

BIELEFELD UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SPORTS SCIENCE

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PERSONAL GOALS, SELF IN FAMILY AND  
SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING AMONG  
ROMANI MIGRANT GIRLS IN BERLIN

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by

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## Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that I have not submitted the dissertation entitled “Personal Goals, Self in family and Subjective Well-being among Romani Migrant Girls in Berlin” either in terms of this current version or another version to any other faculty.

I have written this submitted dissertation by myself and in this process, I have used no other sources than those expressly indicated.

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(Branislava Bošnjak)

Bielefeld, 20.07.2016

## ABSTRACT

The adverse position of Romani migrant girls and women within their communities and wider society with respect to conservative social roles and a reduced range of possibilities for self-actualization received thus far minimal scientific attention. The present dissertation is therefore concerned with structural and socio-cultural factors which influence particular ways of socialization and developmental trajectories of Romani migrant girls. We especially focus on personal goals, type of self in family and levels of subjective well-being.

In order to draw conclusions regarding Romani migrant group, a control group of German non-migrant peers from similar social background was obtained. The first aim of this dissertation was to examine whether potential disadvantages faced by Romani girls (based on prior reports and literature) appear in comparison to their non-migrant peers. The second aim was to formulate and empirically validate conceptual models which: a) investigate the internal relations between distal and proximal constructs used in the model (describing linkages between relevant socio-cultural variables, Self in family and outcome variables) and b) examine the predictive value of relevant socio-cultural and Self in family variables with respect to particular goal outcomes.

The Introduction part informs the reader about the historical and political aspects regarding the position of Romani population in Germany, specifically highlighting the situation of Romani migrants and Romani girls and women. Following that, the research problem, research aims and four research questions are presented.

Theoretical part consists of four chapters and provides a review of up-to-date research relevant to the topic of the current dissertation. In the third chapter on culture and acculturation special attention is devoted to concepts of individualism and collectivism which were empirically tested on our sample. We further discussed various mechanisms of cultural transmission; effects of exclusionism by the receiving society on acculturation; delicate question of acculturation of adolescents and the immigrant paradox. Chapter four revolves around the Model of Family Change, value transmission (control and warmth in parenting) and the concepts of Autonomus, Related and Autonomous-related Self developed by Cigdem Kagitçibasi (2007). We present three family models with corresponding types of Self in family and introduce Kagitçibasi's hypothesis of universal convergence towards the family model of psychological interdependence. The fifth chapter offers a comprehensive review of prior research focused on personal goals with a special attention on motivation and goal pursuit

from the perspective of Self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan, 2000). The concept of Self-concordance is introduced placing a special significance on the role of social context and parenting in the use of different regulatory points in the goal pursuit. Sixth chapter focuses on subjective well-being as an aggregate measure of satisfaction with life, the presence of positive mood and the absence of negative mood. Following that, we offer a review of relevant research that focuses on the association between motivation, types of personal goals, cultural settings and well-being. Seventh Chapter introduces the conceptual model of the study, connecting the theoretical assumptions with research aims, questions and corresponding hypotheses.

Empirical part starts with chapter eight which deals with research methodology: sampling procedures, detailed description of participants and used instrumentation. The sample consisted of 242 Berlin based participants in total, 127 of Romani migrant and 115 of German non-migrant background. Using the snowball sampling method we collected the data in cooperation with several trained recruiters and through cooperation with Südost Europa Kultur organization and three secondary schools. Following instruments comprised the used questionnaire: Scales of Individualism and Collectivism; Measure of Women's status in family; Scales of Autonomous- and Related self in family; Parenting style scales; Measures of well-being (Life satisfaction scale and positive and negative affect schedule); Idiographic personal goals; Self-concordance and Choice in life.

Results chapter consists of preliminary and main analyses which are focused on systematic variations between groups (Romani migrant and German non-migrant); antecedents of Related-, Autonomous-, and Autonomous-Related self in family; associations between main research variables and Subjective well-being and finally predictive value of relevant variables on the choice of personal goals and goal obstacles. We used statistical programs AMOS and SPSS 22.0.0 to perform confirmatory factor analysis, linear regressions (multiple regression, multiple logistic and multinomial regressions), as well as one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and analysis of covariance (ANCOVA).

In the final chapter, the research findings are discussed in detail. Significant between-group differences were established regarding socioeconomic and educational capital, Women's intra-family status and cultural values (depicting Romani migrant participants as worse off, less egalitarian and collectivistic). Accordingly, Romani migrant group generated more family-oriented and work related personal goals in comparison to German group. However, two groups differed only slightly with respect to expressed educational goals, level of Self-concordance, Choice in life and Subjective well-being. Theorized antecedents of

Kagitçibasi's Self in family constructs were only partially confirmed, mostly due to flawed construct validity of the Autonomous- and Related self in family scales. Matching the theoretical expectations, this study confirmed a beneficial effect of a warm parenting style and Monitoring on Subjective well-being. Further on, measure of Collectivism also contributed to SWB indicating the value of connectedness and close family relationships in the age of adolescence. Also, a difference in SWB across different types of personal goals was confirmed. As Self-determination theory predicts, material goals had the lowest impact on SWB. Finally, models of relevant socio-cultural variables used to predict the choice of a personal goal or an obstacle in goal pursuit demonstrated a rather low predictive power. However, the observed trends will be discussed.

Following the discussion of findings, the final chapter reflects on research limitations, recommendation for the future research and conclusion.

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*This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved parents and sister  
who are ridiculously awesome*

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# INTRODUCTION

## 1 POSITION OF ROMANI PEOPLE IN GERMANY

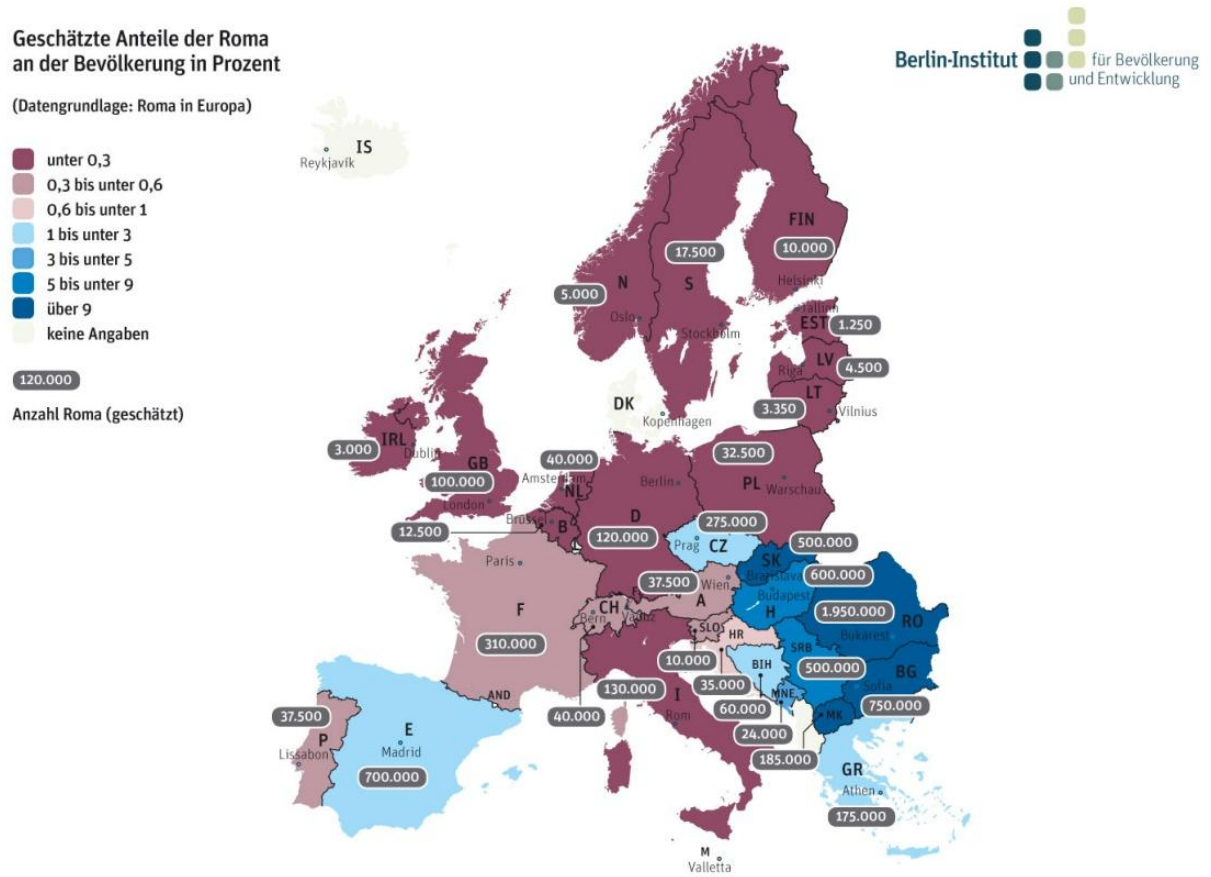
During the First World Romani<sup>1</sup> Congress in 1971 the term *Roma* was chosen as an internationally accepted self-designation of various peoples who originate from India and who gradually inhabited Europe numbering up to 12 million today. It is often said that Roma represent the biggest transnational minority in Europe. As Hancock (2002) explains, the term Roma has various usages: it is often used politically to cover all populations which speak Romani or one of the Romani-influenced mixed dialects and call themselves and their language Romani. Some of these groups refuse the term, for example, the Sinti in Germany and the Romanichals in England. The term Roma is even used politically to cover some groups who do not call their language Romani, and who speak very different languages, such as Beash, Egyptians, Ashkale, Quinqui, or who simply speak the dominant language of their host country, as is the case in Hungary where the majority of Roma speak Hungarian (Ladanyi, 2001).

There used to be many different theories about the origins of Romani peoples and language, but the area of dispute has narrowed over the years (even if the debates have become fiercer in the past 20 years). Findings in historical linguistics and genetics (Hancock, 2002; Iovita & Schurr, 2004; Barany, 2007) indicate that following the tenth century disparate ancestors of the Romani people departed from north-western India, passing through what is now Afghanistan, Iran (ancient Persia), Armenia and Turkey, finally entering Europe in the thirteenth century driven by the invasion of Ottoman Turks (Fraser, 1995).

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<sup>1</sup> Romani is the appropriate adjective form of Roma, as explained by Hancock (2002)

Figure 1 Estimated proportions of Roma in the European population



Source: Grienig, 2010

Roma people have been present in German-speaking territories since the 15<sup>th</sup> Century. Soon upon their arrival expulsion laws were made, they were not allowed to have lodging or to engage in trade and there are numerous verifications of their continuous repression in the following centuries (For more details see e.g., Fraser, 1995; Hancock, 2002; Acton, 1993). ‘Had all the anti-Gypsy laws which sprang up been enforced uncompromisingly, even for a few months, the Gypsies would have been eradicated from most of Christian Europe well before the middle of sixteenth century. This did not happen (Fraser, 1995:130).’ Indeed, German Sinti and Roma have survived and until the 1930’s they were relatively well integrated, having the rights as German citizens to fully participate in German society. However, during the reign of National Socialists Sinti and Roma were singled out and eventually murdered in hundreds of thousands during, what Heinrich Himmler called, the ‘final solution to the Gypsy question’ (Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2011a:21). It took



decades to recognize them as victims of the Third Reich and a memorial dedicated to their suffering was placed in Berlin only in 2012. Overall, the German state support for the Sinti and Roma minority has been mostly limited to the cultural sphere, without adequate regard to enhancing their legal and political rights.

The Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, founded in 1982 and consisting of 15 different Sinti and Roma associations, fought to promote and preserve the rights and culture of Sinti and Roma and called for a ban on discrimination in the state media laws. As a result of the Council's efforts in 1997 the German Sinti and Roma were legally recognized as a national minority, having their language recognized as a minority language under the Council of Europe Charter. However, it took another 15 years for this minority to be included in the constitution of a single German state (Bundesland) and on November 14, 2012 the state of Schleswig-Holstein was the first (and the only one so far) to do so<sup>2</sup>.

Today, the majority of Sinti and Roma live in or near the major cities of western Germany and Berlin: Kiel, Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Cologne, as well as in the population centres of the Rhine/Main and Rhine/Neckar regions (Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2011a).

According to estimates from 2011 (Eurocities, 2011), around 18.000 Roma live in Berlin. Most of them (12.000) came as war refugees from territories of former Yugoslavia followed by the recently increased immigration of Roma from Romania and Bulgaria due to the EU enlargement. They mostly inhabit the city parts with increased needs for development, or the so called 'social cities' (Sozialen Stadt), especially city districts of Neukölln and Mitte (Wedding).

According to the rough estimate found in the Official Report on the situation of Sinti and Roma in Germany<sup>3</sup> from 2011, (Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2011b) German Sinti and Roma number up to 70.000 (60.000 Sinti and 10.000 Roma). However, the Council of Europe estimates that there are up to 105.000 Sinti and Roma in Germany which makes 0.13 % of the total population. According to UNICEF's report from 2007 (UNICEF, 2007b), the count of German and non-German Sinti and Roma was approximately 200.000 in total, whereas Strauß (2011) claims that there are between 80.000 and 120.000 Sinti and Roma holding a German citizenship.

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<sup>2</sup> [http://www.schleswig-holstein.de/Portal/DE/LandLeute/Minderheiten/RomaSinti/romaSinti\\_node.html](http://www.schleswig-holstein.de/Portal/DE/LandLeute/Minderheiten/RomaSinti/romaSinti_node.html)

<sup>3</sup> Report of the Federal Republic of Germany to the European Commission. EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 - Integrated sets of measures for the integration and participation of Roma and Sinti in Germany.

