). In the current study, acculturation orientations are conceptualized in terms of the second domain – psychological processes – by focussing on *identification* with the heritage group and the country of residence (see, e.g., Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; S. J. Schwartz et al., 2006). This aspect of acculturation is of special interest in this study, because the target population is that of adolescents. It is known from the literature that identity development is one of the central developmental tasks during adolescence (e.g., Erikson, 1959). The commitment making that occurs during adolescence includes the self-perception as members of social groups such as ethnic or national groups (Phinney, 1990; Phinney et al., 2006).

It is expected that individuals adopt the cultural values of the country's majority cultural group differently depending on their acculturation orientations. Thus, they differ in the degree of cultural value fit to the country of residence. For example, an individual that highly identifies with the cultural heritage group, and rather lowly identifies with the country of residence (i.e. separation) will adopt the majority's cultural values less – will show a lower cultural value fit – compared to someone who highly identifies with the country of residence and lowly identifies with the heritage group (i.e. assimilation). In the latter case the country's majority culture is much more important to the individual than in the former case, which makes the adoption of values more likely. Hence, Hypothesis 3 states that individuals showing a separation orientation (high identification with the heritage group and low identification with the country of residence) will show the lowest cultural value fit to the country's majority population, whereas individuals showing an assimilation orientation (low identification with heritage group and high identification with country of residence) will show the highest cultural value fit. Those who follow a marginalization or integration orientation are expected to take an intermediate position. They identify highly or lowly with either

group, which means that either none of the groups or both are important for the individual's value preferences.

Only few empirical studies previously tested the hypothesis of correspondence between cultural value fit and acculturation orientations. There are a number of studies demonstrating that immigrants' values approximate those of the receiving country's population. However, most of these studies pursued a uni-dimensional approach, measuring acculturation on a single scale as a continuum from being heritage-culture oriented to being oriented towards the receiving culture (e.g., Domino & Acosta, 1987). Other studies showed higher endorsement of values typical for the receiving country among second- compared to first-generation immigrants (e.g., Feldman, Mont-Reynaud, & Rosenthal, 1992; Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas, 1996). These studies are also uni-dimensional in nature because they imply a general tendency from the host culture to the culture of the receiving society across generations. A study following the bi-dimensional approach to acculturation is the one by Costigan and Su (2004), who separately examined the orientation towards the heritage (Chinese) group and towards the receiving country among Chinese immigrants to Canada. They found that a stronger Canadian orientation (in terms of behavior and identification) correlated with the endorsement of values characteristic for Canada. Though, the orientation towards the Chinese cultural group was not associated with – as one would expect following the arguments presented above – less endorsement of values typical for Canada. However, in this study not the value fit in the sense of an actual similarity of immigrants' values to those shared by the receiving country's population was examined. Instead, the endorsement of values that the authors theoretically assumed to be typical for Canadian culture (the value 'independence') was assessed. Thus, the current study attempts to further develop the acculturation research by introducing the perspective of cultural value fit when examining acculturation orientations of immigrants and cultural minority members in the framework of Berry's bi-dimensional model.

4.2.3. *Schwartz's cultural value theory as a theoretical base*

To examine individuals' fit to the values of the country they live in, the model of cultural values as proposed by Schwartz (1994b; 1999; 2006b) is used. The author suggested seven cultural value types by which societies can be characterized. These value types provide answers to particular basic questions that a society is confronted with when regulating human activity. Particular such value types regard to the same basic question but provide answers that oppose each other.

The first set of value types – *egalitarianism* and *hierarchy* – provides opposing answers to the question how a stable social fabric within a society can be established. How can human interactions and interdependencies be coordinated in order to enable the individuals to be productive instead of destructive for the good of the society (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b)? Societies high on egalitarianism promote the equality of human beings, social justice and mutual responsibility. Human productivity should be encouraged through the commitment to cooperate and act for the welfare of all others. In contrast, societies valuing *hierarchy* more strongly see an unequal distribution of power and status within the society as a natural and desirable condition. Social relations are hierarchically structured with a certain number of people being superior while others are comparatively subordinate. Such hierarchical structures are viewed as necessary to ensure human productivity.

A second set of opposed cultural value types – *intellectual autonomy*, *affective autonomy*, and the opposing value type *embeddedness* – deals with the question how the relations and boundaries between the person and the group should be shaped. It describes the degree to which people should be treated as individuals versus as group members (S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). In autonomous societies, individuals are encouraged to think, feel, and act as unique individuals. They should follow their own ideas and thoughts (intellectual autonomy), and promote their own positive affective conditions (affective autonomy). Conversely, societies committed to embeddedness values emphasize the integration of individuals into a social entity with shared goals and ways of living. Meaning in life comes through social relationships and identification with groups, whose goals and interests precede individual goals and interests.

The third set of value types – *harmony* and *mastery* – provides opposing answers to the questions how human and natural resources should be treated. Societies valuing harmony emphasize the importance of unity with the social and natural environment. One should strive for a world at peace and the protection of the environment, because fitting into the world is more valued than directing it. Conversely, societies valuing mastery promote an active managing, changing and directing of the social and natural world in order to attain group or personal goals.

To the best of my knowledge, cultural value fit has not yet been examined empirically utilizing Schwartz's approach as a theoretical framework. Cultural fit studies such as Ward et al. (2004) have referred to the cultural dimension individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995), or to Schwartz's (1992) theory of ten

individual values (e.g., Bernard et al., 2006; Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001), which is conceptually different from his cultural value theory (for a comparison of both approaches see S. H. Schwartz, 2011b). A comprehensive examination of the cultural value fit proposition using Schwartz's cultural value theory is still lacking.

4.3. Methods

4.3.1. Participants

Adolescents from four immigrant and ethnic minority groups were surveyed: Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) to Israel and Germany, Turkish immigrants to Germany and members of the Arab Israeli minority in Israel. In Germany, an adolescent was considered an immigrant if she/he her-/himself or at least one of the parents was born in the FSU or in Turkey. In Israel, the criterion differed slightly. Individuals were considered as immigrants from the FSU when having immigrated themselves or when at least one parent had moved to Israel *after* his or her childhood.^{33,34} Furthermore, individuals were assigned to the Arab sample based on the school she/he was interviewed at. This was a technically reliable assignment, because in Israel a separate school system for Arab students exists. Hence, children whose parents were both born in Israel but who learned in an Arabic school were considered Arab.

The four samples comprised 435 adolescent immigrants from the FSU to Israel (mean age 14.94, 45.1 % female, three individuals did not report their gender), 862 adolescent immigrants from the FSU to Germany (mean age 13.55, 49.8 % female, four individuals did not report their gender), furthermore 664 Turkish immigrants to Germany (mean age 12.89, 52.9 % female, seven individuals did not report their gender) and 488 members of the Arab-Israeli minority in Israel (mean age 14.23, 57.4 % female, 23 individuals did not report their gender).

³³This different criterion was applied due to the fact that the immigration history of the Israeli society is rather different compared to Germany. Because the establishment of the comparably young country is to large parts based on the return of Jewish communities from all over the world, the percentage of individuals who were born in a foreign country is much higher (see Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Due to this, and also to the immigration policy, non-recent immigrants are considered as non-immigrants (see also Knafo & Schwartz, 2001).

³⁴In Study 1 of this thesis, the criteria for being an immigrant were the same in Germany and Israel (at least on parent born in the FSU or in Turkey, regardless of age of immigration). The decision to apply a different criterion in Israel (as done in the study described here) was made by the whole research team only after the publication of the journal article Study 1 is based on.

4.3.2. Procedure

The adolescents were surveyed in schools during teaching time. The students participated in the study voluntarily without being rewarded. In Germany, for the children younger than age 16 the parents' consent that their children were allowed to take part in the study was obtained. In Israel, this was the case for children of all ages. Students were assured that their answers were kept anonymously and were asked to answer spontaneously. Trained researchers explained the instructions and assisted the adolescents in case of any question.

4.3.3. Measures

Acculturation orientations. Participants were presented three statements expressing group identification: "Being a [member of the particular group] is an important part of who I am.", "It is important to me that I view myself as a [member of the particular group]." and "It is important to me that others see me as a [member of the particular group]." Responses to the items were made on a 6-point scale ranging from one (strongly disagree) to six (strongly agree). Participants rated their agreement to these items twice, once with regard to their cultural heritage group (being a FSU immigrant, Turkish immigrant, or Israeli Arab), and once with regard to the country of residence (being a German or an Israeli, respectively). The items come from a 16-item scale by Roccas et al. (2008) measuring in-group identification (see also Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001). The reliability of the scale measuring identification with the country of residence ranged between $\alpha = .90$ (Arab Israelis) and $\alpha = .94$ (Turkish immigrants). The reliability of the scale measuring identification with the cultural heritage group ranged between $\alpha = .87$ (Turkish immigrants) and $\alpha = .95$ (FSU immigrants to Germany).

Based on these identification measures, the variable 'acculturation orientation' was calculated as follows: Firstly, the particular three items measuring identification with the heritage group as well as the country of residence were averaged, resulting in two scales. Secondly, a median split was used to dichotomize the two scales into high and low identification (for a similar procedure see also Ward & Kennedy, 1994).³⁵ Thirdly, individuals scoring above the median on both scales were given the attribute 'integration' on the variable 'acculturation orientation', those scoring below the median on both scales were given the attribute 'marginalization'. Being above the median

³⁵Since the distribution of the identification scores differed in the sub-samples, the specific median for each sub-sample was used for the split procedure.

regarding identification with the heritage group and below the median regarding identification with the country of residence resulted in the separation orientation, the reverse case in the assimilation orientation. Thus, the variable ‘acculturation orientation’ comprised four categories, each representing one acculturation orientation.

Cultural value fit. In the current study an objective fit approach was pursued (see the introduction for the difference between objective and subjective fit): Participants filled in a value measure from which scores on cultural values were derived. Then, the difference of these cultural value scores from representative country scores for Germany and Israel was calculated. This difference score was perceived as a cultural value fit indicator. In the following the procedure is explained in detail.

Cultural values were measured using the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ; S. H. Schwartz et al., 2001). The PVQ comprises descriptions of a particular person’s goals, aspirations, or wishes (e.g., “He/She thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally.”). For each item, participants are asked to indicate how similar the portrayed person is to them. The response scale ranged from one (not like me at all) to six (very much like me). Schwartz (2006b) empirically showed that the PVQ-items are suitable to assess the culture-level values proposed in his theory. Schwartz (2006b) also documented, which PVQ-item measures which cultural value type. Based on Schwartz’s (2006b) specifications, items that jointly represent one of the seven cultural value types were averaged, resulting in seven variables, each representing one cultural value type. Before doing so, the items were centralized around the individuals’ scale mean, a procedure that Schwartz recommends to avoid distortions due to scale use (for a detailed description of the basic principle and mathematical procedure see S. H. Schwartz, 2003; 2007). Resulting scores range from -4.8 (low preference for the particular cultural value type) to 4.8 (high preference). Chronbach’s α reliability scores for each cultural value type in each sample can be obtained from Table 13. As can be seen from the table, all scores are in the medium range, with a small number of scores being rather low. For a discussion of these reliability scores against the backdrop of the cultural value theory by Schwartz (1994b; 2006b) see the discussion section of this article.

Next, in order to estimate the proximity of each individual’s value expressions to the cultural values shared by the majority population of the country he or she lives in, i.e. the cultural value fit, several computational steps were taken:

Firstly, scores representative for the German respectively Israeli majority population were calculated for each of the seven cultural value types. These scores were derived from the European Social Survey, Round 4 (ESS; see Jowell et al., 2007), which also included the PVQ.³⁶ The ESS data set provides highly representative samples of 28 countries, including Germany and Israel. Only data of non-immigrant individuals were used from the German and Israeli ESS samples.³⁷

Furthermore, in the Israeli ESS sample the individuals with an Arab background – who are by definition also non-immigrants – were excluded.³⁸ The ESS reference samples comprised $N = 2274$ non-immigrant Germans and $N = 373$ non-immigrant and non-Arab Israelis. The cultural value scores for the two reference samples were calculated by the same procedure described above for the four immigrant and minority samples, followed by averaging them across each country sample.

Secondly, the euclidean distance of the adolescents' cultural value scores from the respective mean scores for the particular country (Germany vs. Israel, derived from the ESS data) was calculated. The resulting seven distance variables (one for each cultural value type) were then averaged to receive a mean distance score for each individual. Finally, the distance score was multiplied by -1 in order to receive scores that resemble cultural value *fit* instead of distance. This cultural value fit score can have a range from -9.6 to zero.

³⁶The ESS used an abridged 21-item version of the PVQ. Therefore, in the four immigrant and minority samples only these particular 21 items were used for the calculation of values.

³⁷The criterion for being a non-immigrant slightly differed between the ESS data and the Israeli immigrant sample of this study: In the immigrant sample individuals whose parents were not born in Israel but had immigrated to Israel as children were still defined as non-immigrant individuals (see Footnote 33). However, the ESS data set does not provide information regarding the parents' age of immigration, which is why only those individuals were considered as non-immigrants whose parents were born in Israel.

³⁸The reason why these were excluded was that one of the four samples of the study comprised members of the Arab-Israeli minority. Since it was attempted to examine this sample regarding acculturation orientations and cultural value fit, a reference sample had to be created that does not include members of the Arab-Israeli minority itself. Hence, in Israel the reference group is that of non-immigrant and non-Arab Israelis.

Table 13. *Reliability Coefficients for the Cultural Value Scales in the Four Scrutinized Samples*

Cultural value type	Number of items	Chrohnbach's α scores			
		FSU immigrants to Israel	Israeli Arabs	FSU immigrants to Germany	Turkish immigrants to Germany
Egalitarianism	3	.59	.40	.59	.51
Hierarchy	2	.57	.67	.51	.51
Embeddedness	6	.75	.70	.68	.67
Affective Autonomy	3	.61	.53	.65	.49
Intellectual Autonomy	3	.40	.37	.36	.37
Harmony ^a	1				
Mastery	3	.58	.50	.65	.62

Note. ^aNo reliability can be computed for the harmony value, because it consists only of one item.

4.4. Results

Table 14 documents the means and standard deviations for each variable used in the analyses. Arab Israelis and Turkish immigrants to Germany both show the highest level of identification with the heritage group. The highest level of identification with the country of residence is shown by the group of FSU immigrants to Israel. Within all samples, identification with the heritage group differs significantly from identification with the country of residence. Yet, the scores on both identification scales are more equal among immigrants from the FSU compared to the Turkish immigrants and the Arab Israelis. Furthermore, within Israel and Germany cultural value fit does not differ between the groups. Differences are only significant when comparing groups from Germany with groups from Israel.

Table 14. *Means and Standard Deviations of all Variables Used in the Analyses*

	Samples					
	FSU immigrants to Israel	Arab Israelis	FSU immigrants to Germany	Turkish immigrants to Germany	ESS sample Israel	ESS sample Germany
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Identification heritage group ^a	4.64 (1.60)	5.29 (1.30)	3.99 (1.71)	5.39 (1.05)		
Identification country of residence ^a	4.38 (1.63)	3.76 (1.87)	3.53 (1.56)	2.65 (1.63)		
Cultural Values ^b						
Egalitarianism	0.45 (.65)	0.41 (.63)	0.66 (.67)	0.53 (.68)	0.41 (0.56)	.80 (.56)
Hierarchy	-0.56 (1.14)	-1.31 (1.32)	-0.79 (1.07)	-1.12 (1.22)	-0.58 (0.87)	-.95 (.86)
Embeddedness	-0.57 (.67)	-0.05 (.49)	-0.35 (.64)	-0.16 (.55)	-0.11 (0.54)	-.06 (.68)
Affective Autonomy	0.36 (.74)	0.22 (.70)	0.51 (.70)	0.38 (.64)	-0.05 (0.71)	-.13 (.80)
Intellectual Autonomy	0.29 (.62)	0.18 (.61)	0.25 (.61)	0.23 (.62)	0.26 (0.57)	.59 (.60)

continued

Table 14 (continued). *Means and Standard Deviations of all Variables Used in the Analyses*

	FSU immigrants to Israel	Arab Israelis	FSU immigrants to Germany	Turkish immigrants to Germany	ESS sample Israel	ESS sample Germany
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Harmony	-0.12 (1.22)	0.38 (1.00)	-0.03 (1.22)	0.10 (1.21)	0.06 (1.09)	.68 (.97)
Mastery	0.44 (.65)	0.05 (.66)	-0.18 (.87)	-0.10 (.78)	-0.06 (0.62)	-.73 (.79)
Cultural value fit ^c	-.69 (.28)	-0.64 (.30)	-0.75 (.31)	-0.72 (.28)		

Note. Within all four samples, identification with the heritage group and identification with the country of residence differ significantly. Furthermore, identification with the heritage group differs in all samples except for Turkish immigrants to Germany and Arab Israelis. Identification with the country of residence differs in all samples except for Arab Israelis and FSU immigrants to Germany. Cultural value fit scores differ only between FSU immigrants to Germany and FSU immigrants to Israel, FSU immigrants to Germany and Arab Israelis, and Turkish immigrants to Germany and Arab Israelis.

