Social Representations of "Successful Adaptation to Israel" Among Adolescent Immigrants and Their Host Peers

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In this study we investigate the contents and organisational principles through which immigrant adolescents from Ethiopia and Russian and their host peers construct their identity strategies leading to "successful adaptation" of immigrants in Israel. The research question was tested within a representative sample of 854 (495 girls) high school students from the host society, 531 (326 girls) students who were born in Russia and 241 (148 girls) students from the Ethiopian community. The questionnaire consisted of identity strategies from social identity theory and from Berry's model of acculturation tendencies. The results from non-Linear Small-Space Analysis revealed four representations shared by immigrants and non immigrants regarding successful immigrant adaptation: extended, rivalry, secluded and assimilative. Extended adaptation was represented by all as dominant, whereas assimilative adaptation was stronger among non-immigrants; the longer the time since immigration, that of the immigrants' representations of "successful adaptation" became more similar to that of non immigrants. The discussion focuses on the contribution of the theory of social representations and the findings of our study to a better understanding of immigration in the Israeli context.

Immigration of Jews to Israel is a core social representation and a main pillar in the ideology, the law and practices of the State of Israel (e.g., Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999). In the earlier days of the country, the hegemonic social representation of "successful adaptation" of immigrants includes images of the Jewish immigration to Israel as repatriate and that of immigrants as eligible to full citizenship and institutional support, involved also the expectation for their full integration into the Israeli society by accepting its culture, and giving up their old one (Ben-Rafael, 1982; Almog, 1997). The immigrants, especially during the early decades after the establishment of the state, seemed to conform to the hegemonic representation of "successful adaptation to Israel" and did their best, with considerable success, to look and behave as native-born Israelis (Kimmerling, 1998). However, from the 1980s and onwards, the hegemonic social representation of the "melting pot" as the only way leading to "successful adaptation" was increasingly changed (Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999). The arrival of more than a million immigrants from Russia and Ethiopia during the 1990s increased this tendency, and pluralistic representations relating to "successful adaptation", emerged. Most of the research, which focused on the Israeli policy toward the Ethiopian immigrants' absorption, described the authorities' reservations of their cultural nomadic roots. Their adaptation process was considered as complicated because they had difficulties in giving-up their traditional life style to become "modern" (Halper, 1985; Kaplan & Rosen, 1993; Kurman, & Ronen-Eilon, 2010). In regard to those from the Russia, the overwhelming numbers of immigrants rendered the Israeli authorities helpless, and they replaced their traditional control over the procedures of absorption with a more open liberal policy (Horowitz & Leshem, 1998). It seems that the Israeli society is not as strong and homogeneous, so minority groups have became empowered and pluralistic representations regarding "successful adaptation" of immigrant were developed hand in hand with that of assimilation (Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999). However, some researchers argue that these pluralistic social representations regarding immigration are ideological rather than practical and, paradoxically, serve as a cover to the main social representation of assimilation into Israeli society (e.g., Al-Haj, 2000).

In light of these historical changes, the present study investigates whether and to what extent, high-school students who immigrated to Israel from Ethiopia and Russia during the 1990's, and their host peers, share a representational system regarding immigrants' "successful

adaptation". To what extent would they perceive "successful adaptation" as keeping the Israeli historical hegemonic representation, according to which, immigrants should assimilate as soon as possible into Israeli society? Or rather, do they construct "successful adaptation" by the more recent worldwide representations of multiculturalism, according to which distinct identities within a shared societal frame of reference, are legitimate and encouraged?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Immigrants' adaptation was investigated through several different perspectives. A major part of the research conceived of immigration as a stress situation, deriving from a wide variety of changes in one's life style, uncertainty and loss of control. As such, successful adaptation was measured by a low level of anxiety depressive symptoms, psychosomatic symptoms and other symptoms of mal-adaptation (for review see Sanne, Swinnen & Selten, 2007). A distinct approach argues that adaptation should not be defined by a lack of symptoms, but rather by an individual's well-being which means health, energy, salutogenic attitudes and characteristics, such as hardiness and sense of coherence (for review, see: Mirski, 1996; Tahira, 2011).