Many difficulties<sup>4</sup> in obtaining accurate figures of Sinti and Roma population in Germany exist due to:

- a) Historically based principle according to which it is not allowed to gather ethnic data for the purposes of the official statistics
- b) Non-official sources that do not provide reliable figures
- c) The proportion of Sinti and Roma is very small in comparison to the total population, thus no reliable statements about their exact number can be obtained through the official state surveys
- d) Many national minorities have a negative attitude towards collection of ethnic data and therefore are reluctant to cooperate
- e) Roma who migrate to Germany get registered according to their national citizenship and not ethnicity
- f) Part of the Roma people that is not in possession of a German citizenship is not listed in the official statistics and it is extremely difficult to clearly detect the proportion of illegal or irregularly registered Roma

## 1.1 ROMANI MIGRANTS

An important demarcation has to be made between German Sinti and Roma and Romani migrants (*Ausländische Roma*). The first group - German Sinti and Roma, was described above and is relatively well integrated in the wider German society (Bundesministerium, 2011b). The second group of *Ausländische Roma* consists of:

- former war refugees from ex-Yugoslavia
- nationals from the new EU member states (Romania and Bulgaria)
- nationals from non-EU countries with Romani ethnic origin

The Roma who came to Germany after 1990's as war refugees came from different countries and their refuge biographies differ: some stayed indefinitely since 1990s, others stayed temporarily (as Bosnian civil war refugees from 1991 to 1993), while many Romani people appeared only after 1999, following the Kosovo conflict. In contrast to the old-established Roma population, the majority of newly arrived Roma did not receive a German citizenship, but were classified as immigrants or refugees. The citizenship acquiring process went slowly. In fact, in a report by the Open Society Institute from 2002, half of the Romani

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<sup>4</sup>Based on Report by Bundesministerium des Inneren 2011b.

migrants living in Germany were lacking of German citizenship, even after ten years of living there. This insecure status was linked to many administrative obstacles and a more difficult access to education, health care and secure residence.

The Residence Act (*Aufenthaltsgesetz*) adopted in 2005 by the German government indicates a residence status hierarchy that goes from a secure residence permit to various residence certificates. This status confers the only prerequisite for social participation and integration: families get the opportunity to become employed, to access education and training, they can attend language and integration courses and move into rented apartments. The precarious residence status implies one of the following temporary residence papers:

- *Aufenthaltsgestattung (Permission to stay)* - this certificate is issued during an ongoing granted asylum and must be renewed after a period of six months at the Immigration Office.
- *Duldung (Deferred Deportation)* - this certificate simply means the temporary suspension of deportation. The sanctioned individuals are obligated to leave the country as soon as possible.
- *Grenzübertrittsbescheinigung (Certificate of the border trespassing)* - if the residence permit cannot be extended the immigration authorities can only issue a certificate of the border trespassing. This certificate is neither a residence permit, nor a passport substitute, but it certifies the latest date upon which such persons must leave the country.

'Generally speaking, the situation of Roma refugees (many of whom arrived from Romania and former Yugoslavia in the late 1980s and early 1990s) is extremely precarious. In addition to the issues of discrimination and exclusion experienced by both citizen and non-citizen Sinti and Roma, refugees – even those who are long-term residents – often have problems obtaining the right to stay in the country; many possess only 'deferred deportation' status (*Duldung*) which severely restricts their freedom of movement, access to employment and various forms of social protection, and live in constant danger of deportation` (Open Society Institute, 2002:162). According to Grienic (2010) two-thirds of the Romani migrant families which have been categorized as refugees have a status of deferred deportation and constantly face the risk of forced eviction (*Abschiebung*).

Contrary to the common accusation that Romani migrants misuse the benefits of the German welfare system, Roma with a status of 'Duldung' had no right to receive child support from the government and in some states (Saarland, Baden-Württemberg, Hessen) their

children could not even take part in mandatory education until as recently as 2013 (for example in Rheinland-Pfalz). Elsewhere, children from these families get sent to special schools without proper assessment (Grienig, 2010). “The repeated provision of extremely short-term ‘Duldung’ status has effectively prevented tens of thousands of foreign Roma in Germany from integration, although such persons may have children who are born in Germany...and have formed extensive real and factual ties to Germany” (ERRC and EUMAP Report, 2004:10).

Furthermore, the public perception of Roma people in Germany still involves specific feelings of threat and concern. During the beginning of 1990s, the term *Roma* still predominated, but in the following period the journalists once again started to sporadically use the term *Zigeuner*, a derogatory German word for the Roma (OSI, 2002). With the prevailing shift of nationalism, hate-speech and violence against minorities and migrants across Europe, derogatory terms used by media strengthen the negative public image of Roma. In the current debates, Roma are often represented as profiteers who do not want to work, as criminals involved in illegal activities, and as nomads unwilling to integrate. This depiction has led to the legitimatization and justification of their eviction (van Baar, 2011).

Several EU governments such as Germany, Switzerland, France and most of the Scandinavian countries carry out a plan to forcibly return Roma to Kosovo, where they are faced with severe discrimination and lack of future perspectives (Amnesty International Report, 2012). German authorities carried out and continue to carry out forced expulsions influencing a rapid decline of the actual number of Romani migrants (Open Society Institute, 2004) which was estimated on 100 000 during the 1990s, but is now significantly lower.

Difficult position of Romani refugees from former Yugoslavia who were deported by force was explained by representatives of the Refugee Council, Roma Rights Organisation ‘Chachipe’ and several other associations in a joint press release on 15. October 2012:

” ...thousands of Roma from the former Yugoslavia who were often victims of war and persecution never had a chance to get a permanent residence. People who were born or grew up in Germany would have to get a return-right; to consider them as foreigners should be regarded as cynical and as an infringement of their rights.”

The constant influx of new migrants keeps the questions of successful integration and acculturation ever so relevant. According to the German federal statistics Office (Destatis)<sup>5</sup> arrival of immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania to Germany increased for about 25% for

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<sup>5</sup>[https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2012/05/PD12\\_171\\_12711.html](https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2012/05/PD12_171_12711.html)

each group within 2010. It is highly likely that a number of those immigrants also belong to the Romani ethnic group, however because of aforementioned reasons it is difficult to make a precise estimate. Furthermore, Germany remains an attractive destination for many Roma, especially from Serbia and Bosnia together with non-Roma individuals from various Southeast European countries, which is substantiated by the figures of the top three migration target countries in the following table.

Table 1 Top three migration target countries for citizens of Serbia, Bosnia and Romania

SERBIA		BOSNIA		ROMANIA	
	Roma		Roma		Roma
Germany	44%	Germany	53%	Spain	28%
Austria	14%	USA	7%	Italy	19%
Sweden	11%	Sweden	7%	Germany	15%
	Non-Roma		Non-Roma		Non-Roma
Switzerland	21%	Germany	35%	Spain	19%
Germany	20%	Switzerland	9%	Italy	17%
USA	12%	USA	7%	Germany	13%

Source: UNDP-WB-European Commission regional Roma survey 2011 (Ivanov, Kling & Kagin, 2012)

According to the official data of the German Bundesrat (Federal Council)<sup>6</sup> in the interval between January and March 2014 around 20% of all asylum seekers came from Bosnia, Serbia and Macedonia. However, the conditions required for granting an asylum were fulfilled only in a few isolated cases. A long debate in the German Bundesrat led to passing of a law on 19 September 2014 according to which Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina are added to the list of safe countries of origin.<sup>7</sup> As a result of that, individuals and families with insecure resident status have a weaker legal argument to justify their stay in Germany and they have to face rigorous expulsions in rising numbers.

Despite the six centuries long settlement in Germany, proficiency in German language and the obtained status of a national minority together with other citizenship rights, a study on the current educational situation of German Sinti and Roma led by Daniel Strauß (2011) shows that there are striking differences between members of the German Sinti/Roma community and German majority population (Table 2).

<sup>6</sup><http://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2014/asylrecht/281460>

<sup>7</sup><http://www.asylumineurope.org/news/29-09-2014/germany-adds-serbia-macedonia-and-bosnia-herzegovina-list-safe-countries-origin#sthash.RCYcapSg.dpuf>

Table 2 Educational situation of German Sinti and Roma

	Sinti/Roma	German
Have personal experiences of discrimination	81.2%	
Attended schools for children with special needs	10.7%	4.9%
Attended no school of any kind	13%	<1%
Did not graduate from a secondary school	44%	7.5%
Attended an academic high school	2.3%	<24%

Source: Strauß, 2011

We can assume that these figures look even more conspicuous for the Romani migrants who, beside discrimination, struggle with insecure residence and socioeconomic hardships. Generalizations and perpetual stigmatization affect German Sinti and Roma, as well as Romani migrants, even if these Romani groups differ in various aspects. According to the Eurobarometer Survey from 2008, a quarter of the German population would feel uncomfortable if their neighbor were Sinti or Roma. The Anti-Gypsy<sup>8</sup> prejudices are still very common in Germany and they lead to multiple risks of stigmatization and exclusionism (Jocham, 2010).

Discrimination is particularly visible on the labor market, though it is partly based on the unsatisfactory educational level of many Sinti and Roma. A better integration of the Roma in the German education system could at least reduce these qualification disadvantages. However, Romani children tend to leave school earlier and with a below average success. Possible reasons for that trend lie in the discrimination and negative stereotypes Romani children face in the educational system, but also in a lack of support by their families who fear that their children would lose touch with their culture of origin (Grienig, 2010).

## 1.2 POSITION OF ROMANI GIRLS AND WOMEN

A jointly submitted 'shadow' report to the UN gender anti-discrimination body CEDAW<sup>9</sup> by the European Roma Rights Center and the European Union Monitoring and Advocacy Program (ERRC and EUMAP, 2004) explains the unfavorable position of Sinti and Roma women in Germany: the estimated rates of school abandonment for Sinti and Roma girls are reportedly even higher than for Sinti and Roma boys. Naturally, this has a negative

<sup>8</sup> Antiziganismus

<sup>9</sup> Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

effect on their employment rates and adds to a long-term maintenance of poverty. For Romani *migrant* girls and women the situation is worsened by the insecure legal status, constant threat of forcible expulsion and registered higher rates of depression.

UNDP (2003) report shows as well that Romani boys typically receive several more years of education which gives them better chances to seek employment. The occurrence of early drop out from the educational system gets justified by some Romani parents where in case of boys they offer explanations such as: *'he does not want to attend school'* and in case of girls: *'she has to help raising the younger children'* or *'she gave birth'*. Examples like these imply that Romani boys have a larger degree of freedom and choice when it comes to deciding about matters that affect them.

Romani women are in many instances the primary caregivers in the households. "Although it is difficult to generalise, as the situation differs from family to family among both Sinti and Roma communities, it appears still prevalent that women occupy a subordinate role in a conservative family structure. Girls thus tend to marry earlier and often abandon school at the same time, especially if their mothers also married early and did not attend school. In such cases, girls are reportedly unlikely to receive education beyond the primary level. With maternity, Sinti and Roma women reportedly no longer have the time, opportunity, or energy for personal advancement." (ERRC and EUMAP, 2004:23).

According to Petrova (2003), it cannot be said that Roma have a unitary identity or a unitary culture, instead, it is perhaps more accurate to say that the Roma today represent a continuum of more or less related subgroups with complex, flexible and multilevel identities. However, a certain degree of generalization with respect to the precarious position of Romani women is justified, as numerous studies and reports across Central and Southeast Europe show that quite often Romani women do not enjoy the same rights as Romani men within their local communities and wider. Some of them are burdened by traditional demands of early marriage which can additionally cause the trend of early drop outs from the educational system and a 'confinement' in the household (For a detailed review see Bošnjak & Acton, 2013).

An interesting issue raised by Berry (2001:627), is how social structural factors such as gender-related socialization pressures may lead to very different experiences for men and women, especially in the process of immigration and adaptation to a new society where expectations and responsibilities related to family roles may be renegotiated.

## 2 RESEARCH RATIONALE

This research is concerned with still frequent predicaments among many Romani migrant girls and women living in Germany - untimely discontinuation of school, insufficient professional qualification and scarce opportunities for personal advancement outside of marriage and family life (See Chapter 1.2).

It is assumed that many Romani migrant girls follow this life course due to conservative developmental paths set by their families and closer social environment. However, it is unclear whether this kind of developmental trajectory leaves negative effects on girls' levels of well-being and satisfaction with life. According to *Self-determination theory* (Deci & Ryan, 2000), if it comes to a full internalization of external demands, the choices a person makes are experienced as autonomous and therefore have no detrimental effects on well-being. However, if a person acts with a feeling of pressure from the outside, solely motivated to fulfill external demands – the effect on Subjective Well-being will be harmful. Several aspects that influence the process of internalization are among others the parenting style, prevailing cultural values (collectivism/individualism) and the degree of relatedness and autonomy among family members. Relying on the framework of *Model of family change* (Kagitçibasi, 2007) we aim to estimate the types of *Self in family* based on the perceived degree of autonomy and relatedness in the family context. Kagitçibasi argues that the constructs of Self in family associate differently with levels of well-being. Romani migrant girls are assumed to grow in family contexts which offer world-views that do not necessarily match the world-view of the host society. Still, it is unclear which socio-cultural aspects are linked with personal goals, or possible obstacles in the goal pursuit and how they may affect levels of well-being in the age of adolescence.

The purpose of this quantitative correlational study is to explore the relationships between specific socio-cultural and structural factors which may be linked with the shaping of personal goals and levels of Subjective Well-being among Romani migrant adolescent girls. The quasi-experimental cross-cultural design of the study involves data collection from Romani migrant, but also from German female adolescent participants with similar social background who will form the control group. The aim of comparing these two groups (both, with respect to means in single aspects as well as presumably different interrelations between core constructs) is to disentangle the effect of cultural and socio-economic conditions on socialisation practices and outcomes.