^aScale range from 1 to 6. ^bScale range from -4.8 to + 4.8. ^cScale range from -9.6 (lowest fit) to 0 (highest fit).

To test the hypotheses, univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed in SPSS (SPSS Inc., 2010). The ANOVAs were calculated separately for each of the four samples under scrutiny. ‘Acculturation orientation’ was used as a factor comprising four levels (marginalization, separation, assimilation, and integration). The dependent variable was the cultural value fit score.

Figure 4 documents the mean scores of the cultural value fit for individuals showing different acculturation orientations. An exploratory examination of the Figure indicates that cultural value fit indeed differs among individuals pursuing different acculturation orientations. In both FSU samples, individuals showing a separation orientation exhibit the lowest cultural value fit, whereas those showing an assimilation orientation exhibit the highest cultural value fit. Individuals with a marginalization or integration orientation score in between. This is in line with the hypothesis. In the Arab-Israeli minority as well as the Turkish immigrant sample, individuals with a separation orientation show a lower cultural value fit compared to individuals with an assimilation orientation, which is also in line with the hypotheses. However, in the Arab-Israeli minority sample, the mean score of integrated individuals is on the same level like the score of assimilated individuals (instead of lying between the assimilated and the separated individuals). In the Turkish sample, the score for marginalized individuals is also nearly identical to the score for separated individuals (instead of lying between the assimilated and the separated individuals).

The data pattern illustrated in Figure 4 is reflected in the ANOVA results. As can be taken from Table 15, the main effect of the factor ‘acculturation orientation’ is significant in the sample of FSU immigrants to Germany and Israel. However, it does not reach significance level among the Arab-Israeli minority sample and the sample of Turkish immigrants.

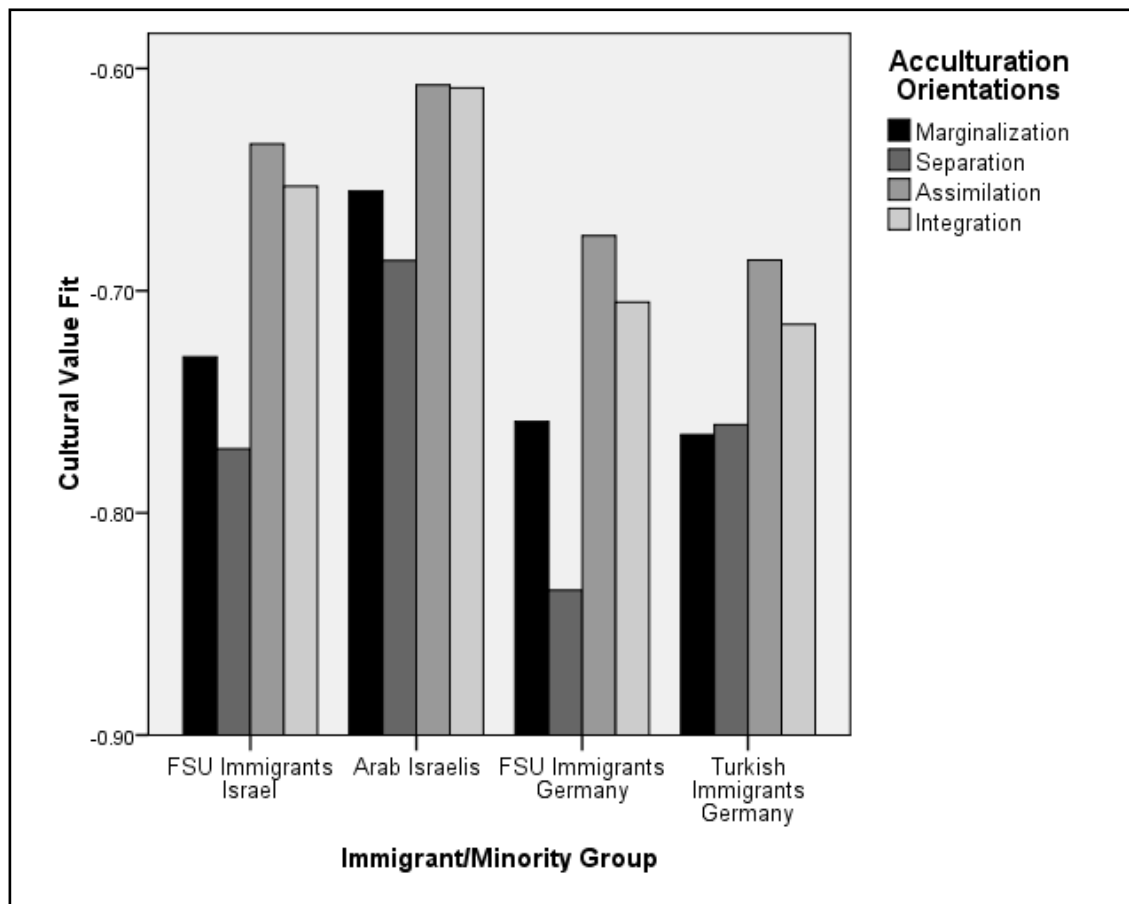


Figure 4. Cultural value fit among adolescents with different acculturation orientations (mean scores).

Table 15. *Cultural Value Fit among Adolescents with Different Acculturation Orientations (ANOVA Results)*

	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2
FSU immigrants to Israel	3/378	5.53**	.04
Arab Israelis	3/463	2.11	.01
FSU immigrants to Germany	3/754	10.56**	.04
Turkish immigrants to Germany	3/440	2.01	.01

Note. ** $p < .01$.

In order to further explore the significance of difference in cultural value fit between the factor levels, Scheffé-Tests were performed for all four samples. In line with the non-significant main effect of the factor ‘acculturation orientations’ in the Arab Israeli minority and the Turkish immigrant sample, the test did not reveal any significant differences between any of the factor levels in these groups. Regarding the two FSU groups, significant differences can only be assumed when comparing individuals with a separation orientation to those showing an assimilation orientation ($p < .01$ for both groups), and when comparing individuals with a separation orientation to those showing an integration orientation ($p < .05$ for FSU immigrants to Israel, $p < .01$ for FSU immigrants to Germany).

To summarize the results, the data confirm the hypothesis that immigrants and cultural minority members differ in their level of cultural value fit according to their acculturation orientations. However, although by and large showing the expected pattern, this main effect does not reach significance level in the sample of Arab Israelis and Turkish immigrants. Comparing the single acculturation orientations with each other showed that by and large significant differences only exist between separated and assimilated individuals.

4.5. Discussion

4.5.1. Interpretation and implications of the findings

The current study tested the hypothesis that immigrant and cultural minority individuals who show different patterns of identification with the country of residence as well as the heritage group (acculturation orientations) also differ with regard to their congruence with the cultural values of the country’s majority population (cultural value fit). The hypothesis was tested among adolescents from four immigrant and minority groups in two receiving countries: FSU immigrants to Germany and Israel, Arab Israelis, and Turkish immigrants to Germany.

The hypothesis receives support: The data pattern shows that in all samples, individuals with a separation orientation (high identification with the heritage group and low identification with the country of residence) display the lowest cultural value fit, those with an assimilation orientation (low identification with the heritage group and high identification with the country of residence) the highest cultural value fit. Individuals being highly identified with both cultural groups (integration) as well as those being lowly identified with both groups (marginalization) score, as expected, in

between (except for Arab Israelis, where integrated and assimilated individuals have equal scores, and for Turkish immigrants, where marginalized and separated individuals have equal scores).

What do the current findings tell us with regard to previous research on acculturation? First of all, the results show that cultural value fit is one additional construct when describing individuals that show different acculturation orientations. In previous studies, individuals with different acculturation orientations have been described with regard to changes in value priorities (Marin & Gamba, 2003). The current study extends the mere examination of value priorities among individuals with different acculturation orientations by putting these value priorities in relation to the cultural value climate of the host country's majority population. As the results demonstrate, this draws a more accurate and more complex picture of the relationship between acculturation orientations and value preferences of immigrants and cultural minority members.

This extension might be of relevance when examining possible correlates of acculturation orientations. Ward and Chang (1997), for example, found that sojourners' or immigrants' degree of extraversion does not necessarily relate to their well-being. Instead, it seems necessary to consider to what degree the personality trait extraversion matches the normative expectations of the receiving country. Numerous other studies on cultural fit also demonstrated that a stronger correspondence to the surrounding cultural environment goes along with enhanced well-being (see Lu, 2006; Ratzlaff et al., 2000; Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001). Transferred to the current study, well-being of individuals with a particular acculturation orientation might less likely be explained by their mere value priorities but more so by the actual fit of these value priorities to the country's cultural majority.

Even though the pattern of the cultural value fit among individuals with different acculturation orientations was similar in all four samples under scrutiny, the strength of the effects differed. Among the two FSU immigrant samples, differences were significant. In the Turkish immigrants and the Arab samples, the differences were not significant. A number of possible explanations can be suggested for this pattern.

The first possible explanation regards to the fact that immigrants from the FSU to both Germany and Israel are *diaspora* immigrants (Elias, 2008; Münz & Ohliger, 2003; R. K. Silbereisen, 2008). Diaspora migrants are descendants of former members of the national group who had migrated to other regions of the world decades or

centuries ago. In the present case, these are Jewish immigrants uniting with the Israeli nation (e.g., Al Haj, 2004), and ethnic Germans who return to the nation which their ancestors had left in the 17th and 18th century (e.g., Schmitt-Rodermund, 1999). They are therefore considered as members of the majority nation, and are invited to 'return' to their homeland rather than immigrate (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003). Upon arrival, they are immediately granted citizenship. This formal policy of both states encourages the assimilation of these immigrants. They are expected, sometimes unjustly, to be culturally highly similar to the receiving country, and to wish to become an unequivocal part of it (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003).

The situation is different for Turkish immigrants to Germany and Arab Israelis. Immigrants from Turkey arrived as guest workers, and were intended to return to Turkey after a set period of time (Böttiger, 2005). In recent years, Turkish immigrants have arrived mainly by way of family reunification or as refugees and asylum seekers (Euwals, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Roodenburg, 2007). Until the German naturalization policy was revised in the late 1990th, naturalization was rather difficult for Turkish guest workers (Brubaker, 2001; Euwals et al., 2007). Since then, naturalization rates of Turkish immigrants have increased, but still only a few of the Turkish immigrants hold legal German citizenship (Diehl & Blohm, 2003). Most Turkish immigrants retain their ethnic identity and follow a separation tendency that is encouraged by the German authorities (Vedder, Sam, & Liebkind, 2007). Arab citizens of Israel, in turn, are Palestinians who live in the state of Israel since it was founded. They are full citizens, granted civil rights, like a right to vote and be elected. Nevertheless, they are unofficially discriminated in many spheres of life (Ghanem, 2001; Smootha, 1990). Many of them experience an identity confusion, due to their identification with national claims that are considered threatening by the Jewish majority (Hareven, 2002; Smootha, 1990). Moreover, the Arab minority in Israel is not of Jewish origin and thus does not match the self-definition of Israel as a Jewish state, which makes it difficult for them to identify with the country.

Acculturation attitudes are formed in an interaction with the host society (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). The acculturation attitudes of FSU immigrants are formed in a reality which is different from the ones faced by Turkish immigrants in Germany and Arab Israelis. Their assimilation and integration attempts are encouraged by the society to a large extent. In contrast, Turkish immigrants and Arab Israelis are not encouraged to assimilate. When they do, they face the

condemnation of both their ethnic group and the majority society. Thus, their incentive to change their values to match the majority society is much smaller than the one for FSU immigrants.

The second possible explanation deals with the fact that Turkish immigrants as well as the Arab minority in Israel have cultural roots in regions which Schwartz (2006b) has grouped to a cluster of Muslim-Middle East countries according to his cultural value data. He empirically showed that these groups are especially high on embeddedness, higher than countries from the Former Soviet Union region. The embeddedness value emphasizes the superior importance of the group over the individual. As a consequence, the compliance to the values perceived from the family and co-ethnic peers might be stronger among Turkish immigrants and Arab Israelis, even though identification shifts towards the country of residence.

A third explanation is methodological in nature. The mean identification with the country of residence is rather low in the Arab Israeli and Turkish immigrant sample compared to the FSU samples. Thus, individuals who were ascribed to categories defined as 'high identification' via median split still state a comparably low identification with the country of residence. Hence, the result pattern may be the same like for the other samples, confirming the study's hypotheses, but does not reach significance level due to a floor effect.

4.5.2. Strength and limitations of the current study

One of the strengths of the current study is the exploration of the research questions in a diverse sample of four immigrant and minority groups in two culturally distinct national settings. By that it was possible to test the generalizability of the findings. As has been documented and discussed, the findings indeed have to be interpreted taking the heritage and the national context of the particular group under scrutiny into account.

Furthermore, the present study used two highly representative country samples to estimate the cultural values prevalent in the particular host countries. As Chirkov et al. (2005) have noted, one weakness of studies exploring countries' cultural features is that the particular samples scrutinized often do not appear to be representative for the respective population. In the ESS much effort has been invested to provide representative samples of countries (see Jowell et al., 2007) and thus was considered an appropriate data set for the purpose of the current study.

Finally, in the current study Schwartz's (1994b; 2006b) cultural value theory was used as a theoretical and empirical base, an attempt which has not yet been pursued in studies on cultural fit. Schwartz (1994b; 2006b) argues that, compared to other cultural value concepts (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Inglehart & Baker, 2000) his theory is more fine-tuned and exhaustive, and is – as the author emphasizes –based on an *a priori* developed theoretical model. Schwartz considers his concept as a further extension of previous research on cultural values (for details see S. H. Schwartz, 2004, 2006b). Hence, extending the cultural fit and acculturation research by utilizing Schwartz's cultural value approach fills a gap in the current literature.

Some limitations need to be mentioned. Firstly, in this study an objective cultural value fit was measured. This objective fit approach was considered appropriate for the purpose of the study. Concurrent with the acculturation research, it was attempted to describe individuals pursuing different acculturation orientations. The study's findings highlight that cultural value fit is one way of characterizing individuals pursuing these different orientations, just like previous studies who described these acculturation orientations using indicators such as the use of language, media, eating habits, culture-specific activities and so on. However, it can be argued that such a fit is only relevant when it is actually perceived by the individuals as a fit or a misfit, respectively (Stromberg & Boehnke, 2001; Yang et al., 2006). This subjective perception of a cultural value fit or misfit comes to the fore when investigating the consequences for, e.g., psychological adjustment. Hence, future studies should not confine themselves to objective fit measures but should also include the aspect of perceived cultural value fit.

Secondly, acculturation orientations were operationalized focussing on identification. Other dimensions of acculturation, such as culturally adaptive behavior patterns were not part of the current study but seem also important to consider. Behavioral adaptation and changes in identification and values are distinct aspects of acculturation (see, e.g., Liebkind, 2006; Ward, 1996). Behavioral adaptation has been described as a quicker and smoother process compared to changes in identification or values (see, e.g., Berry, 1997, 2005; Frable, 1997). Whether the results would have been the same when one had considered behavioral aspects in a measurement of acculturation orientations remains to be explored.

A third limitation of the current findings is the somewhat low reliability of some cultural value scores in the four samples. This is partly owed to the empirical

development of the cultural value types: The finding that certain PVQ-items jointly measure one particular cultural value type has been empirically demonstrated using cultural groups as the unit of analysis, not individuals (see S. H. Schwartz, 2006b), which means that the item constellations measure characteristics of cultural groups, less so individuals. Thus, the cultural value scales unfold their reliability in the first place on the cultural group level. Instead, in the current study the reliabilities of the scales were estimated using the individual as the unit of analysis, which resulted in lower coefficients. The reason why in this study item constellations that actually measure group-level values were used for individual-level analyses was that it was attempted to estimate the degree to which individuals *differ* from the group-level values of their countries. Many authors have stated the need to have commensurate measurements on the individual and the group level in order to estimate an interpretable person-group-fit (Kristof, 1996). An alternative procedure would have been to use item constellations that have been shown by Schwartz (1992) to better describe individuals, and put these individual-level scales in relation to the countries' cultural values (e.g., the individual-level value universalism would have been put in relation to the culture-level value egalitarianism).³⁹ However, it was decided not to do so but rather stick to exactly the same scales that measure the particular cultural value types on the group level, because the cultural value fit measure would have been difficult to interpret when the two variables forming it had been operationalized with different item constellations.

