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One and Not the Same: The Consistency of Values across Contexts among Majority and
Minority Members in Israel and Germany

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20.7.2011

Citation: Daniel, E., Schiefer, D., & Knafo, A. (2012). One and not the same: The consistency of values across contexts among majority and minority members in Israel and Germany. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 43*(7), 1167-1184. doi: 10.1177/0022022111430257.

Abstract

Values are trans-situational, but little is known about their differential consistency across situations. We studied the cross-context correlations of value importance in six adolescent groups across Israel (Jewish majority, former Soviet-Union (FSU) immigrants and Arab minority) and Germany (majority, FSU and Turkish immigrants). Values were elicited for several contexts: family, school and country of residence. Self-direction, achievement, conformity and benevolence values in the family, the school and the country of residence contexts revealed a moderately positive correlation among majority members (Study 1). A similar pattern was found for minority members (Study 2), suggesting that values are consistent in their rank order, but vary in importance based on circumstances. Study 2 also investigated minority members' values in the ethnic context. In Israel, these values correlated positively with values in other contexts. In Germany, self-direction and conformity values in the ethnic context correlated NEGATIVELY with the same values in other contexts (e.g., self-direction values in the student context and the ethnic context correlated negatively). The cultural environment is therefore relevant to value-system coherence.

One and Not the Same: The Consistency of Values across Contexts among Majority and Minority Members in Israel and Germany

Individuals regularly juggle between competing forces: on the one hand, they adapt to the ever changing demands of their complex social world, on the other, they aspire for consistency in life to help reduce uncertainty and gain a feeling of continuity. This tension is also relevant in their values. Individuals can differ in their values across life contexts (Daniel & Knafo, 2011, Daniel et al., in press a). They can, for example, aspire to compete with classmates and exceed their achievements, but not so much with close friends. This distinction can create a feeling of inconsistency that may threaten their sense of self coherence, unity and continuity. To prevent this dissonance, individuals typically preserve some level of consistency in value importance across life contexts.

The current paper is the first to study the consistency in values across several contexts. We propose that alongside the contextualization described above, individuals maintain consistency in their values. Specifically, they retain their relative position (compared to other individuals) in value importance across contexts, in other words, they maintain *differential consistency*. In Study 1, the differential consistency in values of majority members in Israel and Germany will be examined across the contexts of school, family, and country. In Study 2, the consistency in values of members of four minority groups in Israel and in Germany will be examined, adding also their values in the context of their ethnic group membership. Differential consistency in values across contexts can inform us of the perceived compatibility of the contexts, and of the coherence of identity formed by adolescents.

Basic Trans-Situational Values

Values are abstract concepts or beliefs that describe desirable end states and serve as guiding principles in people's lives. Values guide the selection and evaluation of behaviors and

events, and are ordered by relative importance (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Schwartz (1992) suggested that the underlying basis of a value is the type of motivation, or goal, that it expresses. Ten value types that express distinct motivations were distinguished theoretically as well as empirically in hundreds of samples (e.g., Schwartz 1992; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). These ten values are similar in meaning across the world, as they are based on the same basic motivations. As elaborated below, to prevent respondent fatigue, we focused on four of these values in the current investigation.

In addition to defining the content of values, Schwartz's (1992) theory specifies dynamic relations among the values. Actions in pursuit of each value have psychological, practical, and social consequences that may conflict or may be compatible with the pursuit of other values. The complete pattern of conflicts and compatibilities between and among values is often described as a circular structure of the ten values, composed of four higher order value types that form two basic, bipolar, dimensions (Schwartz, 1992). In the first dimension, Openness to change contrasts with Conservation; that is, the motivation to follow one's own intellectual and emotional interests in novel directions is contrasted with the motivation to preserve the current social order and the certainty it provides. The dimension comprised of conservation versus openness to change was represented in the current study by the two values of conformity (importance of limiting actions and urges that might violate social expectations and norms) and self direction (Importance of independent thought and action, Schwartz, 1992), respectively.

The second dimension contrasts Self-enhancement with Self-transcendence. That is, values that emphasize the pursuit of one's own relative success and dominance, sometimes at the expense of others, contrast with values that emphasize care for the welfare of others, close and distant, and disengagement from selfish concerns (Schwartz, 1992). Self enhancement was represented by achievement (importance of acquiring personal success through demonstrating

competence according to social standards), while self transcendence was represented by benevolence (importance of caring for the welfare of close others).

Basic values are trans-situational, hence abstract goals which can be applied to different and distinct situations (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Rokeach, 1973; Rohan, 2000). An adolescent, for example, can show her conformity values by behaving politely towards her parents as well as towards teachers and friends. However, alongside the applicability of values across contexts, their importance can vary contextually (Daniel et al., in press a; Seligman & Katz, 1996). Values are assumed not only to be applicable but also stable in their importance across situations.

Contextualized Values

In our description of values this far, we referred to basic values as trans-situational, thus they constitute basic characteristics of individuals, applied across life contexts. However values are contextualized in their absolute levels of importance. Thus, the importance of values can vary according to context. Across individuals, people stress values to a varying extent in different contexts (Seligman & Katz, 1996; Daniel & Knafo, 2011; Daniel et al., in press a; Daniel, Benish-Weisman, Knafo, & Boehnke, in press b). As an example of *contextualized values*, the abovementioned adolescent who was described as polite, may state that politeness is more important towards her parents and teachers than towards her friends.