Since unfavorable positions of Roma in Germany often get aggravated due to misunderstandings and ignorance permeating the public discourse dominated by members of the host society and (social) media, scientific examinations regarding Roma are of particular importance. New empirical results can prevent a repetition of outdated findings and thus contribute to higher social awareness (Grienig, 2010). Hopefully, new insights provided by this dissertation will help to overcome stereotypes and prejudices and, therefore, contribute to an improvement of the position of Romani migrant girls within their local and wider communities.

## 2.1 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

Based on the available knowledge we have about Romani migrant children, we can argue that they, in comparison to their autochthonous peers, have a lesser chance to achieve central outcomes asserted by the host society (school qualifications, agency, well-being) partly due to structural reasons (e.g., insecure residence, low socioeconomic status, social exclusion), but also due to cultural reasons (such as strong patriarchal hierarchy, conservative gender role division, specific childrearing practices, etc.).

The effects of culture on the developmental process of a child tend to be stronger during adolescence, than childhood or adulthood (Kagitçibasi, 2002, Kwak, 2003). Furthermore, concepts of relatedness and autonomy which will be explored from theoretical perspectives of *Self-determination theory* and *Model of family change* have a special significance in adolescence, as influences beyond the core family start gaining value. This study focuses therefore on the age of adolescence (participants aged from 12 to 16) and on girls, assuming that Romani migrant girls (compared to boys) endure higher familial pressure to take on a particular social role, which might stand in collision with developmental trajectories proposed by the host society.

This dissertation will not only explore the question whether Romani migrants grow in different socioeconomic conditions in comparison to their German peers of same age and sex, but if particular values transmitted in their families can be associated with a different formation of personal goals and (depending on the particular Self in family) possibly reduced levels of well-being. This broad research problem is reflected through following research aims and corresponding research questions:

1] An inferential statistical comparison of means is planned in order to a) check if two socioeconomically similar subpopulations could be obtained and b) to see if and to what extent would potential disadvantages faced by Romani girls appear on this level of analysis.

*RESEARCH QUESTION 1: Systematic variations between Romani migrant and German non-migrant participants will emerge with respect to variables of the Socio-cultural context (cultural variables and parenting style), Self in family and the outcome variables of personal goals, Self-concordance, Choice in life and Subjective Well-being, even when controlling for SES.*

2] The second aim was to formulate and empirically validate conceptual models which:

a) investigate the internal relations between distal and proximal constructs used in the model (describing linkages between relevant socio-cultural variables, Self in family and outcome variables)

*RESEARCH QUESTION 2: Constructs of Related -, Autonomous-, and Autonomous-related self in family are associated with the variables of the Socio-cultural context (consisting of parenting style and cultural values), as proposed by the Model of Family Change.*

*RESEARCH QUESTION 3: Variables forming the Socio-cultural context, measures of Self-Concordance, Choice in life, Types of Self in family and Personal Goals will associate with Subjective Well-being.*

b) examine the predictive value of relevant socio-cultural and Self in family variables with respect to particular goal outcomes.

*RESEARCH QUESTION 4: Dimensions of Collectivism and Individualism, Self in family and socioeconomic status impact the choice of specific goal types and goal obstacles.*

For purposes of better comprehensibility the presentation of empirical work does not follow strictly this analytical separation.

# LITERATURE REVIEW

## 3 CULTURE AND ACCULTURATION

The notion of culture is extremely broad and it is difficult to find a definition that would obtain all its aspects, although many attempts to characterize it have been made in the past. Some 160 definitions of culture were offered by Kroeber & Kluckhohn alone, and that in 1952. Since then, sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists worldwide participated in an ongoing debate of what this ever-changing concept really means. Swidler (1986) offers an image of culture as a 'toolkit' of symbols, stories, rituals and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems and to construct their lines of action. Very broadly, culture is defined as 'the learned and shared behavior of a community of interacting human beings' (Useem & Useem, 1963:169). The specific way in which culture is tackled by this study will be clarified by the end of this chapter.

The reason why it is important to discuss about culture and to include it in contemporary research is because it influences and directs human behavior by defining what is and what is not 'normal', as put by Kagitçibasi (2007). Culture provides individuals with a guiding context and functions like an organizer of meaning. It is therefore of crucial importance to situate the studied psychological phenomenon in its adequate cultural context. The importance of cultural mediation was also stressed by Vygotsky (1978), in the sense that a growing child acquires whatever exists in his immediate socio-cultural surroundings and that is influencing his development, physical as well as psychological. However, one difficulty in using culture as a research variable is its all-inclusive nature. As a superordinate entity culture cannot serve as an explanation or an independent variable (Segall, 1983 in Kagitçibasi, 2007:6), for if it is used carelessly, explanations can turn into empty tautologies. The past and current discourse on the Roma is full of such examples, starting from the WWII Nazi propaganda claiming that Roma are inclined to live a nomadic life style and to engage in criminal activities because of their culture or even because of biological predispositions (for further information see Fraser, 1995; Hancock, 2002; Bogdal, 2011; Mappes-Niedek, 2012), to modern forms of discrimination that blame Romani culture for poor school success and ineffective integration into majority/host societies (criticized by Greenberg, 2010; Kosko, 2012; van Baar, 2011) which completely disregard the adverse socio structural factors that

contribute to such outcomes. Kagitçibasi (2007) asserts that an overlap between the unfavorable status of an ethnic-minority and a low socioeconomic status is common, but it also happens that their unsuccessful adaptation to the host-society (e.g., poor school success) is being blamed solely on 'culture'. The concept of culture is (despite its complexity) seemingly easy to use, however, the need for clarity and better understanding of cultural phenomena especially in the context of globalization and increasing immigration, leads scientific work towards a finer definition of relevant cultural constructs. Uskul, Oyserman & Schwarz (2010) claim that the two constructs that captured most popular appeal concerning the influence of cultures on individuals or groups across a variety of domains are individualism and collectivism.

### 3.1 INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

Hofstede's seminal work 'The Culture's Consequences' (1980), based on a large quantitative comparative study across 66 countries has shown the way to the modern use of individualism and subsequently - collectivism. The occurrence of these constructs initiated a series of exciting researches based on which countries and peoples were described prototypically as modern, democratic, urban, wealthy, of higher education, equality and development - thus individualist, or as traditional, hierarchically based, obedient, mainly poor, of lower education and high acceptance of authority and social structure - meaning collectivist. Individualism is seen as akin to modernity and is associated with values such as sex-role equality, human rights and freedoms and has been the hallmark of European and North American social and intellectual history, serving as a role model for the rest of the developing world (Kagitçibasi, 2007).

Kagitçibasi further claims that individualism and collectivism, as 'isms' basically represent ideological concepts that acquired some social-normative content reflected in social norms, values, conventions and rules. Despite being heavily criticized, e.g. for assuming individualism and collectivism as coherent and contrary syndromes by Schwartz (1990), for particular methodological issues by McSweeney (2002), or for creating a false schism between the East and the West (see 'The construction of Modern West and the Backward Rest' by Fougère & Moulettes, 2007), Hofstede's (modified) constructs got confirmed in numerous cross-cultural comparisons. Over time, two major currents emerged in studying Individualism and Collectivism [I-C]: the values orientation addressing the vertical or the normative I-C; and the self orientation, addressing the horizontal or relational I-C with its

main focus on interpersonal distance (Table 3). The horizontal aspect of Individualism-Collectivism reflects interpersonal relations and points to a more psychologically based dimensions of Separateness and Relatedness (Kagitçibasi, 1990), or as Markus and Kitayama (1991) construed it - the Independent and Interdependent Self.

Table 3 Vertical and Horizontal I-C

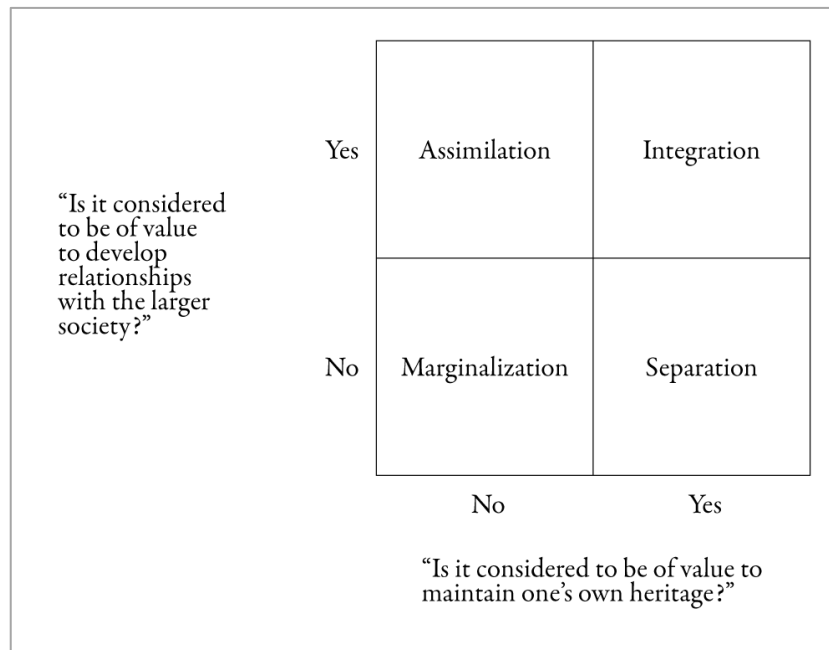
Characteristics of Vertical and Horizontal Individualism and Collectivism

	<i>Vertical</i>		<i>Horizontal</i>	
Self	Interdependent	Independent	Interdependent	Independent
Fiske orientation	Different from others	Different from others	Same as others	Same as others
Rokeach values	Communal sharing	Market pricing	Communal sharing	Market pricing
	Authority ranking	Authority ranking	Equality matching	Equality matching
	Low equality	Low equality	High equality	High equality
	Low freedom	High freedom	Low freedom	High freedom
Political system	Communalism	Market democracy	Communal living	Democratic socialism
	(e.g., rural village in India)	(e.g., United States, France)	(e.g., Israeli kibbutz)	(e.g., Sweden, British labor party)

Source: Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995

When, as a result of migration, people of different value- and interpersonal orientations come in contact, numerous cultural challenges follow for both parties. As Berry (2001) claims, practically every behavior in a person’s repertoire is a candidate for change. 'In most cases, there is a rather easy transition involving both *culture shedding* and *culture learning*: Individuals change the way they dress, what they eat, their greeting procedures, even their values by reducing (suppressing, forgetting) one way of daily living and taking on replacements. The pace and extent of individual change is clearly related to the degree of cultural maintenance in one’s own group, which in turn is linked to the relative demographic, economic, and political situation of the groups in contact' (Berry, 2001:621). He further asserts that immigrants may choose to assimilate completely by abandoning their cultural heritage, or they might separate themselves by avoiding the interaction with 'others' and holding on to their original ethnic culture (*ibid.*). When a balance is found between maintenance of their own culture and participation in the larger society the immigrants are on a path of integration. However, when there is a lack of chance to maintain the culture of origin and to get involved in the new culture - the process of marginalization is taking place (Figure 2). Which acculturation outcome will occur in a particular case depends in many ways on how cultural patterns are transmitted.

Figure 2 Berry's Acculturation Model



Source: Berry, 2001

### 3.2 CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

The process of cultural transmission, especially considering migrant families, has been the focal point of many studies. For example, Berry and his colleagues (2002) propose that the transmission of cultural notions and values is threefold. Usually, it gets transmitted from migrant parents to children (vertical transmission); through peer contact within or outside the migrant community (horizontal transmission) or through adults other than the parents (oblique transmission). On the other hand, Swidler (1986) emphasizes the wider context and asserts that culture does not only get implemented by means of socialization and enculturation only, but also by all publically available meanings that 'facilitate certain patterns of action, making them readily available, while discouraging others' (p.283). What is quite certain is that culture cannot be fully replicated in successive generations, as it consists of ongoing interactions between individuals and their social environment and is subject to change (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981 in Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001:186). According to Singelis et al. (1995), the majority of the world's population shares at least some aspects of collectivism, whereas in western societies ethnic minorities and lower income groups appear to be more collectivistic. Despite that, the individualistic world-view tends to be seen as the

universal norm (Kagitçibasi, 2005). Furthermore, both political and economic systems were developed to support the societal value of individualism (Deci & Flaste, 1996). Possible discrepancies between different cultural systems might cause some hindrance between the host and the migrant groups, as well as some inter-generational conflicts during the acculturation process (Kwak, 2003).

- ACCULTURATION OR CULTURAL RETENTION?

