Balance Theory and Acculturation: Russian-speaking Immigrants in Norway

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Master thesis in psychology

Autumn 2007
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Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Floyd Rudmin who guided me during the work with this MA thesis. His valuable advices, constructive critique and enthusiasm stimulated me in writing this thesis.
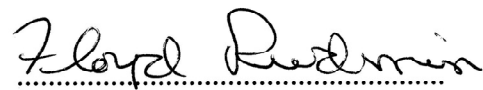
I thank Dr. Dariush Arai for suggesting that an imbalance index can be computed as a three-way regression interaction effect. Furthermore I would like to thank all of the Russian-speaking participants who took part in this project.

Also, I thank my Russian-speaking friends who commented on my research and discussed the topic of balance in a broader context. I would like to give my special thanks to my husband Dag for being supportive, understanding and helpful during the whole time.

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Autumn 2007

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Preface

The topic for master thesis was suggested by Professor Floyd Rudmin who became my supervisor. "Acculturation" appeared to be very interesting and relevant topic for me as I am a Russian immigrant in Norway myself. I have soon realized that I have a unique opportunity to study Russian-speaking immigrants acculturating in Norway. Besides, it was exciting to try to do a novel study trying to adopt Heider's balance theory in acculturating research.

During the first semester I have been working with finding topic for my MA and getting in contact with supervisor. In the beginning of the second semester the topic was chosen and the work with finding literature, making a review of it, working with clarifying the problems and hypothesis started. Brief presentations of literature and hypothesis have been done until the end of the second semester. The design of the questionnaire and collecting of data were conducted in the third semester. The last semester was devoted to analyzing the data, practicing in presenting results on a poster and writing the MA thesis.

The design of the questionnaire was done by me since it demanded culture specific knowledge which I possess due to my background. My supervisor, however, helped me by giving feedbacks related to the items in the scale in order to fit the content to the purpose of the study. Also, I got an assistance with statistical analyzes. I think we have achieved a very good co-operation with Professor Floyd Rudmin.

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Abstract

Self-report scales designed to measure attitudes toward both Russia and Norway, attitude between Norway and Russia, the degree of perceptual fit into each of the cultures, cultural distance and satisfaction with life, were completed by Russian-speaking immigrants. The main purpose of the study was to explore Heider's social balance theory in acculturation research. It was predicted that balance is positively associated with satisfaction with life, while imbalance is negatively associated with satisfaction with life. The hypothesis was only supported by two cases. The only constructs which correlated significantly with SWLS, were the full balance of the attitude triad (+ + +) and imbalance total triad (+ + -). The secondary purpose of the study was to examine Berry's four-fold theory. The results showed that in terms of satisfaction with life, integration and assimilation were indistinguishable in having low positive correlations with adaptation, but were both more positive than separation and marginalisation, which were equally indistinguishable in having low negative correlations with adaptation. In other words, this study found the pattern of $I = A > S = M$, instead of the predicted $I > A = S > M$.

Keywords: Acculturation, attitude, balance, balance index, cultural distance, four-fold theory, integration, perception, similarity.

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Introduction

Cultural background exerts a great influence on every aspect of human life, such as beliefs, appearance, traditions, perceptions, emotions, behaviour, norms and values. There are many different definitions of *culture*. Tylor (1871, referred to in Helman, 2000, p.2) has defined culture as «*that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society*». Willey (1927, quoted in Lukas, 2007) defined culture as *«that part of the environment which man has himself created and to which he must adjust himself»*. The first definition relates to the point that culture influences virtually every part of our lives, while the second definition states that humans adjust to culture, and culture is dynamic and changing, and is itself a result of human creativity, and both creativity and adjustment are continuous processes.

Cultures have influenced each other for centuries through trade, migration and wars. *Acculturation* has been defined as «those phenomena which result when group of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact causing changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups» (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). The topic "acculturation" has a long history and even more important nowadays, especially for the countries experiencing immigration.

History of acculturation

Since the beginning of the 20th century, many acculturation theories have been developed in order to investigate what happens to individuals who develop in one cultural context while attempting to acculturate in another culture (Rudmin, 2003a). The author presents only few of them.

Probably, one of the first acculturation theories was proposed in 1918 by sociologists Thomas and Znaniecki, who had based their work on studying Polish peasants in America (William Isaac Thomas, 1977). They argued that the type of acculturation is connected to personality differences in such biological dimensions as fear and curiosity, and this led to the development of a *typology of human actors*. Thomas and Znaniecki arrived at three distinct types of social characters: 1) Philistine, 2) Bohemian and 3) the Creative man. *Philistine* type is very low in curiosity and very high in fear, and prefers stability and resists changes in the condition of life and thus is non-adaptive in new sociocultural context. The opposite type, *Bohemian*, is high in curiosity and low in fear, and is characterized by the desire for new experiences and spontaneous behaviour. He may be inconsistent, but in contrast to *Philistine*, easily adapts to a new environment. The third type is the *Creative person*, who has an optimal mixture of curiosity and fear, and who is the active, determined innovator adaptable to new conditions, involved in various activities and is capable of inducing social changes. This typology had a considerable impact on many subsequent scholars and typologies (William Isaac Thomas, 1977; Rudmin, 2003a).

Another typology of acculturation was developed in 1948 by Kurt Lewin, a German-born psychologist, recognized as the founder of modern social psychology. His acculturation typology was based on the study of Jewish people in the USA. Lewin suggested that each cultural group has *central* and *peripheral strata*. The central stratum refers to important representative values, traditions, habits and ideas of a culture. A person, loyal to one's own group, tends to value the central stratum high (Lewin, 1948). A positive rate of central stratum is important for keeping group together. *Chauvinism* means overestimation of the central values, traditions, habits and

ideas of one's own culture. However, immigrants might not be loyal to their own cultural group, ashamed to be members of their native groups, and they might tend to leave it and adopt values and attitudes of the host culture. This orientation is called *negative chauvinism.* Lewin considered that it is not just possible, but natural and necessary to belong to different cultural groups without experiencing a state of uncertainty and conflict. He described this state as *double loyalty*. The last and least favourable state, according to Lewin, is *the marginal man,* one who neither belongs to "the privileged majority" or "underprivileged minority" (Lewin, 1948, p.270). Such persons are emotionally unstable and sensitive, though they might have some success in establishing contact with the dominant society. The marginal man is characterised by having negative or even hostile attitude to their origin group (Lewin, 1948).

Some years later, in 1950s, Australian social psychologist, Ronald Taft, also suggested acculturation theory based on his studies of European immigrants in Australia. According to Taft, there are three orientations towards the assimilation of immigrants: Monistic, pluralistic and interactionistic (Taft, 1963). *Monism* supports the view that newcomers should be absorbed culturally and socially into the dominant group as quickly as possible. *Pluralism* emphasizes tolerance to different cultures and preservation of cultural uniqueness "beyond the acceptance of supra-ordinate national values essential to the nation's existence" (Taft, 1963, p. 129). *Interactionism* advocates the view that immigrants and host group should be in contact with each other, show tolerance to each other and share norms and behaviours. Taft conducted a study with immigrants in Australia, and the results showed that interactionism was preferred more often among immigrants than monism or pluralism (Taft, 1963).

Many more acculturation theories have been developed. However, such cross-cultural

theories, which often arose independently of each other, did not manage to advance theory since they were often repeated reinventions (Rudmin, 2003b). The field have been characterized by few acculturation studies, lack of theoretical coherence, poor external validity of acculturation measures and problems with defining key concepts. Sometimes contrary meanings were used for the same concepts (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Rudmin, 2003b).

<u>Fourfold theory</u>

One of the most popular modern acculturation theories, which have been widely used in cross-cultural psychology, is John Berry's *acculturation model* or *fourfold theory* (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry & Kim, 1987; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry, 1997). The model is based on the idea that individuals entering a new cultural context should make decisions with respect to two basic issues: 1) The extent to which an individual consider original cultural identity and characteristics to be important and 2) The extent to which an individual become involved in other cultural groups and adopt the norms and practices of the new culture, or remain among themselves (Berry, 1997). According to Berry, individuals can have positive or negative attitudes to both their original and new cultures, and it might be reflected in their behaviour, such as use of language, dressing style, food preferences etc. The interaction between the minority and dominant cultures results in four possible acculturation attitudes: *Assimilation*, *Separation, Integration,* and *Marginalization*. The assimilation mode of acculturation implies that an individual does not wish to maintain his or her own cultural identity, but is interested in adopting the contact with the dominant culture. Another mode is separation, meaning that an individual wish to maintain his or her own cultural identity and avoid interactions with host society. Integration is, in contrast, defined by wish to maintain own

cultural identity and, at the same time, adopt some of the dominant culture's practices. Finally, the marginalization mode is characterized by both lack of minority cultural identity and lack of interest in establishing contact with the new culture (Berry, 1997).

Berry and colleagues (Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 1987; Berry, 1997) have employed the concept of *acculturative stress,* and they were interested to see the effect of acculturation attitudes on acculturative stress. Acculturative stress refers to psychocultural distress due to cultural differences between host society and incoming culture. It might include economic, social, psychological and physiological stresses. "The concept of acculturative stress refers to one kind of stress, that in which the stressors are identified as having their source in the process of acculturation; in addition, there is often a particular set of stress behaviours which occur during acculturation, such as lowered mental health status (specifically confusion, anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion" (Berry et al., 1987, p. 492).

Berry and Kim (1987) suggested several factors moderating relationship between acculturation and stress, including the nature of the larger society (ideology), the type of the acculturating group, a number of demographic and social and psychological characteristics. Berry argued that a particularly significant predictor of acculturative stress, however, is attitude towards acculturation. Usually the fourfold acculturation research used Likert-scale questions measuring cultural attitudes, practices and psychological distress (Berry, 1997). It was argued that assimilation and separation are connected to intermediate stress level, marginalization was associated with high levels of acculturative stress, while integration is associated with least stress (Berry et al., 1987; Berry, 1997). That's why integration is the best alternative of all.

"Acculturation strategies have been shown to have substantial relationships with positive adaptation: integration is usually the most successful; marginalization is the least; and assimilation and separation strategies are intermediate. This pattern has been found in virtually every study, and is present for all types of acculturating groups" (Berry, 1997, p.24). However, Rudmin (2006) had not found any support for that in any of Berry's studies. Furthermore, many acculturation studies show that integration is unrelated to stress (Rudmin, 2003b). Berry's acculturation framework have been used in a number of studies (reviewed in Berry & Sam, 1997), and it have also been used in this study as well.

The fourfold acculturation theory is considered to be the central theory which stimulated further research in cross-cultural psychology. However, the empirical work of Berry has also initiated criticism. It has been recommended that the fourfold theory be modified to include a greater focus on the attitude of the dominant culture and on cultural skills (Ward, 1997; Lazarus, 1997; Schönpflug, 1997; Bourhis, Moiese, Perrault, & Senecal, 1997). Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001) and Rudmin (2003b; 2006) criticized poor psychometrics, incorrect statistical analysis, the problems with operationalization of key concepts, faults in the creation of acculturation scales, and excessive focus on individual choices and preferences. Acculturation scales were criticized for measuring attitudes and not behaviours, while at the same time acculturation strategies were defined to be both attitudes and behaviours.

Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001) argued that there are cultural practices, such as religion and driving rules, which cannot be bicultured. It seems that individuals are not so free in choosing the acculturation mode. As Berry stated himself, the outcome of the acculturation process is influenced by the nature of the dominant society. While multicultural societies give

more acculturation choices by advocating tolerance for different cultural groups, assimilationistic societies are interested in adjusting individuals to cultural standards of the majority society, and thus constraining acculturation choices (Berry, 1997).

Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001) argued that the fourfold theory commits the Fundamental Error of Attribution by assuming that the outcome of the acculturation process is depending on individual preferences rather than acculturation situations. Another part of the criticism dealt with the problematic concept of marginalization. It is not clear who is imposing marginalization, and who is affected by that. It was specifically pointed out that it is difficult to discuss marginalisation in the context of free choice. The concept "marginalization" is contradictory as "people rarely *prefer* to distance themselves from the reference community to which they *prefer* to belong. (...) Marginalization should be defined as failure to belong to the preferred reference group. (...) Thus, Marginalization is the failure to assimilate into the dominant culture, to separate into the heritage culture, or to integrate into both cultures" (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001, p. 43).

Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001) noticed that that the fourfold theory is focused on unicultural rather than multicultural contact. A decision not to participate in either minority or majority cultures might be explained by the preference for other cultures. It may then be more correct to talk about *multiculturalism* instead of marginalization (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001).

The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)

Drawing on previous research by John Berry, Bourhis et al. (1997) have developed a new extended acculturation model- *the interactive acculturation model*, in which they attempted to

integrate three components: 1) acculturation orientations of host majority, 2) acculturation orientations of immigrants, and 3) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes as a result of interactions between acculturation orientations of immigrants and host majority. The first component of the model is the immigrant acculturation orientations. In line with Berry's theory, the interactive acculturation model supports the idea that immigrants can adopt integration, assimilation and separation based on their desire to maintain both their heritage culture and the culture of the host society. However, Bourhis et al. (1997) have suggested refining Berry's concept of marginalization by distinction between *anomie* and *individualism*. Taking a distance from both original and host majority cultures might indicate cultural alienation, anomie or what Berry had called "marginalization". On the other hand, the dissociation from both cultures might indicate that a person is an individualist who identifies himself and treat others as members of multicultural society, and not as members of some cultural groups.

The second component of the interactive acculturation model (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) is composed of the acculturation modes adopted by host society members, who decide in what extent they accept that immigrants maintain their own identity and adopt a cultural identity of the host culture. In the same way as with immigrant acculturation modes, host majority members may also endorse different acculturation orientations towards immigrants: Assimilation, segregation, integration, exclusion and individualism. *Assimilation* orientation is preferred when host community members wish that immigrants give up their own cultural identity in order to adopt the dominant culture. A second strategy is *segregation*, in which host community do not want immigrants to adopt the host culture, though they accept that immigrants maintain their cultural identity. *Integration* is defined by the fact that host

community members accept and value both the maintenance of the original culture of immigrants and the fact that immigrants adopt the new host culture's characteristics. The situation, in which the host majority refuses to accept both the maintenance of the immigrant culture and host culture, might indicate *exclusion* orientation of the members of the host culture. However, it might also be a manifestation of *individualistic* orientation of the host community members who do not consider that it is important to maintain both cultural identities of the original and dominant cultures. Individualists will tend to focus on the personal characteristics of the individual rather than on their membership in some groups.

Bourhis et al. (1997) suggest that the relational outcomes between host community and immigrants will depend on the interaction between acculturation orientations adopted by both groups. The interactive acculturation model proposes that different acculturation combinations may result in consensual, problematic, or conflicting outcomes between host community members and immigrants. The most positive relational outcomes are expected when both members of host culture and immigrants share integration, assimilation or individualism orientations. The model further implies that mismatch of acculturation orientations adopted by members of host community and immigrants might result in problematic or conflicting relational outcomes.

Further research (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) proposed that acculturation orientations of host majority members may vary for different immigrant groups. Thus, it was demonstrated that integration and individualistic orientation were more strongly applied for "valued" immigrants whose cultural background was similar to the culture of host community. Assimilation, segregation and exclusion were, on the other hand, more strongly applied toward "devalued"

immigrants whose cultural background was different from the host culture.

It seems that former research was focused on studying acculturation attitudes, while disregarding a person's behaviour and perceptions. Neither Berry nor Bourhis have explored the attitude of the immigrant's cultural community towards the host's cultural community and visa-versa. For example, a Russian and a Swedish person, both willing to integrate into Norwegian culture, might not be in the same acculturation situation, if the attitude between Norway and Sweden is different from the attitude between Russia and Norway. It is reasonable to assume that Norway and Sweden have a close relationship for such reasons as similar languages, largely open border between the two countries, similar political system etc. Norway and Russia, on the other side, might have more distant relationship since they have different languages, different political systems; they have been separated from each other during the Cold War etc.

It was suggested that further cross-cultural research should focus on the link between two cultural communities, and explore inner attitudes and evaluations in combination with available perceptions and behaviour (Lazarus, 1997; Schönpflug, 1997; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). For this purpose it was suggested to investigate the opportunity of applying Heider's (1958, 1987-1989) perceptual-cognitive model for understanding social relations in acculturation research (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001).

Balance Theory of Fritz Heider

In 1958, Fritz Heider proposed his balance theory. Heider viewed the environment as made up of entities and relations between these entities. Separate entities form a unit when they are perceived as belonging together. Conditions that lead to unit formation were investigated earlier by Gestalt psychologist who suggested such unit-formation factors, as similarity,

proximity, closure, continuity, past experience and surroundings (Heider, 1958). In the context of acculturation, we are talking about forming social units. One can be in a cognitive unit with a culture because of one's nationality and the past experiences, and at the same time one may feel close to the other culture because he or she may be familiar with it and interact with it frequently. A Ukrainian immigrant in Norway may be in a cognitive unit with both Norwegian culture, where he or she is living in, and with Russian culture due to similarities between Ukrainian and Russian cultures, and past experiences of living in Soviet Union. Unit formation also depends on surroundings. Two Russians may readily be grouped together when they are surrounded by people of other cultures, whereas not grouped together if they are among other Russians.

According to Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001), in the case of acculturation, there are three kinds of entities: the acculturating person P, original culture C1 and the dominant culture C2. The theory is concerned with how relations between P, C1 and C2 are organized in terms of the person's cognitive processes.

Sentiments refer here to the way a person P feels about or evaluates each of the cultures; these are attitudes to both cultures. As shown on the left in Fig.1 below, the fourfold theory claims that a person, P, can have positive or negative attitudes, L, towards either of cultures, C1 and C2. This results in four possible acculturation modes: Integration (+, +), assimilation (-, +), separation (-, -) and marginalization (-, -). In addition to these relations, the Heiderian model showed on the right of Fig.1, includes the attitude between the person's original society and majority society, creating 8 possible acculturation outcomes (Heider, 1958; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). In the Heiderian model, L stands for internal sentiments and private attitudes, while U stands for factual, public perceptions of unit formation. Heiderian model

represents a double triangle with 8 possible attitude situations and 8 possible unit perceptions, generating totally 64 acculturation situations. "Perceptions of belonging to a cultural group would be determined by physical features, language, dress, food, residence, and other physical appearances, according to stereotyping and other processes of representation and misrepresentation (Ichheiser, 1949). Perceptions of two cultures belonging together would be based on geographic proximity, historical derivation, or cultural similarity" (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001, p. 53).

Heider (1958) theorizes that individuals are striving for balance in their social relations. He introduced the concept of *balanced state* designating the situation in which the entities which form a unit, and sentiments about these entities, co-exist without stress. Heider described conditions of balance in dyads and triads. "A dyad is balanced if the relations between the two entities are all positive (L and U) or are all negative (DL and not U). Disharmony results when relations of different sign character exists" (Heider, 1958, p.202). It means that if a person is concerned of the environment and use motorized transport seldom, then he or she exhibits a high degree of balance between attitude and behaviour. A triad is balanced when the number of negative signs in a triangle should be two or zero. For instance, if a person likes (+) Russian and dislikes Norwegian (-) clothing style, the balance would be achieved if the perceived difference between these clothing styles is big (-). The imbalanced situation can be represented by the cases when there are one or three negative signs in a triangle. An example of a one-negative imbalance could be a Russian immigrant to Norway who likes (+) Norwegian foreign policy towards Russia, and Russian foreign policy toward Norway (+), but Russia and Norway has an ongoing conflict (-) regarding air pollution originating from the Kola Peninsula.
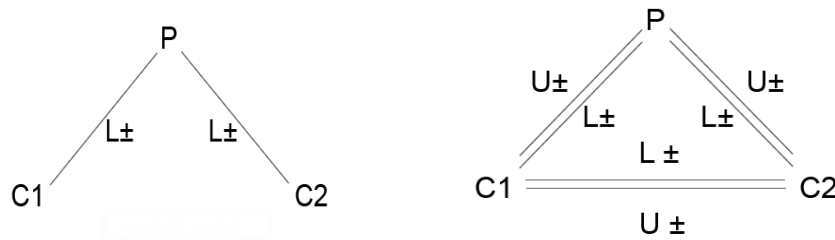
Fourfold model   Heiderian model

Figure 1 (Adopted from Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001, p.53): Comparing the fourfold model and Heiderian model on the interrelationship of an acculturating person P, culture C1, and culture C2, in terms of attitudes of liking (L+) or disliking (L-), and perception of unit formation (U+) or separation (U-).

Cultural distance and cultural fit

The concept of *cultural distance* refers to the similarities and differences between cultures with regard to language, religion, values, the status of women in society, relations in family, individualism-collectivism, forms of government and other cultural aspects. It was suggested that there is a strong positive relation between cultural distance and difficulties experienced by newcomers (Ward, Bocher, & Furnham, 2001, referred to in Chirkov, Lynch, & Niwa, 2005), and some studies (Furnham and Bochner, 1982, reffered to in Chirkov et al., 2001; Chirkov et al., 2001) tested this claim and provided support for this hypothesis. Searl and Ward (1990) found that cultural distance was among the strongest predictors of sociocultural adjustment. Ward and Kennedy (1993) found an association between cultural distance and sociocultural adaptation problems experienced by sojourners. The results of another study showed only the limited effect of the perceived cultural distance on sociocultural adaptation of immigrants in the dominant culture (Zlobina, Basabe, Paez, & Furnham, 2006). In the study of

the psychological acculturation experienced by exchange students from the former USSR, China, North Korea and Africa in Russia, Galchenko and van de Vijer (2007) found that perceived cultural distance is strongly positively correlated with psychological problems.

Cultural fit is a relevant concept, which implies the degree to which a person's values, norms, beliefs, attitudes and other characteristics correspond to the characteristics of the dominant culture. The adjustment of acculturating individuals might be affected by their cultural fit into the dominant culture (Chirkov et al., 2005).

Norwegian and Russian Cultures

The present study is focused on immigrants from former Soviet republics in Norway. The research has been developed around Russian culture based on the fact that it was a dominant culture in the Soviet Union, and Russian language was the only official language in the USSR as a result of great assimilation during the Soviet period. Thus, a large majority of citizens from the whole post-Soviet geography are still affiliated to Russian culture and Russian language to some degree (Belousov, 1997).

Russian and Norwegian cultures have common factors in the history. The two nations share border, co-inhabit Svalbard and share common fishing resources in Barents Sea (The World Factbook, 2007). However, they have never been engaged in war against each other (Nordsletten, 2007).