In comparison, our distinct theoretical standpoint defines adaptation in social and cultural collective terms and we investigate how immigrants from Russia and Ethiopia and their Jewish-Israeli native hosts, construct their social representations of "successful adaptation" of immigrants to Israel. More specifically, we focused on social representations regarding identity strategies that maximize the immigrant's and his/her group's social success. Based on the social representations theory (SRT), we propose that immigrant adaptation is likely to reflect the social context. The theory of social representations is basically a theory about a meta-system of social regulations intervening in the system of the individual's cognitive functioning. Through its shared social representations, the meta-system provides a construction of the social reality in accordance with the collective's aims and its social relationships to other sectors of the society (Breakwell & Canter, 1993; Doise, 1990; Moscovici, 1988; Paryente & Orr, 2010). Moscovici's (1988) differentiated between hegemonic representations, which are central and widely shared by a given society, and emancipated representations, which are less central, less strongly held and relatively varied across society members. According to SRT, logical contradiction may

simultaneously coexist between different representations, interests, aspirations and hopes. Social incongruities are ignored and social consensuses replace rules of logic (Orr, 2007). As mentioned before, in the Israeli social context the hegemonic "melting pot" representations were gradually changed by new multicultural social representations. We assumed that the relations between these two contradictory social representations are very important in understanding immigrants' adaptation. Therefore, the current research investigates the contents and organisational principles through which immigrant adolescents from Ethiopia and Russia and their host peers construct the social representations of "successful adaptation" of immigrants in Israel. The theory of social representations, however, does not offer taxonomy for the specific situation of immigration; therefore we relied on theoretical concepts derived from social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, Tajfel, 1981) and the model of acculturation tendencies (BAT) (Berry, 1990). According to the SIT, that part of self-concept that comes from an individual's knowledge and evaluation of his/her group membership is defined as social identity. Positive social identity derives largely from favourable comparisons on salient dimensions that can be made between the in-group and relevant out-groups. These comparisons could be based on favouritism and biased intergroup evaluations, in which group members are prone to think that their own group (and its products) are superior to other groups (and theirs), and are quite ready to discriminate against them as well (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971; see Brown, 2000 for review). Social identity, however, consists not only of in-group standards, it is also affected by those of the surrounding society and the esteem a subgroup receives from other groups in the society and it also involves aspects of social status and social power. Unfavorable comparisons, then, are expected for members of underprivileged societies, such as minority groups, and can result in a negative identity, which minority group members try to ameliorate with various identity management strategies (van Knippenberg, 1989). Therefore, according to the SIT, the criterion for successful adaptation could be the ability to reduce the identity threat by enhancing the status of one's group, thus achieving higher self- esteem.

The second source for our definition of immigrant adaptation was Berry's model of acculturation tendencies (BAT). This model focuses on the acculturation process which is defined as "the process by which individuals change both by being influenced by contact with another culture and by being participants in the general acculturative changes under way in their own

culture" (Berry, 1990, p. 235) The conceptual building blocks of Berry's model of acculturation tendencies are the contents of collective values: (1) Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's cultural identity and characteristics? (2) Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups? These result in a social space defined by four possible types of acculturation tendencies: integration ("yes" to both questions), separation ("yes" to the former, "no" to the latter), assimilation ("no" to the former, "yes" to the latter) and marginalisation (objection to both). World-wide research regarding immigrants suggests that integration is often the preferred mode of acculturation, and it has been related to psychological adaptation and low levels of stress (e.g., Bochner, 1982; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Zheng & Berry, 1991; Liebkind, 1996), whereas marginalisation is the least preferred and is related to poor adaptation (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992; Rudmin, 2003). The cross-cultural similarity in the findings has been attributed to both individual and social factors. For instance, the prevalence of the integration tendency over the others has been ascribed to the recent popularity of ideologies of cultural pluralism (Berry, 1990), as well as to individual motives for both social inclusion and distinctiveness (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Whereas the early endeavors of the BAT-related research focused mainly on immigrant's tendencies, later research indicated that members from the host majority also display a preference for one of the acculturation strategies (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997, Elias & Lemish, 2011; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkinda, Horenczyk & Schmitzc, 2003). Bourhis, for instance (Bourhis et al, 1997), argues that the roles of the host majority's preferences and the state policy in shaping the acculturation preferences of minority-groups should be considered as well. They propose the interactive acculturation model as an alternative in which these interrelated effects are included. For example, assimilationist societies expect immigrants to abandon their own cultural and linguistic distinctiveness for the sake of adopting the culture and values of the dominant group, while ethnist societies often define in exclusive terms who can become a state citizen. The profiles of adaptation in terms of acculturation tendencies according to the host majority and that of immigrants can correspond or differ from each other in varying degrees.