Although little systematic research has been performed on contextualized values, there is evidence that individuals' values can vary by context. For example, there are differences between adults' basic values and their values-as-parents (Acock & Bengtson, 1980). In one of our earlier studies (Daniel & Knafo, 2011), we showed that differences in the importance of values according to contexts are consistent across samples, based on the motivational demands of the context in hand. For instance, the context of 'being a student' was characterized by high importance assigned to achievement values, and low importance assigned to benevolence

values. The context of 'being a family member' was characterized by high importance assigned to conformity and tradition, as well as benevolence, and low importance to self direction values (Daniel & Knafo, 2011). In addition to these group-level cross-context differences, individuals' values can also vary across contexts, and we have previously studied the within-person cross-context variation in value importance (Daniel et al., in press a).

Internal Consistency of Values

While it is important to consider the contextualized aspect of values, in the current investigation we focus on the cross-contextual consistency of values. Because of the central role values may take in preserving a sense of identity and especially a sense of continuity in identity, values are expected to show some level of consistency in their importance across contexts.

Values can be seen as an important part of individuals' identity for a number of reasons. First, values are experienced as a part of the true, authentic self. They feel internally driven, and not externally coerced, and therefore acting upon them creates a feeling of realizing one's own goals (Hitlin, 2003). Second, the important process of forming identity commitments during adolescence includes a crucial element of exploring values and deciding what motivations should guide one in life (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1966). Finally, identity is vital in creating a sense of continuity and cohesiveness (Swann, Rentfrow, & Guinn, 2003). The trans-situational nature of values, which allows similar goals to be pursued in different contexts, makes them an important factor in defining one's identity (Hitlin, 2003).

Different kinds of consistency that may assist in preserving a sense of coherence can exist in the value system. In the current study, we focus on differential consistency. Differential consistency, also termed rank order consistency, is the consistency of individual differences within a group of individuals. It signifies the retention of an individual's relative placement in a group. Differential consistency is most easily demonstrated using a correlation coefficient (Caspi

& Roberts, 2001). For example, the adolescent who aspires to be very polite to his parents, might aspire for politeness less among his friends. However, he will most likely still aspire to be more polite to his friends, in comparison with other adolescents, who might consider this value as not important at all in the friendship context. This relative consistency will allow this adolescent to feel polite in general and therefore coherent.

Other kinds of consistency can also be measured between values across contexts. Absolute consistency is constancy in the importance of values across contexts. It is typically assessed by comparing group means. Ipsative consistency characterizes an individual in comparison to himself or herself, and not to a sample of others. It describes the consistency in the configuration of variables within an individual across contexts (Caspi & Roberts, 2001). Different kinds of consistency are not dependent upon each other and can co-exist (Donahue & Harary, 1998). As previously detailed, studies established that values show absolute and ipsative contextualization across contexts (Daniel et al., in press a; Daniel & Knafo, 2011; Seligman & Katz, 1996). We will not address absolute or ipsative consistency in the current report. In contrast, we will focus on differential consistency in values. To the best of our knowledge, the differential consistency of values will be measured here for the first time.

Because values can be viewed as a consistent part of an individual's identity and thus showing some differential consistency across life contexts, we expect the importance ratings of values to be positively correlated across contexts. This hypothesis was investigated in two studies of adolescents. In study 1, German and Israeli majority members rated the importance of their values in the contexts of 'being a family member', 'being a student' and 'being a member of the country'. The applicability of the hypothesis to minority group members was investigated in Study 2, as adolescents from four diverse minority groups in these two countries rated their values in similar contexts, as well as the context of their ethnic group. Studying six

cultural groups in two countries, allows for a better understanding of the extent of generality of the phenomenon across cultures. It can also suggest whether there are culture-specific effects.

Study 1

Our goal in Study 1 was to investigate cross-context differential consistency in values. In Israel, we studied adolescents from the Hebrew-speaking non-immigrant majority, who form 79.28% of the Israeli population. Most of them (94.6%) are Jewish (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), 2008). Their parents and grandparents mostly immigrated to Israel following the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 (Israel CBS, 2009). In Germany, we studied German non-immigrant adolescents. This sample comes from a population which has mostly lived in this area for many generations. Despite the growing migration to Germany, non-immigrants are still a significant majority, forming 81.4% of the population (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2007).

Majority members live in a social and cultural environment that is more homogenous than that experienced by minorities. Their families tend to share characteristics such as race, religion, and socioeconomic status with community members and social institutions such as peers and the school (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Adolescents' values were studied in the contexts of the family, the school, and the country of residence. In the case of majority members, these institutions are embedded within a relatively uniform cultural environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1986), with a relatively coherent set of cultural values. We thus hypothesize that the values across all of these contexts will be positively correlated.