Scandinavian-Russians relations date back to the time when the Vikings made settlements and traded with the population in what is now Russian territory, near Novgorod. In later times, the most noticeable trade between Northern Norway and Northern Russia was the

Pomor trade, which reached its peak in 1800s (Nielsen, 1996; Ravna, 1996). The traders have even developed their own language – Russo-Norwegian-which was a mixture of words from both languages (Støre, 2006). This Pomor trade, however, was halted when the Russian-Norwegian border was closed as a result of the Russian revolution in 1917 and the following civil war. The cold international political climate lasted for 70 years, though there were events during WWII when the Soviet military went into Norwegian territory to liberate the population of Finnmark from German forces, and then withdrew. Both countries have managed to maintain diplomatic relations during the whole period of the Cold War. Gorbachev's perestroika paved the way for renewed and strengthened Russian-Norwegian relations (Støre, 2006).

The dissolution of the USSR in 1991 led to the creation of independent political entities: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Today Russia is the largest country in the world with the population of 141.4 millions. It occupies most of Eastern Europe and north Asia. Orthodoxy is the dominant religion in Russia, while Islam is the second most widespread religion. There are as many as 160 ethnic groups and indigenous peoples in Russia. The Russian language is the only official state language, but there are many minority languages spoken in Russia (The World Factbook, 2007).

The opening of the border made it far easier for citizens of Russia and other FSU (former Soviet Union) countries to move abroad. Besides, the deteriorating economic situation in Russia and FSU during the 1990s further contributed to increased emigration (Zajonchkovskaya, 2001). "According to the Census in 2002, since 1989 the total number of emigrants has been 5 millions, out of which, 76 percent migrated to FSU (former Soviet Union) countries. Among the migrants

to non- FSU countries, 59 percent went to Germany, 24 percent to Israel, and 11 percent to the USA. It seems that the number of emigrants to non-FSU countries is underestimated by the Russian registration system..." (Andrienko & Guriev, 2005, p.17).

Norway, with its population of 4.6 millions, is situated in the north west of Europe, and is regarded as a relatively homogeneous country, although the indigenous Sami and Finnish-speaking people are well-known minority groups. Most Norwegians are confirmed in Evangelical Lutheran Church of Norway. Norway has two official languages: Bokmål and Nynorsk. Besides this, there is a vast variety of dialects, as well as minority languages of Sami and Kven (Eriksen, 2001; The World Factbook, 2007).

Differences between Norwegian and Russian culture

Norway is a liberal democratic state, and Russia is also striving for democracy. Both countries have common interest in the fishing industry, fish resources in the Barents Sea and the development of energy resources (Støre, 2006). Despite many similarities, Russian and Norwegian cultures might be seen as distant in many aspects. The differences are not only in language, but also in the way public institutions and social services are working (Smetanina, 2006). Russian and Norwegian cultures might be seen as distant in many aspects, and it has its background partly in the recent history of separation. The Soviet Union, which had a communistic authoritarian government and collectivistic culture, was virtually isolated from the influences of the individualistic Western culture as a whole, and Norwegian culture specifically (Smetanina, 2006). Immigrants from post-Soviet states would thus be in an acculturation context.

The author did not find any single quantitative study concerning acculturation of Russian-speaking immigrants in Norway. However, one explorative qualitative study on the identity of

Russian immigrant women in Norway performed by Marina Olsen (2005) should be mentioned specifically, since it might provide some important information related to aspects of cultural differences between Norway and Russia. The differences expressed by participants in this study concerned working styles, family and friendship relationships, values, attitudes, behaviour, dressing style, gender roles and child rearing practices. The following quotation can serve as an example of the perceived cultural difference between Norway and Russia: "Russians were described as more cultured: bearers of rich and long-standing cultural traditions, interested in literature and theatre, well-read; more generous, more lively and festive, less law-abiding, than Norwegians. Russian women were characterized as more feminine and caring, than Norwegian women" (Olsen, 2005, p.22). This view of "Russianness" was not central in all of the narratives, but still, it might give some valuable insight into the cultural differences between Norwegians and Russians.

Immigration to Norway

Apart from the recent decades, Norwegians were quiet unfamiliar with immigrants and immigration. Despite the earlier immigration from Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, the multi-ethnic situation is new for Norway, and "the issue of ethnic minorities has appeared on the agenda in the Norwegian community only in the last decades" (Eriksen, 2001). According to the data from Statistisk sentralbyrå (SSB), there are 415,000 immigrants living in Norway today, and they constitute 8.9 % of the population (Innvandring og innvandrere, 2007).

The Pakistani and Turkish guest workers who arrived to Norway in the late 1960s were first non-European immigrants. The immigrants of 1980s and 1990s were mainly political refugees from Chile, Iran, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Turkish Kurdistan, Somalia and former

Yugoslavia (Eriksen, 2001). The examination of end-2001 statistics reveals that the largest immigrant group in Norway are from Pakistan, followed by Sweden and Denmark (Cooper, 2005). However, recent immigration flow from Eastern Europe due to among other factors the collapse of Soviet Union have made some changes in the pattern.

Russian-speaking immigrants represent a rapidly increasing group of foreigners in Norway. The dominant part of Russian-speaking immigrants from former Soviet Union is represented by Russian citizens who have 15th place among immigrant groups in Norway (Folkemengde, etter norsk/utenlandsk statsborgerskap og innvandrerbefolkningens landbakgrunn, 2006). The number of Russian citizens settling in Norway is not large but it is growing, and this number have more than doubled in the period 2001-2006, increasing from 8,993 in 2004 to 10,351 in 2006, of which 9,813 were first- generation immigrants. Russian immigrants are among groups with highest net immigration (1200 persons in 2006). Immigrants from other former Soviet republics are represented as following: 1947 Lithuanians, 1449 Ukrainians, 786 Estonians, 786 Latvians and 447 Belorussians (Folkemengde, etter norsk/utenlandsk statsborgerskap og innvandrerbefolkningens landbakgrunn, 2006).

The two major groups of immigrants from former Soviet republics consist of women, who came to Norway to get married (Henriksen, 2006) and refugees and asylum seekers from Chechnya (Forgaard & Dzamarija, 2006). The other minor groups are students, guest workers such as medical professionals and scientists. A part of the immigrants from the Baltic States is coming as labour migrants of the EU (Forgaard & Dzamarija, 2006).

Purpose

The main purpose of this study is to examine Russian-speaking immigrant's acculturation in Norway with a focus on exploring hypothesis based on Heider's balance theory. Heider's hypothesis states that the relationship between sentiments and unit formation tends toward a balanced state. For the purpose of the study, the individual's attitudes to Norwegian and Russian cultures, as well as the perceived attitude between cultures, were measured. This corresponds to the inner or attitude triangle. Besides, measurements of the degree to which the individuals perceptually fit into Norwegian and Russian cultures respectively, and measurements of the perceived cultural similarities and differences, were performed. This is represented by outer or perception triangle. The attitude and behaviour measurements are combined to form a total triangle. Finally, satisfaction with life has been used as a measure of distress. It is predicted that in all of the attitude, perception and total triangles, imbalance is distressing, while balance is less distressing. In other words, positive association between balance and satisfaction with life, and negative association between imbalance and satisfaction with life, are predicted.

The secondary purpose of the study is to use Berry's acculturation framework to examine the claim that assimilation and separation is connected to intermediate satisfaction, while integration is associated with high levels of satisfaction, and marginalization is associated with low satisfaction with life.

Since it is the first acculturation study of immigrants from former Soviet Union, the author found that it might be important to make a brief exploration of Russian-speaking immigrant's experiences of living in Norway. This exploration is based on the open-ended reports of the participants.

28 Acculturation

Method

Instrument

The survey questionnaire consisted of several parts. The first part consisted of demographic measures: Age, gender, length of residence in Norway, and education. The second part contained 52 items which were designed to measure the following aspects: Attitude to Russia, attitude to Norway, attitudes between nations, the degree to which a person perceptually fit into Norwegian culture, and the degree, to which a person perceptually fit into Russian culture.

Both Russian and Norwegian attitude scales consisted of items about each country's achievements, moral values, literature, humour, national pride, friendship, celebration of feasts and use of language. Examples of items from Russian attitude scale are: "I feel proud when Russians win in the Olympic Games" and "Russian traditions of celebrating Russian Christmas are important for me". Examples of items from Norwegian attitude scale are: "I feel my personal moral values fit well with the moral values of Norwegian society" and "I feel at home in Norway".

The Norwegian-Russian attitude scale measured attitude between Norway and Russia, common threats, trade, sea fishing policy, politics, visa processes and Cold War. The scale comprised of items such as "In my opinion, Norway and Russia have friendly relations" and "I think that Norway and Russia would help each other during a crisis or natural disaster".

Russian and Norwegian perception scales dealt with questions about factual public perceptions and behaviour, and included items about cuisine, appearance, clothing style and language.

Russian perception scale consisted of items such as "At home in Norway, we make Russian traditional food such as "pelemeni" and "borsch" and "I like to be distinctively Russian in my appearance". Examples of items from Norwegian perception scale: "I buy Norwegian foods such as "brunost" and "pinnekjøtt" " and "My winter jacket is of Norwegian style (synthetic, cotton fabrics etc.)".

Satisfaction with life was measured by means of 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) which was developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985). The SWLS measures a cognitive- judgemental process defined as "a global assessment of a person's quality of life according to his chosen criteria" (Shin & Johnson, 1978, p.478, referred to by Diener et al., 1985). The SWLS has favourable psychometric properties (Diener et al., 1985). The scale was used in earlier acculturation studies (Meramidtjan, 1995; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006), and it appeared to be valid. All of the scales, except Norwegian-Russian similarity scale2 used a Likert-type scoring system, ranging from 1 ("disagree completely") to 4 ("agree completely").

The third part of the questionnaire consisted of Norwegian-Russian similarity scale, referred further as Norwegian-Russian similarity scale 2, which measured perceived similarity or cultural distance between Russia and Norway. Participants were presented with the list of countries, and were asked to put the countries in the order according to the perceived similarity of each of the country to Russia starting with less similar nations. The same thing was done relative to Norway. The place order of Norway in the first question, and the place order of Russia in the second question, was measured. The distance implies perceived cultural similarity between Russia and Norway. The place order 1 indicates no similarity between Russian and Norwegian

cultures, while 6 implies great similarity.

An additional Norwegian-Russian difference scale measured the extent to which Russian and Norwegian cultures are different on the following 13 aspects: Politeness and etiquette, friendship relationships, family relationships, childrearing practices, religiousness, women's role in society, attitudes towards the environment, importance of education, racism, care for old people, health care, work discipline and leisure time activities. Likert-scale ranging from 1 ("no difference") to 4 ("large difference") have been used in that part as well. The scale scores were reversed, and the scale was called Norwegian-Russian similarity scale1.

In the last section, participants were asked to write down some comments on the items presented in this questionnaire and to offer advice to new-come immigrants. The survey questionnaire contained totally seven different scales, and six of these scales were developed by the author with the help of the supervisor. The author has a Russian background, so this is the natural source of knowledge about Russian culture.

English and Russian versions of the questionnaire were developed. All of the scales were first made in English with the help of the supervisor, and after that they were translated in to Russian by the author. The Russian translation was proof read by a Russian philologist who have corrected some grammar mistakes, but did not find mistranslations.