According to Horenczyk (1996), however, the rhetoric of integration may not have the same meaning for the majority and the minority groups. While both parties may agree on the

integration formula, less agreement should be expected if integration were to be specified in detail; given that integration involves both maintenance and relinquishment of the culture of origin, hosts and migrants may disagree on the preferred degree to which the newcomer's previous identity is maintained (Horenczyk, 1996). Shamai and Ilatov (1998) also dealt with the acculturation preferences of hosts and immigrants in Canada and in Israel. In Canada they found symmetry in the preferences of immigrants and hosts; Members from each group chose integration as the most adaptive strategy and the hosts, similar to the immigrants, considered the inter-group encounter as an enriching experience for their own group. In Israel, in contrast, the hosts expected the immigrants to give up their own original culture in favor of that of the hosts and perceived the immigrant culture as inferior to the local one.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

At the present manuscript we investigate the contents and organisational principles through which immigrant adolescents from Ethiopia and Russian and their host peers construct the identity strategies lead to "successful adaptation" of immigrants in Israel. We suggested the following hypotheses. The first refers to the construction of the categories, while the second refers to the evaluation of those categories:

1.We expected to find shared principles of organisation underlying the responses regarding "successful adaptation" among the three research groups (immigrant adolescents from Ethiopian and from Russia and their host peers), since they were confronted with the same social representations of "successful adaptation", which are very dominant in the Israeli society. They are also learning in shared schools which enable them to communicate and construct shared social representations.

2. Based on former studies (Al-Haj, 2000; Horenczyk, 1996; Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999; Shamai & Ilatov, 1998), we expected to find group differences between immigrants and host adolescents in the evaluation of "successful adaptation" strategies: the hosts would tend to maintain the historical assimilative representations more than immigrants, whereas, the opposite would be true in regard to maintaining their original culture both immigrants and hosts would appraise.

Finally, the contribution of additional factors, such as time since immigration, to the evaluation of the four categories of successful adaptation, was assessed.

METHOD

The sample consisted of 1,626 high school students aged 14-16 years, studying in the ninth and tenth grades. Of these, 854 (495 girls) were students from the host society who were born in Israel, most of them second generation in Israel; 241 (148 girls) were high school students who immigrated to Israel with their parents from Ethiopia or were born in Israel a short time after their parents' arrival; 531 (326 girls) were born in the former Soviet Union (78% from European countries and 22% from Central Asia). There were significant differences between the Ethiopian and Russian samples in the number of years since immigration: most of the Ethiopians (75.4%) had been living in Israel for more than 10 years, compared to only 37% of the adolescents from the Russian. These differences reflect the actual history of Ethiopian and Russian immigration to Israel; the last major wave of immigrants from Ethiopia arrived during 1991-1992, whereas a weak stream of immigrants from the Russian was still arriving at the time of the study. Following others (e.g., Bandes-Jackob & Friedman, 1999), we included the Ethiopian Israeli-born adolescents in our sample of immigrants. This is because they were born into a highly visible black society. Not only do the newcomers identify themselves as belonging to the Ethiopian minority group, but most members of the second generation identify themselves as such as well.

The age group of high school students was selected for several reasons. First, the themes of social comparison, social identity and social integration receive a greater share of their attention then compared to any other age group (Erikson, 1968). Second, ninth and tenth graders are more representative of the adolescent population as a whole, as there is an increased rate of dropouts in the last two years of high school. Finally, the school framework is a common communication arena for immigrants and their host peers, and as such constitutes an opportunity for shared social representations.

The samples were drawn from high schools in twelve regional settings in Israel. They were selected to represent the students' socioeconomic status and the schools' geographic location. The selected schools consisted of immigrant populations which exceeded 20 percent. The

principals of 28 high schools were approached for the purpose of the study; of these, 16 gave their consent. No systematic differences were found between participating and non-participating schools. Seven of the participating schools were religiously affiliated (four comprehensive high schools and three boarding schools) and nine were non-religious (five comprehensive high schools and four boarding schools). Thirty four percent of the members of the host group, eighty seven percent of the Ethiopians and twelve per cent of the Russians in the sample, attended the religious schools; this distribution is representative of the Israeli educational system in general.

Questionnaires were administered to all ninth and tenth graders present in those schools on the day that data were collected. Absence (less than five percent) was incidental, as the students were unaware of the date in advance. Less than ten percent (9.1%) of the questionnaires were excluded from the data analysis; 4.4% had a substantial amount of missing data and 4.7% of the questionnaires were submitted by immigrants from other countries.