Method

Participants. The study reached 2350 adolescents from the two cultural groups (Israel N = 991, Germany N = 1359). It included both early adolescents (5th and 6th graders) and mid-adolescents (10th and 11th graders). Values are, by definition, hierarchically ordered according to importance. Therefore, we screened adolescents who showed no variability in value

importance in at least one context. Following this procedure, 2008 adolescents (85.44%) were retained. The average age of the Israeli adolescents was 14.48, $SD = 2.16$, and 56.3% of them were female. The average age of the German adolescents was 12.76, $SD = 2.44$, (48.8% female).

German majority adolescents were defined as those who themselves as well as both their parents were born in Germany. Majority Israelis were defined as adolescents who were born in Israel, as well as their parents, or who were born in Israel while at least one of their parents lived in Israel since their childhood. In Israel, due to large percentage of immigrants in the population (33.07% according to the Israel CBS, 2008) children of parents who immigrated long ago are not considered as immigrants themselves (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001).

Procedure. In Israel, schools were randomly sampled from the list of schools in two major urban centers (Tel Aviv metropolitan and Jerusalem), and in towns populated by a large percentage of immigrants according to the Israel CBS (2001). Schools were approached by telephone, and 16 schools (35% of those approached), agreed to participate. In Germany, all schools in the state of Bremen and adjacent regions of Lower Saxony were approached by mail and telephone. Again, 35% percent of the German schools agreed to participate.

Consent forms were sent to parents before school sessions. In each school, questionnaires were distributed by trained experimenters to all students in the appropriate age groups whose parents consented to participation. The experimenters explained the instructions of the questionnaires and answered questions. The questionnaires were anonymous, and participation was voluntary. The study was approved by local ethical review boards in the two countries. Further details on this sample as well as the measures used can be found in Daniel et al. (in press a), a paper on value differentiation in relation to age and migration.

Measures. We measured the importance of values in different life contexts using the Values in Context Questionnaire (VICQ). The VICQ, tested for psychometric qualities elsewhere (Daniel

& Knafo, 2011), is an adaptation to life contexts of the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1992). Each participant rated the importance of his or her values in a number of life contexts, which are social roles or groups in which the individual lives: 'as a family member', 'as a student', and 'as an Israeli/German'. Value items were rated using a 6-point scale, ranging from '*not at all important to me*' to '*very important to me*.' Questionnaires were translated by native language speakers using back-translation procedures.

As noted, we selected one value to represent each of the four ends of Schwartz's (1992) two dimensions (self-enhancement, self-transcendence, conservation, openness to change). From each dimension, the values chosen were the ones hypothesized to be most relevant to the contexts assessed. Achievement values are especially relevant to the student context. Benevolence and conformity values are especially relevant to the family context. Conformity and self direction values are especially relevant in the national country of residence context (Daniel & Knafo, 2011; Daniel et al., in press a). Moreover, the values chosen are especially important to the dilemmas experienced during adolescence. Adolescents encounter questions of independence versus adherence to norms and rules (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986), and thus reconsider their self direction and conformity values. They also negotiate their closeness and commitment to significant others (Collins & Steinberg, 2008) and therefore reconsider their benevolence values. Finally, adolescents spend a substantial portion of their life in the school context, measured according to its standards (Halstead, 1996), stressing achievement values.

Each value, in turn, was assessed using three items, chosen on the basis of their cross-cultural stability (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995): Achievement was measured by the items capable, ambitious, and successful; benevolence was measured by the items honest, helpful, and forgiving; conformity values were indexed by the items obedient, polite, and self discipline; self direction was assessed by the items curious, creative, and freedom. The resulting 12 value items

(three items for each of the four values) were repeatedly presented to participants, separately for each life context. For example, the importance of the self-direction item of creativity was assessed in the family, school, and country of residence contexts using the following statements: "as a family member, it is important to me to be *creative*", "as a student, it is important to me to be *creative*" or "as an Israeli/German, it is important to me to be *creative*".

Following cognitive pretesting, we also undertook measures to facilitate understanding of the value items by adolescents. The value interpretations usually present in the Schwartz (1992) Value Survey were dropped, as well many of the value items. Thus, the questionnaire was briefer, decreasing reading burden. Words that were difficult for adolescents to understand were explained by our trained researchers.

To minimize comparison of answers to the same value items across contexts, all 12 items pointing to a single context were presented in the same page, and the different contexts were presented on different pages. The order of the contexts, as well as the values within the contexts, was balanced across participants. The importance scores assigned to the three items measuring each value in one context were averaged to create a scale (mean Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$, $SD = .12$). The results were controlled for scale use by centering around the individual's mean importance rating in the context (Schwartz, 1992).

Results

Cross-context differential consistency in values. In the purpose of determining to what extent values are consistent in their rank order across contexts, we examined the correlations in the scores each of the values received across contexts. These correlations are presented in Table 1. The correlations were all positive and significant, ranging from $r = .21$ to $r = .60$. These correlations confirm the hypothesis that values show rank-order consistency across contexts, while also opening room to some variability in value importance.