Acculturation is the process of socio-cultural change that occurs whenever two or more cultures come into direct and sustained contact (Berry, 2002). Migrants that come to a new country with a purpose of long-term settlement 'live in two cultures: their ethnic-heritage culture prior to migration, and the new culture of the society in which they currently reside' (Kwak, 2003:117). The phenomenon of cumbersome and slow acculturation of some migrant groups has been detected and described by numerous studies. A study from 1918 on Polish peasants in America (Thomas & Znaniecki in Swidler, 1986:277) already tackled this occurrence describing immigrants who acted in a culturally determined way when they preserved traditional habits in new circumstances. Also Schwartz (1994) noted that in contact with divergent traditions and customs, those for whom the maintenance of own tradition is important might feel threatened. Shared cultural values can have a mediating effect in resisting rapid acculturative change, as they serve as 'containers of collective identity and solidarity' in migrant and/or minority groups (Idema & Phalet, 2007). However, specific acculturating groups react differently to the same expectations and opportunities in the host country, that is to say, they show higher or lower levels of culture maintenance and some are more effective in overcoming social disadvantage and possible discrimination than others (Berry, 1990; Furnham & Erdmann, 1995). When immigrants have access to better social opportunities and welfare arrangements in the host society, ethnic cultural resources and intergenerational solidarity may lose some or much of their value as a collective strategy for social mobility (Moghaddam, 1988 in Phalet and Schönplflug, 2001:189). On the other hand, circumstances of experienced exclusion by the host society and structural barriers in accessing better social opportunities may result in more strenuously pursued core cultural transmission in migrant families (Nauck, 2001). '[F]amily values of interdependence may resist acculturation and persist in the second generation, in spite of predominant cultural values of independence in Western receiving contexts' (Idema & Phalet, 2007:73). Segal (1991) asserts that due to perceived culture distances, migrant parents may put forth control

on their children to protect them from becoming 'contaminated' by the mainstream. Sometimes, despite higher levels of language proficiency and behavioral acculturation, children identify more strongly with their ethnic culture than their parents do, as Birman and Trickett (2001) reported in case of Soviet Jewish refugee adolescents in America.

Nauck (2001), as well as Phinney et al. (2001) claim that the speed and success of acculturation depend on social and cultural capital of the migrants, but also on the conditions and rules they need to fulfill in order to be accepted by the host society, as well as the general official policies toward immigration. For example, the legal status of German repatriates allows them to benefit on extensive welfare system solely based on the *ius sanguinis* which also provides them with an 'express' German citizenship and involvement in special integration programs. Despite those measures, German repatriates perform cultural retention. On the other hand, some migrant groups may not enjoy such privileges and might face discrimination, yet they acculturate at a higher speed. It seems that the systematic variations between the respective immigrant groups with regard to available cultural capital and respective opportunity structure of the receiving society directly influence the acculturation process.

At this point, a parallel between the position of Turkish and Romani migrants in Germany can be made, as many Roma also came to Germany from the least educated rural parts, either as 'guest workers' in the 1960s or as refugees from ex-Yugoslavia. Compared to the native population, the status of Turkish migrants (similar to Romani migrants) in Germany is still associated with low socioeconomic conditions, low education and communal settlement in relatively poor settings where traditional family values continue to be the norm (Güngör, 2008). Moreover, there is evidence of the relative persistence of conservative family values in Turkish migrant families (Nauck, 1989; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2002; Idema & Phalet, 2007).

### 3.2.1 EXCLUSIONISM BY THE RECEIVING SOCIETY

How well the immigrant culture is accepted in the host-society plays a major role in the acculturation process: the more perceived acceptance – the more positive the experience of acculturation and psychological adaptation. Individuals of discriminated and belittled groups tend to behave in ways which confirm condescending attitudes of the dominant group creating 'self-fulfilling prophecies' (Kagitçibasi, 2007). Persistent images, stereotypes we have about other cultures are based on history, myth, economic and political competition, media and the 'us-them' conflict. In particular, discrimination and negative prejudice were



found to be related with the hindered acculturation of subordinate groups (e.g. Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). According to Kwak (2003), the reason why migrant parents insist on their own cultural values is because they cannot rely on the new society to assist in the cultural transmission, which is even truer when the receiving society is prone to exclusionist practices. Related to that is the practice of some Romani mothers who encourage their daughters who reached puberty to interrupt their education, because they do not trust that the school would properly protect their daughter's virginity and family honor. Idema & Phalet (2007:73) claim that the '[p]erceived threat in tense intercultural relations may reinforce adolescents' allegiance with traditional family values'.

A contextual explanation offered by the Interactive Acculturation Model (Bourhis, Moïse, Perrault & Sénécal, 1997) claims that the exclusionist policies and attitudes of a receiving society reinforce the feelings of cultural distance which leads to more conservatism and less openness to change in migrant families. This kind of reaction by the migrant families might lead to reaffirmation of the ethnic culture and identity and can serve as a source of collective self-esteem (Güngör, 2008; Idema & Phalet, 2007).

Swidler (1986) explains the cultural retention or the 'cultural lag' as a result of people not readily taking advantage of new structural opportunities which would require them to abandon established ways of life. This is not because they cling to cultural values, but because they are reluctant to abandon familiar strategies of action for which they have the adequate cultural 'equipment'. Similar to Swidler's explanation, Nauck (2001) claims that immigrant families with low cultural capital and low opportunities offered by the receiving society try to compensate for them with the nurtured social capital. Thus, they rely on the offers from close, multiplex relationships and consequently end up in a comparatively segregated, return-oriented milieu. On the other hand, families with higher cultural capital mainly invest in the relationships with receiving society alone, which results in better integration. Sometimes, a drastic shift happens in only two, three generations. For instance many migrants from Ex-Yugoslavia who came to Germany in the 60's had low levels of education (most often with a finished elementary school), however a great proportion of their children managed to finish secondary school, whereas the next generation even accomplished high school (Abitur) in large numbers (Rossig, 2008).

Another aspect important for our understanding of acculturative change are gender-role values because, according to Idema & Phalet (2007:74), they are 'at once very central to minority cultures and identities and they are known to differ on average from host cultural values in Western receiving societies'. The gradual change from traditional to more

egalitarian gender-role values was found in various cross-cultural studies (Kagitçibasi, 1990, 1996; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005).

### 3.2.2 HONOR AND MODESTY

Uskul and colleagues (2010) point to a distinction between a Mediterranean (region of Spain, Greece, Turkey together with Latin America, the Middle East and Africa) and a Confucian (East Asia) form of collectivism. In the Mediterranean culture or the *culture of honor*, a good reputation and the social image of the person and the family is of primary importance. On the other hand, Confucian culture shapes the behavior of people with values of *modesty*, conformism and a general rule of 'not sticking out'. The cross-cultural comparison that is mostly studied is the one between the Confucian collectivism and the western individualism. Uskul and colleagues warn about the possibility that the prevailing culture filters the answers of participants when it comes to self-valuation, for some 'editing' of the truth is considered acceptable in the interest of appropriate norm fulfillment (Ho, 1976; Triandis, 1995 in Uskul et al., 2010:199). For instance, members of the culture of honor might give socially desirable answers in order to maintain the good reputation, whereas members of the culture of modesty might downplay their answers depicting themselves as more modest and close to the average.

Considering the common descriptions of various Romani populations, it is highly plausible that they share features of the culture of honor, or the Mediterranean form of collectivism. Not only because many of Romani groups actually live in the regions where the honor-culture prevails, nor because of geographical and historical legacy from times when their ancestors were settled in Turkey and Greece, but also because of numerous findings from ethnographic studies and larger quantitative reports (e.g., Mitro, 2004; Mitro & Aleksandrović, 2003; Kyuchukov, 2011) describing members of various Romani groups as traditional, socially interdependent people with clear gender-specific behavioral codes, which all have a function of honor-maintenance.

### 3.2.3 ADOLESCENTS IN THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

Childhood and adolescence are considered to be periods of special importance in human development, as most growth, learning and change occur at these early stages (Smith et al., 2006). Furthermore, the developmental process within a particular cultural context is stronger during adolescence than earlier childhood as adolescents' lifestyles broaden beyond their family contexts (Kagitçibasi, 2002).

A desirable family structure and corresponding socialization pattern are universals affirmed consistently both by the parents and adolescents, as well as families from both individualistic and collectivistic societies (Kwak, 2003:123). In cases when migrant adolescents adapt quicker than their parents and accept new cultural values with more ease, inter-generational conflicts might occur. In accordance with Kagitçibasi's *Model of Family Change* which will be explained in the next chapter, Kwak (2003) stresses issues of autonomy and embeddedness in the family as crucial to harmonious intergenerational family relations. Adolescents should be ready to adhere to the family values, although some discrepancies may arise between the adolescent's conduct both within and outside the home. An adolescent may demand more autonomy (required for better school/work success) and that is something that parents need to realize and embrace. Parents and adolescents can, therefore, strive for different (if not opposing) developmental directions (control vs autonomy) which may lead to intergenerational disagreement and conflict. Conversely, in non-immigrant families, intergenerational differences can be relatively small. However, the 'socioeconomic level of the family and the availability of own ethnic networking in the larger society' can have a mediating effect on intergenerational relationships (Kwak, 2003:121).

Ward (1996 in Berry et al., 2006) differentiates two ways of adapting to acculturation. The first, termed *psychological adaptation* refers to personal well-being and good mental health. The second, *socio-cultural adaptation* refers to the individuals' social competence in managing their daily life in the intercultural setting. Both of these adaptation forms were tested in a large cross-cultural study on immigrant youth (Berry et al., 2006) and the findings suggest that a combined involvement in the national and the ethnic cultures is associated with more positive adaptation outcomes than a preference for either the national or the ethnic culture alone. Furthermore, being confused about one's situation or not being involved in either national or ethnic migrant culture - undermined both forms of adaptation.

In the time of adolescence, the forming of identity and self is a critical developmental task. The process of identity formation often implies moving from unverified childhood attitudes, through a period of exploration during which a critical standpoint towards parental/family values can emerge, until more secure identity is shaped at the end of adolescence (Phinney, 1989). Goals and strivings characteristic for period of adolescence, especially the ones connected to education, acquiring working skills and entering romantic (marital, non-marital) relationships have a severe impact on one's future and in collectivist societies, parents and wider family often get involved in their children's decisions and choices. On the other hand, a high level of autonomy and independence is expected from

children growing up in an individualist context in which parents might be more reserved when it comes to influencing their children's choices.

### 3.2.4 THE IMMIGRANT PARADOX

A counterintuitive finding that immigrants show better adaptation outcomes in comparison with their national peers, despite their lower socioeconomic status was first described and labeled as 'immigrant paradox' by Hayes-Bautista (2004). Since then, the focus of this phenomenon in various studies revolved not only around the difference between the adaptation outcomes of immigrants and their national peers, but also around the difference between first- and second-generation immigrants and the possible decline in the immigrant adaptation over time or the *convergence hypothesis* (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, & Smith, 2004 in Sam et al., 2008:140). This phenomenon was particularly supported by research findings from the United States (Harris, 2000), but it was recently also explored in Europe (Sam et al., 2008; van Geel & Vedder, 2011). In an attempt to explain this paradox, van Geel & Vedder (2011) turned to concepts of reliance and a strong sense of family obligations that adolescent migrants feel towards their families. The connection between a strong sense of family obligations and school success has been empirically supported (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Silverman, 2012) indicating that adolescents that are devoted to their families are more likely to obey their parents and resist maladjustment. However, Fuligni and his colleagues (1999) found that this relationship is not linear in cases when family obligations prevail over school - the school success will decline. Güngör (2007) found that collectivism and enhanced heritage-culture maintenance were associated with a better psychological adjustment among Turkish immigrant adolescents in Belgium, but individualism increased the adoption of host culture and led to better adaptation, thus psychological and socio-cultural adaptation may go in opposite directions. Studies about the socio-cultural and psychological adaptation of the immigrant youth (Berry, 2001; Berry et al., 2006 ) confirm that it is most beneficial if the youth is involved in both cultures (of origin and of the host country) in order to reach the higher level of integration. In the study by van Geel & Vedder (2011) a positive relationship between family obligations and school adjustment were found both in national and immigrant adolescent sample. Furthermore, partial mediations showed that family obligations and school adjustment both had unique contributions to fewer behavioral problems and a higher self-esteem. According to the European studies (Sam et al., 2008; van Geel & Vedder, 2011), the differences between immigrant and national youth are not as pronounced as they are in the United States and Canada (Hayes-Bautista, 2004; Garcia Coll &

Marks, 2009). Despite poor socioeconomic conditions, immigrant youth did not score worse in terms of adaptation than their national contemporaries. Another important aspect of the immigrant paradox is that the more assimilated in the national society the immigrants are, the more they tend to lose their benefits in terms of adaptation (Sam et al., 2008). The lack of such 'adaptational twist' in Netherlands is explained by better accessibility of welfare and health care in comparison to the US, which results in relatively stable well-being for all ethnic groups and social classes (van Geel & Vedder, 2011).

### 3.2.5 APPLYING CULTURAL CONSTRUCTS TO THE PRESENT STUDY

In many previous studies (e.g. Kühnen et al., 2001; Trommsdorff, 1985, Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001, Keller et al., 2006, Idema & Phalet, 2007; Gouveia & Ros, 2000) Germany has been characterized as an individualist society that fits the independent family model and encompasses the world-view underlying individualization theory advocated by German sociology (Crockett & Silbereisen, 2000; Neubauer & Hurrelmann, 1995 in Kagitçibasi et al., 2010:655). It is ranked 15th from 53 countries in Hofstede's (1991) individualism index. German society is conducive to maintenance of individualism, as the number of single households increases, the elderly are isolated from their children (Keller, Zach & Abels, 2005, Keller et al., 2006) and the institutions such as labor force, the legal system and the state link people as individuals rather than as family members (Beck-Gernsheim, 2002).

According to Singelis and his colleagues (1995), ethnic minorities and lower income groups living in western societies appear to be more prone to collectivism. The culture of Romani migrants included in this research is assumed to be collectivist, or a culture of relatedness, considering the widely reported close-knit family ties, patriarchal family values and traditional gender role division in relation to Roma across Europe (Liegeois et al., 1995; UNICEF, 2007, 2010; UNDP, 2003). In terms of Schwartz's cultural dimensions (1994) Roma could perhaps be described as belonging to embedded nations which are divided into a collection of segregated, more tightly knit in-groups which are somewhat indifferent to the well-being of other groups.