Finally, when deriving the particular reference scores which represented the two countries' cultural values, only data of non-immigrant individuals were used. Furthermore, the Israeli reference sample excluded Arab Israelis. This procedure was methodologically necessary, because it was examined to what degree Turkish and FSU immigrants, and the Arab minority, respectively, fit to the cultural values of the country they live in. The results would have been more difficult to interpret if the particular reference samples had also included members of these immigrants and minority groups, respectively. For example, comparing the similarity of Arab-Israelis to a sample that partly also comprises Arab Israeli individuals somewhat blurs the results. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the cultural value climate of a country is shaped by all its

³⁹Schwartz (1992) introduced a structure of – 10 – values, using the individual as the unit of analysis. Such values comprise, for example, universalism, benevolence, tradition, achievement or power and differentiate between individuals instead of between groups. These values are calculated using different constellations of PVQ-items. For a comparison of both approaches the reader is directed to Schwartz (2011b).

individuals, including ethnic minority and immigrant groups. Especially in the Israeli case, immigrants and also the Arab minority shape the cultural atmosphere of the country to a substantial extent. Still, however, the non-immigrant population of Germany as well as the non-immigrant and non-Muslim population of Israel are the leading groups in terms of the countries' norms and values.

4.5.3. Conclusion

The present study demonstrates that immigrants and cultural minority members show a different fit to the cultural values of their country's majority population depending on their acculturation orientations. This adds a new perspective to the description of individuals with different acculturation orientations, namely the one of the individual value fit to the country of residence. Similar patterns of results across four different migrant and minority groups in two countries point to the plausibility of the findings. Furthermore, the study shows that the variation in cultural value fit according to acculturation orientations is stronger among certain immigrant or minority groups than among others. Stronger effects were found for returning diaspora immigrants. Thus, the unique context of the particular group also needs to be taken into consideration. Future studies should extend the current findings using subjective measures of cultural value fit, and also including other indicators of acculturation orientations besides group identification.

5. General Discussion

Our everyday life takes place within a particular cultural context. The way we think, feel, interact with each other and lead our life depends at least to some extent on shared norms, values, beliefs, and practices of the cultural group we live in. We are exposed to them every day, and they are transmitted to us through various agents such as parents or social institutions. However, do we all adapt our thoughts, feelings, and behavior to the culture we live in to the same extent? This thesis investigated this general question with regard to cultural values, asking: Do we all value our cultural values to the same degree?

In this concluding discussion section, the central hypotheses and findings of the three studies that formed the core of the thesis will be summarized. It will furthermore be asked what the findings tell us and where they send us. Furthermore, above and beyond each single study, a number of general ideas for future investigations will be derived. Finally, some general concerns regarding the measurement of culture, i.e. cultural values will be discussed.

5.1. *Summary of Studies*

Hypothesis 1 postulated that the relationship between a cultural group's values and its members' thoughts, feelings, and behavior is stronger among older than younger adolescents. The former have more likely gone through a period of identity exploration during which they have elaborated the personal meaning of their cultural group membership, have more likely committed to the cultural group's values and are thus more likely to be guided by them.

Study 1 tested this hypothesis with six samples of cultural majority and minority adolescents. Hierarchical linear models (HLM) and ANOVA-based trend analyses were performed using Schwartz's (1994b; 2006b) cultural value dimensions (egalitarianism-hierarchy, autonomy-embeddedness, harmony-mastery) as the group-level variables and individuals' group-related attitudes as an exemplary individual-level psychological variable. Results of both the HLM- and the ANOVA analyses confirmed the age-related hypothesis (stronger relationships between culture-level values and individuals' group-related attitudes among older as compared to younger adolescents) for the culture-level value dimension hierarchy-egalitarianism. The relationship between embeddedness-autonomy and group-related attitudes was, however, not significantly stronger in the older age group. Instead, the HLM-model showed that this relationship was tendentially stronger among younger rather than older adolescents, a finding that was interpreted in Study 1 with a potential individual striving for more autonomy during the course of

adolescence, which makes older adolescents less likely to adapt to embeddedness values. Regarding the harmony-mastery dimension, the ANOVA-analysis showed a significant relationship with group-related attitudes for the older adolescents, but the HLM-model suggested that this dimension predicts group-related attitudes most likely on the individual level, not on the cultural group-level. This finding was interpreted as referring to the unclear role of this dimension for group-related attitudes, and in addition by assuming that this dimension might, in this study, have more closely resembled an individual-level construct, such as hierarchic self-interest (Hadjar, 2004). In general, it was concluded that the hypothesis was confirmed only with regard to the cultural value dimension egalitarianism-hierarchy, whose content was most relevant for the explanation of group-related attitudes.

Hypothesis 2 postulated that the relationship between a cultural group's values and its individuals' thinking, feeling, and behavior is weaker among immigrants than non-immigrants, especially among first-generation immigrants and those from a culturally distant region. The theoretical assumption underlying the hypothesis was that immigrants are not only exposed to the cultural values of the receiving country but in addition to cultural values prevalent in the country of origin. These potentially compete with the receiving country's values.

The hypothesis was investigated in Study 2 with 24 representative country-samples from Round 4 of the European Social Survey. Again, hierarchical linear models were performed using Schwartz's culture-level value dimensions as group (country)-level variables, and group-related attitudes as an exemplary individual-level variable. Direct effects of country-level cultural values on group-related attitudes and interactions with being a (first- vs. second generation, EU vs. non-EU) immigrant were examined.

Hypothesis 2 was confirmed showing that the relationship between all three cultural value dimensions and group-related attitudes was weaker among immigrants than non-immigrants. More precisely, the relationship between hierarchy-egalitarianism and embeddedness-autonomy with group-related attitudes was weaker among first-generation immigrants compared to non-immigrants. Second-generation immigrants and non-immigrants, however, did not differ significantly. Furthermore, the relationships were even weaker among first-generation immigrants when the person had a migratory background from a culturally distant region. The third dimension, harmony-mastery, somewhat contradicted the other two. Weaker relationships were by and large more evident among second- rather than first-generation immigrants. Moreover, among

second-generation immigrants, weaker relationships were found for those from a culturally close region, and not (as hypothesized) for those from a culturally distant region. Altogether, the findings were interpreted as confirming the hypotheses, with the exception of the somewhat deviating result for harmony-mastery.

Hypothesis 3 also related to cultural value adoption in the context of migration, but referred also to non-immigrant cultural minorities. The hypothesis pursued a different approach compared to the previous ones: It was hypothesized that immigrants and cultural minority members showing different acculturation orientations – integration, marginalization, assimilation, and separation – differ in their similarity to the cultural values of the non-immigrant cultural majority of a country (cultural value fit). This was investigated in Study 3 with the same data of immigrant and cultural minority adolescents used in Study 1. The results clearly confirmed the hypothesis: Immigrants and cultural minority members with an assimilation orientation showed a stronger cultural value fit compared to those with a separation orientation. The unexpected, though interesting finding was that this result pattern was much more evident among Former Soviet Union immigrants (diaspora immigrants) as compared to Turkish immigrants in Germany and Arab Israelis.

5.2. *What do the Studies Tell us, and Which Direction do They Send us?*

There is a bulk of empirical evidence that the values shared within a cultural group are linked to its individuals' perception, evaluation, action and reaction of and towards the surrounding natural and social world. In this thesis, it has been demonstrated that this link must be looked at more closely. Culture matters, but not to everyone to the same extent (Gibson et al., 2009). The three studies provided evidence that individuals in different phases of their life (i.e. adolescence) relate differently to the cultural value climate they are exposed to. They furthermore demonstrated that immigrants and cultural minority members, who are socialized within two different value settings relate less strongly to the values of the country they live in compared to those who have these as their only point of reference. This again, so the findings imply, also depends on the degree to which they are attached to the cultural majority and minority group. Therefore, the thesis took a step into a research area – moderators of the link between individuals and their culture – that has so far only rarely been taken. The three studies provided important insights regarding the questions as to whom culture matters more than to others.

The thesis also strengthens the assumption of a mutual relationship between individuals and culture that has been suggested in previous works (e.g., Berger, 1969; Latané, 1996). Cultural values – shared beliefs regarding what is good and desirable – grow out of a social collective over time as adaptations to the environment and historical events. Cultural values themselves serve as reference frames for the collective's members in their daily life. Finally, and that is the main postulation of this thesis, different members of a cultural group relate differently to its values.

The three studies provided new insights that can potentially stimulate further empirical investigations. The following section, therefore, first re-evaluates each of the three studies and derives implications for future research. Furthermore, the section will suggest a number of additional moderators and ideas that are worth investigating in future studies.

5.2.1. Study 1

Study 1 demonstrates that adolescence should be looked at as a crucial life period during which individuals internalize and commit themselves to their cultural group's values. It integrates a cross-cultural and a developmental framework, an endeavour that has to the best of my knowledge rarely been made in previous research. So far our knowledge about how adolescents incorporate the cultural value climate they grow up in is rather limited. The (partly contradictory) findings of Study 1 imply that the developmental processes during adolescence are complex and deserve further investigation. Adolescence is a time of rapid change with regard to cognitive abilities, sexuality and partnership, family and peer relations, and self-image (Steinberg, 2008). Individuals differ in their pace of development, and development is not always linear. There can be different onset times, different durations, stagnations and regresses. Some points will be outlined in the following.

Firstly, it would be worth also investigating younger individuals, i.e. children. Perhaps the importance of cultural values as a reference frame is comparably high for children and younger adolescents as it is for older adolescents. The most important reference group and socialization (or enculturation) agent for children and adolescents is the family (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; Schönplflug, 2001; Triandis, 2004), which is an important cultural institution that conveys culturally shared values to the offspring. Children learn from their parents to a considerable extent what is good, right and desirable (Knafo, 2003; Schönplflug, 2001). Hence younger adolescents and even children possibly internalize a cultural group's values to a similar extent to older

adolescents even though they have not yet developed a fully mature cultural identity. This internalization, though, might be qualitatively different in a way that it is more an acceptance of what is being taught by the family and less likely a commitment that results from an active exploration process (French, Seidman, LaRue, & Aber, 2006).

Secondly, Study 1 is based on an assumption that older adolescents (compared to younger) are more advanced in their identity exploration and commitment (Marcia, 1966; Phinney, 1989). Future studies should consider two amendments. One relates to the fact that the older adolescents in Study 1 were around 16 years old. Although literature suggests that there is a decrease in identity diffusion and an increase in exploration and commitment as of the age of 12 (Meeus, 1996; Meeus, Iedema, & Vollebergh, 1999; Waterman, 1999), a number of authors have suggested that a fully achieved identity might only be reached in young adulthood (French et al., 2006; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; Steinberg, 2008). Future studies should therefore compare young, mid, and late adolescents as well as young adults (up to mid-20s). The European Social Survey, for example, provides data on individuals 15 years and older. A second amendment concerns the assumption that adolescents' ego- and group-identity development, as described by Marcia (1966) or Phinney (1993) is not always linear. It can be progressive (e.g., moving from identity diffusion to moratorium), stable, or even regressive (e.g., moving from a stage of identity achievement back into the stage of moratorium) (Adams & Fitch, 1982; French et al., 2006; Waterman, 1999). Therefore, instead of using age as a proxy for identity progress, one can include a measure of identity exploration and commitment (see Meeus, 1996, for an overview on measures). That way one can compare groups with different identity statuses (based on the levels of identity exploration and commitment) instead of age groups (see also the discussion of Study 1). Using Phinney's (1989; 1993) stage model of ethnic identity development, the hypothesis would be that individuals in a stage of foreclosure and achieved identity more likely refer back to their cultural group's values as guiding principles compared to individuals in the moratorium or with an diffuse identity. This will be an interesting and important research task for future studies, which will most likely reveal additional insights into the dynamic of identity formation and cultural value adoption in adolescence.

Thirdly, past research has shown that minority adolescents rather than majority adolescents more strongly elaborate on their cultural identity and are more likely to show a progress in cultural identity development over time (French et al., 2006; Perron,

Vondracek, Skorikov, Tremblay, & Corbiere, 1998; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). In Study 1, however, adolescents from both majority and minority groups were used as cultural samples. Future studies therefore should investigate the age hypothesis proposed in Study 1 comparatively with samples of cultural minority and majority adolescents. There is possibly an interaction between age (older vs. younger adolescents) and group status (majority vs. minority). Again, this is an important research question for future studies that has the potential to point to the complexity of cultural value adoption during adolescence.

Finally, future studies investigating the link between culture-level values and individual-level phenomena among adolescents in a multilevel design should include a higher number of level-2 units. This will potentially lead to more consistent results.

5.2.2. Study 2 and 3

By testing how strongly culturally shared values ‘reach’ the immigrants and cultural minorities that live in a culture, both Study 2 and 3 introduce a new perspective into both cross-cultural value research and acculturation research. For cross-cultural value research, the studies demonstrate that culture does not equally matter to all people living within it. The findings support the assumption that individuals who grow up in more than one cultural value environment apparently need to weigh these sometimes contradicting value expectancies and thus less strongly internalize the values shared by the majority culture. For acculturation research they add three new perspectives: Firstly, they suggest a new way of looking at differences between first- and second-generation immigrants, at the role of cultural distance and at correlates of acculturation orientations by using the majority culture’s values as the object of examination. Secondly, the multilevel analysis across countries and across immigrant groups pursued in Study 2 is a rather unusual way to approach acculturation of immigrants. Most acculturation studies so far have investigated a research question in one or a few immigrant groups in one or a few countries and have tested for possible differences in the results (an approach also pursued in Study 3). A cross-country multilevel design like in Study 2 has the advantage of depicting universal psychological processes that accompany migration, above and beyond characteristics of particular receiving countries and immigrant groups. Thirdly, Study 3 combines research on acculturation orientations with research on cultural fit, which is also a rather innovative attempt. The approach allows the description of immigrants and cultural minorities with different acculturation orientations by means of

the proximity to the majority culture. Altogether, the studies integrate cross-cultural value research with acculturation research and by doing that, enrich both research fields.

One striking finding is that the strength of the relationship between culture-level values and individuals' group-related attitudes among non-immigrants and second-generation immigrants is rather similar (Study 2). From an acculturation perspective, this implies that the offspring of immigrants are already highly adapted to the cultural environment they have been born into. Previous studies have also pointed to the fact that the second generation takes belonging to the receiving culture much more for granted than their parents do (Hwang, 2006; Phinney et al., 2000). Study 2 is in line with these previous findings yet adds a new dimension to it.

Study 2 and 3 both provide discrete pieces that need to be integrated into an overall picture in future studies. In the following, some ideas will be developed further. For the sake of clarity, these ideas will be outlined only with reference to immigrants, but most of the arguments also hold for non-immigrant cultural minorities.

Firstly, Study 2 investigated the moderating role of migratory background by comparing non-immigrants and immigrants. Thus, the experience of being socialized within two cultural settings was merely captured by group membership (immigrant versus non-immigrant). Still, besides the fact of being an immigrant one also needs to consider whether the person actually feels part of, i.e. identifies with the receiving culture and also the culture of origin. This identification aspect, in turn, was captured in Study 3, but from a different perspective (similarity to the majority culture's values) and with a different design (within-group analyses). A possible inclusive study design would equate to the one of Study 2, with the difference that the country samples only comprise immigrants and identification with the receiving culture and the culture of origin would be included as an individual-level variable. This would allow investigating the moderating role of group identification and also of acculturation orientations (see the discussion of Study 2). Identification measures are, for example, available in the World Value Survey (Inglehart, 1997), or the International Social Survey Programme (e.g., Haller, Jowell, & Smith, 2009) which can be combined with the data of the European Social Survey.

Secondly, besides group identification and acculturation orientations the link between cultural values and individual-level phenomena can also be moderated by immigrants' degree of cultural value fit. This construct was in the focus of Study 3 with regard to acculturation orientations, but its moderating role for the culture-individual

link was not addressed. In a multilevel study with immigrant samples from different countries, one can test whether culture-level values relate to, e.g., group-related attitudes of immigrants more strongly when they show a higher cultural value fit.

Finally, acculturation involves both the group that joins a new culture, and also the receiving cultural group (Berry, 2001; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Zagefka, Brown, Broquard, & Martin, 2007). An immigrant is more likely to accept the receiving culture's values when he or she feels accepted and hosted by this culture (Berry, 2001; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). This includes, on the one hand, the general population's acceptance of immigrants and prevailing expectations towards them regarding the way they should acculturate (Berry, 2001; Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski et al., 2000). On the other hand, state integration policies resemble the official attitude towards immigrants (Bourhis et al., 1997). Both the population's attitudes and state integration policies presumably hinder or promote the acceptance of host cultural values among immigrants, a matter that is worth investigating in the future. Several research hypotheses and designs are conceivable: Firstly, immigrants who more strongly perceive rejection in their host country will less strongly identify with the receiving culture, and also be less likely to accept the receiving culture's values (i.e., show a lower cultural value fit). Secondly, immigrants in countries with a less inclusive integration policy (measurable by, e.g., the Migration Integration Policy Index; Huddleston, Niessen, Chaoimh, & White, 2011) will assumably less strongly identify with and adopt the cultural values of the receiving country. Thirdly, culture-level values may (in a multilevel cross-country design like in Study 2) more strongly relate to thoughts, feelings, and behavior of 'preferred' immigrants compared to 'unwanted' immigrants. Distinctions can be made, for example, between highly skilled working migrants that are attractive for a state and thus given resident permits and refugees who are usually only temporarily tolerated. Alternatively, one can distinguish between groups that do or do not meet a criterion for citizenship (e.g., Turks vs. ethnic Germans in Germany or Russian Jews vs. the Arab minority in Israel, see Study 3).⁴⁰ One way or the other, adding the perspective of the receiving culture to the one of the newcomers does not only improve our understanding of cultural value adoption among immigrants, but can also have implications for future policy development (e.g., better cultural-value adoption in countries with a more inclusive state policy).