Pilot Study

A pilot study of five Russian participants living in Norway did not identify any unclear or confusing Russian expressions. However the results of the pilot study caused a few changes in the questionnaire. Three of the participants suggested including a topic of "perceived

discrimination" since they believed that it might influence the adjustment of immigrants. Berry, Phinney, Sam and Vedder (2006) consider "perceived discrimination" to be a strong predictor of adjustment as well. It was thus decided to include one item on "perceived discrimination in Norway": "I have experienced negative treatment from Norwegians due to my nationality". It was also suggested to introduce an item on the "perceived treatment from civil servants in the homeland". It was then decided to include the statement: "In Russia or other former Soviet republics, I have experienced bad treatment from civil servants".

Procedures

Most of the questionnaires were distributed in electronic form, and only few (7) in paper format all in Russian, though an English version of the questionnaire was available as well. The questionnaires were distributed by means of Survey Monkey which is a web service to facilitate the design of on-line surveys, as well as collecting and maintaining survey data. A cover letter introduced the author and the purpose of the survey. It was clarified that the participation in the survey is voluntary and anonymous. The link to the survey has been presented on the internet on the following web pages: http://www.dom.no/index.php, http://evro.clan.su/forum/2-135-1 and http://community.livejournal.com/skandinavi_ru/21766.html?mode=reply.

The three servers mentioned above are web forums for Russian speaking immigrants in Norway. In addition Skype (www.skype.com) service was used to contact further participants. Some students and employees from the University of Oslo, University of Tromsø, and colleges in Narvik and Kongsberg were reached by mail and direct contact, and were asked to distribute the questionnaire to the other Russian speaking people they knew. Totally 313 questionnaires were registered, of which 274 were valid, 39 had complete or partial data missing.

Participants

The sample consisted of 173 Russian participants, and 91 from the former Soviet republics Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Moldova, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan. Among the participants 32 stated their birth country to be USSR. Males comprised 31% of the sample, and females 69%. The age was ranged from 24 to 64 years (M=32, SD= 8,859). This demographic data is consistent with data from SSB for immigrants from Russia living in Norway (Forgaard & Dzamarija, 2006). Gender was dummy coded as 1 for males and 0 for females. Birth country was dummy coded as 1 for Russia and 0 for other countries. Educational level was coded as following: 1 for completed secondary school, 2 for not completed 5 years of university, 3 for 5 years of university completed and 4 for master or higher degree. When looking at period of residence in Norway, 60% have lived in Norway less than 4 years, 27% between 5 and 9 years, 12% between 10 and 14 years, while the rest, 2% have lived in Norway for more than 15 years. This is to a certain degree consistent with the data from SSB (Forgaard & Dzamarija, 2006). The participants reported a high level of education: 59% have completed 5 years of college or university, 12% have achieved higher academic degree, 17% have not completed 5 years of university or college education, and only 12% have completed only secondary school. This indicates that the participants represent a highly educated group. According to statistics from SSB for only Russian immigrants in age 30-44 years (Mange innvandrergrupper mer utdannet enn resten av folket, 2001), 37% achieved higher level education and are among most educated groups of immigrants.

Statistical analyses

Statistical analyses were done using version 14.0 of the SPSS statistical software. The data were first analysed by inter-item reliability analysis to assess the reliability of the scales. Correlation analysis between demographical, acculturation measures and SWLS has been performed, mainly to test Berry's theory. Correlation analysis between single legs in each of the triangles and SWLS, and between each of the balance situation and SWLS, was conducted to test the main hypothesis. Correlation analysis between SWLS and balance indexes has been performed as well. Finally, multiple regression analysis (enter method) was used to evaluate the association of predictors (three legs in each of the triangles) with SWLS. In addition, a stepwise regression analysis (enter method) was applied, in which demographic and balance index variables were entered in two steps, also to evaluate the association of these with SWLS. The author considers that such relatively simple statistical analysis is sufficient for the explorative purpose of the study. Besides, a number of variables were constructed in order to facilitate the use of different models (attitude triangles, perception triangles and total triangles) and for calculating balance indexes.

Results

Mean scale scores were computed for each participant, and each mean score was based on the items that were answered. Thus, if two items were omitted from a 9-item scale, the scale score was the mean score of 7 items. If more than 2 item scores were missing on a scale, than this scale for that participant was categorized as missing data. Scale scores were then presented as the proportion of the scale that was agreed to, which is calculated by subtracting 1 from the mean scale score in order to begin the scale metric at 0, and then dividing by the scale range, which in this study is 3. Thus all scale scores have a common metric, ranging from 0.00 to 1.00.

The item "In Russia or other former Soviet republics I have experienced bad treatment from civil servants" was removed from Russian attitude scale because corrected item-total correlation for it was much lower than 0.3. Following items were removed from Russian perception scale: "I keep a formal serious face when meeting strangers", "In Russia or in other former Soviet republics, I hurry when crossing the street", "When with Russians on a bus, in a pub or in a café, I speak Russian", since deleting these items increased Cronbach's alpha coefficient. In order to achieve symmetry, the corresponding items: "I smile when meeting strangers", "In Norway, I rarely hurry when crossing the street" and "I usually try to speak Norwegian in public" were also removed from Norwegian perception scale. Following items : "In my opinion, the heritage of the Cold War still affects the relationship between Norway and Russia" and "I have often experienced negative treatment from Norwegians due to my nationality" were removed from Norwegian-Russian attitude scale since corrected item-total correlation was much lower than 0.3. Descriptive statistics and internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) for all the seven scales are given in Table 1. SWLS, Russian attitude scale

and Norwegian attitude scale proved to be reliable, having Cronbach's alpha coefficients higher than 0, 70 and inter-item correlations over 0, 30. Cronbach's alpha coefficients and inter-item correlations for the remaining scales were lower but satisfactory. However, the items about languages and perceived discrimination were not completely deleted, and were approached as separate items in the further correlational analysis. Both language variables were also used in construction of new variables.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and reliability measures of the scales

Scale	N of items	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient	Mean Inter-Item Correlation
Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS)	5	0,63	0,20	,76	,40
Attitude to Norway	9	0,58	0,19	,78	,29
Attitude to Russia	9	0,69	0,18	,77	,28
Norwegian perception	6	0,50	0,20	,56	,18
Russian perception	6	0,55	0,20	,60	,20
Attitude Norway- Russia	7	0,52	0,15	,66	,22
Norwegian-Russian similarities1	13	0,23	0,11	,66	,14
Norwegian-Russian similarities2	2	0,48	0,22	,52	,35

Acculturation measures

As a group, participants perceived that they fit almost equally well in both cultures. The attitudes to both cultures were positive, though the attitude to Russian culture was more positive, than to Norwegian. The attitude between cultures was rated as neutral. In respondent's opinion, the cultural distance between Norway and Russia is large in all of the 13 aspects, though the difference between cultures is not great compared to other countries.

As a group, participants were satisfied with life (M=,63). A total of 72% have scored above the scale midpoint on SWLS indicating satisfaction with life, and 28 % of the participants have scored below the scale midpoint, indicating that they were not satisfied.

Perceived discrimination was measured by only one item: "I have often experienced negative treatment from Norwegians due to my nationality". It was found that as a group, participants perceived a low degree of discrimination (M =,33). Of the respondents, 29% reported partial or full agreement, and 10% of the participants expressed strong agreement to the statement about discrimination.

The mean scores for assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization based on the mean acculturation values of the three dummy coded variables (language, attitude and behaviour), were calculated for each participant. The assignment of the participants into the fourfold language acculturation categories was based on the one item score for Russian language and one for Norwegian language. If the scores for both languages were above 2, than Integration language was preferred. If Russian language score was equal to or less than 2, and Norwegian language score was above 2, than Assimilation language was endorsed. Separation language was defined by Russian language score above 2 and Norwegian language score equal to or less than

2. If both scale scores were below 2, than Marginalization language was preferred.

For attitude and behaviour scales it was assumed that scores above the scale midpoint (0.5) indicate agreement to the scale, while scores below midpoint indicate rejection of the scale. Score equal to 0.5 were not assigned into fourfold category. For both attitude and behaviour (perception) scales, Integration was defined by scores which were above ,50 for both Russian and Norwegian scales; Assimilation was defined by scores above ,50 on Norwegian Scales and below ,50 on Russian scales; Separation was defined as more than ,50 agreement to Russian Scale and less than ,50 agreement to Norwegian Scales; and Marginalization was defined by scores below ,50 on both scales. Of the participants, 186 were assigned into the fourfold acculturation categories, while 88 were not possible to assign to any category.

Of 186 participants who were possible to categorise, 51% supported integration, 35% endorsed separation, 10% supported assimilation, and 4% endorsed marginalization. Table 2 shows mean scores, standard deviations of variables and correlations between mean acculturation variables and other variables in our study. The correlations between acculturation variables and acculturation modes are also presented in Table 2, and these correlations give meaningful pattern. No significant association between any of the two Norwegian-Russian similarity measurements and acculturation modes was indicated.

There is gender effect on Integration and Marginalization, suggesting that women tend to be more integrationists than men; men, on the other hand, tend to be marginalizationists. Gender is also negatively associated with attitude to Norwegian culture and perceptual fit into Norwegian culture, suggesting that women in general are more satisfied with life, fit more into Norwegian culture and more likely to favour Norwegian culture (see Appendix B). Residence

length in Norway is significantly positively related to perceptual fit into Norwegian culture and attitude to Norway.

Results revealed significant positive correlation between SWLS and integration, and significant negative correlation between SWLS and separation. No significant correlations between SWLS and assimilation, and between SWLS and marginalization, were found. Using the Fisher r-to-z transformation, no significant differences between the correlation among integration and SWLS, and correlations among assimilation and SWLS, were revealed ($z = -1.36$, $n1=186$, $n2=186$, $p= 0.08$). No significant differences between the correlation among separation and SWLS, and correlation between marginalisation and SWLS ($z= -.49$, $n1 = 186$, $n2 = 186$, $p =0.31$) were neither found. It means that in terms of satisfaction with life, integration and assimilation were equally indistinguishable in having low positive correlations with adaptation, but were both more positive than separation and marginalisation, which were equally indistinguishable in having low negative correlations with SWLS. Using mathematical notation our finding could be expressed like this: $I = A > S = M$.

The SWLS is significantly positively correlated with the length of residence ($r = ,27$), birth country ($r = ,21$), fitting into Norwegian culture ($r = ,18$), Norwegian attitude ($r = ,26$), Norwegian-Russian attitude ($r = ,13$), and significantly negatively correlated with maleness ($r = -,16$), perceived discrimination ($r = -,18$) and cultural distance measured by Norwegian-Russian similarity scale 2 ($r = -,16$) (see Appendix B).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and correlations between acculturation variables and other variables.

	M	SD	Assimilation	Integration	Separation	Marginalization
Residence years	4,84	3,6	,05	,10	-,11	-,09
Sex (maleness)	,32	,47	-,09	-,16*	,12	,19**
Age	32,1	8,86	,11	,10	-,12	-,14*
Russian language	3,75	,61	-,35**	,22**	,20**	-,31**
Norwegian language	2,78	1,13	,20**	,54**	-,62**	-,15*
Perceived discrimination	1,98	1,01	-,03	,08	,01	-,14*
Russian perception	,55	,20	-,59**	,19**	,40**	-,34**
Attitude to Russia	,69	,18	-,54**	,39**	,30**	-,47**
Norwegian perception	,50	,20	,47**	,47**	-,68**	-,29**
Attitude to Norway	,58	,19	,29**	,58**	-,66**	-,29**
Attitude Norway-Russia	,52	,15	-,18*	,28**	-,05	-,21**
Norwegian-Russian similarities1	,23	,11	-,08	,08	-,04	,05
Norwegian-Russian similarities2	,48	,22	-,02	,01	-,03	,08
Satisfaction with life	,63	,20	,03	,17*	-,15*	-,10
Assimilation	,13	,24	1	-,26**	-,37**	-,13
Integration	,46	,34	-,26**	1	-,67**	-,34**
Separation	,35	,33	-,37**	-,67**	1	-,07
Marginalization	,06	,17	-,13	-,34**	-,07	1

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

Measures regarding balance state in triangles and parts of triangles

Totally, eight possible measures were checked for balance: 1) balance between Russian attitude and Russian perception, 2) balance between Norwegian attitude and Norwegian perception, 3) balance between Norwegian-Russian attitude and Norwegian-Russian similarity, 4) balance in attitude triangle, 5) balance in perception triangle, 6) and 7) balance in total triangle.