Relying on prior formulations (Schwartz, 1994, Keller et al., 2006), this study is not reduced to the dichotomous framework of individualism and collectivism, but focuses on cultural priorities of orientations that are present in any environment and are part of the individual psychology of any human being. In line with Kagitçibasi's (1990, 1996) conceptual distinction between relational and normative aspects of collectivism, the meaning of collectivism in this study is restricted to values of relatedness as opposed to separateness

from the family. In support of this narrow definition, a measure of women's status in the family and a unique scale based on a combination of items measuring 'Kin-collectivism' by Triandis, Yamaguchi and Hui (Rhee, Uleman & Lee, 1996) are expected to explain a large share of variation in cultural aspects with respect to the two groups in question (Romani migrant and German). Furthermore, findings from the present study could contribute to a body of research on immigrant paradox in Europe and hopefully add more clarity to this phenomenon.

## 4 MODEL OF FAMILY CHANGE

*Why does a certain type of human development occur in a particular family context and why does that type of family occur in a particular socioeconomic/socio-cultural context?*

*(Kagitçibasi, 2007:3)*

In an attempt to answer the complex questions regarding the adaptability of psychological processes and behaviors to ever-changing environmental demands, Kagitçibasi proposes the Model of family change (1990, 1996). This model examines the connections between different aspects of the background socioeconomic variables and lifestyles; family structure and family system; family interaction and childrearing, as well as the development of the self. It also deals with socio-historical change and examines how different family models emerge in different environmental contexts (Kagitçibasi, 2007).

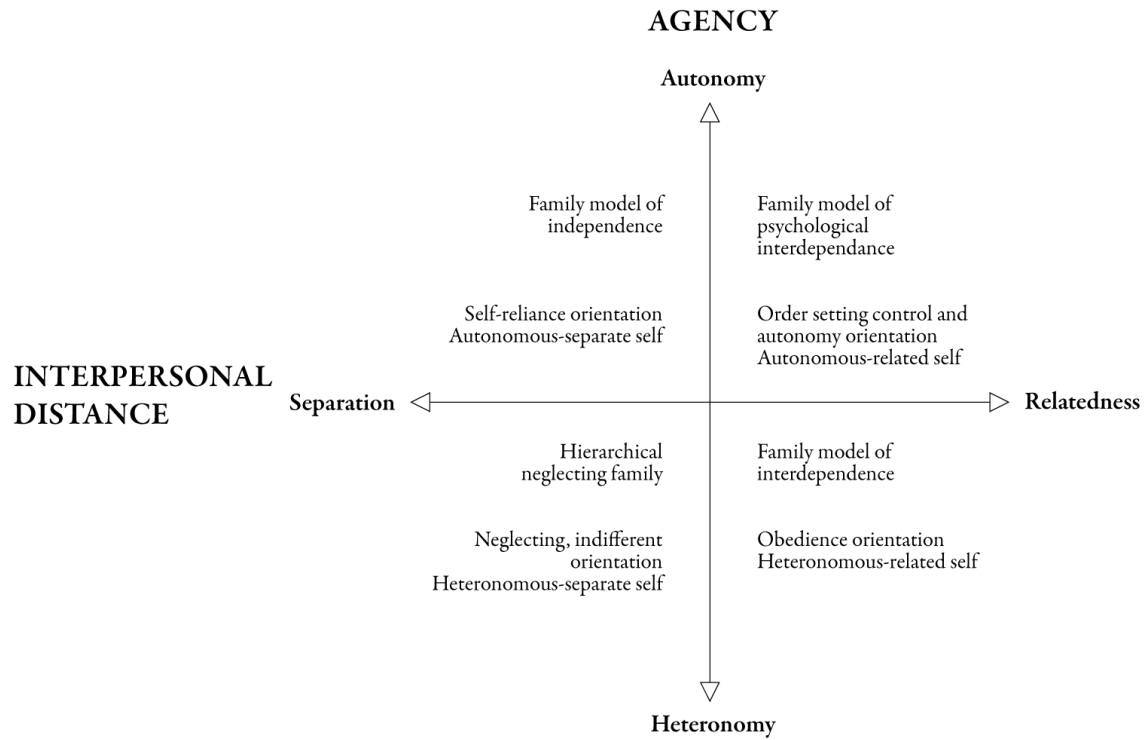
In order to capture the universal changes in family patterns, Model of family change is taking into consideration three specific family models ranging from the western middle class family prototype which was so far dominantly used in academic psychology (particularly present in industrialized societies such as the US and countries of Western Europe which constitute the 'Minority world'), to the more traditional and interconnected urban and rural families belonging to the 'Majority world'<sup>10</sup>.

The three models are: Model of Independence, the Model of Interdependence and the Model of Psychological Interdependence. Proposed models are based on combinations of the poles of two underlying independent dimensions: the dimension of *agency* with the poles of autonomy (volitional agency) and heteronomy (being governed from the outside) and the dimension of *interpersonal distance* with the poles of relatedness and separateness (Figure 3).

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<sup>10</sup> *Majority world* is a term adopted by Kagitçibasi (2007) describing the majority of the world's population in a more neutral way. Since the *second world* disappeared with the collapse of communist-socialist states, the term *third world* would be incorrect, as well as the term *developing countries*, as the gap between the developed and the so-called developed countries increases.

Figure 3 Agency, Interpersonal Distance and the Types of Selves and Families



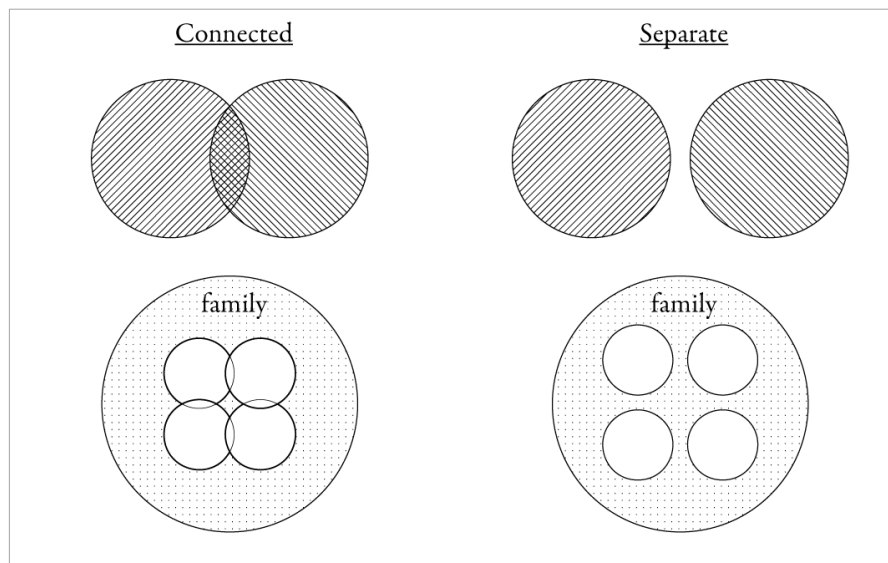
Source: Kagitçibasi, 2005

A person can 'be placed' on both of these dimensions forming a more Autonomous-Separate Self (high in autonomy, low in relatedness, developing within the family model of independence), Heteronomous-Related Self (high in relatedness, low in autonomy, developing within the family model of total interdependence) or Autonomous-related Self (high in both relatedness and autonomy, developing within the model of psychological interdependence). The Autonomous-related self 'promises to be psychologically optimal, as it involves both basic human needs for autonomy and relatedness' (Kagitçibasi, 2007:187). The fourth one, Heteronomous-Separate self is connected to parental neglect, indifference or family pathology (Maccoby & Martin, 1983, Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997 in Smith et al., 2006:93) and it is not that common.

The Model of Family Change can be seen as a human model as well, when the focus lies on the type of self-development. This model aims to 'discover the societal and familial antecedents of the *separate* (individualist) and the *related* selves' (see Figure 4), adding a third type of Autonomous-related self. Let us first take a look at the main characteristics of the three family models.



Figure 4 Related (connected) and Separate self



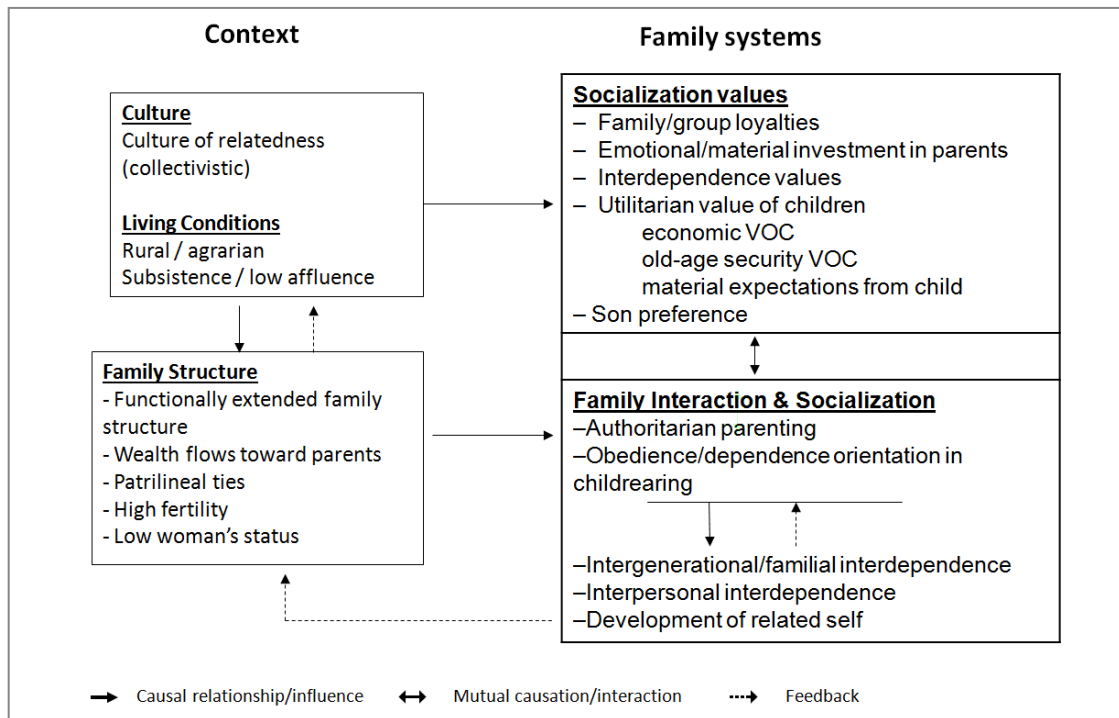
Source: Kagitçibasi, 2002

## 4.1 THREE FAMILY MODELS

### MODEL OF (TOTAL) INTERDEPENDENCE

In traditional rural agrarian societies the intergenerational interdependence is necessary for family livelihood. Not only would the children help their family's income, but they would also fulfill the duty of caring for their elderly parents. A clear patriarchal gender role structure where men are the traditional breadwinners leads to a higher son preference and a lower intra-family status of a woman. Generally, interdependent families are larger, because the more children there are - the higher the material contribution to the family and the security in old age for parents. In these families socialization is directed at the acceptance of norms and hierarchies which often implies obedience and dependence orientation, control and authoritarian parenting. A child has a mainly utilitarian value (Figure 5). In societies with collectivist values of interpersonal connectedness and low socioeconomic development, material and psychological interdependencies coexist.

Figure 5 Model of (total) family interdependence



Source: Kagitçibasi, 2007

## MODEL OF INDEPENDENCE

In contrast to the first model, an ideal of a middle class nuclear family has been promoted in western industrial, urban or suburban societies. Higher levels of affluence, as well as social welfare conditions that allow alternatives to the care of the children and the elderly resulted in loosening or even complete lack of commitment to the patrilineage. The family became a system of independent relationships where members are separated from each other by well-defined boundaries. Values of intergenerational independence and permissive childrearing practices guided the enhancement of self-reliance and autonomy which further led to a higher psychological and lower utilitarian value of a child. Within these families the perception of the individual as separate, autonomous, bounded, and self-contained is prioritized (Keller et al., 2006).

According to the modernization theory, every developing country that was going through a transitional phase towards economic development was expected to embrace the Western prototype of the independent family. This kind of an assumption was based on the Weberian thesis that the collectivist value orientations are not compatible with the economic

development (Swidler, 1986). However, these expectations were proven wrong by the family development in countries that had striking economic success (e.g., modern India, China, South Korea, Japan), but in which family connectedness remained high. With the gradual decline of material interdependence between family generations, there is a shift from rigid paternal authority towards emotional forms of interdependence that support personal autonomy and that assign equal status to women and men. Thus, the family model of emotional interdependence differs both from a more hierarchical traditional family model *and* from the prototypical western model of independence. In fact, close ties and attachment to parents, rather than detachment, are found to be associated with adolescent health and well-being in the USA, Russia, Korea and Turkey (Chirkov, Kim, Ryan and Kaplan, 2003). However, it is especially in the cultures of family relatedness that close adolescent-parent relations appear to provide a healthy developmental pathway (Smith et al., 2006).

#### MODEL OF PSYCHOLOGICAL / EMOTIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE

This model emerges in societies where a shift in material, industrial and urban development exists parallel to some collectivistic, interdependent family patterns. While economic prosperity leads to a decrease in material dependencies, it seems that it does not influence emotional and psychological dependencies in the same way. On the contrary, in a recent study by Kim and colleagues (2005 in Kagitçibasi, 2007) the most important life goal in Korea was 'harmonious family'. Material investments are directed towards children and this does not stop when children become capable to work, because children have a more salient psychological value - the interdependence is non-material. Utilitarian value of children decreases by the increase of development, women's professionalization and the available education. This has a large impact on the childrearing practices, as children do not bring profit for the family, but on the contrary, usually require economic investment. Together with the change in socioeconomic (living) factors, structural variables such as preferred number of children, woman's status in the family and the relationship with the extended family also changes in a systematic way (Kagitçibasi, 2007).