An exploratory comparison of the cross-context consistency in value scores in Israel and Germany was next performed. To reduce the number of analyses, we averaged the correlations in each country for each value separately, following transformation into Fisher's Z scores. The average correlations were significantly higher in Germany for three values: self Direction $M_{\text{Israel}} = .52, SD = .04, M_{\text{Germany}} = .60, SD = .02, Z = -2.73, p = .01$; achievement $M_{\text{Israel}} = .43, SD = .06, M_{\text{Germany}} = .64, SD = .04, Z = -6.43, p = .01$; benevolence $M_{\text{Israel}} = .33, SD = .11, M_{\text{Germany}} = .55, SD = .07, Z = -5.86, p = .01$. Consistency correlations in conformity did not differ significantly between the countries $M_{\text{Israel}} = .52, SD = .01, M_{\text{Germany}} = .55, SD = .02, Z = -1.15, p = .25$.

Discussion

The results of Study 1 confirm our hypothesis that values are positively correlated across contexts. These results point out that values are consistent individual characteristics, distinguishing between individuals across contexts. For example, an individual who values politeness at the family context higher than others is also likely to value it at the school or at the country of residence context more than others. At the same time, the correlations found between similar values across contexts were moderate in size. The average correlation was .42 in Israel, and .52 in Germany. We therefore conclude that the two sides of the coin co-exist: values are a consistent individual characteristic in their rank order, yet they are context-dependent, and their importance varies by context.

Whilst previous research has already examined the importance of consistency within a person, that research primarily regarded personality traits. Consistency in the self is viewed in the literature as a basic aspiration, assisting individuals in preserving a sense of stability and security in the world (Lecky, 1961). Stable self-views allow a clear organization of events and interactions, and enable the prediction of future experience (Swann et al., 2003). A lack of

consistency can lead to uneasiness, dissonance and negative feelings, which people try to minimize (Conway, 2005; Elliot & Devine, 1994; Festinger, 1957; Higgins, 1987, 1989).

In contrast with research on consistency in personality traits, consistency in values was rarely investigated previous to this study. However, such consistency may be highly important, for a number of reasons. As described above, values are a central aspect of the identity that mirrors the personal, idiosyncratic aspirations of individuals that are not socially coerced. While inconsistency in personality traits can be rationalized as adaptation to circumstances, inconsistency in values may be less easy to understand, to the extent to which they are viewed as the core of the self. Cultural and institutional agents aim to instill certain values in individuals, more explicitly so than is the case with personality traits. Therefore, the pressures for value adaptation across contexts are more significant than the pressure for adaptation in personality.

Notably, the hypothesized cross-context differential consistency correlations were found in both countries. Nevertheless, German adolescents' values were, on average, more differentially consistent than Israeli adolescents' values. One interpretation could be that social contexts and agents affect the values of Israelis more strongly than those of Germans. This effect can be explained by the differences in cultural values between the societies. The German society is more autonomous than the Israeli society, on measures of cultural values (Schwartz, 2008). Autonomous societies were found to be more focused on objects, and their members are less sensitive to the effect of context than less autonomous societies. Their states of mind and behavior relies more on internal states of mind and less on outside norms (Fischer & Mansell, 2009; Nisbet, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001; Triandis, 1996).

Both cultural groups studied are majority groups in their countries. As suggested above, majority individuals live in relatively coherent environments, in which most socialization agents come from the same cultural setting. In contrast, minority individuals live in less coherent

environments, in which different cultural value sets exist. In Study 2, we examined whether among minority members, values would retain their cross-context differential consistency.

Study 2

Our goal in Study 2 was to investigate cross-context differential consistency in values among minority adolescents. Minority members live in a social and cultural environment that is relatively more heterogeneous than the one experienced by majority members. The socialization agents they encounter are embedded within a multicultural environment, influenced by the culture of origin as well as the majority culture (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Their family, school, country of residence and ethnic culture, can all teach them values that may be incompatible with one another.

Bicultural individuals, specifically immigrants, can adopt two cultures simultaneously. Integrating the two cultures is the most common and effective strategy used by immigrants, when acculturating to a new culture (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Veder, 2006; Jasinskaja-Lathi, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003). However, adoption of the two cultures can lead to other results besides the integration of the two cultures into a coherent set of values and practices. Individuals can adopt the two cultures while keeping them separate and alternating between them, or holding them simultaneously without resolving the discrepancies among them (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). In fact, individuals were found to hold distinct sets of values depending on the aspect of cultural identity being salient. For example, they may hold conservative values with regard to themselves as members of an ethnic minority, but not with regard to themselves as members of the national culture (Daniel et al., 2011; Stelzl & Seligman, 2009). Individuals can perceive their different cultural identities as distant from each other, and even as conflicting (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Ward, 2008). We therefore wanted to examine whether

value importance was positively correlated across contexts among minority individuals or exhibited different patterns of relations.

Four minority groups were studied in the current investigation. These groups are the two most prominent minority groups in Israel and Germany: Immigrants from the FSU to Israel, Arab citizens of Israel, Immigrants from the FSU to Germany and immigrants from Turkey to Germany. We briefly introduce these four groups below.