Balance is defined in different ways. In cases 1, 2, 3, balance is defined by the difference between corresponding legs. When the difference between corresponding legs is below 0.5, then a state of balance is achieved. When the difference between corresponding legs is above 0.5, a state of imbalance is achieved. The value of 0.5 is defined as critical value because it is the middle point between 0 and 1 which are the extreme values for the differences between corresponding legs in the dyad.

In cases 4, 5, and 7, balance is defined by balance indexes. Balance index in a triangle is the product of the corresponding legs in the triangle. If balance index is close to 0, balance is achieved.

Besides, in cases 4, 5, and 6 balance is defined by the signs of the legs in a triangle. Triangles with all legs positive or one positive and two negative, correspond to the balance situation, while triangles with all legs negative or two positive and one negative, correspond to the imbalance situation. In order to find the degree of balance, balance indexes were calculated for all of the triangles. In all cases, low level of satisfaction with life is expected in the imbalance situations, whereas high level of satisfaction with life is expected in the balance situations. It is expected that satisfaction with life can be predicted by a combination of 1) and 2) and/or of a

combination of 1), 2) and 3). It is also expected to find positive relations between balance indexes and balance triangles, and negative relation between balance indexes and imbalance situations.

The results indicated a consistency between attitude and behaviour for each culture. Significant positive moderate correlations between Russian perception and Russian attitude (r =, 57), and between Norwegian perception and Norwegian attitude (r =, 59), were revealed. Results showed also significant positive low correlation between Norwegian-Russian attitude and Norwegian-Russian similarity 1 (r =, 19) (See Appendix C). Furthermore, significant low negative correlations between the following pairs of variables: Russian perception and Norwegian perception (r = -, 31), Russian perception and Norwegian attitude (r = -, 22), and Norwegian perception and Russian attitude (r = -, 12) were revealed (See Appendix C). It might be interpreted that the two cultures are perceived as different although the differences may not be large.

New variables were computed in order to get positive and negative values for each of the attitude, perception and similarity proportion scales in the triangles. High values of the scale got positive signs, while low values of the scale got negative signs. New variables were computed by subtracting a mean value for each of the scale from each score of the corresponding proportion scale. For instance, by subtracting the mean of the proportion scale for Russian perception (0.55) from the score on the Russian perception proportion scale (for example, 0.78), we get a new positive value for Russian perception which is 0.23. It allows controlling for possible systematic errors in the questionnaire.

The assignment of the participants into attitude and two perception balance situations is based on these new variables. If all of the new generated scores for attitude triangle were positive, than the balance situation with three pluses for the attitude triangle was preferred. If two of the attitude scores were positive and one was negative, than the imbalance situation with two pluses and one minus was chosen. One positive and two negative attitude scores corresponded to the balance situation with one plus and two minuses, while all negative attitude scores correspond to the imbalance situation with three minuses. The same procedure was applied to assign the participants into perception balance situation1 and perception balance situation2. Note that perception balance situation1 is based on13 items of the first Norwegian-Russian similarity scale, while balance situation2 is based on 2 items of the second Norwegian-Russian similarity scale. All of the balance variables were dummy coded.

It was revealed that more than a half sample (54%) was assigned into one of the balance situations in attitude triangle, in perception triangle1 and in both total triangles. A number of 48% were assigned into balance situation in perception triangle2. It implies that our sample tends toward balance when balance is defined in terms of the signs of the legs in triangles.

Variables Russia- not- balance, Norway- not- balance, Norway-Russia- not- balance1 and Norway-Russia- not- balance2, were calculated by absolute value of the difference between attitude and perception of the relevant variables. These variables were constructed in order to test balance in single legs and for further construction of total triangle. For instance, Russia- not-balance is calculated by absolute difference between Russian attitude and Russian perception. Mean and standard deviation values are represented in Table 3, and all of the mean values are below 0.5 indicating that balance in all legs is achieved for the sample as a whole.

Neither of the following variables: Russia- not- balance, Norway- not- balance, Norway-Russia- not- balance1 and Norway-Russia- not- balance 2 gave significant correlations with SWLS (see Appendix C). The assignment of the participants into two balance situations was based on "not balance" variables. It was conducted in the same way as previously, but this time the scores were compared to the mean of the relevant variables allowing controlling for possible systematic errors in the questionnaire.

Five variables for balance indexes were created: Balance Index Attitude (BIA), Balance Index Perception1 (BIP1), Balance Index Perception2 (BIP2), Balance Index Total1 (BIT1) and Balance Index Total2 (BIT2). The imbalance index was computed as a three-way regression interaction effect. That is, by centralizing each of the three measures as it was done previously, negative values show negative values below the scale midpoint and positive values show values above the scale midpoint. Multiplying such centralized values results in positive products showing Heiderian balance (3 positive or 1 positive and 2 negative) and in negative products showing imbalance (3 negative or 1 negative and 2 positive).

All indexes were calculated as the product of the three variables which correspond to the legs of the relevant triangle. Thus, BIA was calculated as a product of Russian attitude, Norwegian attitude and Norwegian-Russian attitude, BIP1 was calculated as a product of Russian perception, Norwegian perception and Norwegian-Russian similarities1, while BIP2 was calculated as a product of Russian perception, Norwegian perception and Norwegian-Russian similarities2. BIT1 was computed as a product of Russia not balance, Norway not balance, Norway-Russia not balance1, and BIT2 was computed as a product of Russia not balance, Norway not balance, Norway-Russia not balance2. All of the indexes were multiplied by 8 in

order to get the scale level ranging from -1 to 1. The values for balance indexes have a non-linear relationship with the values of legs in the triangles, implying that large values of legs such as 0.5 will give a product value of 1, while small values of legs such as less than 0.1 will give a very small product value. This is the reason for presenting mean and standard deviation values for balance indexes in Table 3 with high precision. Mathematically, in terms of mean values of balance indexes, the author defined balance as values above zero, while imbalance is defined by values below zero. Since all of the mean values for balance indexes are situated close to zero, the conclusion is that balance in all of the triangles is achieved for the sample as a whole.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of constructed not balance variables and balance indexes

Constructed variable	M	SD
Russia not balance	,18	,13
Norway not balance	,15	,13
Norway-Russia not balance 1	,30	,16
Norway-Russia not balance 2	,21	,16
BIA	,0049	,05528
BIP1	-,0008	,04201
BIP2	,0024	,0852
BIT1	,0632	,0938
BIT2	,0420	,0718

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

Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 give details of the correlations between balance situations, balance indexes and SWLS in the relevant triangles. All of the correlations between balance indexes and balance situations in attitude triangle were significant and meaningful (Table 4.1). For both perception triangles there were only two significant correlations found: Positive correlation between balance index and balance situation (+ - -), and negative correlation

between balance index and imbalance (+ + -) (Tables 4.2 and 4.3). Results showed that in both total triangles (Tables 4.4 and 4.5) balance indexes were significantly positively associated with balance (+ + +) and significantly negatively associated with imbalance (- - -). These findings fit with our prediction about positive relations between balance indexes and balance triangles, and negative relations between balance indexes and imbalance situations. However, for total triangles the results were confusing revealing significantly negative correlation between balance in total triangles (+ - -) and balance index, and significant positive correlation between imbalance (+ +-) and balance index .

No significant correlations between balance situations in any of the triangles and SWLS were identified, except two low positive correlations: one between attitude balance (+ + +) and SWLS, and the other between imbalance (+ + -) in total triangle and SWLS. As can be seen from the Table 5 there are no significant correlations between balance indexes and SWLS.

Table 4.1. Correlations between attitude triangles, BIA and SWLS

Balance/imbalance attitude triangle	BIA	SWLS
Three positive legs (balance: +++)	,25 **	,16**
One positive leg (balance: + - -)	,26**	-,10
Two positive legs (imbalance:+ + -)	-,25**	,04
Zero positive legs (imbalance: - - -)	-,30**	-,08

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

Table 4.2. Correlations between perception triangles1, BIP1 and SWLS

Balance/imbalance perception triangle1	BIP1	SWLS
Three positive legs (balance: + + +)	,09	,08
One positive leg (balance: + - -)	,43**	,03
Two positive legs (imbalance: + + -)	-,43**	-,06
Zero positive legs (imbalance: - - -)	,12	,99

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

Table 4.3. Correlations between perception triangles2, BIP2 and SWLS

Balance/imbalance perception triangle2	BIP2	SWLS
Three positive legs (balance: + + +)	,06	,04
One positive leg (balance: + - -)	,45**	,08
Two positive legs (imbalance: + + -)	-,44**	-,01
Zero positive legs (imbalance: - - -)	,20	-,03

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

Table 4.4 . Correlations between total triangles1, BIT1 and SWLS

Balance/imbalance total triangle	BIT1	SWLS
Three positive legs (balance: + + +)	,69**	,01
One positive leg (balance: + - -)	-,36**	-,09
Two positive legs (imbalance: + + -)	,51**	,09
Zero positive legs (imbalance: - - -)	-,25**	-,02

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

Table 4.5. Correlations between total triangles2, BIT2 and SWLS

Balance/imbalance total triangle	BIT2	SWLS
Three positive legs (balance: + + +)	,34**	,01
One positive leg (balance: + - -)	-,23**	-,09
Two positive legs (imbalance: + + -)	,18**	,13*
Zero positive legs (imbalance: - - -)	-,18**	-,02

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

Table 5. Correlations between all balance indexes and SWLS

	BIA	BIP1	BIP2	BIT1	BIT2
BIA	—				
BIP1	,06	—			
BIP2	,01	,17**	—		
BIT1	,23**	,03	-,02	—	
BIT2	,13*	-,01	,05	,72**	—
SWLS	,08	-,07	,004	,05	,02

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

First, multiple regression analysis has been conducted to predict SWLS, with Norwegian attitude and Norwegian perception as predictor variables. A significant model emerged with $F_{(2, 268)} = 9.46$, $p < .0001$. The model explained only 6.6% of the variance (Adjusted R square = .059), and Norwegian attitude is a significant predictor ($p = .002$). When multiple regression analysis was conducted to predict SWLS, with Russian attitude and Russian perception as predictor variables, a non-significant model emerged with $F_{(2, 268)} = 0.03$, $p = .971$.