Because of the concurring focus on both harmonic integration into the family and autonomy as an agent, this model is alternatively referred to as the Model of Autonomous Relatedness, portraying the 'urban, educated, middle-class families in societies with an interrelated cultural heritage' (Kagitçibasi, 1996, 2005 in Keller et al., 2006:156). The dynamics of the autonomy development within the context of relatedness has emerged as

important, particularly within collectivist cultures and in culture contact situations such as immigration context (Smith et al., 2006:98). An ongoing question is the relative role of the individual in relation to the environmental influences on his or her developmental pathway.

## 4.2 CONVERGENCE TOWARDS PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERDEPENDENCE

Putting forward a cross-cultural, contextual and a functional perspective is necessary for understanding the family in *any* society in order to realize how different childrearing orientations can be adaptive in different socio-cultural contexts. Kagitçibasi (2007b) predicts a global change, that is, convergence toward a family model of Psychological Interdependence and Autonomous-related Self. This prediction holds for the Majority world and for immigrants in the West with increased need for autonomy in childrearing, as well for the Minority world that has an increased need for relatedness documented by numerous studies (Ryan & Lynch, 1989; Ryan et al., 1994; Kim, Butzel & Ryan, 1998; Keller et al., 2003; Phalet & Schönflug, 2001; Kwak, 2003; Georgas, Berry, Van de Vijver, Kagitçibasi & Poortinga, 2006). In support of the predicted change towards psychological interdependence, findings on non-migrant Turkish adolescents suggest that there is a desire for a decrease in parental control (Kagitçibasi & Ataca, 2005). However, Kagitçibasi (2007) warns that the trend of convergence might be counteracted by dominant western individualistic models in which freedom of choice gets wrongly equated with separateness. Self-reliance, self-sufficiency and independence are values heavily promoted by the media and individualist (capitalist) society where the need to relate or depend on someone else gets equated with failure.

## 4.3 DIFFERENT WAYS OF SOCIALIZATION

According to Kagitçibasi (2007), the links between the individual and the society have often been traced through middle-level contexts such as the family and child socialization. In fact, 'the family emerges as the major mediating factor that links macro contextual factors and child development outcomes' (*ibid* p.53). Using the term *anticipatory socialization*, Kohn (1969) describes the process through which parents socialize their children in such way as to prepare them for their eventual adult roles in society. He states that the middle-class child socialization encourages the development of individual autonomy because middle-class jobs often require individual decision making. On the other hand, traits as conformity and

obedience were valued among children from working-class families, as these characteristics fit better to working-class jobs description.

Mainstream Western personality theory assumes that separation-individuation is a necessary prerequisite for the autonomy development. Another view (coming from the psychoanalytic perspective) is the bipolar dimension of parenting ranging from strong control (authoritarian parenting) on one end to parental warmth on the other. Control and warmth were seemingly incompatible, in fact, strong discipline was mainly considered as deviant and undesirable (Kagitçibasi, 2007; Trommsdorf, 1985). According to Deci & Ryan (2002), authoritarian upbringing aims to control and instill loyalty into a child. High authoritarianism and even the use of threat and honor help maintain the hierarchy and keep the division of social roles and obligations intact. Therefore, in many collectivist communities family allegiance is understood to be mandatory.

In individualist, western, middle-class societies control is associated with parental rejection, whereas in collectivist societies it gets accepted more readily, because it is associated with care. Although control is still present in Kagitçibasi's model of psychological interdependence, it is also combined with care and warmth. This way, the goal to nurture long lasting (dependent) emotional relations between parents and children can be set, avoiding the outcome of full independence-separation. Güngör called this shift from obedience-oriented to more autonomy-oriented childrearing an 'attenuation rather than accentuation in parental control with urbanisation' (2008:411). According to Smith et al. (2006), parental control depends on cultural conventions and can vary through time and across cultures, but the key factor underlying this variation is the desired level of intergenerational dependence or independence. Bandura (2002) claims that human agency can be exercised individually or collectively in all societies. Thus, agency is not an exclusive privilege of individualists. Furthermore it appears that it is not the interpersonal connectedness that represents a barrier to autonomy, but the socioeconomically disadvantaged environments and/or socialization methods in which control predominates.

If we distinguish interpersonal distance and agency, autonomy and relatedness do not have to stand on opposing sides. In fact, the development of Autonomous-related self is possible, but in environments that are supportive to this. This means that collectivist and individualist cultures are not so different 'with regard to an individual making an impact on his or her developmental pathway, as long as objective support conditions are the same.' (Smith et al., 2006:99-100).

#### 4.3.1 VALUE TRANSMISSION

Parents are the primary transmitters of culture, and therefore directly influence the formation of values of their children. However, parents differ with respect to the content, intensity and success in the value transmission process. According to Phalet & Schönplugg (2001), parents in predominantly collectivistic countries tend to stress conformity goals such as obedience or respect, whereas parents in individualistic countries (e.g., Germany and the United States) stress autonomy goals such as agency or independent thinking. Furthermore, Turkish migrant parents in Netherlands have more success in transmitting traditional family values, filial obligations and normative gender roles, than academic achievement values (*ibid.*). Beside the content of the values being transmitted, it is the way they are conveyed (the parenting style) that has a strong effect on the psycho-social adjustment of a child.

#### 4.3.2 CONTROL VS WARMTH

Numerous findings (e.g., Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994 in Güngör, 2008) suggest that the assertion of power and authority (which constitute the controlling parenting style) has a negative effect on the child by thwarting the process of autonomy and independence development. According to Kagitçibasi, parental goals of protection and survival of children lead to protective conformity-oriented child socialization ‘... because in hazardous environments, obedience, rather than independence of children is adaptive for ensuring their safety’ (Kagitçibasi, 2007:46). However, when it is combined with warmth, control has no adverse effect on well-being (Harwood, Miller & Irizarry, 1995; Kagitçibasi, 1996, 2007).

In cultures of relatedness, parental control is a byproduct of traditional societal rules which children mainly accept without objection (Güngör, 2008). For instance, Sumer & Güngör (1999) offer a simplified image of a Turkish traditional family with an authoritarian father and an indulgent, accepting mother whose main task is to instill obedience in the child. This description fits Baumrind’s ‘traditional family style’ (1989 in Idema & Phalet, 2007). However, recent findings show that in many socio-cultural contexts, what appears from the outside to be authoritarian control may in fact be more attuned to an authoritative parenting that combines parental control with warmth (Kagitçibasi, 2007). Parental control was not perceived as parental rejection in contexts where controlling parenting is normative (Kagitçibasi et al., 2010). On the other hand, in cultures of separateness permissive parenting is more common and children are encouraged to develop autonomy and independence as soon as possible, which can also take on more extreme forms. For instance, German mothers

expressed the lowest level of emotional and financial support to their children, in comparison to mothers from Palestine, Israel and Turkey (Kagitçibasi et al., 2010).

#### 4.3.3 DEVELOPMENT OF AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF

As already mentioned, particular types of self will be developed in environments that are conducive to them, which is further connected to the prevailing parenting style and socialization strategies, assuming that cultural models define *desirable endpoints for development* (Csikszentmihalyi & Rathunde, 1998 in Keller et al., 2006:157). And while the two socialization paths: from permissive parenting to autonomous self and from authoritarian parenting to related self are quite straightforward, the path leading to Autonomous-related self with seemingly opposing values is more difficult to grasp.

Within the model of psychological interdependence the loyalty to the family and community are still present, but there is also a realization that higher autonomy has a functional role for school success and urban employment which leads to development of Autonomous-related self. Obviously, with the economic shift of the community and the wider society, the child is not obligated to help his elderly parents alone. In most developed societies nowadays, old people have their own income, insurance benefits and pensions. This means that the individual interests of a growing child can be accommodated in this family model alongside group interests, because 'the autonomy of the growing child is no longer seen as a threat to the family' (Kagitçibasi, 2007:146). Complete obedience and loyalty of the child is no longer needed for family survival and there is room for a change in parenting style that allows more autonomy in childrearing.

In the context of immigration, adolescents coming from predominantly collectivist countries to Western, individualist countries may be content with close family ties and accentuated relatedness, but they might also aspire to a higher degree of autonomy, as autonomy is often adaptive for success. Possible discrepancy in parental and adolescent aspirations might cause intergenerational conflicts, which in turn might have a detrimental effect on the well-being of the whole family.

Bell and associates (1996) claim that, according to the answers of Japanese and American participants in their study, both connection and individuality have importance in healthy families from both cultures. Guisinger and Blatt (1994 in Matsumoto, 2001) suggest that evolutionary pressures of natural selection brought self-definition on one hand and interpersonal relatedness on the other, as two basic developmental approaches that do not

stand in a dichotomous relation, but are rather intertwined. Finally, Deci and Ryan (2000) put autonomy and relatedness (together with competence) side by side as basic needs of every human being. This all goes in line with Kagitçibasi's convergence theory and was assumed to be reflected in the measure of Autonomous-related self.

#### 4.4 APPLYING THE MODEL OF FAMILY (SELF) CHANGE TO THE PRESENT STUDY

Model of Family Change allows for a combination of a contextual and a functional approach. Contextually, the family (which is automatically situated in its socio-cultural environment) is implicated, even if a person is the object of the study. It is of particular relevance that this research focuses on adolescent participants, as adolescence represents a time in which autonomy and relatedness dynamics assume special significance (Kagitçibasi, 2005). A functional approach of MFC uses social and psychological adaptive mechanisms to explain why a particular type of development occurs, rather than another one. In this study we expect to learn about the specific familial context of adolescent participants through self reported measures of Autonomous, Related and Autonomous-related self in family. Furthermore, we will have a chance to test Kagitçibasi's assumptions on a sample of Romani migrants.



## 5 PERSONAL GOALS

Many researchers have been dealing with personal goals, albeit from different perspectives. For example, Emmons (1986) coined the term personal strivings; Markus & Nurius (1986) used possible selves, Cantor (et al. 1987) dealt with life tasks and Schwartz (1994) with motivational types of values. According to Nurmi & Salmela - Aro (2002), all previously mentioned concepts refer to personal goals in the sense that they are based on motives of an individual kind; exist within a system of hierarchically organized superordinate and subordinate motivational structures; refer to some culturally defined task or contextual challenge and are realized by means of constructing different means-end structures.

If one deals with a definition of goals as an internal interpretation of desired states, 'where states are broadly construed as outcomes, events and processes' (Austin and Vancouver, 1996 in Lüdtke, 2006:15), one might assume that in the process of forming the idea of a desired state, family and wider socio-cultural context play a significant role. A person's choice of a goal depends on culturally shaped skills and habits or one's 'habitus', if we rely on Bourdieu's terminology (1990).

Ideally, every person in the world would have the same opportunities and a chance to reach the maximum level of fulfillment. However, our definition of fulfillment tends to reflect a specific set of cultural values. A good example given by Serpell (1976:10) is the degree of privacy which would be cherished by middle-class English or American society, but would be viewed as intolerably lonely in many other communities. Maintaining the argument that each cultural group should specify its own set of objectives and be given equal opportunity to attain its chosen ideals sounds noble and just, however the nature of a multicultural society in which different ethnic groups have to cooperate and live together, requires a compromise among different value systems. Deci & Ryan (2000:246) also claim that 'some of the avenues to basic need satisfaction may differ widely from culture to culture' where people in collectivist cultures resonate with group goals and experience relatedness and autonomy if the values are fully internalized, whereas individualists acting in accord with group norm might experience it as a threat to autonomy. Dominant cultural values serve as guiding principles in developing personal attitudes and behaviors and therefore have a profound influence on goals (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Schwartz, 1994). Furthermore, political systems also have a huge influence on motivation and goal formation. For instance, a parallel can be found between the way former communistic regimes, or governments of the East European block treated their citizens and the way contemporary governments Europe-wide treat

Roma: '...the government imposed many arbitrary constraints and obstacles. People could generally not leave the country, for example, and they had to be extremely careful if they criticized the government. Furthermore, it was typically futile for them to strive for meaningful, personal goals within the system, because bureaucracy and favoritism nearly always determined who would succeed' (Deci & Flaste, 1996:201). This is an example of an external restriction of personal freedom, but one can be restricted by the limitations of one's internal structure (inner constraints) too. In many countries and societies people are aware of the possibilities they have to achieve certain goals, how to reach success in school, find employment, start a family etc. Still, there are always some who have 'fallen out of the system'. Although there are instrumentalities within the system, they fail to work for some people (usually the lower class or poor migrants and minorities) because they have a more difficult access to them (*ibid.*). One can even say that it is not the incapacity of the very poor to cherish middle class values (which is the main argument of 'culture of poverty' described by Lewis, 1966), but it is the structural circumstances that cause a distinctive lower-class behavior (Valentine, 1968 in Swidler, 1986). In order to tackle this issue in the present research, we will be exploring the obstacles standing in the way of successful goal pursuit perceived by the participants.

Cultural values are reflected through parental values and can impact children in different degree, depending on the corresponding parenting practices. Through early childhood socialization - and social learning later in life - personal motives that are congruent with cultural value orientations would be rewarded, whereas incongruent motives would rather be discouraged (Rokeach, 1980). Therefore, in each socio-cultural group levels of personal commitment and expectation should be highest for motives that correspond to important cultural values (Triandis, Vassilou, Vassilou, Tanaka, & Shanmugan, 1977 in Phalet and Schönplflug, 2001).

As primary transmitters of culture, parents directly influence the values of their children. However, some parental values are more strongly or more effectively transmitted than others. For instance, Turkish migrant parents in the Netherlands successfully transmit traditional family values to their children, but not academic achievement values (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001). Similar cultural transmission could be expected among Romani migrant families in Germany. Furthermore, Romani migrants will be presumably more inclined to reject German cultural values if they experience intercultural relations as hostile or exclusive.