INSTRUMENTS

The details regarding the construction and the validation of the Identity Strategies Questionnaire was originally reported in Orr, Mana & Mana, (2003). The questionnaire includes eleven acculturation and identity strategies derived from the acculturation model (Berry, 1990) and social identity theory (as used by Blanz et al, 1998) and adapted to the specific social context of immigration to Israel. Each questionnaire includes forty items relate to both a specific strategy and a life sphere (language, action and social relationships) of the Ethiopian and Russian high school students (see appendix for examples). All participants were required to evaluate (on a four level Likert-style scale, 1 = maladaptation to 4 = excellent adaptation) to what extent the description in each item indicated successful immigrant adaptation. The instructions were as follows: "Below, please find sentences which describe an immigrant's behaviors and feelings. Please submit your appraisal, from mal-- to excellent—adaptation, regarding the extent of successful adaptation each description indicates". The questionnaires were also translated into Russian using a double-blind technique. Seven percent of the Russian-speaking students chose this alternative. Most of those who emigrated from Ethiopia were in command of Hebrew and illiterate in the Amharic or the Tigrinya languages, therefore, translations were not necessary.

Demographic data was collected regarding gender, type of high school, the immigrant's and the immigrant's parents' place of birth and date of immigration to Israel.

PROCEDURE

 Following arrangements pre-coordinated with the schools' principals, the researcher and a post-graduate psychology student administered the questionnaires during a one-hour class session. The high school students were asked to participate, but were given the option to refuse, and anonymity was assured. The aim of the research, as presented to the students, was to investigate what Israeli youth think about the adaptation of new immigrants to life in the country. Each version of the questionnaire was distributed to the students according to her or his group definition. Immigrants and hosts were given gender appropriate questionnaires. The host students were randomly given either a version referring to the immigrant from Ethiopia, or a version referring to a Russian immigrant. At the end of the data analyses, a summary of research results was sent to each school principal.

RESULTS

Construction of "Successful Adaptation"

Our first aim was to uncover the shared principles of organisation underlying the responses regarding "successful adaptation" received from the research participants. As we looked for socially shared co-construction of identities, we used the method of Guttman's Similarity Structure Analysis (SSA). By doing so, we based on Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldis' (1993) who claimed that content, and its qualitative and quantitative organisation within and among groups, can be uncover through statistical methods that maximize commonalities, such as the SSA method.

The results confirmed the first hypothesis and showed a similar construction of the questionnaire items on the SSA maps of each of the research groups, the Ethiopian, the Russian immigrant adolescents and their host peers (see Figure 1). The COA ranged from 0.09 to 0.16, indicating perfect correspondence (Guttman, 1968, 1982). The findings were replicated for the

distinctive versions of the questionnaire and for gender. A three-dimensional analysis did not generate an improved COA or any meaningful additional facet structure. There were four regions of semantic commonality: extended adaptation, rivalry adaptation, secluded adaptation and assimilative adaptation were identified on the SSA map, which replicated the construction found in former research regarding the actual identity strategies (Orr, Mana & Mana, 2003). In the following we present a sample of items from each of the four regions:

Extended adaptation: the common theme of this region was representing immigration to Israel as an enrichment of the immigrant's self and social identity without diminishing the former original identity. We chose the term extended adaptation rather than integration, which is used by Berry, since the region included items based on both the identity strategy of integration, suggested by BAT and the SAT derived strategies of individualisation, superordinate re-categorisation and past-present comparison (see Blanz et al., 1998). For instance, integration was assessed by the item, "An immigrant's relationships with friends from his/her former country are very important to him/her, but one's relationships with the *Zabarim*[1] are very important as well ", and super ordinate re-categorisation was assessed, for example, with: "He/She believes that the society in Israel needs to be united. Therefore, it does not matter whether one is an immigrant or a *Zabar*". Cronbach alpha of the items in this region was r=0.82**.**

Rivalry adaptation assessed an immigrant's wish to fight for the preservation of one's original culture, for enhanced social power, for more public resources for one's cultural institutions, and it assessed relative low esteem for the behavior of the host society. This region consisted of items that were originally categorised by social identity theory (Blanz et al., 1998) as strategies of social competition, re-evaluation of comparison dimensions and comparison with alternative out-groups. The items in this region included, for instance, "He/She believes that immigrants should fight for acceptance of their unique lifestyle and customs" (social competition) and "The immigrant thinks that the care-free and bold behavior of the *Zabarim* encourages violence and delinquency" (re-evaluation of comparison dimensions). This region did not include any of the original BAT items. Cronbach alpha of the items in this region was r=0.67**.**

Secluded adaptation: the common themes of this region were the conservation of one's original life-style and culture, and the erecting of a line separating between the immigrants and

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[1] "Zabarim" is the local name of the host society members.