Multiple regression analysis has also been applied to predict SWLS, with Russian attitude, Norwegian attitude, Norwegian-Russian attitude as predictor variables in attitude triangle, Russian perception, Norwegian perception, Norwegian-Russian perception1 in perception triangle1, and Russian perception, Norwegian perception, Norwegian-Russian

perception2 in perception triangle2. The results yield significant models for all of the triangles with $F(3, 262) = 6.80$, $p< .0001$ for attitude triangle, $F(3, 247) = 2.74$, $p< .05$ for perception triangle1, and $F(3, 235) = 4.15$, $p< .05$ for perception triangle2. However, all the models explained only small amount of variance: 7.2% of the variance (Adjusted R square = .062) was explained in attitude triangle, 3.2% (Adjusted R square = .02) in perception triangle1 and 5% (Adjusted R square = .04) in perception triangle2. Results of the multiple regression analysis are viewed in Table 6 showing that Norwegian attitude is a significant predictor in attitude triangle, and Norwegian perception is a significant predictor in both perception triangles.

Using the enter method in multiple regression analysis with Satisfaction with life as a dependent variable, and Russia- not- balance, Norway- not- balance as independent variables, a non-significant model emerged: $F(2, 268) = .40$, $p= .961$. When Norway-Russia- not- balance1 was included in the model, the emerged model was still non-significant: $F(3, 243) = .68$, $p= .564$. A non-significant model was also produced when Norway-Russia- not- balance1 was replaced by Norway-Russia- not- balance2 ($F(3, 232) = .185$, $p= .906$).

A multiple regression analysis was conducted once again to predict satisfaction with life, but this time variables were entered sequentially (enter method). When demographical variables, BIA and BIP1 were entered sequentially, a significant model emerged: $F(7, 230) = 6.75$, $p< .01$. The model explains 17.1% of the variance in satisfaction with life scores (Adjusted R square = .145), where most part of the variance (15,5%) is explained by demographical variables, while BIA and BIP1 explain 0.9% and 0.7% of variance respectively . See Table 7 for more information about predictor variables. Results have also revealed a significant model ($F(7, 220) = 6.59$, $p<.01$) when BIP1 was replaced by BIP2. The model explains 17.3% (Adjusted R square

= .147) of variance, BIA explains 0.8% of total variance, while BIP2 does not contribute to the explained variance.

Similar results were revealed when demographical variables and BIT1 were entered in the model sequentially. A significant model ($F (6,231) = 7.21$, $p < .01$) was produced, but only very small amount of variance (0.3%) was explained by BIT1. When BIT1 was replaced by BIT2, the results were almost the same. A significant model ($F (6, 221) = 7.34$, $p < .01$) was produced, where 16.5% (Adjusted R square = .146) of variance was explained by demographical variables, only 0.8% is explained by BIA and 0,1% is explained by BIT2.

Table 6. Results of the multiple regression analysis, dependent variable: SWLS

Variables	B	SE B	β	T	Sig.
Attitude triangle					
Russian attitude	-.001	.01	-.001	-.01	.991
Norwegian attitude	.25	.07	.24	3.88	.001**
Norwegian-Russian attitude	.12	.09	.09	1.31	.190
Perception triangle1					
Russian perception	.07	.07	.07	.98	.330
Norwegian perception	.19	.07	.19	2.87	.005**
Norwegian-Russian perception1	.01	.11	.01	.10	.917
Perception triangle2					
Russian perception	.08	.07	.08	1.18	.241
Norwegian perception	.22	.07	.22	3.30	.001**
Norwegian-Russian prception2	-.07	.06	-.08	-1.23	.219

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

Table 7. Results of the multiple regression analysis (variables were entered sequentially), independent variables: Demographical variables, BIA, BIP1; dependent variable: SWLS

Variables	B	SE B	β	T	Sig.
Maleness	-,06	,03	-,13	-2,13	,034
Age	-,004	,001	-,18	-2,78	,006**
Educational level	,03	,02	,10	1,59	,113
Residence years	,02	,003	,31	4,91	,0001**
Birth country	,04	,03	,10	1,64	,102
Balance Index Attitude	,38	,23	,10	1,65	,100
Balance Index Perception1	-,40	,30	-,08	-1,32	,188

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

A summary of open-ended comments

In conclusion, the author presents a summary of open-ended comments of the participants. There were totally 84 comments. Some comments were related to sociocultural adjustment in Norway. Several participants reported that they had difficulties approving their education and getting a qualified job in Norway. One of the participants, however, considered Norway as a good place for career prospects. Such positive aspects as well-developed social welfare system, high living standard, quiet and peaceful life, a lot of leisure time, were quite often mentioned among the things that were appreciated with living in Norway. Some of the participants emphasized, however, that they missed big city stress. "I miss stress, though UDI (Norwegian Directorate of Immigration) helps in solving this problem somewhat".

Differences between Norway and Russia were quiet often mentioned in the comments. Some persons claimed that there are a number of differences between Norway and Russia without specifying them "Norway has a lot of positive things comparing to Russia, as well as negative". One person mentioned "... the two nations speaking different languages (I am talking about communicational languages) and it will delay the establishment of contacts. The day when the states will be governed by people who understand both cultures, will be a success day for market, culture and relations between people."

Few of the respondents shared their feelings about living in Norway and pointed out that they have always felt as strangers in Norway and somebody even wrote that Norway is more suited for introverts. Some of the participants shared their thoughts about Norwegians. "I feel that Norwegian generation in their 40ies has been raised up on the same values and relations as us. At least it is in this age group I use to find people with the same interests as me". Few of the

participants expressed that they had no problems in getting along with Norwegians; in fact it was easier for them to have contact with Norwegians compared with Russians. "We should learn from Norwegians to take things more easily and to enjoy our spare time and nature". One person expressed surprise related to changed gender roles in Norway, and that men in Norway seem to be confused about their interaction with women.

It was recognized that accept and respect of Norwegian culture, learning Norwegian language and traditions are important components in order to feel comfortable in a new cultural context. Several participants mentioned such traits as openness, friendliness and tolerance as essential to fit in in Norway. Some of the participants warned newcomers from having unrealistic expectations and "not to be arrogant towards Norwegians by showing that Russians are smarter, better-looking or better in any sense". Some of the participants wished new immigrants to be self-confident, do not forget their connection to Russian culture, and not to be afraid of misunderstandings that might happen because of cultural differences. One participant considered that "it would be easier to adopt the new mentality by minimizing contact with Russian people" and some used a Russian version of expression: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do". The major part, on the other hand, expressed advantages of integration in such way: "Your life will be richer if you manage to join knowledge taken from Russia and the things you are learning in Norway", "Cuisine and literature are a part of the culture, and I choose to take the best from both sides. But of course, nothing tastes as good as mamma's pancakes" and "Let Russian potato salad be served with Norwegian "pinnekjøtt" (stick meat), and aquavit is flashed down with vodka".

Discussion

The main aim of this study was to test hypothesis based on Heider's balance theory in a sample of Russian-speaking immigrant's acculturating in Norway. It was expected to find negative association between imbalance situations and SWLS, and positive association between balance situations and SWLS. The findings support a part of the hypothesis. No significant correlations between any of the dyads and SWLS, and between any of balance indexes and SWLS were found. None of triangles were related to SWLS, except two. Significant positive correlation between balance in an attitude triangle (+ + +) and SWLS, was revealed, and this is the only finding that fit with our predictions. It might be interpreted that full balance of the three attitudes is the most adaptive situation. An unexpected significant low positive correlation between imbalance in total triangle (+ + -) and SWLS was also indicated.

Multiple regression analysis has been performed several times each time to predict SWLS. When Norwegian attitude and Norwegian perception were entered as predictor variables, a significant model emerged with Norwegian attitude as a significant predictor, but the model explained only a small amount of variance. The model with attitude variables (attitude triangle) yielded also a significant model, as well as the model with perception variables (perception triangles), but each time the model explained only a small amount of variance. The model where demographical values, BIA, BIP1 and BIP2 were included stepwise, the explained variance was larger due to demographical variables. The same results were achieved for models with BIT1 and BIT2 were included into the model together with demographic variables.

Results showed significant positive correlations between Russian attitude and Russian perception, and Norwegian attitude and Norwegian perception. The mean values for Russia- not-

balance, Norway- not- balance, Norway- Russia- not- balance1 and Norway-Russia- not-balance2 are below 0.5, indicating balance in all of the separate legs or dyads for the whole sample. Mean values of balance indexes appear around zero indicating that the sample as a whole tends toward balance in all triangles. Closer examination of the scores provides further support for this tendency to balance in social relations since a major part of the participants have balance scores in their dyads and balance indexes. Results further indicated that more than half of the sample (54%) was assigned into one of the balance situations in the attitude, perception1 and both total triangles, and 48% were assigned into the balance situation in perception triangle2. This might also indicate the tendency to balance. These findings support Heider's claim that the individuals are striving to balance in the relationship between sentiments and unit formation.

Regarding immigrants demographic characteristics, the results have shown that higher satisfaction with life correlated significantly with having longer length of residence, and being female. Also, higher satisfaction with life correlated significantly with perceived discrimination and smaller cultural distance between Norway and Russia measured by Norwegian-Russian similarity scale 2. In earlier studies (Ward et al., 2001; Chirkov et al., 2005) have found strong relationship between cultural distance and difficulties experienced by immigrants. The author's findings regarding significant negative relationship between SWLS and cultural distance seems to be in line with other findings (Ward & Kennedy, 1996; Zlobina et al., 2006), though former findings were related to sociocultural and not psychological adjustment. The results have further revealed that coming from Russia, fitting more in Norwegian culture, having positive attitude to Norway, perceiving attitude between Norway and Russia as positive were also positively associated with SWLS. Ward et al. (2001) and Chirkov et al. (2005) have also reported the

adjustment of acculturation individuals might be affected by their cultural fit into the dominant culture.

The secondary purpose of the study was to examine Berry's claim that in terms of positive adaptation, assimilation and separation strategies are intermediate successful, integration is the most successful, while marginalization is the least successful. This study did not find support for this theory. Findings revealed that integration and assimilation were indistinguishable in having low positive correlations with adaptation, but were both more positive than separation and marginalisation, which are also equally indistinguishable in having low negative correlations with adaptation. In other words, this study found the pattern of $I = A > S = M$, instead of the predicted $I > A = S > M$. These findings are in line with the results of Korean-Canadian studies (Berry et al., 1987) where exactly the same pattern was revealed. In 10 Native studies of Berry et al. (1987) and other studies of Berry (Rudmin, 2006) the pattern $I = A > S$ was found.

Several limitations of the study are apparent. The participants were recruited mostly from colleges, universities and internet, and this could bias the results. Self-report measures used in the study are known as subjects for response biases and acquiesces effect (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Zlobina et al., 2006). The failure to find the relationship between different balance situations and SWLS might be attributed partly to the insufficient design of the questionnaire. Cronbach's alpha coefficients and inter-item correlations for SWLS, Attitude to Russia and Attitude to Norway scales, were high, while the reliability coefficients for the other scales were comparatively low, and some of the items were deleted from Norwegian-Russian attitude scale and both Norwegian and Russian perception scales in order to get satisfactory reliability coefficients. It should be noted that some of the participants expressed difficulties in

filling in Norwegian-Russian similarity scale 2 since a number of the participants declared a lack of knowledge about the countries presented in the list. This indicates that this scale is not a good instrument to measure cultural distance. Norwegian-Russian similarity scale 1 appeared to be a better measure of cultural distance, and it has common features with Cultural Distance Index (CDI) (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980; Searle & Ward, 1990). CDI was used in the previous research (Searle & Ward, 1990) indicating that the instrument was reliable. Thus it might be possible to consider adopting CDI in future studies.