FSU immigrants to Israel. The immigrants from the FSU to Israel are repatriates, or Diaspora migrants. In Israel, such immigrants, called '*Olim*', are not perceived as mere newcomers, but as immigrants who came back to the land of their ancestors. Israel actively supported repatriation by granting immediate citizenship, social security and material support (Jasinskaja-Lathi et al., 2003; Titzmann, 2005). Immigrants who came to Israel from the FSU since 1990 constitute 11.2% of the Israeli population (Israel CBS, 2006).

Arab citizens of Israel. This group includes Palestinians whose families have typically been living in what is now the State of Israel before its foundation. This minority group forms 20.2% of the Israeli population (Israel CBS, 2006). They live mostly in homogenous Arab villages and towns or in their own neighborhoods in mixed cities (Rabinowitz, 2001). In these communities, the dominant culture (in the public and the private sphere) is Arab. In schools, they study in Arabic, a curriculum matching, but not identical to the one studied in majority Israeli schools (Al-Haj, 1995; Benavot & Resh, 2003). Their socio-economic status and their employment rates are on average lower than that of majority Israelis (Svirski, Conon-Atias & Colbov, 2008).

FSU immigrants to Germany. Members of this group are repatriates as well, referred to in German as '*Aussiedler*'. They migrated from Germany to Russia mostly during the 17th and 18th century. Germany considers these immigrants to be of German origin, and hence supports their repatriation by assisting them materially and socially (Jasinskaja-Lathi et al., 2003; Titzmann,

2005). These immigrants are usually immediately granted German citizenship. FSU immigrants to Germany form 2.5% of the German population (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2007).

Turkish immigrants to Germany. Immigrants from Turkey arrived in Germany as guest workers between the 1960s and the 1980s. Later, migrants entered Germany by way of family reunification or as asylum seekers (Euwals, Dagevos, Gijsberts & Roodenburg, 2007). For many years, both Germans and immigrants believed that they would eventually return to Turkey. As a consequence, the Turkish retained their ethnic identity and their integration into and acceptance by the German society is not a smooth process. The segregation was supported by the policy and behavior of the German authorities and populations (Vedder et al., 2007). For example, they were not able to gain citizenship until the introduction of a simplified naturalization process, in the early 1990s (Diehl & Blohm, 2003). Turkish immigrants (3% of the German population; Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2007), are a low status group of immigrants in German society. In many cases, attitudes toward Muslims in general and Turkish immigrants specifically are unfavorable (Brüß, 2005; Vedder, Sam & Liebkind, 2007).

Method

Participants. The study reached 2380 adolescents (FSU Israel, $N = 435$, Arabs, $N = 425$, FSU Germany, $N = 856$, Turkish, $N = 664$). It included both early adolescents (5th and 6th graders) and mid-adolescents (10th and 11th graders). Following screening of adolescents who indicated no variability in value importance in at least one context, 2016 (84.71%) adolescents were retained. The average age and percentage of females of the Israeli adolescents was $M = 14.86$, $SD = 2.02$, 48% (FSU immigrants), and $M = 14.25$, $SD = 2.48$, 64.3% (Arabs). The average age of the German adolescents was $M = 13.54$, $SD = 2.32$ (50.9% female) (FSU immigrants), 12.93, $SD = 2.36$, (55.8% female) (Turkish immigrants). Immigrants to Germany were either born in the FSU or Turkey, or born to at least one parent who immigrated from the FSU or Turkey. FSU immigrants to Israel

were either born in the FSU, or born to at least one parent who immigrated from the FSU after his or her childhood. Arab participants were identified as such when surveyed in Arab schools.

Procedure. Immigrant adolescents were recruited as a part of the same effort described in Study 1. In addition, in Israel, schools were randomly sampled in Arab villages in the northern district. Schools were approached and questionnaires were distributed using the same method described in Study 1. Immigrant participants answered the questionnaire in the majority language of the country. Among FSU immigrants to Israel, 7% chose to answer the questionnaire in Russian. Preliminary analyses indicated that inclusion of these participants did not affect the results. Arab participants, who study in Arabic and not in Hebrew, answered the questionnaires in Arabic, to ensure understanding of the questionnaire.

Measures. We measured the importance of values in different life contexts using the same Values in Context Questionnaire (VICQ) as in Study 1. The only difference was that in addition to rating the values in the contexts of a family member, a student, and a country of residence member (Israeli or German), minority adolescents also rated their values in the ethnic group context (Immigrant from the FSU or Turkey, or Arab).

Results

Replication of the correlation pattern found in Study 1. The minority group members rated the importance of their values in the contexts of the family, the school and the national group. The correlations among the same value across contexts were computed, yielding a very similar pattern to the one found in Study 1 among majority members (Table 2). Again, all correlations were positive and significant, ranging between $r = .14$ and $.63$. Taking the same approach described earlier, we compared the average correlations between the countries. All correlations were significantly higher in Germany than in Israel, all $p < .001$.

Values at the ethnic contexts. Minority adolescents' reports of the importance of their values in the contexts of the ethnic group (Russian or Turkish immigrant or Arab) were correlated with the importance of the same values in the contexts of the family, the school and the country. The pattern of correlations found between the values in these contexts differs between the Israeli minority groups and the German minority groups.