the Israeli society. The region included items from segregation and separation as originally categorised by Berry et al. (1987) and SIT derived strategies (Blanz et al., 1998) of comparison with alternative out-groups and super-ordinate re-categorisation. For instance, "The immigrant prefers to speak his/her own original language, because it makes his/her former origin more prominent." (separation), and "All his/her friends are immigrants, that is, because the *Zabarim* are not willing to be his/her friends" (segregation). Cronbach alpha of the items in this region was r=0.83**.**
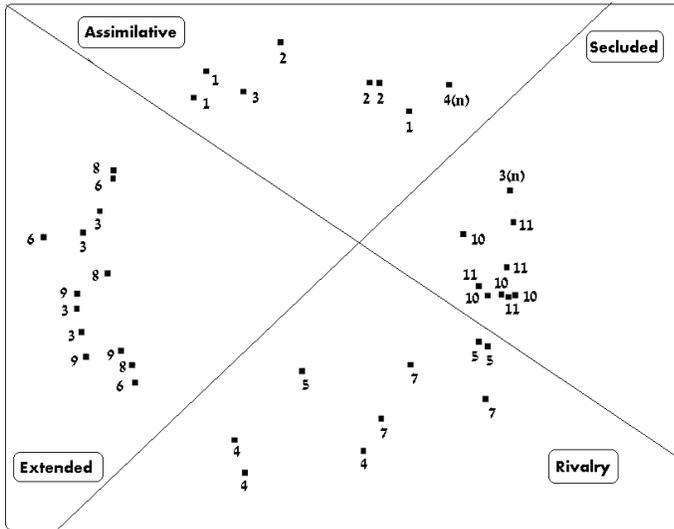
Assimilative adaptation: Items in the region of assimilative adaptation expressed the immigrants' desire to surrender their original identity and to adopt the symbols of the local culture in order to become integrated into Israeli society; e.g., "The immigrant is not willing to speak the language of his/her former country, because it makes his/her origin more conspicuous". This facet included items of assimilation and individual mobility as originally categorised both by SIT and BAT. Cronbach alpha of the items in this region was r=0.80**.**
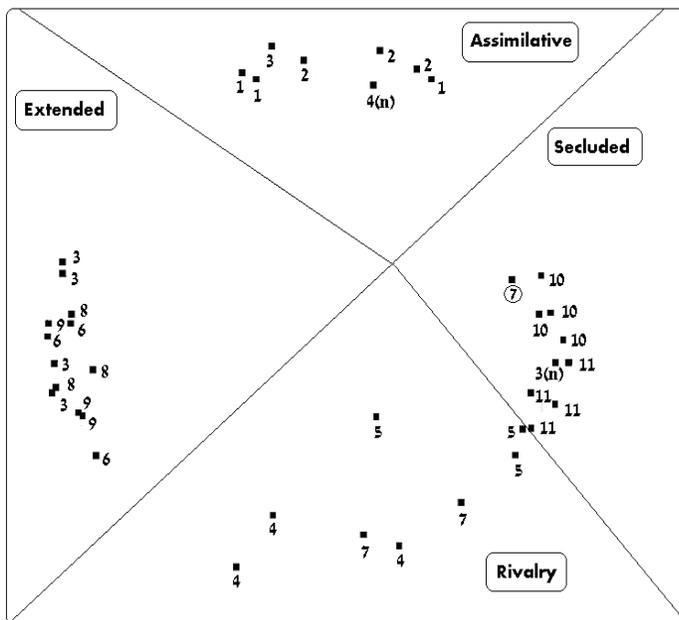
STATISTICAL VALIDATION

In order to validate the organisation revealed by the SSA analysis, a Confirmatory Factor analysis (CFA) was conducted on the data of each group. The correspondence between the suggested model and the empirical data was determined by a CFI index and by the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). The four-factor model achieved acceptable correspondence with the data in each group. The RMSEAs indicated a fair correspondence of 0.04 for each group (less than 0.05, according to Sternberg et al., 2001). CFI, TLI and NFI were all higher than 0.95, therefore indicating good correspondence as well (Bentler & Bonnet, 1980). Pearson correlations between the means of each region were also conducted. Strong positive correlation (r=0.57, $p<0.05$) was found between secluded and rivalry adaptation, and negative correlations were found between extended adaptation and secluded (r=-0.50, $p<0.05$); extended adaptation and rivalry adaptation (r=-0.16, $p<0.05$), rivalry and assimilative adaptation (r=-0.30, $p<0.05$). These patterns of correlation validate the organisation of the dimensions on the SSA map as follows:

Figure 1: Two-dimensional SSA plot of adolescent immigrants from Ethiopia, the former USSR and Israeli born host. (Item numbers follow the numeration in the Appendix)

1.Ethiopia

2. The former USSR

3. Israeli born host

To conclude, the first research hypothesis was confirmed. A shared organisation principles underlying the responses regarding "successful adaptation" was found among the three research groups.