Some of the participants found it difficult to answer those items which dealt with predicting the relationship between Norway and Russia. Measuring of behaviour and perceptions is a challenging process since individuals often cannot directly observe their behaviour or be aware of what they do. All of the scales, except SWLS, were constructed by the author specifically for the purpose of this survey, and reliability coefficients for some of the scales were comparatively low indicating some disadvantages of item scales. For this reason, future research should focus on selecting valid items that better fit the purpose of the study as well as improving the existing items. It might be necessary to conduct qualitative interviews with a number of participants to improve culture-specific items for the questionnaire.

The question about intermarriage with Norwegians was not included into the questionnaire. However, as it was mentioned earlier, one of the major groups of immigrants from former Soviet republics and particularly from Russia, consists of women, who came to Norway to get married (Henriksen, 2006). It may appear that marriage to Norwegian person facilitates assimilation and integration. Earlier studies (Dribe & Lundh, 2007) have indicated a strong link between intermarriage with natives and economic integration in terms of employment and

income. "To marry someone from the majority population contributes to shorten the adaptation period of the immigrant in two ways. Firstly, the human capital of the native spouse spills over to the immigrant, who improves the language skills and gets better insights into the formal and informal rules regulating the labour market and working life. Secondly, being married to a native gives access to native networks, which makes job search and moves for occupational promotion more successful" (Dribe & Lundh, 2007, p.12, 13). Thus it might be important to investigate the impact of intermarriage with natives on acculturation process.

The author approached the participants as one group. In spite of the different origin of the participants, it is assumed that they have been affiliated and still are affiliated to Russian culture. This assumption, however, should perhaps not be taken for granted, and more information about the role of Russian culture in post-Soviet states is needed. It might be necessary to study each cultural group separately to achieve a more homogeneous group.

In this study, we assessed participant's well-being by means of SWLS. However, SWLS provides a measure of satisfaction with life in global terms. The scale does not include specific aspects of life and is not designed to measure satisfaction with life in the immediate period of life. In this regard it might be relevant to apply another measurement of psychological well-being or measure psychological distress by means of such scale as the Zung Self-Rating Depression Scale (ZSDS), assessing psychological, affective and physiological aspects of depression (Zung, 1965). The scale was used in previous studies (Ward & Kennedy, 1992; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001), and has proven to be reliable and valid.

Statistical analysis conducted in this study is relatively simplistic. However, the author considers that it fit with the explorative purpose of the study. Also, since there are many

computed correlations, there is a high possibility that some of them appeared significant by chance. The Bonferroni should be calculated in this case. This study was a first acculturation study of Russian-speaking immigrants in Norway, and the first study exploring the possibility to adopt Heider's balance theory in acculturation research. The scales were new, as well as several calculations of Heiderian balance, and many new variables were constructed to facilitate the use of different models (triangles) and balance indexes. A more robust or advanced statistical analysis should be applied in future research to test the hypothesis.

Also, future research should perhaps differentiate between psychological and sociocultural adjustment as it was done by Ward (Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward & Chang, 1997). According to Ward and Kennedy (1992, 1993), psychological adjustment refers to psychological well-being and satisfaction in a new culture, while sociocultural adjustment relates to social learning and the ability to "fit in" the new culture. They found that psychological adjustment is predicted by personality, life change, and social support, while sociocultural adjustment is affected by amount of contact with dominant culture, length of residence, cultural identity and cultural distance. If it is possible to integrate this way of thinking in our research, then our hypothesis based on Heider's balance theory, should be changed since attitudes and perceptions should in this case be approached separately. It might be predicted that subjects who are in balance situations regarding their attitudes will experience higher levels of psychological well-being, while in the opposite case low levels of psychological well-being are predicted. Further, it might be predicted that subjects in balance situations regarding their perceptions will experience higher levels of sociocultural adjustment, while imbalance perception situations lead to low levels of sociocultural adjustment.

It should be pointed that Heider's definition of "unit" is not limited to affective attribute, and include any characteristic or way in which objects can be grouped together. Thus, a person can group objects together on the basis of such simple subjective categories as "liking" and "disliking" or other categories closely associated to these, or on the basis of more complex objective categories as income, education and age. Earlier research has demonstrated that the degree of balance is dependent on the type of attribute which is used for categorizing objects, and more affective attributes result in more balanced groups compared with affect-free. The effect of the affective attribute will depend on the person's cognitive complexity (Scott, 1963). It might be interesting to further investigate this idea in future acculturation research to see how a person's cognitive complexity is related to the tendency to form balanced structures.

A summary of open-ended comments of the participants in the study might provide some insight for future research. The author considers that future acculturation research of Russian-speaking immigrants in general and Russian immigrants in particular, is important for several reasons. One reason is the increasing number of immigrants from Eastern Europe in the coming years in general, as predicted by SSB (Venter sterk vekst i innvandrerbefolkningen, 2006). Russian immigrants represent now the fastest increasing immigrant group in Norway (Folkemengde, etter norsk/utenlandsk statsborgerskap og innvandrerbefolkningens landbakgrunn, 2006) and this trend seems to continue in the coming years. Another reason is connected to the future relationship between Norway and Russia. There is an apparent interest of both countries in strengthening the economic ties, which can be seen from the activity in the Barents Sea regarding fishing, oil and gas industries. However, there are also a number of challenges. One of the challenges, the increasing military activity of Russian war planes near the

Norwegian border at sea, was recently covered in Norwegian media (Rimehaug, 2007). Another challenge, which is discussed in Norwegian politics, is maintaining Norwegian supremacy over Svalbard (Rimehaug, 2007). Future research might thus provide more knowledge about the acculturation of Russian immigrants, and how this might be affected by the development of the relationship between Norway and Russia.

Appendix A1

1) Hello! My name is Evguenia Romanova and I am a psychology student at the University of Tromsø. I am now doing my research project in social psychology on factors influencing adjustment of people in a new cultural context. My supervisor is Professor Floyd Rudmin (University of Tromsø). The questionnaire below measures attitudes to both Norwegian and Russian cultures, and the similarities and differences between these cultures. I focus on Russian and Russian speaking immigrants in Norway. It takes just 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Your participation in this survey is voluntary and anonymous. You can quit the study at any time for any reason. Your identity will not be mentioned in the research project. I appreciate your help! The project is set to end on May, 2007. If you are interested in the results of the study or have some questions to this questionnaire, please contact me at anketakultur@gmail.com Thank you for your participation!

English questionnaire

2) What is your country of birth? _____

Age? _____

How many years have you lived in Norway? _____

Education :

secondary school__   not finished university or university college___

5 years university college/university completed ___

higher research degree, as master degree and PhD___

Gender?   Male ____   Female ____

Please select to which extent you agree with the following statements by using 4-point answer scale:

1 = disagree completely   2 = disagree a little   3 = agree a little   4 = agree completely

Norway and Russia face common threats. ____

I am satisfied with my life. ___

When I have an opportunity, I buy Russian food like caviar, dark bread, salt cucumbers, or Russian chocolate. ___

I feel proud when Russians win in the Olympic Games. ___

I keep a formal serious face when meeting strangers. ___

Considering Russia's situation, its achievements are admirable.   ___

So far I have gotten the important things in life. ___

At home in Norway, we make Norwegian traditional food such as "fårikål" and "lutefisk." ___

I am interested in reading Russian literature. ___

When going out in the evening, I like to dress up. ___

I smile when meeting strangers. ___

1 = disagree completely   2 = disagree a little   3 = agree a little   4 = agree completely

Russian traditions of celebrating Russian Christmas are important for me. ___

I like the Norwegian style of humour. ___

I use to eat a warm meal for lunch. ___

Considering Norway's situation, its achievements are admirable. ___

I feel proud when Norwegians win in the Olympic Games. ___

I feel at home in Norway. ___

In Russia or in other former Soviet republics, I hurry when crossing the street. ___

I think that Norwegian and Russian politicians trust each other. ___

I feel my personal moral values fit well with the moral values of Norwegian society. ___

I am interested in reading Norwegian literature. ___

I wear Norwegian casual style of clothing at work. ___

In Russia or other former Soviet republics I have experienced bad treatment from civil

servants.__

I feel my personal moral values fit well with the moral values of Russian society. ___

I like to be distinctively Russian in my appearance. ___

At home in Norway, we make Russian traditional food such as "pelemeni" and "borsch". ___

I think that Russia and Norway are interested in increasing their fishing trade. __

1 = disagree completely   2 = disagree a little   3 = agree a little   4 = agree completely

I take with me "matpakke" for lunch. ___

Having contact with Norwegian friends means a lot to me. ___

I feel at home in Russia. ___

My winter jackets are of Russian type (leather, fur, etc.). ___

Having contact with Russian friends means a lot to me. ___

I think that Norwegian and Russian authorities will soon agree on Barents Sea fishing policies.

___

I buy Norwegian foods such as "brunost", "pinnekjøtt"etc. ___

I think that Norway and Russia will soon simplify visa application processes. ___

In my opinion, Norway and Russia have friendly relations. ___

When with Russians on a bus, in a pub or in a cafe, I speak Russian. ___

I try to blend in with Norwegians when I am in public. ___

It is important for me that my children would learn to speak Russian language fluently. ___

In Norway, I rarely hurry when crossing the street. ___

I usually try to speak Norwegian in public. ___

It is important for me that my children would learn Norwegian language fluently. ___

In most ways, my life is close to my ideal. ___

I think that Norway and Russia like doing business with one another. ___

1 = disagree completely   2 = disagree a little   3 = agree a little   4 = agree completely

In my opinion, the heritage of the Cold War still affects the relationship between Norway and Russia. ___

If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing. ___

My winter jacket is of Norwegian style (synthetic, cotton fabrics etc.). ___

Celebration of the 17th of May (the national day of Norway) is important for me. ___

The conditions of my life are excellent. ___

I think that Norway and Russia would help each other during a crisis or natural disaster. ___

I have often experienced negative treatment from Norwegians due to my nationality.__

I like the Russian style of humour. ___

3. Re-arrange the following list of countries according to which nation is more similar in your opinion to Russia, starting with the less similar nations. Please fill in the indexing letters in the boxes below.

	Less Similar		More Similar

France

USA

Norway

China

Finland

Poland

Which nations do you think are more similar to Norway?

	Less Similar		More Similar

USA

China

France

Russia

Poland

Finland

4. To what extent do you think that Russian and Norwegian cultures are different on the following aspects. Please fill inn the boxes below using the 4-point scale where

1= no difference,   2 = small difference,   3= moderate difference,   4= large difference

Politeness and etiquette	
Friendship relationships	
Family relationships	
Childrearing practices	
Religiousness	
Women's role in society	
Attitudes towards the environment	
Importance of education	
Racism	
Care for old people	
Health care	
Work discipline	
Leisure time activities	

5. Do you have comments on the items presented in this questionnaire? Perhaps you have some advices to give to new-come immigrants. Please, write these comments here:

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Appendix A2

<u>Russian questionnaire</u> (starting on next page)

Zhenyas Survey

1. Introduction

Добрый день! Я, Евгения Романова, учусь на факультете психологии в университете г. Тромсе (mastergradsprogram). В настоящий момент я пишу дипломную работу по социальной психологии, в которой изучаю факторы, влияющие на процесс адаптации людей в новой культуре. Мой руководитель - профессор Floyd Webster Rudmin. В этой анкете вам предлагается выразить свое отношение к русской и норвежской культурам, а также отметить, в чем, на ваш взгляд, заключаются различия и сходства между этими культурами. Мне интересно мнение не только русских, но и русскоговорящих иммигрантов в Норвегии. Заполнение анкеты не займет много времени. Ваше участие добровольное, все данные анонимны. Вы можете прервать заполнение анкеты, не объясняя причины. Мне очень важно ваше участие. Я планирую закончить работу в мае 2007 г. Если у вас появятся какие-нибудь вопросы по анкете, или если вы заинтересуетесь результатами исследования, пожалуйста, напишите мне на anketakultur@gmail.com Спасибо за участие!