⁴⁰However, in order to test this one needs comparable groups in different countries which might be difficult to realize.

One final issue needs to be addressed. The two studies and their results are implicitly accompanied by an evaluative question that touches upon current public debates in many immigration countries: Is it good and desirable that immigrants (and also non-immigrant minorities) adopt the cultural values of the country's cultural majority? Should integration policies be aiming for immigrants and minorities who are no longer distinguishable from the majority population with regard to the extent to which they internalize the cultural values of their (new) country? This would equal assimilation. Bourhis et al. (1997) described countries that force their immigrants to adopt values of the majority's culture in both the public and private sphere as holding an ethnist ideology. Alternatively, should a country's citizens and institutions rather ensure that its immigrants and minorities feel at home in the (new) country, regardless of which values they commit themselves to (in Bourhis et al.'s words: Hold a pluralistic ideology)? This issue has deliberately not been raised in the two study manuscripts. The objective of both studies was to describe processes and relations regarding cultural value adoption in the context of migration and cultural minorities, but not to evaluate what is the desirable end state for a society.

5.2.3. *Further moderators*

The list of potential moderators of the relationship between culture-level values and individual-level psychological phenomena can be further extended. Some examples will be outlined below.

Adulthood. The first picks up age again, but expands the age range to late adulthood. Taras et al. (2010) assumed that with increasing age, the relationship of cultural values and individuals' thinking, feeling, and behavior strengthens. They argue that older individuals are more 'traited' than younger.⁴¹ Studies also show that older individuals score higher on conservation values (security, conformity, tradition) (Bardi, Lee, Hofmann-Towfigh, & Soutar, 2009; Hellevik, 2002; S. H. Schwartz, 2006a; Verkasalo, Lonnqvist, Lipsanen, & Helkama, 2009) and norm-compliance (e.g., Arnett, 2001). Such age-related differences allow the assumption of a higher orientation towards shared cultural values with increasing age. Taras et al. (2010) found empirical support for the age-hypothesis. However, it is not clear whether this is a cohort effect (older people were socialized in a different cultural value climate and thus are more

⁴¹A stronger traistedness means that a person's traits are more consistent across situations and less prone to situation-specific factors (see, e.g., Britt, 1993).

distant to the current zeitgeist) or indeed due to ontogenetic development (older people are more orientated towards what is culturally normative) (see, e.g., Hellevik, 2002; Jagodzinski, 2004).

Need for cognitive closure. Furthermore, personality characteristics such as the need for cognitive closure (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994) can moderate the relationship of culture-level values and individuals' thinking, feeling and behaviour. Individuals with a high need for cognitive closure – who seek quick, single and permanent answers to given issues and feel uncomfortable with ambiguous situations – can be assumed to rely on norms and values shared by the group more strongly than individuals with lower need for cognitive closure.

Group-level moderators. Above and beyond individual-level moderators the relationship between culture-level values and individual-level phenomena can also be moderated by other group-level characteristics. A promising concept is the tightness-looseness dimension proposed by Gelfand and colleagues (Gelfand et al., 2006; Gelfand et al., 2011). This dimension comprises the strength and pervasiveness of social norms within a cultural group, and how violations of such norms are sanctioned by the group (Gelfand et al., 2006). In tighter cultures, individuals are more aware of normative expectations, have a stronger feeling of being evaluated and punished for norm violations and thus more strongly adjust their behavior according to shared norms and values (Gelfand et al., 2006). It can be hypothesized that the link between cultural values and individuals' thinking, feeling and behavior is stronger in tight as opposed to loose cultural groups. Taras et al. (2010) provide empirical support for this hypothesis with regard to Hofstede's cultural value dimensions. Testing this moderation hypothesis with the Schwartz model will be a valuable contribution to the literature.

In a similar vein, there is the possibility that two culture-level value dimensions interact with each other in their relation to individual-level phenomena, an issue that is still under-researched (Jagodzinski, 2004). For example, the relationship between egalitarianism-hierarchy and individuals' group-related attitudes might be stronger in embedded than in autonomous cultures, because in the former the group's values are more salient and significant for the individual compared to the latter (see, e.g. Markus & Kitayama, 1994).⁴²

⁴²Strong correlations between the culture-level value dimension, however, impede the simultaneous inclusion of more than one value dimension (see the analyses in Study 2).

5.3. *Cultural Values: Where to Place Them in the Research Design?*

The majority of studies in cultural and cross-cultural psychology, and also in psychological anthropology rest on the basic assumption that culture is an antecedent to individuals' thoughts, feelings and actions (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997). The research questions investigated in this thesis were eventually also oriented towards this general premise.⁴³ Nevertheless, where culture, i.e. cultural values, can be placed in the research design is empirically still not resolved and also theoretically debated. Cultural values can be conceptualized as an independent variable, but theoretically also as a dependent variable (cultural values emerge from individuals via processes of communication etc., see section 1.3.2), as a moderator, mediator, or as a context variable that only indirectly relates to individual psychological phenomena (Lonner & Adamopoulos, 1997).

Schwartz (2011a) recently called for the examination of the causal direction of the direct culture-individual link. Statistically, this is difficult to test. One can control for other group-level variables to test whether the statistical relationship is actually due to non-cultural aspects at the group level (e.g., wealth; Legewie, 2012; see also Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1983). A strict causal inference approach, however, would require a random assignment of individuals to cultures, or would require knowing what the score of one and the same person would be if he or she were from a different culture – which is impossible (Rubin, 1974). One option can be experimental studies in which cultural values are primed (e.g., Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999; Oyserman & Lee, 2008). Ultimately, however, relationships between culture-level values and individual-level psychological constructs can most likely be considered as reciprocal in nature, as already outlined in the general introduction (see section 1.3.3).

Similar to the problem of the causal direction is the question of moderation: In the thesis it was hypothesized that the relationship between culture-level values and individual-level psychological phenomena is moderated by individual-level characteristics such as age or migratory background. But what about the reverse moderation; that the relationship between an individual-level predictor and the individual-level dependent variable is moderated by cultural values? This is an as yet under-researched issue that is important to investigate in future studies (S. H. Schwartz, 2011a). Whilst only theoretically addressed in Study 1 (discussion), the issue received

⁴³However, I tried to phrase the text in a way emphasizing *relations* instead of causal effects, since the cross-sectional design eventually precludes any causal assumptions.

some empirical attention in Study 2 (interaction of cultural values and individuals' education and income level). The problem is, however, that in a multilevel design like in Study 2⁴⁴ the interaction coefficient between culture-level value scores and the individual-level variable education or income can be interpreted in two ways (Aiken & West, 1991): Either, that the relationship between cultural values and group-related attitudes is moderated by individuals' level of education or income, or that the relationship between education and income level and group-related attitudes is moderated by culture-level values. Which interpretation is most likely must be theoretically deduced. The theoretical derivate of viewing cultural values (and not education or income) as the moderator in Study 2 might be plausible, but this is not always the case.

Interactions of two variables can be statistically decomposed which might help to probe each 'side of the coin': One can, for example, test whether the magnitude of a relationship between predictor X and criterion Z differs significantly from zero at different levels (e.g., 'high', 'medium', 'low') of a second predictor Y, or whether X and Z differently relate to one another at two levels of Y. One can also estimate 'regions' of the predictor Y in which the relationship between X and Z is either positive, insignificant or negative (see Aiken & West, 1991; Bauer & Curran, 2005; Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2006). That way one can evaluate which interpretation of the interaction is more plausible: If, in the case of Study 2, the relationship between cultural values and individuals' group-related attitudes does only apply to individuals with a particular education or income level, but in turn the relationship between education or income and group-related attitudes is significant among cultural groups located within a rather wide range on a cultural value dimension, this might allow to infer that education or income can be assigned to the role of the moderator. Nevertheless, although the 'dissection' of an interaction might provide some cues, one will eventually not get around deducing assumptions from theoretical considerations.

5.4. *The Harmony-Mastery Dimension*

The analyses in Study 1 and 2 revealed somewhat contradictory results with respect to the cultural value dimension harmony-mastery. In Study 1, the relationship of this cultural value dimension with group-related attitudes was not significantly stronger among older than younger adolescents (which was not consistent with the hypothesis).

⁴⁴Actually, this regards also to interactions in single-level regression analyses.

In fact, it did not seem to be a substantial group-level predictor at all. In Study 2, the relationships were found to be weaker among second-generation immigrants, and not (as originally expected) among first-generation immigrants. Other studies also document deviating results regarding this dimension compared to the other two (e.g., Leong & Ward, 2006; Matsumoto et al., 2008; S. H. Schwartz, 2006b). It remains unclear and requires further investigation why this value dimension less consistently confirms theoretical expectations.

In the discussion of Study 1 it was suggested that the choice of group-related attitudes as the individual-level variable may be one reason for the inconclusive findings. Whether mastery – a value that emphasises the enforcement of one's goals and needs – is related to the rejection of out-groups possibly might depend on whether the out-group is viewed as competing with one's goals and needs. Group competitiveness is an integral part of several intergroup relation frameworks such as realistic group conflict theory (e.g., Sherif & Sherif, 1953) or intergroup threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). A possible hypothesis worth investigating is that a cultural group's stronger preference for mastery values is more likely associated with the rejection of, e.g., immigrants (who are potentially seen as competing over resources) as opposed to, e.g., individuals with a homosexual orientation (who are unlikely to be seen as competing over resources). Apart from that, results might be more conclusive when using individual-level variables other than group-related attitudes. Because mastery (vs. harmony) can, for example, be more consistently related to individuals' level of self-efficacy than to group-related attitudes, the moderating role of age or migration and minority status will also become more apparent.

Methodologically, one can argue that one reason for the inconsistent findings is the limited number of items for the harmony-mastery dimension in the PVQ. Correlations of the PVQ scores and those based on the Schwartz Value Survey (data provided by Schwartz, personal communication, August 2011), however, show that the harmony-mastery scores of both measures do not correlate considerably less strongly than the scores for the two other dimensions (between-measure correlations for egalitarian-hierarchy: $r = .49$; autonomy-embeddedness: $r = .83$; harmony-mastery: $r = .53$), indicating no stronger deviation of the PVQ from the Schwartz Value Survey scores for this dimension.

5.5. *Can we Measure Cultural Values?*

The studies presented in this thesis rest on four fundamental premises with regard to the concept of cultural values. The first is that cultural values are a core characteristic of culture. The second is that cultural values can be operationalized by means of individuals' self-reports to questionnaires. Thirdly, averaging such self-report scores across members of a cultural group creates a measure of the group's cultural values. Fourthly, it is appropriate to draw a sample of individuals from a particular cultural group and use this sample's scores on value dimensions to estimate the cultural group's values.

These four presuppositions have been considerably debated in the literature of the last decades (a good example is Bond et al., 2009). Some critical issues and possible solutions (in general and in this thesis) will be addressed in this section.

5.5.1. *Values as a core feature of culture*

Swidler (1986) has argued that values are not the core aspect of culture, since they cannot predict behavior sufficiently (see also Jagodzinski, 2004; Peng, Nisbett, & Wong, 1997). Culture is not about desired end states (as captured by the value concept), rather it is a matter of behavioral patterns, skills, and habits to reach desired end states, solutions, or goals. Numerous other authors have argued that rather than in values, culture is expressed in a number of other phenomena: Institutions, patterned ways of social interactions and communication, daily routines and practices, artefacts, narratives, media, and also economic and subsistence systems (Fiske, 2002; Kitayama, 2002; Smith, 2009). Kitayama (2002) proposed a system view of culture that incorporates the entire spectrum of cultural features (see Mardsen & Swingle, 1994, for an exemplary survey study combining various cultural features), of which cultural values are only one dimension.⁴⁵ This point of view is countered by the argument that many cultural phenomena are only expressions of the underlying shared cultural values (S. H. Schwartz, 2008; Smith, 2009; see also Tay, Woo, Klafehn, & Chiu, 2010).

⁴⁵From a system view as proposed by Kitayama (2002) one can, however, also assume that certain forms of interactions and relations between groups (which was captured as an individual-level, not culture-level construct in Study 1 and 2) are actually partial components of culture that are related to other cultural features (such as values). This assumption would shift the general theoretical approach of the thesis: Cultural values are not seen as culture-level features that serve as a reference frame for individuals' group-related attitudes, but both would rather be equal components of the same group-level construct – culture. This, then, raises questions of cross-level equivalence of constructs (see below).

It is still unclear whether culture consists of a coherent set of interrelated components or whether these are only loosely connected (Taras et al., 2009; Tay et al., 2010). This also includes the question of whether values are the underlying basis (the core) of all other cultural features or whether they are one component among many.

5.5.2. *Individual self-reports*

One critique of capturing cultural values by questionnaire-based self-reports is that these are verbally expressed responses, which implies that there is some declarative knowledge which is consciously accessible. Critics state that culture is expressed in online-responses (cognitions, emotions, behavior) in real-life situations, in daily communication patterns, practices, customs, artefacts or institutions, which cannot be captured by verbal expressions (Fiske, 2002; Kitayama, 2002).

Survey-based self-reports also come along with methodological problems. There is the problem of different item meanings across languages and cultures (Heine, 2008; Smith, 2009; Taras et al., 2009). Even when linguistically equivalent, an agreement to an item can in different cultures be an expression of different underlying phenomena (Chirkov et al., 2005; Kitayama, 2002). Issues such as the reference-group problem (self-descriptions made relative to other group members), and the deprivation problem (individuals endorse values that are lacking or suppressed in a culture, which erroneously leads to the assumption of a pronounced tendency in this culture) impede cultural comparisons (see Heine, 2008; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; Peng et al., 1997). As a result, different survey methods (rating and ranking scales, scenarios, expert judgements) often show different results for the same cultural group (Fiske, 2002; Kitayama, 2002; Peng et al., 1997). Value items, in addition, are often rather abstract (e.g., ‘equality’, ‘freedom’), which often makes them difficult to grasp for participants and leaves much room for interpretation (Jagodzinski, 2004; Peng et al., 1997; Smith, 2009). In that respect, the PVQ is an appropriate option since it was developed by Schwartz et al. (2001) as an alternative to the Schwartz Value Survey which had turned out to be too abstract and context-free. Smith (2009) appreciated the usefulness of the PVQ because participants do not rate their agreement to abstract statements but estimate their similarity to portrayed persons. A further problem is response bias (tendency to use extreme response options or the mid-point of a scale, general tendency to agree; Heine, 2008). In order to circumvent the problem of response bias in the PVQ, Schwartz (2003; 2007) recommended centralizing the scores around each individual’s

scale mean, a procedure that was also implemented in Study 1 and 3 of this thesis.⁴⁶ It is worth noting, however, that response bias can be systematically related to cultural dimensions (e.g., collectivism, see Smith, 2011). In fact, response tendencies can be viewed as actual measures of culture. The question then is what remains when response bias is partialled out (Smith, 2009; Taras et al., 2009).

Alternative survey-based methods have been suggested to account for some of the problems with self-reports. One is not to ask participants for their own values but what they believe the people in their cultural group prefer (Fischer, 2009; Sego, Hui, & Law, 1997; Smith, 2009). Such culture-referenced ratings, astonishingly, show only a moderate convergence with self-reports (Fischer, 2006; Wan, Chiu, Peng, & Tam, 2007). One problem of culture-referenced ratings is, however, that participants have difficulties estimating their cultural group's value preferences and may refer their judgements to smaller social or geographical units (Smith, 2009). It is also necessary to test whether the estimations of the group's cultural values show a minimum level of within-group agreement (M. F. Peterson & Castro, 2006). Which method, self-reports or reference-based reports are the better option is still an unsolved issue (see Fischer, 2006).

Another option is to let participants choose between behavior responses to concrete situations (Heine, 2008; Kitayama, 2002; Smith, 2009). Such scenario methods have been argued to actually be the best option for overcoming the problems of self-reports discussed above (Chirkov et al., 2005; Peng et al., 1997). A similar technique is the situation sampling method in which responses to a set of situations are assessed that have in a previous step been proven to emerge in all cultures under scrutiny (Heine, 2008; Kitayama, 2002). A further option is not to ask for preferences ("It is important for me to express my opinion.") but to ask for concrete behavior (e.g., "In the last month, how often have you expressed an opposing opinion to your boss?") (Heine, 2008; Taras et al., 2009).