The prediction from the second hypothesis was that hosts would tend to maintain the historical assimilative representations more than immigrants, whereas, the opposite is true in regard to maintaining their original culture both immigrants and hosts would appraise. This hypothesis was tested by two dimensional, 4 x 3 (adaptations, groups), OVA, and gender as a covariant. On the basis of the finding of a significant interaction effect (F(6,4875) = 102.68; p < .001), post hoc comparisons (Duncan) confirmed the hypothesis. Extended adaptation means were significantly higher than assimilative adaptation ones, among the three research groups (X=3.29, 3.29, 3.39 for hosts, Russian and Ethiopian adolescents whereas those of assimilative adaptation were – X= 2.80, 2.35, 2.24, see also Table 1). Assimilative adaptation among the hosts was significantly higher than among their immigrant peers (P< 0.01). Although no prediction regarding secluded and rivalry adaptation was suggested, findings regarding these showed

significant differences between hosts and immigrants: The latter's means were significantly higher than those of the hosts (see Table 1).

Table 1. Means (and SD) of Immigrant Successful adaptation: 3 (between) X 4 (within) ANCOVA (scale: 1-4)

adaptation	Ethiopians	Russians	Host
Extended	3.39 (0.40)	3.29 (0.46)	3.29 (0.46)
Rivalry	2.55 (0.53)a	2.41 (0.60)a	2.04 (0.52)A
Secluded	2.06 (0.54)b	2.02 (0.54)b	1.82 (0.54)B
Assimilated	2.24 (0.55)c	2.35 (0.70)c	2.80 (0.51)C

Note: **a** to **c** indicate significant differences between the immigrant groups and the host group (p<.005, Duncan pair-wise comparison).

The above findings indicate that immigrants and hosts, alike, represent extended adaptation as the most successful type, with no significant differences between the research groups, meaning an overall agreement that the most successful adaptation is that in which elements from the original and new cultures are combined. However, immigrant-host disparity was found regarding the other types of adaptation. Both immigrant groups, Russians and Ethiopians alike, were less willing than the hosts to consider that "successful adaptation" also means giving up one's original culture, as indicated by their lower scores on assimilative adaptation and their higher scores on secluded and rivalry.

Time since immigration Significant ($p < .05$) Pearson correlation between time since immigration and the four categories of "successful adaptation" showed that the longer time the immigrants had spent in Israel, the lower their scores were on secluded (r=-0.29, r=-0.20) and rivalry adaptations (r=-0.13, r=-0.19) and the higher their scores were on extended adaptation (r=0.45, r=0.23) (Russian and Ethiopian immigrants, respectively). Only for those from Russia,

however, a low (r= 0.11), but significant, correlation was found between the time spent in Israel and their assimilative adaptation scores.

DISCUSSION

Social representations of "successful adaptation" of immigrants are core representations in the Israeli representational system (e.g., Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999, Smooha, 2008). However, from the 1980s and onwards, the hegemonic social representation of the "melting pot" as the only way leading to "successful adaptation" of Jewish immigrants was increasingly altered (Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999). The arrival of more than a million immigrants from Russia and Ethiopia during the 1990s increased these modifications in the Israeli representational system (Smooha, 2008). In light of these historical changes, the present study investigated whether, and to what extend, high-school students who immigrated to Israel from Ethiopia and Russia during the 1990's, and their host peers shared a representational system regarding immigrants' "successful adaptation". Based on Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi (1993) we suggest that SSA method enables us to uncover the qualitative and quantitative organisation of the strategies leading to "successful adaptation" within and among the research groups.