Next >>

2. Personal info

1. Информация об иммиграционном статусе

В какой стране вы родились?

Сколько лет вы проживаете в Норвегии?

2. Пол?

Мужской   Женский

3. Возраст:

19-28   29-38   39-48   49-58   59-68   69-78

4. Полученное образование:

Среднее   Неполное высшее   Высшее   Аспирантура, кандидат, доктор наук

<< Prev   Next >>

Zhenyas Survey

3. Section 1

5. Пожалуйста, укажите, в какой степени Вы согласны со следующими утверждениями, используя 4-х балльную шкалу:

	полностью не согласен	частично не согласен	частично согласен	полностью согласен
Норвегия и Россия стоят перед лицом одних и тех же угроз, таких как терроризм, природные катастрофы и т.д.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я удовлетворен своей жизнью.				
По возможности я привожу или покупаю русские продукты питания, такие как икра, черный хлеб, соленые огурцы или шоколад.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я горжусь россиийскими олимпийскими чемпионами.				
При встрече с незнакомыми людьми я серьезен и сдержанен.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Рассматривая нынешнюю ситуацию в России, считаю, что ее достижения достойны восхищения.				
На данный момент я добился важных результатов в жизни.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Дома в Норвегии мы готовим традиционные норвежские блюда, такие как "ferikel", "lutefisk" и т.д. и т.п.				
Мне интересна русская литература.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Для выхода в свет я надеваю нарядную одежду.				
Я улыбаюсь незнакомым людям.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я придаю большое значение традициям празднования русского Рождества.				
Я люблю норвежский юмор.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я кушаю горячие блюда на ланч.				
Рассматривая нынешнюю ситуацию в Норвегии, считаю, что ее достижения достойны восхищения.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я горжусь норвежскими олимпийскими чемпионами.				
В Норвегии я чувствую себя дома.	☐	☐	☐	☐
В России или в других бывших советских республиках я спешу перебежать дорогу.				

Я считаю, что норвежские и русские политики доверяют друг другу.

Мои нравственные ценности совпадают с нравственными ценностями норвежского общества.

Мне интересна норвежская литература.

Мой рабочий стиль одежды-спортивный норвежский.

В России или бывших советских республиках мне часто приходилось сталкиваться с негативным отношением со стороны чиновников ко мне.

Мои нравственные ценности совпадают с нравственными ценностями русского общества.

Мне нравится подчеркивать свои русские черты во внешнем виде.

Дома в Норвегии мы готовим русские традиционные блюда, такие как пельмени, борщ и т.д. и т.п..

Я считаю, что Норвегия и Россия заинтересованы развивать рыбную торговлю друг с другом.

Я беру с собой "matpakke" (бутерброды) на ланч.

Мне важно иметь норвежских друзей.

В России я чувствую себя дома.

Моя зимняя верхняя одежда - русского типа (из кожи, меха и т.д. и т.п.)

Мне важно иметь русских друзей.

Мне кажется, что власти Норвегии и России в ближайшее время придут к соглашению по вопросам, связанным с рыбной политикой в Баренцевом море.

Я покупаю норвежские продукты питания, такие как "brunost" (коричневый козий сыр), "pinnekjøtt"(солонина) и т.д. и т.п.

Мне кажется, что Норвегия и Россия вскоре упростят процесс оформления виз.

Я считаю, что у Норвегии и России дружеские взаимоотношения.

Я разговариваю по-русски в компании с русскими в транспорте, кафе или баре.

Находясь среди норвежцев в общественных местах, я стараюсь смешаться с ними (не выделяться).

Для меня важно, чтобы мои дети говорили по-русски бегло.

В Норвегии я редко спешу перебежать дорогу.

В Норвегии я стараюсь разговаривать по-норвежски в общественных местах.

Для меня важно, чтобы мои дети говорили по-норвежски бегло.

Моя жизнь во многом близка к идеалу.

Я считаю, что Норвегия и Россия помогут друг другу в кризисных ситуациях или в случаях стихийных бедствий.

Мне кажется, что период холодной войны все еще отражается на взаимоотношениях между Россией и Норвегией.

Если бы я смог заново прожить свою жизнь, я бы ничего не изменил.

Моя зимняя верхняя одежда - норвежского типа (из синтетических и хлопчатобумажных тканей и т.д. и т.п.).

Я придаю большое значение празднованию 17 мая (Национальный день Норвегии).

У меня прекрасные условия жизни.

Я считаю, что Норвегии и России нравится сотрудничать друг с другом.

Мне часто приходилось сталкиваться с негативным отношением норвежцев ко мне из-за моей национальности.

Я люблю русский юмор.

Zhenyas Survey

4. Section 2

6. Используя ниже приведенный перечень, проставьте буквы через запятую в порядке возрастания: от стран, которые вы считаете менее схожими с Россией, до стран, более схожих с Россией. Например, a,b,c,d,e,f

a) Франция
b) США
c) Норвегия
d) Китай
e) Финляндия
f) Польша

[   ]

7. Используя ниже приведенный перечень, проставьте бувы через запятую в порядке возрастания: от стран, которые вы считаете менее схожими с Норвегией, до стран, более схожих с Норвегией.

a) США
b) Китай
c) Франция
d) Россия
e) Польша
f) Финляндия

[   ]

8. Ниже приведен перечень областей, по которым культуры могут отличаться друг от друга. Используя данные аспекты, отметьте, в какой степени, на ваш взгляд, Норвегия и Россия отличаются друг от друга? Выберите подходящую вам альтернативу, используя 4-х балльную шкалу.

	нет различий	небольшие различия	средние различия	большие различия
Этикет и вежливость				
Взаимоотношения в дружбе				
Взаимоотношения в семье				
Воспитание детей				
Религиозность				
Роль женщины в обществе				
Отношение к окружающей среде				
Значение образования				
Расизм				
Уход за престарелыми				
Здравоохранение				
Отношение к работе				
Проведение досуга, развлечения и отдых				

<< Prev   Next >>

Zhenyas Survey   Exit this survey >>

5. Final

9. Если у вас есть какие-нибудь комментарии или дополнения к анкете, или вы хотите что-нибудь порекомендовать вновь прибывшим иммигрантам, пожалуйста, напишите:

<< Prev   Done >>

Appendix B correlations among variables, acculturation

	Birth Country	Residence Years	Maleness	Age	Educat Level	LangRus	LangNor	Per Discrim	Rper	Ratt	Nper	Natt	NRatt	NRsim1	NRsim2	SWLS	AssMean	SepMean	IntMean	MarMean
Birth Country	—																			
Residence Years	,19**	—																		
Maleness	-,09	-,01	—																	
Age	-,05	,25**	,01	—																
Educat Level	,05	,05	-,08	,14*	—															
LangRus	,11	,03	-,07	-,01	-,04	—														
LangNor	,08	,00	-,11	,00	,03	-,13*	—													
Per Discrim	-,03	,09	,02	,03	-,13*	-,13*	,07	—												
Rper	,14*	,02	,00	-,06	-,07	,11	-,06	,20**	—											
Ratt	,18**	-,04	-,04	-,04	,08	,45**	-,05	,15*	,57**	—										
Nper	,04	,12*	-,15*	,23**	,15*	-,04	,32**	,01	-,31**	-,12*	—									

	Birth Country	Residence Years	Maleness	Age	Educat Level	LangRus	LangNor	Per Discrim	Rper	Ratt	Nper	Natt	NRatt	NRsim1	NRsim2	SWLS	AssMean	SepMean	IntMean	MarMean
Natt	-,05	,14*	-,18**	,19**	,03	,07	,31**	-,03	-,22**	-,08	,59**	—								
NRatt	,03	,05	-,06	,08	,06	,20**	-,01	-,03	,20**	,36**	,14*	,19**	—							
NRsim1	,13	-,06	-,02	,03	,10	,04	-,07	-,07	-,08	-,01	,01	,07	,09	—						
NRsim2	-,03	,02	,10	,09	,06	,13	-,05	,06	-,08	-,05	,04	,07	,04	,35**	—					
SWLS	,21**	,27**	-,16**	-,06	,11	,08	,05	-,18**	,01	,01	,18**	,26**	,13*	,01	-,16*	—				
AssMean	-,09	,05	-,09	,11	,03	-,35**	,21**	-,03	-,59**	-,54**	,47**	,29**	-,18*	-,05	-,01	,03	—			
SepMean	,06	-,11	,12	-,12	-,09	,20**	-,62**	,01	,40**	,30**	-,68**	-,66**	-,05	-,02	-,02	-,15*	-,37**	—		
IntMean	,10	,10	-,16*	,10	,06	,22**	,54**	,08	,19**	,31**	,47**	,58**	,28**	,02	,00	,17*	-,26**	-,67**	—	
MarMean	-,19**	-,09	,19**	-,14*	-,01	-,31**	-,15*	-,14*	-,34**	-,47**	-,29**	-,29**	-,21**	,06	,07	-,10	-,13	-,072	-,34**	—

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix C Correlations among variables in the triangles, balance indexes and SWLS

	swls	ratt	natt	nratt	BIA	rper	nper	nrsim1	nrsim2	BIP1	BIP2	rusnotba	normotba	nrnotba11	nrnotb2	IBI1	IBI2
SWLS	—																
Ratt	,01	—															
Natt	,26**	-,08	—														
Nratt	,13*	,36**	,19**	—													
BIA	,08	,21**	,28**	,10	—												
rper	,01	,57**	-,22**	,20**	,02	—											
nper	,18**	-,12*	,59**	,14*	,13*	-,31**	—										
nrsim1	,01	,04	,11	,19**	,03	-,02	,01	—									
nrsim2	-,08	-,03	,08	,08	-,08	-,09	,03	,01	—								
BIP1	-,07	,04	-,12	,01	,06	,06	-,06	-,26**	-,03	—							
BIP2	,00	,03	-,13	-,07	,01	,11	-,13*	-,02	-,37**	,17**	—						
rusnotba	-,01	,21**	,07	,05	-,06	-,46**	,16**	,03	,01	-,04	-,02	—					

	swls	ratt	natt	nratt	BIA	rper	nper	nrsim1	nrsim2	BIP1	BIP2	rusnotba	nornotba	nrnotba11	nrnotb2	IBI1	IBI2
nornotba	,01	,05	,12	,02	,07	,11	-,30**	,08	,04	-,11	,01	-,04	—				
nrnotbal	,09	,24**	,10	,75**	,08	,15*	,09	-,48**	,06	,25**	-,04	,01	-,02	—			
nrnotb2	-,01	,08	-,02	,07	,07	-,01	,07	-,08	-,18**	,13*	,09	,07	-,11	,12	—		
IBI1	,05	,27**	,18**	,40**	,23**	-,10	,01	-,05	,06	,03	-,02	,46**	,53**	,39**	,05	—	
IBI2	,02	,23**	,04	,19**	,13*	-,10	-,04	,08	-,04	-,01	,05	,42**	,46**	,12	,42**	,72**	—

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

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