Of course, there are alternatives to the survey method. Some authors have suggested implicit, projective measures (see Bond et al., 2009; Chirkov et al., 2005; Fiske, 2002). Quantitative and qualitative analyses of narratives (fairy tales, children stories), lyrics, media, etc., have also been put forward as promising alternatives to

⁴⁶Originally this procedure was also implemented in Study 2. However, in the course of the review process of the manuscript Study 2 is based on, it was requested by reviewers to use uncorrected items. Importantly, the results were the same in both versions.

capture cultural values (Heine, 2008; S. H. Schwartz, 1994b; Triandis, 2004). Psychological anthropologists would strongly claim for behavioral observations in real life settings as the only means of choice (Fiske, 2002; Triandis, 2004). Archival data, such as the Human Relations Area Files are additional useful sources (Berry et al., 2002; Triandis, 2004). Finally, experimental designs have also been applied to understand the role of culture in psychological processes (Heine, 2008; Matsumoto & Juang, 2008; Triandis, 2004).

Overall, each method has advantages and is at the same time limited in its usability. This has led many authors to advocate a multi-method approach. If, so the argument, a cultural dimension can be verified with diverse methods, it is a much stronger evidence for its existence and usefulness (Heine, 2008; S. H. Schwartz, 1994b; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Triandis (Triandis, 2004; see also Fiske, 2002; Mardsen & Swingle, 1994) proposed to start off with “operant” (p. 80) research methods (minimal stimulus by researchers, e.g., projective methods, ethnographies) when delving into a new research subject and only later on to introduce “respondent” methods that require subjects to react to presented material (e.g., survey items). Respondent measures should be used to verify what has emerged from operant assessment. In the case of cultural values á la Schwartz a respondent approach is justified since the content and structure of cultural values has been proven cross-culturally in previous work. However, a multi-method study of cultural values that reveals similar results across methods has the potential to make a more substantial and solid contribution to the research field.

5.5.3. Aggregation

Can culture-level values be captured by aggregating individual-level data? This is another matter of lively debate within literature. One issue (already briefly addressed in the general introduction) is the question of cross-level construct isomorphism. Simply making use of an individual-level construct and aggregating scores to the group level does not automatically make it a group-level construct, i.e., a characteristic of the group (Sego et al., 1997; Smith, 2009; van de Vijver & Poortinga, 2002). This results in “citizen means” (Smith, Bond, & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2006, p. 50) which merely display the average level of a group’s individuals on an individual-level characteristic (e.g., the average level of self-esteem, which is something different than the self-esteem of the group). To capture a group-level construct by means of aggregated individual-level data, one first needs to conduct some kind of structural analyses (e.g., factor analysis)

with the averaged item scores (Fischer, 2009; Smith et al., 2006). The cultural value model by Schwartz (S. H. Schwartz, 1994b, 2006b) was developed based on that kind of analysis, which revealed a different value structure on the group level than on the individual level (see also Fischer, 2011; Fischer et al., 2010).

However, what does a group's average score stand for? According to Schwartz (1994b) the average cultural value score reflects the fundamental value emphasis in a culture that each member is similarly exposed to. It can thus point to the underlying basic cultural value orientations evident in the cultural group. Critics, however, argue that aggregation requires within-group homogeneity, a prerequisite that is not always the case (Fischer, 2009; Smith, 2009). Cultural groups consist of various sub-groups that all contribute their own value orientations to this mean score (Jagodzinski, 2004; see also the next section about sampling). Studies show that within-group variance of values can be larger than between-group variance (see Fischer & Schwartz, 2011). A mean score overlays the distribution of values within a cultural group (Sego et al., 1997). Furthermore, the values of some sub-groups (e.g., elites, media) have a stronger impact on the group as a whole than those of others (Jagodzinski, 2004; Sego et al., 1997), pointing to the need of some kind of weighting procedure. Altogether, it has been claimed that some degree of sharedness or consensus should be present to call a measure cultural (see, e.g., Triandis, 1996; 2004, for operationalization examples). Wan et al. (2007), in turn, claim that it is not about the actual average score, but rather what is *perceived* as normative by members of a cultural group.

Chan (1998) and Fischer (2009) discuss different ways of transforming individual-level data to the group level that have been pursued in past multilevel research. Shortly summarized, such composition models comprise: (1) Aggregation of individual self-reports without considering the dispersion of scores within the group (additive models). Two variants have been pursued: (1a) Aggregating items and factor-analysing them on the group-level (e.g., the approach by S. H. Schwartz, 1994b, 2006b). (1b) Aggregating the whole scale to the group level without a priori group-level factor analyses ('citizen-scores'). (2) Aggregation of individuals' self-report scores under the condition of a sufficient degree of within-group agreement (direct-consensus model). (3) Aggregation of individuals' reports about their group under the condition of sufficient within-group agreement (reference-shift consensus models). (4) Use of within-group dispersion (variance) as a measure itself (dispersion models). Ideally, one should apply more than one such model to assess a group-level construct and only use it

for subsequent analyses when there is sufficient convergence between measures based on different forms of aggregation (Fischer, 2009).

5.5.4. *Sampling*

After having addressed general methodological problems related to questionnaire-based self-reports and to aggregation, a further question is who one should collect data from when attempting to capture culture-level values. Above it was already pointed out that cultures can be rather heterogeneous, and that some individuals (e.g., elites) might exert more influence on the values of a cultural group than others, pointing to the need of careful sampling and of weighting procedures.

The general question behind this is what kind of sample sufficiently represents the values of the cultural group it was drawn from. In this thesis, culture-level values were captured from different kind of samples. In Study 1, they were derived from data of adolescents collected in schools in cities throughout Israel and Germany. These six samples were drawn from different kinds of cultural groups: Whereas two samples represented the non-immigrant majority culture of Germany and Israeli, the four other samples represented immigrants and minority groups, respectively. In Study 2, in turn, highly representative country samples (European Social Survey) were used. Thus, on the one hand the samples differed with regard to the questions *which* group (majority vs. minority) they represent. As already addressed in section 5.2.1, individuals might differently relate to their in-group's cultural values depending on whether they belong to the majority or a minority culture. On the other hand, the samples differ regarding the question *how well* they represent their cultural group. The higher representativity of the European Social Survey data might be one reason for the more consistent results of Study 2 compared to those of Study 1.

In this context, it can also be discussed that in Study 2 and 3 of this thesis cultural value scores were derived from country samples including only individuals *without* migratory background. Methodologically this was necessary since in the studies it was investigated how a cultural group's values 'reach' the immigrants. Using group scores based on both non-immigrant and immigrant participants would have distorted the results to some extent.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, in times of growing international migration, a particular culture's values do not only develop from its non-immigrant members

⁴⁷Most samples that Schwartz (2006) has used also comprised only individuals of the majority population .

anymore. Immigrants shape the social and cultural life of a country to a considerable extent. According to Sam (2006), the term acculturation refers to changes that occur after two culturally different groups have come into long-term contact; changes that occur in both groups, not only in one. Thus, in ‘real life’ an average cultural value score should also include the society’s immigrants.

Schwartz (1994, 1996) himself derived his country scores on the cultural value dimensions mainly from teacher and university student samples. In Schwartz’s (1994) view, teachers are the best representatives of a culture. In this thesis, it was refrained from using these scores because the theoretical reasoning that teachers and university students are good representatives of a culture was not viewed as convincing enough.

Research findings regarding cultural values and their relation to individual-level psychological phenomena might differ depending on the sample composition. Which sampling strategy is the best is, however, not easy to answer. Should one implement a random sampling procedure or select specific individuals and groups? Should one give more weight to scores of some participants than to those of others? Do individuals make up a group’s cultural values even though they originate from another culture? This again points to the need of multi-method approaches. A result will have more substance if it can be confirmed with different types of cultural samples.

Despite the limitations discussed above, aggregating individual-level survey responses is a useful method to capture culture-level values, especially when having taken some methodological precautions (Smith, 2009). Some of the limitations addressed above have partly been taken into account, e.g. by using a measure validated by group-level structural analyses, by correcting for item response bias, or by using highly representative country samples. However, one needs to be aware of the remaining concerns that can be raised regarding that method.

5.6. *Conclusion*

In this thesis, the question was raised whether all individuals living in a cultural group commit themselves to the cultural values shared in that group to the same extent. The thesis provides evidence that individual characteristics (i.e., age, migratory and cultural minority background) moderate the link between culture-level values and individuals' thinking, feeling, and behavior. In that respect, it points to the mutual relationship between individuals and their culture.

The three studies integrate different psychological research fields such as cross-cultural psychology and developmental psychology of adolescence (Study 1), or cross-cultural value research, acculturation research, and cultural fit research (Study 2 and 3). In so doing, they add new perspectives to each of the fields. The research questions were arranged around Schwartz's cultural value model – the thesis' recurrent theme – which has so far only insufficiently been used with regard to these questions. The thesis made use of valuable survey data from various groups: Six samples of adolescents from cultural majority and minority groups in two countries as well as 24 representative country samples. Identical measures across samples made cross-group comparisons possible. The choice of multilevel models over simple country-level correlations is an asset compared to many previous studies because it also takes the individual-level variance into account and allows for testing cross-level interactions.

However, the studies need to be read having their limitations in mind. The causal direction of the link between individuals and their culture is still unclear, especially when the data are cross-sectional. Assumptions of moderations based on cross-level interactions are also sometimes difficult to make. On a more general level, it is debatable whether (1) cultural values are the core feature of culture or whether other cultural dimensions need to be considered, (2) whether individual questionnaire-based self-reports are a suitable option to capture culture-level values, and (3) whether sample-mean scores adequately point to basic culture-level values.

The studies give inducements for further investigations. With regard to Study 1, future research could include a wider range of age groups, compare adolescents with different identity statuses instead of age groups, and investigate the age-hypothesis comparably among minority and majority adolescents. Study 2 and 3 could be integrated in one research design in future studies, focus on group identification and cultural value fit as potential moderators and also include the perspective of the host society. Other individual-level characteristics such as adult age or need for cognitive

closure, but also group-level moderators such as the tightness-looseness dimension can shed more light on the general research question investigated in this thesis. Furthermore, it is worth being explored whether cultural values themselves act as moderators. The still somewhat unclear role of the harmony-mastery dimension deserves further attention in subsequent research.

All prospective research should take methodological limitations into account and apply techniques to circumvent them. In multilevel designs, a sufficient number of level-2 units are necessary to provide sound results. Research on cultural values, and culture in general, should ideally follow a multi-method approach: It should combine different techniques of assessment (self-reports, reference-based reports, scenarios, qualitative analyses, implicit measure, etc.), apply more than one technique of aggregation when using individual-level data, and also capture cultural dimensions above and beyond values.

Referring once more back to Tylor's famous description: Culture remains 'that complex whole', a construct about which we know a lot already but which is at the same time still somewhat impenetrable. Hofstede's view of culture as the programming of the mind allows the drawing of an analogy to the brain as the 'control center' of human individuals – we know about many of its functions and processes, yet much is unknown and we need to further learn about it.

References

- About, F. E. (1988). *Children and prejudice*. New York: Blackwell.
- About, F. E. (2003). The formation of in-group favoritism and out-group prejudice in young children: Are they distinct attitudes? *Developmental Psychology*, 39, 48-60.
- About, F. E., & Amato, M. (2001). Developmental and socialization influences on intergroup bias. In R. Brown & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology* (pp. 65–85). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Abrams, D., & Rutland, A. (2008). The development of subjective group dynamics. In S. R. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood* (pp. 47-65). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Adams, G. R., & Fitch, S. A. (1982). Ego stage and identity status development: A cross-sequential analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43, 574-583.
- Adams, G. R., & Marshall, S. K. (1996). A developmental social psychology of identity: Understanding the person-in-context. *Journal of Adolescence*, 19, 429-442.
- Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Al Haj, M. (2004). *Immigration and ethnic formation in a deeply divided society: The case of the 1990s immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel*. Leiden, NL: Brill Academic Pub.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Oxford, UK: Addison-Wesley.
- Altemeyer, B. (1998). The other “authoritarian personality”. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 30, pp. 47-92). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Arbuckle, J. L. (2005). *Amos 6.0 user's guide*. Chicago, IL: SPSS Inc.
- Arikan, G., & Bloom, P. B. (2011, July). *Cultural values and support for welfare in Europe*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Arnett, J. J. (2001). Conceptions of the transition to adulthood: Perspectives from adolescence through midlife. *Journal of Adult Development*, 8, 133-143.

- Arnold, M. (1869). *Culture and anarchy. An essay in political and social criticism*. London, UK: Smith, Elder and Co.
- Augoustinos, M., & Reynolds, K. J. (2001). *Understanding prejudice, racism and social conflict*. London, UK: Sage.
- Aycan, Z., & Berry, J. W. (1996). Impact of employment-related experiences on immigrants' psychological well-being and adaptation to Canada. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 28, 240-251.
- Baker, J. G., & Fishbein, H. D. (1998). The development of prejudice towards gays and lesbians by adolescents. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 36, 89-100.
- Bar-Tal, D. (1996). Development of social categories and stereotypes in early childhood: The case of "The Arab" concept formation, stereotype and attitudes by Jewish children in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 341-370
- Bardi, A., & Guerra, V. M. (2011). Cultural values predict coping using culture as an individual difference variable in multicultural samples. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 908-927.
- Bardi, A., Lee, J. A., Hofmann-Towfigh, N., & Soutar, G. (2009). The structure of intraindividual value change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97, 913-929.
- Barkow, J. H., Cosmides, L., & Tooby, J. (1992). *The adapted mind. Evolutionary psychology and the generation of culture*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Basabe, N., & Ros, M. (2005). Cultural dimensions and social behavior correlates: Individualism-Collectivism and Power Distance. *International Review of Social Psychology*, 18, 189-225.
- Batson, C. D. (1994). Why act for the public good? Four answers. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 603-610.
- Bauer, D. J., & Curran, P. J. (2005). Probing interactions in fixed and multilevel regression: Inferential and graphical techniques. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 40, 373-400.
- Benet-Martinez, V., Leu, J. X., Lee, F., & Morris, M. W. (2002). Negotiating biculturalism: Cultural frame switching in biculturals with oppositional versus compatible cultural identities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 33, 492-516.
- Bennett, M., & Sani, F. (2004). *The development of the social self*. Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

- Bennett, M., & Sani, F. (2008). Children's subjective identification with social groups. In S. R. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adolescence* (pp. 19-31). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Bennett, T., Grossberg, L., & Morris, M. (2005). *New keywords: A revised vocabulary of culture and society*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Berger, P. L. (1969). *The sacred canopy: Elements of a sociological theory of religion*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Bernard, M. M., Gebauer, J. E., & Maio, G. R. (2006). Cultural estrangement: The role of personal and societal value discrepancies. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 78-92.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5-34.
- Berry, J. W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 615-631.
- Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 697-712.
- Berry, J. W., & Georgas, D. (2009). An ecocultural perspective on cultural transmission: The family across cultures. In U. Schönplüg (Ed.), *Cultural transmission. Psychological, developmental, social, and methodological aspects* (pp. 95-125). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, J. W., & Kim, U. (1988). Acculturation and mental health. In P. R. Dasen, J. W. Berry & N. Sartorius (Eds.), *Health and cross-cultural psychology: Towards applications* (pp. 207-238). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Kwak, K., & Sam, D. L. (2006). Introduction: Goals and research framework for studying immigrant youth. In J. W. Berry, J. S. Phinney, D. L. Sam & P. Vedder (Eds.), *Immigrant youth in cultural transition. Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national contexts* (pp. 1-14). Mahaw, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (2002). *Cross-cultural psychology. Research and applications*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bigler, R. S., & Liben, L. S. (2007). Developmental intergroup theory: Explaining and reducing children's social stereotyping and prejudice. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 16, 162-166.

- Bilsky, W., Janik, M., & Schwartz, S. H. (2011). The structural organization of human values: Evidence from three rounds of the European Social Survey (ESS). *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 759-776.
- Birman, D. (2006). Measurement of the “acculturation gap” in immigrant families and implications for parent-child relationships. In M. Bornstein & L. Cotes (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent child relationships: Measurement and development* (pp. 113-134). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Blasi, A. (1988). Identity and the development of the self. In D. K. Lapsley & F. C. Power (Eds.), *Self, ego and identity. Integrative approaches* (pp. 226-242). New York, NY: Springer.
- Boehnke, K. (2001). Parent-offspring value transmission in a societal context: Suggestions for a utopian research design—with empirical underpinnings. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 241-255.
- Boehnke, K., Hadjar, A., & Baier, D. (2007). Parent-child value similarity: The role of zeitgeist. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 69, 778-792.
- Boesch, E. E. (1991). *Symbolic action theory and cultural psychology*. Berlin, Germany: Springer-Verlag.
- Bollen, K., & Lennox, R. (1991). Conventional wisdom on measurement: A structural equation perspective. *Psychological Bulletin*, 110, 305-314.
- Bond, M. H., Brislin, R. W., Chiu, C., Cohen, D., Gelfand, M. J., Hong, Y., et al. (2009). The present and future state of cultural research and theory: A dialogue. In R. S. Wyers, C. Chiu & Y. Hong (Eds.), *Understanding culture. Theory, research, and application* (pp. 469-506). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Bond, M. H., Leung, K., Au, A., Tong, K. K., de Carrasquel, S. R., Murakami, F., et al. (2004). Culture-level dimensions of social axioms and their correlates across 41 cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35, 548-570.
- Borg, I., & Groenen, P. (1997). *Modern multidimensional scaling. Theory and applications*. Heidelberg, Germany: Springer-Verlag.
- Borg, I., & Lingoes, J. C. (1987). *Multidimensional similarity structure analysis*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Böttiger, H. (2005). *Migration in Deutschland - Analysen und Perspektiven [Migration in Germany - analyses and perspectives]*. Göttingen, Germany: Sierke Verlag.