As predicted, a similar distinct circumflex SSA pattern, consisting of four categories, was revealed in the data of female and male immigrant from both Ethiopia and Russia and their host peers. This construction was confirmed by Pearson correlations analysis and confirmatory factor analysis and replicated former finding relates to the strategies actually used by immigrants (Orr, Mana & Mana, 2003). These findings indicate that, despite their distinct social positioning and distinct cultural background, host and immigrant adolescents who shared a school, constructed "successful adaptation" by similar shared representations. The organisation of that resulting construction may be analysed according to organisational principles, which partly replicated the dimensions suggested by Berry's model (1990) and social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These organisational principles were described in a previous study by Mana, Orr & Mana (2003): *modifying vs. preserving original Culture* and *gain vs. loss of social power*. The first principle distinguished between strategies which involved modifying one's original identity, either by extending it (extended adaptation) or by changing and surrendering the original identity

(assimilative adaptation) and strategies which involved defence and preservation of the original identity (rivalry adaptation and secluded adaptation). The second organisational principles distinguished between strategies which involve social power gain (extended adaptation and rivalry adaptation) and, on the other hand, strategies which involve loss of social power due to the acceptance of an unequal social status (secluded adaptation and assimilative adaptation). These two organisational principles reflect the main issues facing the Israeli society: On the one hand the need for forming a shared identity and a strong homogenous society that can handle great challenges (Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999), on the other hand, the ongoing struggle between various groups in Israeli society in an attempt to gain social power and to influence the nature of this "common identity" (Kimmerling, 1998; Smooha, 2008).

The second aim of this study was to investigate how immigrants and their host peers evaluated the strategies leading to "successful adaptation": would they perceive "successful adaptation" as keeping the Israeli historical hegemonic representation according to which immigrants should assimilate as soon as possible into Israeli society? Or rather, do they construct "successful adaptation" by the more recent worldwide representations of multiculturalism, according to which distinct identities within a shared societal frame of reference are legitimate and encouraged? We predicted that hosts would tend, more than the immigrants, to maintain the original hegemonic social representation of "successful adaptation" which involved the expectation for immigrants' assimilation into the Israeli society by accepting its culture and giving up their old one (Ben- Rafael, 1982; Almog, 1997). The comparisons of the means of each of the four categories (extended, rivalry, secluded and assimilative adaptation) indicated that extended adaptation was strongly endorsed as more successful than the other types of adaptation by immigrants and hosts alike. This finding replicated similar worldwide findings of perceiving integration and multicultural approach as the best way for immigrants' adaptation (e.g., Bochner, 1982; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Zheng & Berry, 1991; Liebkind, 1996) and also reflected the changes occurring in Israeli societal representations towards adaptation of immigrants (Kimmerling, 1998; Lissak, 1999).

However, investigating group differences between host and immigrants made this picture more complicated: assimilative adaptation among the hosts was significantly higher and separation and rivalry adaptation were significantly lower, compared to those of their immigrant

peers. Former findings showed that quite often, preferred acculturation is conceived distinctively by immigrants and hosts. This discrepancy related to the different social status as minority and majority and to the hosts state policy towards immigration (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Horenczyk, 1996; Elias & Lemish, 2011; Shamai and Ilatov, 1998; van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Bu'unk, 1998). Based on Bourhis et al. (1997) we can attribute these immigrants / hosts differences to the double message of the Israeli state policy regarding immigration. The pluralistic social representations regarding immigration are ideological rather than practical and, paradoxically, serve as a cover to the main social representation of assimilation into Israeli society (e.g., Al-Haj, 2000).

The perspective of social representation theory enables us to expand this interpretation. According to SRT (Moscovici, 2000; Orr, 2007), one of the main functions of the social representations is to maintain group identity, so as such, social representations should serve the interest of groups and the function that they are serving should predict the internal structure of the representational field and the extent it varies among and within recognisable groups (Orr, 2007). It seems that for both immigrants and hosts, construction of a shared social representation of "successful adaptation" serves the groups' interests (keeping the Israeli society united and strong). On the other hand, each group tried to maintain their own group identity and interests and determine the preferred strategies for immigrant adaptation. This lead to incongruence, especially among the host members, between the earlier hegemonic social representations of the "melting pot" and assimilation, that strengthen their social status, and the recent multicultural representations. It seems that the host adolescents held both social representations and that logical contradictions simultaneously coexist.

The question of whether the immigrants, who held more multicultural representations would challenge the host society representations of "successful adaptation", received a partial answer. Findings regarding the effects of time and gender on the perception of "successful adaptation" may show that the immigrants tend to accept the hosts' perceptions rather than to challenge them. We found that as time passes since immigration, the immigrants' perception of "successful adaptation" become more similar to those of the hosts. The only exception to this rule was that of assimilation, and only for those who emigrated from Ethiopia. Perhaps, in reality, being black prevents even one's wishful thinking regarding the possibility of real assimilation.