Considering the position of hardship, poverty and insecure residence among many Romani migrant families in Berlin, including a predominant patriarchal, traditional value-

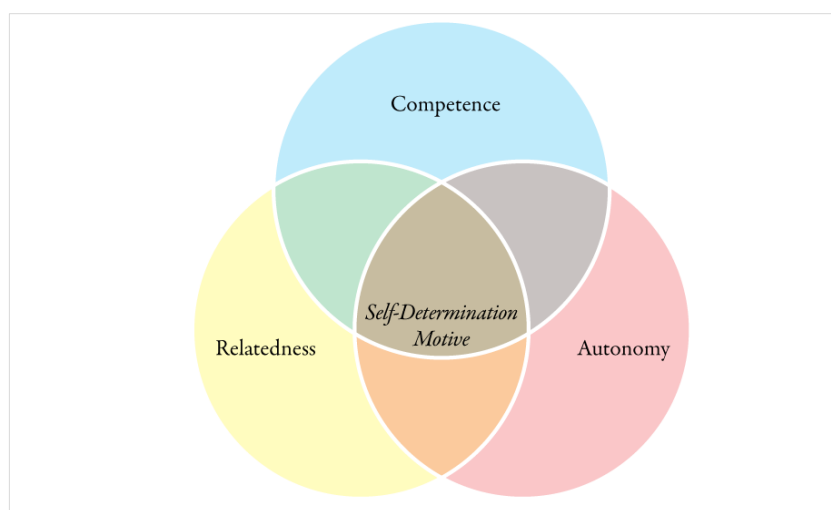
system, we are interested to explore if and in what way would these socio-cultural circumstances be reflected in idiographic personal goals of our participants. Additionally, we are interested to examine what kinds of obstacles are seen to stand in the way of a successful goal pursuit. According to Kwak (2003), in cases where personal goals of an adolescent do not overlap with the goals of the family, the family itself could be perceived as an obstacle.

## 5.1 GOAL PURSUIT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SDT

Formally introduced in 1985 by Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan, Self-determination Theory [SDT] represents an extensive framework focusing on motivation and well-being. It is based on an organismic dialectic which postulates that humans naturally incline to act in a way that would bring them closer to personal and interpersonal coherence and optimal well-being.

In contrast to theories of drive-reduction (see Hull's 'Principles of Behavior' or works by e.g., Pavlov; Watson; Thorndike) which reduced human motivation to mere fulfillment of biological needs, SDT theorists put the psychological needs of autonomy, relatedness and competence in the forefront. SDT asserts that the satisfaction of all three contributes to the most effective functioning: 'In short, psychological health requires satisfaction of all three needs; one or two are not enough' (Figure 6).

Figure 6 Three basic psychological needs



Source: Deci & Ryan, 2000

As described by Deci & Ryan (2000:252) the need for *competence* means to engage optimal challenges and experience mastery in the physical and social worlds; the need to *relatedness* is to seek attachments and experience feelings of security, belongingness, and intimacy with others; while the need for *autonomy* means to self-organize and regulate one's own behavior (and avoid heteronomous control). Specifically, these three psychological needs are considered essential for understanding the content and the process of goal pursuits.

### 5.1.1 ORGANISMIC INTEGRATION THEORY

The present study will draw upon the Organismic Integration Theory, SDT's mini-theory that focuses on various forms of extrinsic motivation and the process of internalization. Let us first clarify the difference between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

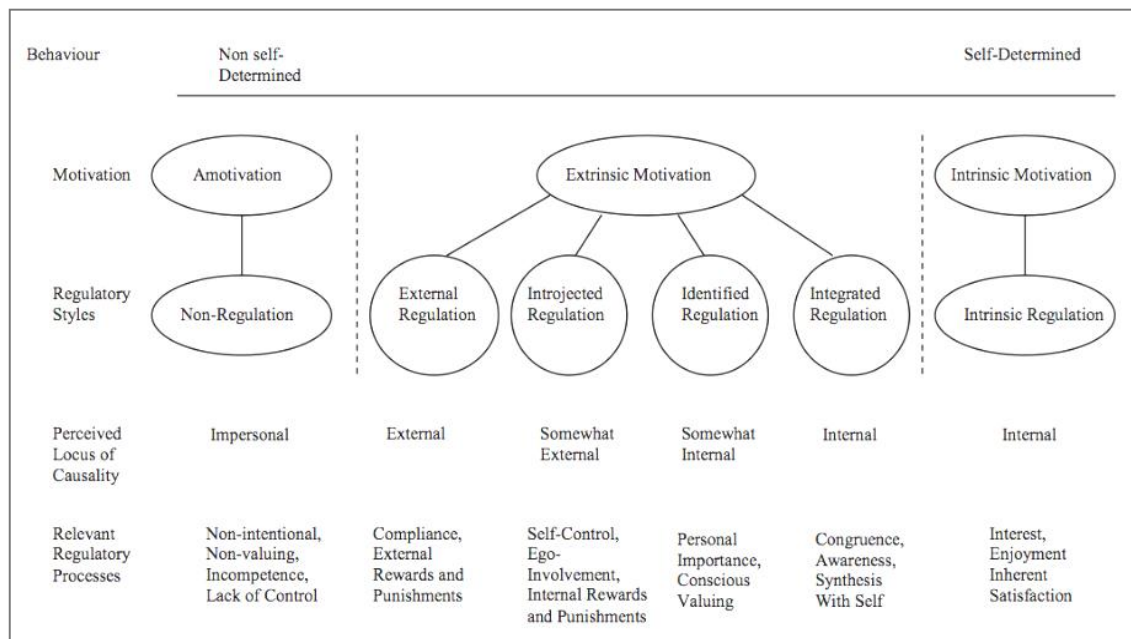
Intrinsically motivated behaviors are those in which people engage freely, out of mere interest or enjoyment. An often mentioned example of such activity is children's play, because children usually do not require an external reinforcement for this activity. Csikszentmihalyi (1975) described intrinsically motivated activity as 'autotelic', when opportunities for action are in balance with the actor's skills, thus the satisfaction is inherent in the activity itself. However, many behaviors in the human repertoire are not intrinsically interesting and thus not likely to occur spontaneously. These are behaviors, attitudes and values for which internalization is necessary if children are to fully accept them (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Therefore, externally regulated motivation needs to be transformed by processes of internalization and integration. 'The two forms of internalization are: introjections, which Fritz Pearls likened to swallowing a rule whole rather than digesting it; and integration, which involves "digestion" and is the optimal form of internalization.' (Deci & Flaste, 1996:94)

There are four types of extrinsic regulations of behavior which direct people in an instrumental way. *External regulation* - when people behave in a certain way either to attain a desired, or avoid an undesired consequence by third parties. This kind of external regulation is considered to be controlling. *Introjected regulation* - when one behaves in a certain way in order to avoid feelings of shame or to elicit feelings of pride. In this case the external consequences are auto-administered on the cognitive and emotional level. Although these regulations are within the person, they are still of a more external nature, as they are not fully integrated into self. *Identified regulation* occurs when a person behaves motivated by what she or he finds personally important. Although this motivational form includes more

autonomy, the behavior remains instrumental. Finally, the most complete form of internalization – *Integrated regulation* where what was initially external regulation becomes fully transformed into self-regulation, reaching a total coherence with persons’ values and identity (Ryan, 1995; Lüdtke, 2006).

OIT specifically deals with needs of autonomy and relatedness that are seen as critical for a person to gradually progress through distinct forms of external regulation on a continuum of internalization (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Self-determination continuum



Source: Ryan & Deci, 2000

A further concern of the Organismic Integration Theory are the conditions which make people either resist, partially adopt or fully internalize values, goals or even belief systems. This means that social context, family and wider culture play a crucial role in enhancing or thwarting internalization.

### 5.1.2 GOAL CONTENTS THEORY (GCT)

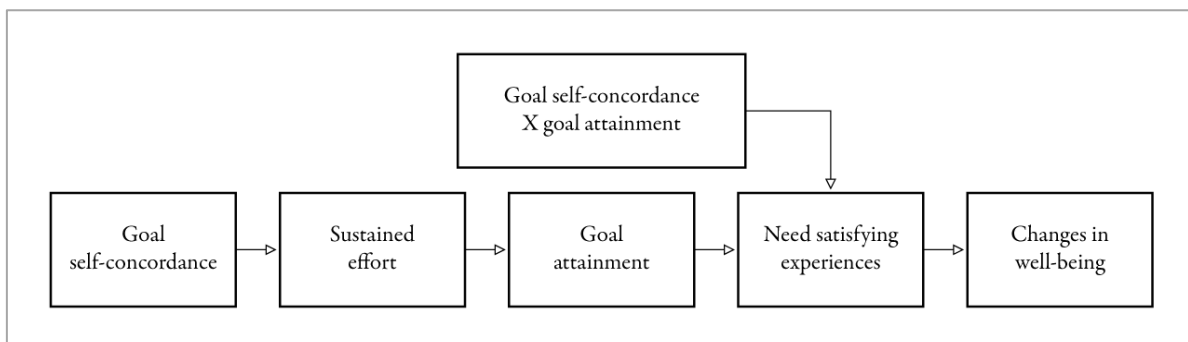
SDT’s last mini-theory focuses on the content of the goals, that is, the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic goals and their impact on motivation and well-being. Within this approach extrinsic goals such as materialism, financial success, appearance, and popularity/fame have been specifically contrasted with intrinsic goals such as community,

close relationships, and personal growth. Numerous researches (e.g., Kasser & Ryan, 1993; 1996; 2001) have shown that materialism and other extrinsic goals were more likely to be associated with lower well-being; in fact, need thwarting is entailed in the cause of many forms of psychopathology (Ryan et al., 2006). In contrast to that, goals reflecting psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence which are supported and satisfied within a social context are followed by higher well-being.

### 5.1.3 MODEL OF SELF-CONCORDANCE

Self-concordance model was proposed by Kennon M. Sheldon and Andrew J. Elliot in 1999. It asserts that the goals a person pursues have to be well internalized in order for the person to optimally satisfy the three basic needs (experiencing autonomy, competence, and relatedness on daily basis) which further leads to experience of well-being (Sheldon & Kasser, 1995; 1998, Deci & Ryan, 2002). On the other hand, non-concordant individuals are assumed to be resisting change by clinging to the status quo and are less able to actualize their own potential which leads to lower levels in well-being (Figure 8).

Figure 8 The Self-concordance Model



Source: Sheldon & Elliot, 1999

A self-concordant person selects personal goals for autonomous reasons, and not as a result of external mediation. Therefore, it is assumed that intrinsic and identified motivations lying in the foundation of Self-concordance reflect the core values and deep interests of the person. Self-concordance is concerned with the degree to which the regulation of a behavior is being perceived as controlled or non-internalized to autonomous or fully internalized (Deci and Ryan, 2002). The measure called perceived locus of causality (PLOC) can help us clarify the degree to which each of the goal-striving reasons (external, introjected, identified or integrated) is an important driver for a particular goal.

Ehrlich (2012:494) brought up a limitation in using SDT, or Self-concordance model, claiming that the analytical framework is too narrow - focusing mainly on the degree of autonomy (external pressures, introjected behaviour, behaviour guided by identified motives and intrinsic behaviour) and that the content of goal-striving reasons is being repeatedly neglected. In this study we will focus on both Self-concordance and the content of goals.

#### 5.1.4 PERCEIVED LOCUS OF CAUSALITY

The term *internal perceived locus of causality* was first introduced by Heider (1958) and was subsequently integrated in SDT research on intrinsic motivation. Deci and Ryan (1980) tied perceived locus of causality [PLOC] to people's need to feel autonomous, suggesting that contextual events affect intrinsic motivation and the quality of functioning. Thus, the measure of PLOC enables us to conclude if the actions of a person are perceived as more internal, or external. It is of crucial importance that people feel like origins of their behavior. In case they are extrinsically controlled by threats or rewards, people may stop enjoying even those things they used to be intrinsically motivated for. Let us see how the three basic psychological needs relate to intrinsic motivation and goal pursuit.

#### AUTONOMY

Autonomy was found to be of an essential value to intrinsic motivation, as it was shown that situations entailing threats, surveillance and deadlines (where autonomy gets thwarted) led to undermining of intrinsic motivation (for review of studies see Deci & Ryan, 2000). People are recurrently dealing with determining whether their actions are self-determined or controlled by an external agent. In these cases the existence of choice reveals a lot on possibility to act freely. According to Deci & Flaste (1996:10), 'choice is the key to self-determination and authenticity'.

#### COMPETENCE

The need for competence leads people to seek challenges that are optimal for their capacities and to persistently attempt to maintain and enhance those skills and capacities through activity (Deci & Ryan, 2002). In order to enhance intrinsic motivation and meet the need for competence, Deci & Ryan suggest the use of positive feedback. They further warn that it is not enough to be successful in reaching a certain goal, but it must be done in a way that ensures fulfillment of basic needs. To feel competent, a person needs to take on a meaningful personal challenge (Deci & Flaste, 1996).

## RELATEDNESS

In order to develop intrinsic motivation a person needs to have secure, close and caring relationships with its significant others, from the early stages onwards. Studies have shown that maternal autonomy support and the security of attachment enhance exploratory behaviors (Bretherton, 1987 in Deci & Ryan, 2000) and intrinsic motivation (Ryan & LaGuardia, 2000) among young children. The belief that autonomy needs to be connected to independence is not supported by SDT, in fact Deci and Flaste (1996:90) quote a research by Ryan and Lynch that shows how willing or volitional dependence on parents supports the integrity and well-being among teenagers. In fact, there is an abundance of evidence coming from the SDT orientation that shows how autonomy is not necessarily conjoined with separateness (Chirkov, Kim, Ryan & Kaplan, 2003; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Grolnick, Deci & Ryan, 1997).