In Israel, among both Arabs and FSU immigrants positive correlations ($r = .19$ to $r = .48$) were found in all four values between the ethnic context and the other contexts. In Germany, the picture was very different. Among both FSU and Turkish immigrants, the relations between values at the ethnic group context and the same values in other contexts varied by value type. Their values of benevolence at the ethnic group context hardly correlated with values at the contexts of the family, the school, and the country of residence. The values of achievement correlated positively among Turkish immigrants, and did not correlate at all among FSU immigrants. Finally, the values of conformity and self direction at the ethnic context were both moderately and *negatively* correlated with their parallels in all other contexts. These correlations ranged between $r = -.23$ and $r = -.41$ across both groups.

The dynamic relations between values in contexts. Due to the unexpected correlations between values in the ethnic group context and values in other contexts, we performed another set of analyses. The relations among values across contexts were further examined by Multi Dimensional Scaling (MDS; Borg & Groenen, 2005). This analysis examined relations among values in contexts according to their placement in a bi-dimensional space. Values that were highly correlated were located closer to each other, while loosely or negatively correlated values were located further away from each other. The analysis was performed separately for each ethnic group, using standardized values. Such analysis can shed light not only on the relations of the same value across contexts, but also on the relations of each value with all other values in all

contexts. We aimed to explore whether the values would retain the structure described by Schwartz (1992), reflecting the pattern of conflicts and compatibilities among them.

In General, the MDS maps showed a very good replication of the expected value structure. Among Israeli minority groups, the organization was fully found for all values in all contexts (Figure 1, Panels a, b). Among German migrants from the FSU and Turkey, this organization was found for the values in the contexts of the family, the school and the country of residence. At the same time, a substantial deviation was found: self direction and conformity at the ethnic context were positioned in the opposing areas (Figure 1, Panels c, d). Thus, values of conformity in the ethnic context were found adjacent to the values of self direction in the contexts of the family, the school and the country of residence. Values of self direction in the ethnic context were found adjacent to the values of *conformity* in the family, the school, and the country of residence. This deviation is considered major and unusual, as the values of self direction and conformity stand in conflict (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

Discussion

Study 2 results regarding the correlations of values across the contexts of the family, the school and the country of residence replicate those of Study 1. Minority group members, like majority members, retain their relative position in the group across contexts. These results are evident both in the moderate and consistent correlations of values across contexts, and in the spatial structure found using the MDS.

When considering the ethnic context, the picture is more complicated, differing substantially between the two countries. In Israel, the pattern of moderate value correlations across contexts remains when adding the additional context. Both FSU immigrants and Arab adolescents who report higher levels of a value in the ethnic context are also likely to report higher levels of this value in the other contexts. Moreover, they are likely to report lower levels of the conflicting

values in any other context. Therefore, we can conclude that minority members in Israel see their values in the ethnic context as standing in line with their values in other contexts. This can indicate that their identities are relatively differentially consistent, with their ethnic and national identities forming a unified structure, alongside their personal identities.

In Germany, on the other hand, there was little evidence for rank order consistency between the values in the ethnic context and other contexts. Values of benevolence, as well as values of achievement among the FSU immigrant adolescents, were not correlated at all between the ethnic context and the rest of the contexts. It seems that the aspirations to promote oneself or to promote close others in the ethnic context are disconnected among these adolescents from their aspirations for self and other-promotion in general.

A striking result is that in the two German minority groups, the opposing values of self direction versus conformity in the ethnic context correlated *negatively* with the same values in the other contexts. This pattern is also evident in a deviation of MDS structure from the hypothesized value structure, as self direction values in the ethnic context related to conformity values in the family, school and country of residence contexts, while conformity in the ethnic context related to self direction values in the family, school and country of residence contexts. It therefore seems that the aspiration to conform to the ethnic culture is perceived by these adolescents as an act of independence. In contrast, the aspiration to be independent in the context of the ethnic culture is considered as an act of conformity to the rest of the contexts.

It is illuminating that conformity and self direction are the values standing in contrast between cultural contexts. These values are derived from the question of the relative place of an individual in the society - whether an individual should subdue his values to the requirements of society, or follow his personal aspiration (Schwartz, 1992). In a conflict between two societies, the questions of conformity versus independence are expected to be very controversial.

Moreover, values of conservation versus openness to change are important values that differentiate between cultures. Germany, as a western-European society, is characterized by very high levels of the cultural values of egalitarianism and intellectual autonomy. Turkey and FSU countries are characterized by lower levels of these cultural values (Schwartz, 2008). To the extent that these cultures are perceived as conflicting and incompatible, conservation versus openness to change values will be the ones most likely to appear as the source of difference.

In sum, the results show a substantial differential inconsistency in the values of minority adolescents in Germany. Their ethnic values are disconnected, and even stand in conflict, with their perception of themselves in the national and personal context. This pattern of results is not evident in Israel.