According to Moscovici (1976), social change arises from "the power of minorities" and it takes place because of conflict and the effect of behavioural styles. By insisting on its different point of view, the minority creates a conflict between itself and the majority and thus generates a polarisation within society (in Orfali, 2002). Our findings reveals that Russian and Ethiopian adolescents at this specific context, tend to accept the host society's representations and relinquish strategies leading to open conflict. Additional research is needed to examine whether this tendency is unique to immigrant adolescents. Before concluding, a few methodological considerations require further mentioning. First, some of the questionnaire items were double-barreled questions. Rudmin (2003) criticised the wide use of these kinds of items in cross-cultural research. However, in contradiction to most immigrant-related research, our SSA methodology enabled us to support the construction of the research variables, and we did not presume the specific construction. Instead, we discovered the social construction and confirmed it by employing additional statistical methods.

A final word. The forefathers of the vision of the Jews' redemption in the ancient country of Israel had the dream of a nation with a common identity, tradition and culture. This dream became a core hegemonic social representation in the new Israeli society and the newcomers were expected, and actually tried, to live according to this social representation by trying to become as similar as possible to the nation's Zionist forefathers. In recent years, it seems as though Israel, hand in hand with this social representation, has given space, recognition, and legitimacy to other social representations. What appears to be the case in our findings is that although rays of pluralistic social orientation do appear on the practical level, where norms are concerned, the old monolithic social representations still reigns.

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ADI MANA, PhD, Senior lecturer at Peres Academic Center, Israel. Emda Orr was my supervisor for my M.A and PhD dissertations and became a colleague and a very good friend. Under Emda's supervision I developed an integrative model of adaptation strategies, and we investigated this model together among several minority groups in the Israeli society (immigrants from Ethiopia, Russia, Argentina and Bedouins-Arabs). After she left us, I continue to develop this model among other groups and social contexts (Christian and Muslim Palestinians; Palestinians in Israel and in the West Bank).

APPENDIX

Identity management strategies and acculturation tendencies: examples from the Successful Adaptation Questionnaire.

1. *Individual Mobility* (SIT&BAT): The individual creates physical or psychological distance from her or his original in-group and tries to become a member of the out-group (e.g., "Most of his/her friends are *Zabarim* [Israeli-born] because he/she doesn't feel comfortable with immigrant peers.").
2. *Assimilation* (SIT&BAT): Collective reactions of in-group members whose aim is to become an integral part of the out-group (e.g., "He/She doesn't want to speak the language of his former country, because it makes his/her origin conspicuous").
3. *Superordinate Re-categorization* (SIT): Members of both in-group and out-group redefine their membership by a unified self-categorization (e.g., "He/She thinks that Israeli society should be united; therefore, it does not matter to him/her whether he/she is an immigrant or a *Zabar*").
4. *Social Competition* (SIT): Practical and cognitive endeavors of in-group members to change the status relationship between their group and the out-group in their favor,

sometimes by direct assertion of the merits of one's culture and devaluation of specific aspects of the hegemonic culture (e.g., "He/She thinks that immigrants should fight for acceptance of their special lifestyle and customs").

5. *Comparison with Alternative Out-group* (SIT&SCT): Cognitive activities by which members of the lower-status group choose an alternative relevant out-group for comparison. This comparison means selecting an appreciated group outside the problematic social context (e.g., "He/She prefers another type of behavior rather than the Israeli type").

6. *Individuation* (SIT): Respondents define themselves as individuals, thus claiming outsider positions in the arena of unequal status group positions (e.g., "He/She would like others to respond to what he/She says and not to whether he/she is an immigrant or a *Zabar*").

7. *Reevaluation of Comparison Dimensions* (SIT): A cognitive activity by which members of the lower-status group reevaluate the dimensions by which they were derogated (e.g., "In his/her opinion, the free and bold behavior of the *Zabarim* encourages violence and delinquency").

8. *Temporal Comparison* (SCT): In-group members compare their present status with that of the past, instead of comparisons with out-group members (e.g., "Once he/she used to make a lot of mistakes while speaking Hebrew. Today his/her Hebrew is much better").

9. *Integration* (BAT): In-group members attribute importance to the out-group and wish to become a part of it, but also wish to maintain elements from the culture of their original in-group (e.g., "He/She speaks Hebrew as well as any *Zabar*, but he/she finds it important to speak his/her original language with family and friends, and not forget it").

10-11. *Segregation* and *Separation* (BAT): In-group members wish to maintain their original culture and their relationships within it. Segregation means that the wish to adhere to one's own culture is motivated by out-group rejections of the in-group (e.g., "All his/her friends are immigrants, because the *Zabarim* do not want to be his/her

friends) while Separation is volitional (e.g., "He/She prefers not to speak his/her own original language, because it makes his/her foreign origin conspicuous").