- Bourhis, R. Y., Moise, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369-386.
- Brandtstädter, J. (1997). Action, culture and development: Points of convergence. *Culture & Psychology*, 3, 335-352.
- Bratt, C. (2005). The structure of attitudes toward non-western immigrant groups: Second-order factor analysis of attitudes among Norwegian adolescents. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 8, 447-469.
- Britt, T. W. (1993). Metatraits: Evidence relevant to the validity of the construct and its implications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65, 554-562.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives. *Developmental Psychology*, 22, 723-742.
- Brown, R. (1995). *Prejudice: Its social psychology*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Brubaker, R. (2001). The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24, 531-548.
- Bubeck, M., & Bilsky, W. (2004). Value structure at an early age. *Swiss Journal of Psychology*, 63, 31-41.
- Carter, R. T. (1991). Cultural values: Review of empirical research and implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 70, 164-173.
- Chan, D. (1998). Functional relations among constructs in the same content domain at different levels of analysis: A typology of composition models. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 83, 234-246.
- Chen, G., Bliese, P. D., & Mathieu, J. E. (2005). Conceptual framework and statistical procedures for delineating and testing multilevel theories of homology. *Organizational Research Methods*, 8, 375-409.
- Chirkov, V. I., Lynch, M., & Niwa, S. (2005). Application of the scenario questionnaire of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism to the assessment of cultural distance and cultural fit. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 469-490.
- Clark, R. L., & Berkowitz King, R. (2008). Social and economic aspects of immigration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1136, 289-297.
- Cohen, A. B. (2009). Many forms of culture. *American Psychologist*, 64, 194-204.

- Costigan, C. L., & Su, T. F. (2004). Orthogonal versus linear models of acculturation among immigrant Chinese Canadians: A comparison of mothers, fathers, and children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28, 518-527.
- Decker, O., & Brähler, E. (2006). *Vom Rand zur Mitte. Rechtsextreme Einstellungen und ihre Einflussfaktoren in Deutschland [From the brink to the middle. Right-wing attitudes and their antecedents in Germany]*. Berlin, Germany: Wagemann Medien GmbH.
- Diamantopoulos, A., & Winklhofer, H. M. (2001). Index construction with formative indicators: An alternative to scale development. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 38, 269-277.
- Diehl, C., & Blohm, M. (2003). Rights or identity? Naturalization processes among "labor migrants" in Germany. *International Migration Review*, 37, 133-162.
- DiMaggio, P. (1997). Culture and cognition. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 263-287.
- Domino, G., & Acosta, A. (1987). The relation of acculturation and values in Mexican-Americans. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 9, 131-150.
- Dressler, W. W., Balieiro, M. C., Ribeiro, R. P., & Santos, J. E. D. (2007). Cultural consonance and psychological distress: Examining the associations in multiple cultural domains. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 31, 195-224.
- Dunham, Y., & Degner, J. (2010). Origins of intergroup bias: Developmental and social cognitive research on intergroup attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 563-568.
- Eagleton, T. (2000). *The idea of culture*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Elfenbein, H. A., & O'Reilly, C. A. (2007). Fitting in: The effects of relational demography and person-culture fit on group process and performance. *Group & Organization Management*, 32, 109-142.
- Elias, N. (2008). *Coming home: Media and returning diaspora in Israel and Germany*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1959). Identity and the life cycle: Selected papers. *Psychological Issues*, 1, 1-171.
- European Science Foundation. (1999). *The European Social Survey (ESS) – A research instrument for the social sciences in Europe. Summary*. Retrieved March 15th, 2012, from

- http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=4&Itemid=80
- European Social Survey. (2010-forthcoming). *ESS Round 4 (2008/2009) final activity report*. London, UK: Centre for Comparative Social Surveys, City University London.
- Euwals, R., Dagevos, J., Gijsberts, M., & Roodenburg, H. (2007). *The labour market position of Turkish immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands: Reason for migration, naturalisation and language proficiency*. The Hague, NL: CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis.
- Feldman, S., Mont-Reynaud, R., & Rosenthal, D. (1992). When East moves West: The acculturation of values of Chinese adolescents in the U.S. and Australia. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 2, 147-173.
- Fend, H. (2003). *Entwicklungspsychologie des Jugendalters. Ein Lehrbuch für pädagogische und psychologische Berufe. [Developmental psychology of adolescence. A textbook for pedagogic and psychological professions]*. Opladen, Germany: Vs Verlag.
- Fischer, R. (2006). Congruence and functions of personal and cultural values: Do my values reflect my culture's values? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 1419-1431.
- Fischer, R. (2009). Where is culture in cross-cultural research? An outline of a multilevel research process for measuring culture as a shared meaning system. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 9, 25-49.
- Fischer, R. (2011). Value isomorphism in the European Social Survey: Exploration of meaning shifts in values across levels [Electronic Version]. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, published online July 2011. DOI: 10.1177/00220222111413276.
- Fischer, R., & Hanke, K. (2009). Are societal values linked to global peace and conflict? *Peace and Conflict*, 15, 227-248.
- Fischer, R., & Schwartz, S. (2011). Whence differences in value priorities? Individual, cultural, or artifactual sources. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 1127-1144.
- Fischer, R., Vauclair, C.-M., Fontaine, J. R. J., & Schwartz, S. H. (2010). Are individual-level and country-level value structures different? Testing Hofstede's

- legacy with the Schwartz Value Survey. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 41, 135-151.
- Fishbein, H. D. (1996). *Peer prejudice and discrimination: Evolutionary, cultural, and developmental dynamics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Fiske, A. P. (2000). Complementarity theory: Why human social capacities evolved to require cultural complements. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4, 76-94.
- Fiske, A. P. (2002). Using individualism and collectivism to compare cultures - A critique of the validity and measurement of the constructs: Comment on Oyserman et al. (2002). *Psychological Bulletin*, 128, 78-88.
- Fleischmann, F., & Dronkers, J. (2010). Unemployment among immigrants in European labour markets: An analysis of origin and destination effects. *Work, Employment and Society* 24, 337-354.
- Frable, D. E. S. (1997). Gender, racial, ethnic, sexual and class identities. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 48, 139-162.
- French, S. E., Seidman, E., LaRue, A., & Aber, J. L. (2006). The development of ethnic identity during adolescence. *Developmental Psychology*, 42, 1-10.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). *Reducing intergroup bias: The common in-group identity model*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Gardner, W. L., Gabriel, S., & Lee, A. Y. (1999). "I" value freedom, but "we" value relationships: Self-construal priming mirrors cultural differences in judgment. *Psychological Science*, 10, 321-326.
- Gelfand, M. J., Nishii, L. H., & Raver, J. L. (2006). On the nature and importance of cultural tightness-looseness. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91, 1225-1244.
- Gelfand, M. J., Raver, J. L., Nishii, L., Leslie, L. M., Lun, J., Lim, B. C., et al. (2011). Differences between tight and loose cultures: A 33-nation study. *Science*, 332, 1100-1104.
- Georgas, J., Berry, J. W., Shaw, A., Christakopoulou, S., & Mylonas, K. (1996). Acculturation of Greek family values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 27, 329-338.
- Ghanem, A. (2001). *The Palestinian-Arab minority in Israel 1948-2001: A political study*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Ghaziani, A. (2009). An "amorphous mist"? The problem of measurement in the study of culture. *Theory and Society*, 38, 581-612.

- Gibson, C. B., Maznevski, M. L., & Kirkman, B. L. (2009). When does culture matter? In R. S. Bhagat & R. M. Steers (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of culture, organizations, and work* (pp. 46-70). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldberger, N. R., & Veroff, J. B. (1995). *The culture and psychology reader*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Gould, E. W. (2005). Synthesizing the literature on cultural values. In N. Aykin (Ed.), *Usability and internationalization of information technology* (pp. 79-121). Mahaw, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Green, E. G. T., Deschamps, J. C., & Paez, D. (2005). Variation of individualism and collectivism within and between 20 countries: A typological analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36, 321-339.
- Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., & Pyszczynski, T. (1997). Terror management theory of self-esteem and cultural worldviews: Empirical assessments and conceptual refinements. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 29, 61-139.
- Greenfield, P. M. (2000). Three approaches to the psychology of culture: Where do they come from? Where can they go? *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 223-240.
- Griswold, W. (2008). *Cultures and societies in a changing world*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Grotevant, H. D. (1998). Adolescent development in family contexts. In W. Damon & N. Eisenberg (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology* (5th ed., Vol. 3: Social, emotional, and personality development, pp. 1097-1149). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Guimond, S., Dambrun, M., Michinov, N., & Duarte, S. (2003). Does social dominance generate prejudice? Integrating individual and contextual determinants of intergroup cognitions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 697-721.
- Häder, S., & Lynn, P. (2007). How representative can a multi-nation survey be? In R. Jowell, C. Roberts, R. Fitzgerald & G. Eva (Eds.), *Measuring attitudes crossnationally: Lessons from the European Social Survey* (pp. 33-52). London, UK: Sage.
- Hadjar, A. (2004). *Ellenbogenmentalität und Fremdenfeindlichkeit bei Jugendlichen. Die Rolle des Hierarchischen Selbstinteresses [Elbow mentality and xenophobia among adolescents: The role of hierarchic self-interest]*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

- Hadjar, A. (2005). Hierarchisches Selbstinteresse und Fremdenfeindlichkeit bei Jugendlichen [Hierarchic self-interest and out-group derogation among adolescents]. *Gruppendynamik und Organisationsberatung*, 36, 103-126.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. (2007). Educated preferences: Explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe. *International Organization*, 61, 399-442.
- Haller, M., Jowell, R., & Smith, T. W. (2009). *Charting the globe: The International Social Survey Programme, 1984-2009*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Hardin, C. D., & Higgins, E. T. (1996). Shared reality: How social verification makes the subjective objective. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition* (Vol. 3: The interpersonal context, pp. 28-84). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Hareven, A. (2002). Towards the year 2030: Can a civil society shared by Jews and Arabs evolve in Israel? *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26, 153-168.
- Hauser, R. M. (1973). Disaggregating a social-psychological model of educational attainment. In A. S. Goldberger & O. D. Duncan (Eds.), *Structural equation models in the social sciences* (pp. 255-284). New York, NY: Seminar Press.
- Heine, S. J. (2008). *Cultural psychology*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Heitmeyer, W. (2007). *Deutsche Zustände. Folge 6 [German states. Series 6]*. Frankfurt/Main, Germany: Suhrkamp.
- Hellevik, O. (2002). Age differences in value orientation - Life cycle or cohort effects? *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 14, 286-302.
- Hitlin, S., & Piliavin, J. A. (2004). Values: Reviving a dormant concept. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 359-393.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hong, Y. (2009). A dynamic constructivist approach to culture: Moving from describing culture to explaining culture. In R. S. Wyers, C. Chiu & Y. Hong (Eds.), *Understanding culture. Theory, research, and application* (pp. 3-23). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Hoover, R., & Fishbein, H. D. (1999). The development of prejudice and sex role stereotyping in White adolescents and White young adults. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 20, 431-448.

- House, R., Javidan, M., Hanges, P., & Dorfman, P. (2002). Understanding cultures and implicit leadership theories across the globe: An introduction to project GLOBE. *Journal of World Business*, 37, 3-10.
- Hox, J. J. (2010). *Multilevel analysis. Techniques and applications*. (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hu, L.-t., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 6, 1-55.
- Huddleston, T., Niessen, J., Chaoimh, E. N., & White, E. (2011). *Migrant integration policy index III*. Retrieved April 1st, 2012, from http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/migrant_integration_policy_index_mipexiii_2011.pdf
- Hwang, W. (2006). Acculturative family distancing: Theory, research, and clinical practice. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*, 43, 397-409.
- Imada, T., & Yussen, S. R. (2012). Reproduction of cultural values: A cross-cultural examination of stories people create and transmit. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 114-128.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. E. (2000). Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, 65, 19-51.
- Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. (2008). *Jews and others by origin, continent of birth & period of immigration*. Retrieved July 4th, 2011, from http://www.cbs.gov.il/shnaton59/st02_25.pdf
- Jagodzinski, W. (2004). Methodological problems of value research. In H. Vinken, P. Soeters & P. Ester (Eds.), *Comparing cultures. Dimensions of culture in comparative perspective* (pp. 97-121). Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- Jahoda, G. (1995). In pursuit of the emic-etic distinction: Can we ever capture it? In N. R. Goldberger & J. B. Veroff (Eds.), *The culture and psychology reader* (pp. 128-138). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Horenczyk, G., & Schmitz, P. (2003). The interactive nature of acculturation: Perceived discrimination, acculturation attitudes and stress among young ethnic repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 79-97.

- Jenks, C. (1993). *Culture*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Jensen, L. A. (2003). Coming of age in a multicultural world: Globalization and adolescent cultural identity formation. *Applied Developmental Science*, 7, 189-196.
- Jetten, J., Postmes, T., & McAuliffe, B. J. (2002). 'We're all individuals': Group norms of individualism and collectivism, levels of identification and identity threat. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32, 189-207.
- Jetten, J., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (1997). Strength of identification and intergroup differentiation: The influence of group norms. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 603-609.
- Jowell, R., Kaase, M., Fitzgerald, R., & Eva, G. (2007). The European Social Survey as a measurement model. In R. Jowell, C. Roberts, R. Fitzgerald & G. Eva (Eds.), *Measuring attitudes cross-nationally: Lessons from the European Social Survey* (pp. 1-32). London, UK: Sage.
- Juang, L. P., Nguyen, H. H., & Lin, Y. (2006). The ethnic identity, other-group attitudes, and psychosocial functioning of Asian American emerging adults from two contexts. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 21, 542-568.
- Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect Theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, 47, 263-291.
- Katz, P. A. (1976). *Towards the elimination of racism*. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press.
- Kaufman, J. (2004). Endogenous explanation in the sociology of culture. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 335-357.
- Kessler, T., & Mummendey, A. (2008). Prejudice and intergroup relations. In M. Hewstone, W. Stroebe & K. Jonas (Eds.), *Introduction to social psychology. A European perspective* (pp. 290-314). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Kiesner, J., Maass, A., Cadinu, M., & Vallese, I. (2003). Risk factors for ethnic prejudice during early adolescence. *Social Development*, 12, 288-308.
- Kirkman, B. L., Lowe, K. B., & Gibson, C. B. (2006). A quarter century of Culture's Consequences: A review of empirical research incorporating Hofstede's cultural values framework. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 37, 285-320.
- Kitayama, S. (2002). Culture and basic psychological processes—Toward a system view of culture: Comments on Oyserman et al. (2002). *Psychological Bulletin*, 128, 89-96.

- Kitayama, S., & Markus, H. R. (1995). Culture and the self: Implications for internationalizing. In N. R. Goldberger & J. B. Veroff (Eds.), *The culture and psychology reader* (pp. 366-383). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Kleinert, C. (2004). *Fremdenfeindlichkeit. Einstellungen junger Deutscher zu Migranten [Xenophobia. Attitudes of young Germans towards immigrants]*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Kluckhohn, F. R., & Strodtbeck, F. L. (1961). *Variations in value orientations*. Oxford, UK: Row, Peterson.
- Knafo, A. (2003). Contexts, relationship quality, and family value socialization: The case of parent-school ideological fit in Israel. *Personal Relationships*, 10, 371-388.
- Knafo, A., Roccas, S., & Sagiv, L. (2011). The value of values in cross-cultural research: A special issue in honor of Shalom Schwartz. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 178-185.
- Knafo, A., & Schwartz, S. H. (2001). Value socialization in families of Israeli-born and Soviet-born adolescents in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 213-228.
- Knafo, A., & Schwartz, S. H. (2003). Parenting and adolescents' accuracy in perceiving parental values. *Child Development*, 74, 595-611.
- Knafo, A., Schwartz, S. H., & Levine, R. V. (2009). Helping strangers is lower in embedded cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40, 875-879.
- Kristof, A. L. (1996). Person-organization fit: An integrative review of its conceptualizations, measurement, and implications. *Personnel Psychology*, 49, 1-49.
- Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*. Cambridge, MA: Paper of the Peabody Museum. Volume 47 (1). Harvard University.
- Kroger, J. (1996). *Identity in adolescence: The balance between self and other*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Kruglanski, A. W. (1989). *Lay epistemics and human knowledge: Cognitive and motivational bases*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Kruglanski, A. W. (2004). *The psychology of closed mindedness*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Kruglanski, A. W., & Webster, D. M. (1996). Motivated closing of the mind: "Seizing" and "Freezing". *Psychological Review*, 103, 263-283.