The questionnaire's language might have affected the results found. In Israel, Arab participants answered the questionnaire in their native language. These adolescents live in homogenous Arab villages and towns and study in Arabic. In Germany, Turkish participants answered the questionnaire in German. These adolescents live in heterogeneous cities, and study in heterogeneous schools. Language can be a prime that makes the cultural frame salient (Ross, Xun, & Wilson, 2002). It can be suggested that answering the questionnaire in the majority's language enhanced the conflict among Turkish adolescents, thus giving rise to the incompatibilities in values between contexts. However, FSU immigrants to Germany and Israel answered in similar conditions, mostly in the majority's language. Among these groups as well, differences were found in the pattern of correlations between Israel and Germany. Thus, it is unlikely that questionnaire language can explain the effect found.

General Discussion

In both studies, and across six different cultural groups, values in the contexts of the family, the school and the country of residence were positively and moderately related. The results

illustrate the interplay of differential consistency and contextual adaptation in the value system.

On the one hand, individuals recognize the demands of the context and the motivations appropriate to it, and adapt their values to the context, as evidenced in cross-context mean differences (Daniel & Knafo, 2011) and in the moderate size of the correlations reported here.

On the other hand, the data support previous findings that values are an individual characteristic, consistent in relative position in a group across life contexts. Individuals maintain the values important to them personally, and do not relinquish them altogether. Thus, each individual balances between value contextualization and value consistency.

Inconsistency of Values

Values were moderately correlated across contexts, illustrating the existence of differential inconsistencies across life contexts in value importance. In order to demonstrate the magnitude of this inconsistency, we are able to draw on pilot data (Daniel, unpublished data) to compare the correlation between values in different contexts (documented in the present article) to correlations of values in the same contexts over time. In the pilot study 48 adolescents answered the Values in Context Questionnaire twice, with a time lag of 24 days. The reliability score across values and contexts was $r = .49$ $p < .00$. A previous study found the two-week reliability of values, to range between $r = .66$ and $r = .88$ (Schwartz et al., 2001). The level of stability in responses after more than three weeks is at least as high as the level of differential consistency across contexts. This is important especially because the values across contexts were reported sequentially, with no time lag. The adolescents could therefore remember their previous responses, but chose to respond differently to the values in different contexts. We can therefore conclude that the positive correlations between values across contexts are generally lower than the level of stability due to repetition of the test. Context provides meaningful information that affects adolescents' values.

Differential Consistency of Values

Differential cross-context value consistency can stem from characteristics of the contexts, as well as those of the individuals. Different social contexts can stress similar values. This can result from the similar cultural values they are embedded in. Another reason for similarity in values between contexts can be similarity in the social roles taken in these contexts. For example, the family and the friendship context are both social contexts, in which interpersonal relations are important to establish and maintain. They can therefore stress somewhat similar values.

Cross-context value differential consistency can also reflect the characteristics of the individual. As described earlier, individuals strive for self-consistency. This self-consistency is beneficial for their well-being, and it is therefore something they strive for. Self consistency can be maintained through processes such as self-verification (Swann et al., 2003). Another process can be integration of the varying self attributes, to create a unified, blended identity (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney, & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Differential consistency in values across contexts can therefore be a product of active processes that promote integration of diverse values into a relatively coherent value system.

It is important to note that the differential consistency in values across the contexts of the family, the student role and the country of residence was found among both majority and minority adolescents. Majority adolescents live in environments that are more coherent in terms of values, whereas for minority adolescents at least the family context comprises a culturally distinct environment. However, the average correlation between their values across contexts was not substantially higher than the average correlation between the values of minority adolescents, in these three contexts. This similarity between the groups can support the hypothesis that individual characteristics, more than contextual characteristics, lead to differential consistency across values.

Culture and Contextualized Values

The cross-context differential consistency of values was higher for majority and minority adolescents in Germany than in Israel. A possible explanation focuses on differences in cultural values between the societies. In the more autonomous German society, sensitivity to the social context is less common than in the less autonomous Israeli society (Nisbet, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001; Triandis, 1996). Nevertheless, as we did not a-priori expect these differences between countries, they should be extended and replicated in future studies.

Another substantial difference between the countries lies in the relationship of values in the ethnic context and values in the other contexts. While in Israel, values in the ethnic context stood in line with values in other contexts, in Germany the relations were more intricate. One value was positively related, another was not related, and two values were negatively related with values in other contexts. These differences between the countries suggest that individuals face distinct options of constructing a value system from diverging values. They can integrate the values into a coherent system, or hold them as diverging or conflicting. It is demonstrated here that the solution chosen is related to the social environment individuals live in. Receiving societies hold certain ideologies regarding the integration of minority groups. These ideologies shape the lives of minority members, and consequently the strategies they take toward acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997). It is possible that different ideologies toward acculturation, supporting assimilation in Israel and separation in Germany (Jasinskaja-Lathi et al., 2003), shape the level of differential consistency in value importance among minority members.

Another possibility, raised by a reviewer, is that this pattern of findings reflects larger cultural differences between the German culture and the Russian or Turkish culture, as compared to the Israeli culture vis-à-vis the Russian and Arab culture. These larger differences, indicated in the cultural values of these societies (Schwartz, 1999), may make it harder for minority adolescents

to integrate their values in the ethnic and national context in Germany as compared to Israel. It would be interesting to investigate this issue with multiple immigrant groups coming with different degrees of cultural similarity to the same migration context.