- Kuper, A. (1999). *Culture: The anthropologist's account*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kwak, K. (2003). Adolescents and their parents: A review of intergenerational family relations for immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Human Development*, 46, 115–136.
- Kwak, K., & Berry, J. W. (2001). Generational differences in acculturation among Asian families in Canada: A comparison of Vietnamese, Korean, and East-Indian groups. *International Journal of Psychology*, 36, 152–162.
- LaFromboise, T. D., Coleman, H. L. K., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 114, 395–412.
- Lane, J. E., & Ersson, S. O. (2002). *Culture and politics: A comparative approach*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Larson, R. W., Richards, M. H., Moneta, G., Holmbeck, G., & Duckett, E. (1996). Changes in adolescents' daily interactions with their families from ages 10 to 18: Disengagement and transformation. *Developmental Psychology*, 32, 744–754.
- Latané, B. (1996). Dynamic social impact: The creation of culture by communication. *Journal of Communication*, 46, 13–25.
- Lavergne, C., Dufour, S., Trocmé, N., & Larrivée, M. C. (2008). Visible minority, aboriginal, and caucasian children investigated by Canadian Protective Services. *Child Welfare Journal*, 87, 59–76.
- Lederer, G. (1995). Der Fragebogen [The questionnaire]. In G. Lederer & P. Schmidt (Eds.), *Autoritarismus und Gesellschaft: Trendanalysen und vergleichende Jugenduntersuchungen 1945-1993* [Authoritarianism and society: Trend analyses and comparative youth studies 1945-1993] (pp. 389–401). Opladen, Germany: Leske & Budrich.
- Legewie, J. (2012). Die Schätzung von kausalen Effekten: Überlegungen zu Methoden der Kausalanalyse anhand von Kontexteffekten in der Schule [The estimation of causal effects: Considerations about methods of causal analyses based on context effects in school]. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 64, 123–153.
- Lehman, D. R., Chiu, C. Y., & Schaller, M. (2004). Psychology and culture. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 55, 689–714.

- Leong, C. H., & Ward, C. (2006). Cultural values and attitudes toward immigrants and multiculturalism: The case of the Eurobarometer survey on racism and xenophobia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 799-810.
- Leung, K., Bhagat, R. S., Buchan, N. R., Erez, M., & Gibson, C. B. (2005). Culture and international business: Recent advances and their implications for future research. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 36, 357-378.
- Leung, K., & Bond, M. H. (1989). On the empirical identification of dimensions for cross-cultural comparisons. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 20, 133-151.
- Levy, S. R., & Killen, M. (2008). *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Liebhart, E. H., & Liebhart, G. (1971). Development of and attempts to validate a scale of German ethnocentricity. *Zeitschrift für Experimentelle und Angewandte Psychologie*, 18, 447-471.
- Liebkind, K. (2006). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 78-96). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lonner, W. J. (1980). The search for psychological universals. In H. C. Triandis & R. W. Brislin (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (Vol. 5: Social Psychology). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Lonner, W. J., & Adamopoulos, J. (1997). Culture as antecedent to behavior. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga & J. Pandey (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (2nd ed., Vol. 1: Theory and method, pp. 43-84). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Lu, L. (2006). "Cultural fit": Individual and societal discrepancies in values, beliefs, and subjective well-being. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 146, 203-221.
- Luyckx, K., Goossens, L., & Soenens, B. (2006). A developmental contextual perspective on identity construction in emerging adulthood: Change dynamics in commitment formation and commitment evaluation. *Developmental Psychology*, 42, 366-380.
- Maercker, A. (2001). Association of cross-cultural differences in psychiatric morbidity with cultural values: A secondary data analysis. *German Journal of Psychiatry*, 4, 19-23.
- Malchow-Møller, N., Munch, J. R., Schroll, S., & Skaksen, J. R. (2009). Explaining cross-country differences in attitudes towards immigration in the EU-15. *Social Indicators Research*, 91, 371-390.

- Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 551-558.
- Mardsen, P. V., & Swingle, J. F. (1994). Conceptualizing and measuring culture in values, strategies, and symbols. *Poetics*, 22, 269-289.
- Marin, G., & Gamba, R. J. (2003). Acculturation and changes in cultural values. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 83-93). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Mariño, R., Stuart, G. W., & Minas, I. H. (2000). Acculturation of values and behavior: A study of Vietnamese immigrants. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 33, 21-41.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1994). A collective fear of the collective: Implications for selves and theories of selves. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 568-579.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2010). Cultures and selves: A cycle of mutual constitution. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 5, 420-430.
- Masgoret, A.-M., & Ward, C. (2006). Culture learning approach to acculturation. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 58-77). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Matsumoto, D. (1997). *Culture and modern life*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Matsumoto, D., & Juang, L. (2008). *Culture and psychology* (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Matsumoto, D., Yoo, S. H., & Nakagawa, S. (2008). Culture, emotion regulation, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94, 925-937.
- Meeus, W. (1996). Studies on identity development in adolescence: An overview of research and some new data. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 25, 569-598.
- Meeus, W., Iedema, J., Helsen, M., & Vollebergh, W. (1999). Patterns of adolescent identity development: Review of literature and longitudinal analysis. *Developmental Review*, 19, 419-461.
- Meeus, W., Iedema, J., & Vollebergh, W. (1999). Identity formation re-revisited: A rejoinder to waterman on developmental and cross-cultural issues. *Developmental Review*, 19, 480-496.

- Miller, D. T., & Prentice, D. A. (1994). The self and the collective. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 451-453.
- Miller, J. G. (1997). Theoretical issues in cultural psychology. In J. W. Berry, Y. H. Poortinga & J. Pandey (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (2nd ed., Vol. 1: Theory and method, pp. 85-128). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Morris, M. W., Williams, K. Y., Leung, K., Larrick, R., Mendoza, M. T., Bhatnagar, D., et al. (1998). Conflict management style: Accounting for cross-national differences. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 29, 729-747.
- Münz, R., & Ohliger, R. (2003). *Diasporas and ethnic migrants: German, Israel, and post-Soviet successor states in comparative perspective*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Negy, C., & Woods, D. J. (1992). A note on the relationship between acculturation and socioeconomic status. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 14, 248-251.
- Nesdale, D. (1999a). Developmental changes in children's ethnic preferences and social cognitions. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 20, 501-519.
- Nesdale, D. (1999b). Social identity and ethnic prejudice in children. In P. Martin & W. Noble (Eds.), *Psychology and society* (pp. 92-110). Brisbane, Australia: Australian Academic Press.
- Nesdale, D. (2001). Development of prejudice in children. In M. Augoustinos & K. J. Reynolds (Eds.), *Understanding prejudice, racism and social conflict* (pp. 57-72). London, UK: Sage.
- Nesdale, D. (2004). Social identity processes and children's ethnic prejudice. In M. Bennett & F. Sani (Eds.), *The development of the social self* (pp. 219-246). East Sussex, UK: Psychology Press.
- Nesdale, D. (2008). Peer group rejection and children's intergroup prejudice. In S. R. Levy & M. Killen (Eds.), *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood* (pp. 32-46). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Nesdale, D., Maass, A., Durkin, K., & Griffiths, J. (2005). Group norms, threat and children's ethnic prejudice. *Child Development*, 76, 652-663.
- Nielsen, S. S., & Krasnik, A. (2010). Poorer self-perceived health among migrants and ethnic minorities versus the majority population in Europe: A systematic review. *International Journal of Public Health*, 55, 357-371.
- Norenzayan, A., & Heine, S. J. (2005). Psychological universals: What are they and how can we know? *Psychological Bulletin*, 131, 763-784.

- Nunnally, J. C., & Bernstein, I. H. (1994). *Psychometric theory* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128, 3-72.
- Oyserman, D., & Lee, S. W. S. (2008). Does culture influence what and how we think? Effects of priming individualism and collectivism. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134, 311-342.
- Parkes, L., Bochner, S., & Schneider, S. (2001). Person–organisation fit across cultures: An empirical investigation of individualism and collectivism. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 50, 81-108.
- Peng, K. P., Nisbett, R. E., & Wong, N. Y. C. (1997). Validity problems comparing values across cultures and possible solutions. *Psychological Methods*, 2, 329-344.
- Perron, J., Vondracek, F. W., Skorikov, V. B., Tremblay, C., & Corbiere, M. (1998). A longitudinal study of vocational maturity and ethnic identity development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 52, 409-424.
- Peterson, M. F., & Castro, S. L. (2006). Measurement metrics at aggregate levels of analysis: Implications for organization culture research and the GLOBE project. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 17, 506-521.
- Peterson, R. A. (1979). Revitalizing the culture concept. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 5, 137-166.
- Pettigrew, T. (2008). Future directions for intergroup contact theory and research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 187-199.
- Pettigrew, T., Christ, O., Meertens, R., van Dick, R., & Zick, A. (2008). Relative deprivation and intergroup prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 64, 385-401.
- Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751-783.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9, 34-49.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.
- Phinney, J. S. (1993). A three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence. In M. E. Bernal & G. P. Knight (Eds.), *Ethnic identity: Formation and*

- transmission among hispanics and other minorities* (pp. 61-79). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Phinney, J. S., & Alipuria, L. L. (1990). Ethnic identity in college students from four ethnic groups. *Journal of Adolescence*, 13, 171-183.
- Phinney, J. S., Berry, J. W., Vedder, P., & Liebkind, K. (2006). The acculturation experience: Attitudes, identities, and behaviors of immigrant youth. In J. W. Berry, J. S. Phinney, D. L. Sam & P. Vedder (Eds.), *Immigrant youth in cultural transition. Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national contexts* (pp. 71-116). Mahaw, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 493-510.
- Phinney, J. S., Ong, A. D., & Madden, T. (2000). Cultural values and intergenerational value discrepancies in immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Child Development*, 71, 528-539.
- Pinquart, M., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2004). Transmission of values from adolescents to their parents: The role of value content and authoritative parenting. *Adolescence*, 39, 83-100.
- Piontkowski, U., Florack, A., Hoelker, P., & Obdržálek, P. (2000). Predicting acculturation attitudes of dominant and non-dominant groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24, 1-26.
- Preacher, K. J., Curran, P. J., & Bauer, D. J. (2006). Computational tools for probing interactions in multiple linear regression, multilevel modeling, and latent curve analysis. *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics*, 31, 437-448.
- Probst, T. M., Carnevale, P. J., & Triandis, H. C. (1999). Cultural values in intergroup and single-group social dilemmas. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 77, 171-191.
- Ratzlaff, C., Matsumoto, D., Kouznetsova, N., Raroque, J., & Ray, R. (2000). Individual psychological culture and subjective well-being. In E. Diener & E. M. Sul (Eds.), *Culture and subjective well-being* (pp. 37-60). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Raudenbush, S. W., & Bryk, A. S. (2002). *Hierarchical linear models: Applications and data analysis methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herskovits, M. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38, 149–152.
- Roccas, S., Sagiv, L., Schwartz, S., Halevy, N., & Eidelson, R. (2008). Toward a unifying model of identification with groups: Integrating theoretical perspectives. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 12, 280-306.
- Rohner, R. P. (1984). Toward a conception of culture for cross-cultural psychology. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 15, 111-138.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Rosenbaum, P. R., & Rubin, D. B. (1983). The central role of the propensity score in observational studies for causal effects. *Biometrika*, 70, 41-55.
- Rosenthal, D. (2005). *The Israelis: Ordinary people in an extraordinary land*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Rubin, D. B. (1974). Estimating causal effects of treatments in randomized and nonrandomized studies. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 66, 688-701.
- Rutland, A., Abrams, D., & Levy, S. (2007). Introduction: Extending the conversation: Transdisciplinary approaches to social identity and intergroup attitudes in children and adolescents. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 31, 417-418.
- Sagiv, L., Schwartz, S. H., & Arieli, S. (2011). Personal values, national culture and organizations: Insights applying the Schwartz value framework. In N. N. Ashkanasy, C. Wilderom & M. F. Peterson (Eds.), *The handbook of organizational culture and climate* (2nd ed., pp. 515-537). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.
- Sam, D. L. (2006). Acculturation. Conceptual background and core components. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (pp. 11-26). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2006). *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Schein, E. H. (2012). What is culture? In M. Godwyn (Ed.), *Sociology of organizations: Structures and relationships* (pp. 311-314). Los Angeles, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Schiefer, D. (2009, September). *Prädiktoren von Fremdgruppeneinstellungen bei Kindern und Jugendlichen im interkulturellen Vergleich: Das Beispiel Deutschland und Israel [Antecedents of out-group derogation in a cross-ethnic and cross-cultural comparison: The example of Germany and Israel]*. Paper presented at the 12th Conference of the German Association of Social Psychology (Fachgruppe Sozialpsychologie), Université du Luxembourg, September 2009.

- Schiefer, D., Möllering, A., Daniel, E., Benish-Weisman, M., & Boehnke, K. (2010a). Cultural values and out-group negativity: A cross cultural analysis of early and late adolescents. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 635-651.
- Schiefer, D., Möllering, A., Daniel, E., Benish-Weisman, M., & Boehnke, K. (2010b, July). *Cultural values and out-group negativity: A cross cultural analysis of early and late adolescents*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Discrimination and Tolerance in Intergroup Relations, Jena, Germany.
- Schmitt-Rodermund, E. (1999). Geschichte der Aussiedlung – Deutsche in der ehemaligen Sowjetunion [History of resettlement – Germans in the Former Soviet Union]. In R. K. Silbereisen, E.-D. Lantermann & E. Rodermund (Eds.), *Aussiedler in Deutschland [Aussiedler in Germany]* (pp. 51-57). Opladen, Germany: Leske + Budrich.
- Schönpflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of values: The role of transmission belts. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 174-185.
- Schönpflug, U. (2009). *Cultural transmission. Psychological, developmental, social, and methodological aspects*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1–65). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1994a). Are There Universal Aspects in the Structure and Contents of Human Values? *Journal of Social Issues*, 50, 19-45.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1994b). Beyond individualism/collectivism: New cultural dimensions of values. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 85-122). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review. Special Issue: Values and Work*, 48, 23-47.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2003). *Instructions for computing scores for the 10 human values and using them in analyses. Documentation for ESS-1*. Retrieved January 2nd, 2010, from <http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/round1/>

- Schwartz, S. H. (2004). Mapping and interpreting cultural differences around the world. In H. Vinken, J. Soeters & P. Ester (Eds.), *Comparing cultures: Dimensions of culture in a comparative perspective* (pp. 43-73). Leiden, NL: EJ BRILL.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2006a). Basic human values: An overview. Retrieved February, 15th, 2012, from http://www.unienna.it/scienze/psicologiche/doc/tirocinio/Schwartz_paper.pdf
- Schwartz, S. H. (2006b). A theory of cultural value orientations: Explication and applications. *Comparative Sociology*, 5, 137-182.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2007). *Value orientations: Measurement, antecedents and consequences across nations*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2008). *Cultural value orientations: Nature and implications of national differences*. Moscow, Russia: State University Higher School of Economics Press.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2011a). Studying values: Personal adventure, future directions. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 307-319.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2011b). Values: Cultural and individual. In S. M. Breugelmans, A. Chasiotis & F. J. R. van de Vijver (Eds.), *Fundamental questions in cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 463-493). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. (2001). Value hierarchies across cultures: Taking a similarities perspective. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 32, 268-290.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bilsky, W. (1987). Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 550-562.
- Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A., Burgess, S., Harris, M., & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 519-542.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Rubel, T. (2005). Sex differences in value priorities: Cross-cultural and multi-method studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 1010-1028.
- Schwartz, S. J., Montgomery, M. J., & Briones, E. (2006). The role of identity in acculturation among immigrant people: Theoretical propositions, empirical questions, and applied recommendations. *Human Development*, 49, 1-30.

- Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., Zamboanga, B. L., & Szapocznik, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation. Implications for theory and research. *American Psychologist*, 65, 237-251.
- Schwartz, S. J., Weisskirch, R. S., Zamboanga, B. L., Castillo, L. G., Ham, L. S., Huynh, Q. L., et al. (2011). Dimensions of acculturation: Associations with health risk behaviors among college students from immigrant families. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58, 27-41.
- Scott, J. (2000). Rational choice theory. In G. Browning, A. Halcli & F. Webster (Eds.), *Understanding contemporary society: Theories of the present* (pp. 126-138). London, UK: Sage.
- Searle, W., & Ward, C. (1990). The prediction of psychological and sociocultural adjustment during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 14, 449-464.
- Sego, D. J., Hui, C., & Law, K. S. (1997). Operationalizing cultural values as the mean of individual values: Problems and suggestions for research. In C. Earley & M. Erez (Eds.), *New perspectives on international industrial/organizational psychology* (pp. 148-159). San Francisco, CA: New Lexington Press.
- Shah, J. Y., Kruglanski, A. W., & Thompson, E. P. (1998). Membership has its (epistemic) rewards: Need for closure effects on in-group bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 15, 383-393.
- Shen, B. J., & Takeuchi, D. T. (2001). A structural model of acculturation and mental health status among Chinese Americans. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 29, 387-418.
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension. An integration of studies of intergroup relations*. Oxford, UK: Harper & Brothers.
- Shih, M., & Sanchez, D. T. (2005). Perspectives and research on the positive and negative implications of having multiple racial identities. *Psychological Bulletin*, 131, 569-591.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Silbereisen, R., Lantermann, E. D., & Schmitt-Rodermund, E. (1999). *Aussiedler in Deutschland: Akkulturation von Persönlichkeit und Verhalten [Aussiedler in Germany: Acculturation of personality and behaviour]*. Opladen, Germany: Leske & Budrich.

- Silbereisen, R. K. (2008). New research on acculturation among diaspora migrants. *International Journal of Psychology*, 43, 2-5.
- Smith, P. B. (2009). On finding improved ways of characterizing national cultures. In R. S. Wyers, C. Chiu & Y. Hong (Eds.), *Understanding culture. Theory, research, and application* (pp. 151-162). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Smith, P. B. (2011). Communication styles as dimensions of national culture. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 216-233.
- Smith, P. B., Bond, M. H., & Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (2006). *Understanding social psychology across cultures: Living and working in a changing world*. Thousand Oakes, CA: SAGE.
- Smith, P. B., & Schwartz, S. H. (1997). Values. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Segall & C. Kağıtçıbaşı (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (2nd ed., Vol. 3: Social behavior and applications, pp. 77-118). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Smooha, S. (1990). Minority status in an ethnic democracy: The status of the Arab minority in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13, 389-413.
- Spearman, C. (1910). Correlation calculated from faulty data. *British Journal of Psychology*, 3, 271-295.
- SPSS Inc. (2007). *SPSS Advanced Models™ 16.0*. Retrieved December 27th, 2010, from <http://www.hanken.fi/student/media/3618/spssadvancedmodels160.pdf>
- SPSS Inc. (2010). *SPSS for Windows, Rel. 19.0.0. 2010*. Chicago, IL: SPSS Inc.
- Stangor, C., Sullivan, L. A., & Ford, T. E. (1991). Affective and cognitive determinants of prejudice. *Social Cognition*, 9, 359-380.
- Steinberg, L. D. (2008). *Adolescence*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23-45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Stoop, I., Billiet, J., Koch, A., & Fitzgerald, R. (2010). *Improving survey response: Lessons learned from the European Social Survey*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Stromberg, C., & Boehnke, K. (2001). Person/society value congruence and well-being: The role of acculturation strategies. In P. Schmuck & K. M. Sheldon (Eds.), *Life goals and well-being. Towards a positive psychology of human striving* (pp. 37-57). Kirkland, WA; Göttingen, Germany: Hogrefe and Huber Publishers.

- Super, C. M., & Harkness, S. (1986). The developmental niche: A conceptualization at the interface of child and culture. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 9, 545-569.
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological Review*, 51, 273-286.
- Tafarodi, R. W., Kang, S. J., & Milne, A. B. (2002). When different becomes similar: Compensatory conformity in bicultural visible minorities. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 1131-1142.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Taras, V., Kirkman, B. L., & Steel, P. (2010). Examining the impact of Culture's Consequences: A three-decade, multilevel, meta-analytic review of Hofstede's cultural value dimensions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 95, 405-439.
- Taras, V., Rowney, J., & Steel, P. (2009). Half a century of measuring culture: Review of approaches, challenges, and limitations based on the analysis of 121 instruments for quantifying culture. *Journal of International Management*, 15, 357-373.
- Tay, L., Woo, S. E., Klafehn, J., & Chiu, C. (2010). Conceptualizing and measuring culture: Problems and solutions. In G. Walford, E. Tucker & M. Viswanathan (Eds.), *The sage handbook of measurement* (pp. 177-201). London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Thalhammer, E., Zucha, V., Enzenhofer, E., Salfinger, B., & Ogris, G. (2001). *Attitudes towards minority groups in the European Union: A special analysis of the Eurobarometer 2000 opinion poll on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia*. Vienna, Austria: SORA.
- Tomasello, M., Kruger, A. C., & Ratner, H. H. (1993). Cultural learning. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 16, 495-511.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American Psychologist*, 51, 407-415.
- Triandis, H. C. (2004). *Culture and social behavior*. Boston, MA: McGraw Hill.

- Triandis, H. C. (2007). Culture and psychology: A history of the study of their relationship. In S. Kitayama & D. Cohen (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural psychology* (pp. 59-76). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M., & Lucca, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 323-338.
- Triandis, H. C., Leung, K., Villareal, M. J., & Clack, F. L. (1985). Allocentric versus idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 19, 395-415.
- Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., & Hui, C. H. (1990). Multimethod probes of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 1006-1020.
- Tripathi, R. C., & Srivastava, R. (1981). Relative deprivation and intergroup attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 11, 313-318.
- Tsai, J. L., Ying, Y.-W., & Lee, P. A. (2000). The meaning of "being Chinese" and "being American." Variation among Chinese American young adults. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 302-332.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., & Reicher, S. D. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorisation theory*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., & McGarty, C. (1994). Self and collective. Cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 454-463.
- van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Hutschemaekers, G. J. M. (1990). *The investigation of culture: Current issues in cultural psychology*. Tilburg, The Netherlands: Tilburg University Press.
- van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Poortinga, Y. H. (2002). Structural equivalence in multilevel research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 33, 141-156.
- Van Oudenhoven, J. P., Prins, K. S., & Buunk, P. B. (1998). Attitudes of minority and majority members towards adaptation of immigrants. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 995-1013.
- van Vianen, A. E. M., De Pater, I. E., Kristof-Brown, A. L., & Johnson, E. C. (2004). Fitting in: Surface- and deep-level cultural differences and expatriates' adjustment. *Academy of Management Journal*, 47, 697-709.

- Vedder, P., Sam, D. L., & Liebkind, K. (2007). The acculturation and adaptation of Turkish adolescents in north-western Europe. *Applied Developmental Science, 11*, 126-136.
- Verkasalo, M., Lonnqvist, J. E., Lipsanen, J., & Helkama, K. (2009). European norms and equations for a two dimensional presentation of values as measured with Schwartz's 21-item portrait values questionnaire. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39*, 780-792.
- Verkuyten, M. (2003). Ethnic in-group bias among minority and majority early adolescents: The perception of negative peer behaviour. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 21*, 543-564.
- Veroff, J. B., & Goldberger, N. R. (1995). What's in a name? The case for "intercultural" psychology. In N. R. Goldberger & J. B. Veroff (Eds.), *The culture and psychology reader* (pp. 3-21). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Verplanken, B., & Holland, R. W. (2002). Motivated decision making: Effects of motivation and self-centrality of values on choices and behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 434-447.
- Villarruel, A. M. (1998). Cultural influences on the sexual attitudes, beliefs, and norms of young Latina adolescents. *Journal of the Society of Pediatric Nurses, 3*, 69-79.
- Wagner, U., & van Dick, R. (2001). Fremdenfeindlichkeit 'in der Mitte der Gesellschaft': Phänomenbeschreibung, Ursachen, Gegenmaßnahmen [Prejudice 'in the midst of the society': Description, causes, countermeasures]. *Zeitschrift für Politische Psychologie, 9*, 41-54.
- Walker, I., & Smith, H. J. (2002). *Relative deprivation: Specification, development, and integration*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ Press.
- Wan, C., Chiu, C. Y., Peng, S. Q., & Tam, K. P. (2007). Measuring cultures through intersubjective cultural norms: Implications for predicting relative identification with two or more cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 38*, 213-226.
- Wang, C. H. C., & Phinney, J. S. (1998). Differences in child rearing attitudes between immigrant Chinese mothers and Anglo-American mothers. *Early Development & Parenting, 7*, 181-189.
- Ward, C. (1996). Acculturation. In D. Landis & R. S. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (pp. 124-147). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ward, C., & Chang, W. C. (1997). "Cultural fit": A new perspective on personality and sojourner adjustment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 21*, 525-533.

- Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1994). Acculturation strategies, psychological adjustment, and sociocultural competence during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18, 329-343.
- Ward, C., Leong, C.-H., & Low, M. (2004). Personality and sojourner adjustment: An exploration of the Big Five and the cultural fit proposition. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 35, 137-151.
- Waterman, A. S. (1999). Issues of identity formation revisited: United States and the Netherlands. *Developmental Review*, 19, 462-479.
- Webster, D. M., & Kruglanski, A. W. (1994). Individual differences in need for cognitive closure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 1049-1062.
- Williams, R. (1976). *Keywords : A vocabulary of culture and society*. London, UK: Croom Helm.
- Williams, R. M. (1968). Values. In D. S. Sills (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of the social sciences* (Vol. 15). London, UK: Collier-Macmillan Publishers.
- Wyers, R. S., Chiu, C., & Hong, Y. (2009). *Understanding culture. Theory, research, and application*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Yang, R. P. J., Noels, K. A., & Saumure, K. D. (2006). Multiple routes to cross-cultural adaptation for international students: Mapping the paths between self-construals, English language confidence, and adjustment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, 487-506.
- Zagefka, H., Brown, R., Broquard, M., & Martin, S. L. (2007). Predictors and consequences of negative attitudes toward immigrants in Belgium and Turkey: The role of acculturation preferences and economic competition. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, 153-169.
- Zick, A., Wolf, C., Kuepper, B., Davidov, E., Schmidt, P., & Heitmeyer, W. (2008). The syndrome of group-focused enmity: The interrelation of prejudices tested with multiple cross-sectional and panel data. *Journal of Social Issues*, 64, 363-383.
- Zimmerman, M. A., Ramirez-Valles, J., Washienko, K. M., Walter, B., & Dyer, S. (1996). The development of a measure of enculturation for Native American youth. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 24, 295-310.

Appendices

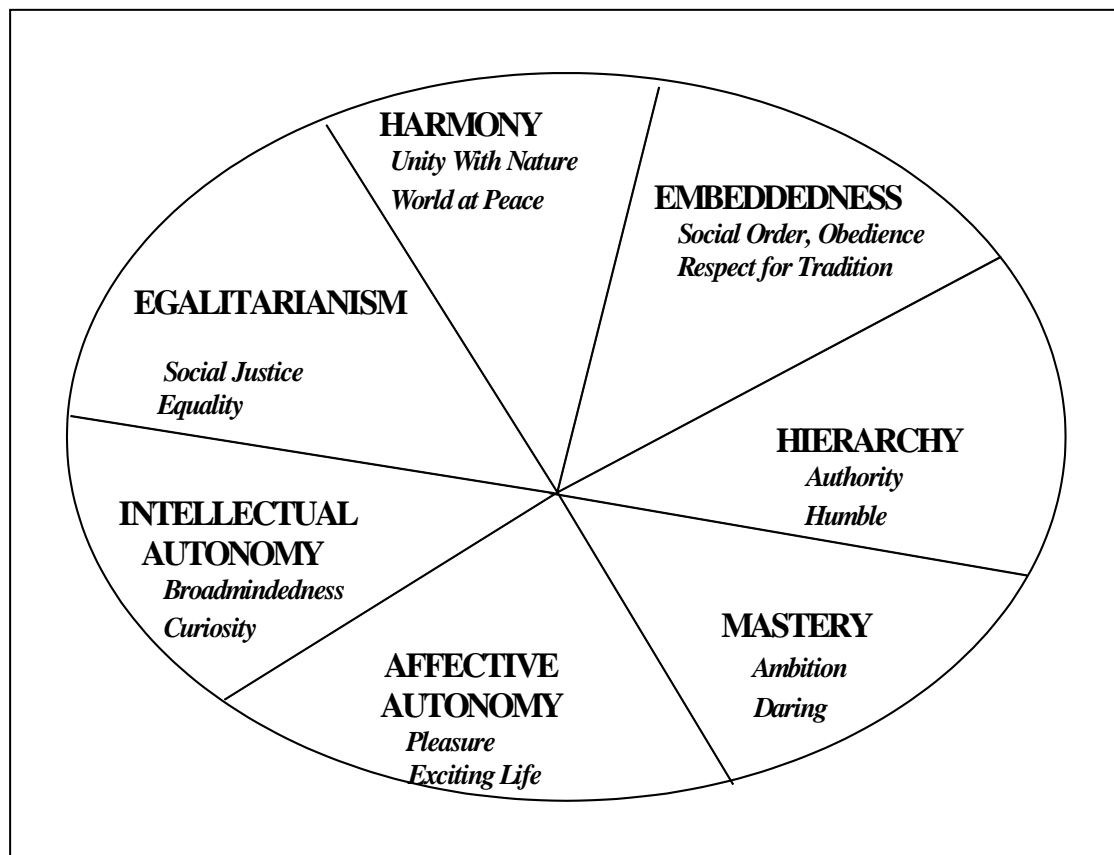
Appendix 1. Schwartz's Cultural Value Model

Figure taken from Schwartz (2008) with kind permission of the author.

Person Profiles

HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON?

[illegible]

[illegible]

HOW MUCH LIKE YOU IS THIS PERSON?						
	Very much like me	like me	some- what like me	a little like me	not like me	not like me at all
23. Forgiving people who have hurt him is important to him. He tries to see what is good in them and not to hold a grudge.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Getting ahead in life is important to him. He strives to do better than others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. He believes he should always show respect to his parents and to older people. It is important to him to be obedient.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Note. Study 2 and 3 used only the first 21 items.

Israeli Version

Now we ask you to estimate what you think about the following statements regarding the above-mentioned groups. Tick the box in the box that represents best how much you agree with the statement. You can choose from all squares.

[illegible]

Attitude Questionnaire

Now we ask you to estimate what you think about the following statements regarding the above-mentioned groups. Tick the box in the box that represents best how much you agree with the statement. You can choose from all squares.

[illegible]

Appendix 4. Group-Related Enmity (Study 2, taken from ESS)

Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(Don't know)
Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish.	1	2	3	4	5	8
When jobs are scarce, men should have more rights to a job than women.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Most unemployed people do not really try to find a job.	1	2	3	4	5	8

Please tell me how important it is for you to be unprejudiced against people of other age groups. Use this card where 0 means not at all important to you and 10 means extremely important to you.

Not at all important										Extremely important	(Don't know)
00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	88

Israeli Version

[illegible]

Have you immigrated to Israel from the former Soviet Union (Russia, the Ukraine, the Caucasian states etc.)?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

Did any of your parents immigrate to Israel from the Former Soviet Union ten years or less before you were born?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

If you answered "yes" to any of the questions above, please answer the questions on this page as well. Otherwise, please skip this page.

Think of yourself as a Russian (a person of former Soviet Union descent, a part of a family who immigrated to Israel from Russia, the Ukraine, the Caucasian states etc.). In the following page you will be requested to describe yourself as you are as Russian.

[illegible]

Think of yourself as an Arab Israeli. In the following page you will be requested to describe yourself as you are as an Arab Israeli.

	Strongly Agree		Somewhat Agree		Strongly Disagree	
Being an Arab Israeli is an important part of who I am.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is important to me that I view myself as an Arab Israeli.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is important to me that others see me as an Arab Israeli.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

German Version

Think of yourself as a German, living in a society of Germans. In the following page you will be requested to describe yourself as you are as a German.

	Strongly Agree		Somewhat Agree		Strongly Disagree	
Being a German is an important part of who I am.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is important to me that I view myself as a German.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is important to me that others see me as a German.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Have you immigrated to Germany from the former Soviet Union (Russia, the Ukraine, the Caucasian states etc.)?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

Did any of your parents immigrate to Germany from the Former Soviet Union?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

If you answered "yes" to any of the questions above, please answer the questions on this page as well. Otherwise, please skip this page.

In this questionnaire Russia stand for all countries of the former Soviet Union. If you are not from Russia but from some other country of the former Soviet Union please tick the boxes below but think of your country.

[illegible]

Have you immigrated to Germany from Turkey?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

Did any of your parents immigrate to Germany from Turkey?

1. Yes ☐ 2. No ☐

If you answered "yes" to any of the questions above, please answer the questions on this page as well. Otherwise, please skip this page.

Think of yourself as a Turk. In the following page you will be requested to describe yourself as you are as a Turk.

[illegible]