The low or negative correlations between values in the ethnic context and the remaining contexts in Germany show that the positive correlations between the remaining contexts should not be taken for granted. The data suggest that conflicting and confusing situations can lead to inconsistency in identity as expressed in values. Future research should replicate these results, as well as look for additional conditions that lead to inconsistency between values.

In Israel, a similar pattern of results emerged for the two minority groups. This similarity was found despite the fact that the two minority samples are very different: a group of Diaspora migrants, and a native minority ethnically associated with the neighboring Arab world, which is in conflict with the majority group. The similar results raise questions regarding the conditions that enhance coherence in the identity of both groups.

Strengths and Limitations

The current study investigated the importance of values in three (Study 1), and four (Study 2) life contexts. This variation allows for a rich set of results about the differential consistency of values across contexts. The contexts studied are those especially important in adolescents' lives (Harter, 1999). However, future studies should look into other possible additional contexts, and establish general rules regarding contexts that enhance differential consistency in values, and others that enhance conflict in values across contexts.

A strength of the study is its extensiveness: It samples a large number of adolescents from six majority and minority groups in two countries. This variation allowed revealing the complex pattern of findings. The replication of results across groups supports the validity of the interplay

of value consistency and inconsistency in multiple contexts. At the same time, the differences found between the groups open an interesting window into possible cross-cultural differences.

Although the sample was large, it concentrated solely on adolescents. Adolescence is a crucial time for value development. Adolescents reconsider their dependency on their parents, and explore different values expressed by other socialization agents (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Adolescents strive to form an identity synthesis, thus committing to an integrative set of values that fits personal ideals (Erikson, 1950; S. J. Schwartz, 2001). Therefore, the study of context influence on values, and the integration of the value system, is especially important and relevant during adolescence. However, multiple value influences exist throughout the lifespan. Future studies could explore the generalizability of the results to adulthood.

One limitation of the studies concerned the small number of values we measured. This was done in order to prevent participants' fatigue; found in a pilot study to hinder the reliability of answers. Future studies should examine whether a similar level of differential consistency can be found using other values. They could also teach us whether values of openness to change versus conservation in the ethnic context are consistently negatively related to these values in other contexts.

Conclusions

Individuals retain some level of relative placement in value importance across life contexts. Values are a consistent individual characteristic that is a part of an individuals' identity. At the same time, values are flexible and contingent on context demands. An exception was found among immigrant adolescents to Germany, whose values of conformity versus self direction in the ethnic context stood in contrast to these values in other contexts. We therefore conclude that differential consistency in values is less likely to emerge when individuals conceive of social values as standing in conflict.

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Table 1.

The Correlations between Values in Contexts in the Majority Groups in Israel and Germany.

Country	Value	Family-School	Family-Country	School-Country
Majority	Self-direction	0.44**	0.47**	0.52**
Israelis	Achievement	0.35**	0.47**	0.39**
	Conformity	0.48**	0.48**	0.47**
	Benevolence	0.21**	0.30**	0.44**
Majority	Self-direction	0.52**	0.55**	0.56**
Germans	Achievement	0.55**	0.54**	0.60**
	Conformity	0.49**	0.50**	0.53**
	Benevolence	0.43**	0.50**	0.55**

Note. ** $p < .01$

Table 2.

The Correlations between Values in Contexts in the Different Ethnic Groups.

Ethnic Group	Value	Family-School	Family-Country	School-Country	Family-Ethnicity	School-Ethnicity	Country-Ethnicity
FSU immigrants to Israel	Self-direction	0.30**	0.34**	0.48**	0.33**	0.46**	0.43**
	Achievement	0.37**	0.36**	0.44**	0.31**	0.40**	0.40**
	Conformity	0.34**	0.39**	0.44**	0.44**	0.38**	0.48**
	Benevolence	0.15*	0.14**	0.48**	0.19**	0.48**	0.48**
Arab adolescents, Israel	Self-direction	0.47**	0.38**	0.39**	0.36**	0.48**	0.38**
	Achievement	0.46**	0.25**	0.33**	0.41**	0.26**	0.25**
	Conformity	0.28**	0.27**	0.24**	0.24**	0.35**	0.39**
	Benevolence	0.37**	0.25**	0.24**	0.32**	0.30**	0.33**
FSU immigrants to Germany	Self-direction	0.58**	0.53**	0.63**	-0.25**	-0.34**	-0.41**
	Achievement	0.47**	0.50**	0.53**	0.06	0.08*	0.12**
	Conformity	0.49**	0.45**	0.53**	-0.30**	-0.23**	-0.31**
	Benevolence	0.51**	0.52**	0.59**	0.11**	0.06	0.07*
Turkish immigrants to Germany	Self-direction	0.53**	0.48**	0.53**	-0.32**	-0.32**	-0.37**
	Achievement	0.46**	0.45**	0.42**	0.35**	0.47**	0.30**
	Conformity	0.46**	0.35**	0.38**	-0.34**	-0.32**	-0.32**
	Benevolence	0.44**	0.43**	0.37**	0.00	0.02	-0.06

Note. *p < .05, **p < .01

Figure 1.

Multidimensional Scaling Maps of the Dynamic Relations between Values in Contexts, Study 2.