### 5.1.5 SDT IN DIFFERENT CULTURES

In relation to culture, SDT maintains that the three basic needs have a universal character. Furthermore, basic needs play an essential role in cultural transmission, helping to account for how memes are assimilated and maintained in and across diverse human groups (Inghilleri, 1999 in Deci & Ryan, 2000:230). In this sense, there are differences in cultural and subcultural contexts that might be optimally challenging and supportive or over-controlling and pressuring. In the latter case evidence of lower well-being among members of those cultures, but also less stable and fragmented cultures in general, are to be expected.

When it comes to constructs of individualism and collectivism, Deci & Flaste (1996:134) claim that individualism revolves around self-interest and emotional and personal independence, whereas collectivism represents 'a structural interconnection in which all one's outcomes are intertwined with those of others. Family comes before individual; group comes before individual; society comes before individual'. In support of that claim, a study by Phalet & Schönplflug (2001) shows that achievement values got transmitted to Turkish immigrant families living in Netherlands and Germany, but in form of *collectivistic achievement motivation* that combines achievement motivation with commitment to family values and conformity (which was found adaptive to immigrant family survival in the individualistic society). A further concept shows differences in autonomous motivation across cultures. For instance, 'detachment', as a form of voluntary relinquishment of control studied by Naidu (1983 in Kagitçibasi, 2007) can be found among indigenous Indians. However, it would rarely be seen in the Western world and it would not be considered in a



positive way. As stated by Kagitçibasi (2007) achievement motivation in American psychology has been conceived in terms of individual strivings, agency, and competition with others. This is congruent with an individualistic ethos, but may be at odds with a culture of relatedness where interpersonal harmony and group loyalties may be of primary concern. Indeed, efforts to instill competitive individualistic achievement motivation in a collectivistic setting such as India were not successful (McClelland & Winters, 1969; Sinha, J.B.P., 1985 in Kagitçibasi, 2007).

SDT admits that there may be considerable variability in the goals and values that become integrated in different cultures. For instance, Americans might feel autonomous and volitional in cases when they are able to make their own independent decisions, while members of some East Asian cultures might feel the same by endorsing and enacting values of people with whom they identify. In both of those cases autonomy will be pursued in a culturally meaningful way and will be related to intrinsic motivation and enhanced well-being. However, those cultural practices that are inconsistent with basic needs (such as genital mutilation or a cultural moré that boys should not cry) cannot be integrated within the self, because they are inconsistent with human nature (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

#### 5.1.6 SDT's PERSPECTIVE ON PARENTING

According to Deci & Ryan (2002: 175), conservatism in which parents attempt to channel children into their own paths might be a vestige of our evolutionary heritage that is no longer adaptive in the current environment that requires a flexible adjustment to environmental change. Aiming to better understand the factors that influence the degree of parental control, Grolnick & Apolstoleris (2002) propose three kinds of pressures in the parent-child relationship. As first, 'Pressure from Without' refers to conditions we have already mentioned: adverse economic situation, wider socioeconomic hardships, immigrant/minority status, negative events etc. Parents who suffer economic distress may lack in patience and warmth and may practice harsher and more punitive parenting. These external factors are present in many Romani migrant families and may contribute to predominantly controlling parenting style in Romani families. As second, there is 'Pressure from Below', coming from children themselves. So, control can be, at least in part driven by child behavior caused by its 'difficult' personality traits. The third pressure is 'Pressure from Within', the internal pressure from parents to have their children perform in (culturally) specified ways. In fact, it can be assumed that Pressure from Without together with the Pressure from Within influence the parenting style in Romani families, since they face

socioeconomic hardships more frequently and they are also presumed to aspire to strict socially prescribed norms. Whether a child (specially a daughter) behaves properly is being immediately reflected on her mother, because mothers are seen as primarily responsible for the socialization outcome of their children. This kind of ego-involvement also influences the interaction between parents and children possibly provoking more parental control.

If parents practice autonomy support, optimal structure, warmth and interpersonal involvement, a more internalized self-regulation would take place (Vallerand and Bissonnette, 1992; Vallerand, Fortier & Guay, 1997). On the other hand, external pressures, controls and constant evaluations by parents result in external self-regulation (Assor, Roth & Deci, 2000) and consequently, lower levels of Subjective Well-being among children (Grolnick and Ryan, 1989).

SDT posits that it is in human nature to strive for a greater integration within the self which is encompassed in the need for autonomy, and to assimilate and integrate oneself in the social environment, urged by the need of relatedness. The incompatibilities arise only when the social context is structured in a way that turns the needs against each other (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Furthermore, the environment can undermine people's intrinsic motivation making them passive and compliant without their even realizing it. Deci & Flaste (1996) quote a research by Yasmin Haddad that shows how students who were experiencing more control (in experimental purposes), subsequently wanted less choice than the students with whom she had been autonomy supportive.

## 5.2 APPLYING THE SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY TO THE CURRENT STUDY

In accordance to the previously explained Model of Family Change (Kagitçibasi, 1989, 2005), Self-determination theory posits autonomy and relatedness as basic human needs, adding to them a third need, the need for competence. However, Deci & Ryan (2000) do not encourage researchers to look for individual differences in the strength of people's needs, but to rather focus on different motivational orientations and goal content reflecting the interaction of the basic needs with the social world. Relying on the findings related to personal goals, motivation and well-being, we will be able to make assumptions with respect to the basic needs satisfaction. As choice serves as an additional indicator of autonomy, the

amount of perceived freedom of choice will be measured by Burchardt's scale of perceived choice and control over one's life (Burchardt et al., 2010).

In this research, we further intend to explore the content of idiographic goals given by participants from German and Romani migrant subsamples. In order to determine if their goal motivation is directed to a coherent sense of self (if they are self-concordant) the degree of the goal internalization would be measured by Perceived Locus of Causality (PLOC). If a person pursues goals with a sense that she chose them herself, that person is acting under the influence of the internal perceived locus of causality - I-PLOC. On the other hand if a person has a sense that the goals are a product of given circumstances, or desires of other people, this person is acting under the influence of external perceived locus of causality - E-PLOC. Self-concordance refers to greater I-PLOC. It could be said that a self-concordant person tends to express authentic choices and to achieve optimal goals, regardless of one's cultural membership (Sheldon et al., 2004).

Goal variables will further be associated with Subjective Well-being in order to better determine the quality of the basic needs satisfaction, as fulfillment of goals based upon three basic needs ought to lead to higher levels of well-being and better results of actions, than the pursuit of goals which are distant from these basic needs. More specifically, intrinsic goals ought to be congruent to our needs, as opposed to extrinsic ones.

## 6 SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

In the vast research of the concept of well-being two general perspectives, eudaimonic<sup>11</sup> and hedonic, have emerged. Hedonic approach is focused on happiness in terms of positive affect, pleasure attainment and pain avoidance, while eudaimonic approach focuses more on meaning and self-realization in terms of the degree to which a person is fully functioning. As suggested by Waterman (1993) eudaimonia occurs when people's life activities are most congruent with their beliefs, deeply held values and are fully engaged. SDT embraced the concept of eudaimonia as a central definitional aspect of well-being, because being eudaimonic means being autonomous, competent and related in the view of SDT.

Subjective Well-being consists of three components: life satisfaction, the presence of positive mood and the absence of negative mood, the combination of which has been often summarized as happiness. Since life satisfaction represents a measure that is highly personal or culture related it encompasses also a eudaimonic view: '[W]ell-being is a function of expecting to attain (and ultimately attaining) the outcomes one values, whatever those might be' (Ryan & Deci, 2001:145). Therefore, SWB represents a benchmark that shows how far a person is from achieving the relevant goals. Although, many theories imply that the process of goal achievement contributes more to the SWB, than the final state of the achieved goal itself (Lüdtke, 2006).

SDT maintains that positive and negative affect reflect appraisals of relevance and valence of events and conditions of life with respect to self and are therefore relevant to well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Thus, positive affect can be considered as a byproduct of eudaimonic living. If people have conflicting roles, if they are unable to express their true self and behave in an unauthentic way there might come to a decrease in well-being. Findings by Reis (2000), as quoted by Ryan & Deci (2001), show that the daily experiences of autonomy, competence and relatedness each contributed unique variance to the prediction of happiness and vitality. Thus, fulfillment of goals that fit basic psychological needs should directly enhance well-being.

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<sup>11</sup> Eudaimonia is derived from the Greek adjective, eudaimon composed of *eu* meaning "well" and *daimon* (daemon), meaning well spirited.

## 6.1 PERSONAL GOALS AND WELL-BEING

Several factors were brought into a positive connection with personal goals: *the relative autonomy of goals* (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Sheldon et al., 2004); personal *importance* of the goal and the speed of *progress* (Brunstein, 1993); *adequate amount of challenge* posed by one's goals (Emmons, 1986; Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi, 1988, Ryan & Deci, 2001); *approach goals* relative to avoidance goals (Carver & Scheier, 1999; Elliot & Sheldon, 1997; Ryan & Deci, 2001); *family-related* goals (Salmela-Aro & Nurmi, 1997), *intimacy-related* goals (Emmons, 1991) related to higher well-being and low psychological distress (whereas self-related goals related to lower well-being as shown in: Cross & Markus, 1991; Little, 1993; Salmela-Aro & Nurmi, 1997 in Nurmi & Salmela-Aro, 2002). Within the self-determination literature it has been conclusively shown that goals pursued because of the pleasurable emotions associated with them coincide with heightened SWB (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Sheldon & Elliot, 1999 in Ehrlich 2012). However, goals providing a greater satisfaction of the basic psychological needs will have a stronger effect on well-being (Ryan, Sheldon, Kasser & Deci, 1996).

Kwak (2003) notes that the progressive development of self-identity during adolescence on the one hand leads to psychological sense of well-being, on the other, it can be a period of crisis especially for immigrant children who perceive their immediate social environment as an impediment in developmental goal achievement, rather than support.

A constituting component of Subjective Well-being is satisfaction with life, an area where cultural invariance can exist. For instance, satisfaction with self was strongly correlated with overall life satisfaction in highly industrialized, individualist western nations (e.g., Finland, Canada), while it was less correlated with global life satisfaction in less industrialized, collectivist nations such as Cameroon and India, especially for women, as found by Diener et al. (2003). Furthermore, an association between satisfaction with self and one's freedom (Oishi et al., 1999) was a significantly stronger predictor of life satisfaction in highly individualist nations than those low in individualism. Paying attention to social norms is assumed to be of vital importance in collectivist cultures, therefore they should enter satisfaction judgments, whereas social norms play a less important role in individualist nations which promote self-centered behavior. Collectivist societies emphasize loyalty to the group, together with the belief that group decisions are superior to individual decisions. Understanding of personal identity can be explained by knowing one's place within the group (Darwish & Huber, 2003).

One of the research goals set by Diener et al. (2003) was to prove the claim that people want to be happy by achieving the things they value, regardless of the specific culture they belong to, whether individualistic or collectivistic. If we follow the main presumption that Romani people belong to a collectivist culture - findings of a qualitative study which included Romani girls (Bošnjak & Acton, 2013) become more understandable, as participants in the given study mainly aspired to please their significant others, in most cases parents. However, it is unclear how autonomous they were in their strivings. In the light of the Self-determination theory, one might strive to please one's parents with a sense of being controlled by unassimilated forces or with a sense of sincerely wanting that.

In collectivist cultures, goals undertaken to 'fit in' and have harmonious relationships with others (as presumed important within Romani families) should be most beneficial to well-being (Markus and Kitayama, 1994), whereas goals undertaken to advance self-interests or achievements (which may be emphasized in individualist environment) may actually be harmful.

Affectivity represents another constituent of Subjective Well-being and affective reactions reflect the speed of progress in goal pursuit. Pleasant feelings arise when the rate of progress toward a goal is faster than anticipated (Carver, 2004). If we put this in the perspective of some Romani migrant girls growing up in more conservative families - marrying early brings respect, acceptance and approval of the family and it has a faster rate of progress compared to the average number of years needed to attain higher levels of education, often followed by family disapproval which can elicit unpleasant feelings. Furthermore, according to telic theories (Tamir & Diener, 2008), the extent to which approach or avoidance goals promote well-being depends on the frequency of success or failure when pursuing such goals. A scarce number of Romani migrant girls succeed in completing higher levels of education, which can contribute to discouragement of these goals in new generations of students. All these issues shall be considered during the analysis of personal goals.

## 6.2 SUMMARY

Concepts of individualism and collectivism have been used in many cross-cultural studies. They have been connected with perception and cognitive style (Oyserman & Lee, 2008); with power, dependence and equality (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995), but in this research the relational aspect of individualism and collectivism will be used to contrast the Romani migrant participants coming from a more interdependent (related, collectivist) milieu and German non-migrant participants coming from families that correspond to an independent (westernized, individualist) milieu.

Model of family change provides us with a conceptual framework for estimation of the quality of childrearing practices, value of children and the development of Self in family among participants from two groups. In examining the linkages between measures of Self in family and other theoretically related variables (parenting style, cultural variables, socioeconomic status, etc.) we intend to estimate the relevance of the MFC with respect to the current sample.

Relying on Self-determination theory and its premise that children naturally internalize cultural/parental values, we expect these values to be reflected in the idiographic personal goals. Additionally, we are interested to find out about the *reasons* why these goals are being pursued - are they autonomous or heteronomous (e.g., imposed by family). To discover that, we will use the model of Self-concordance.

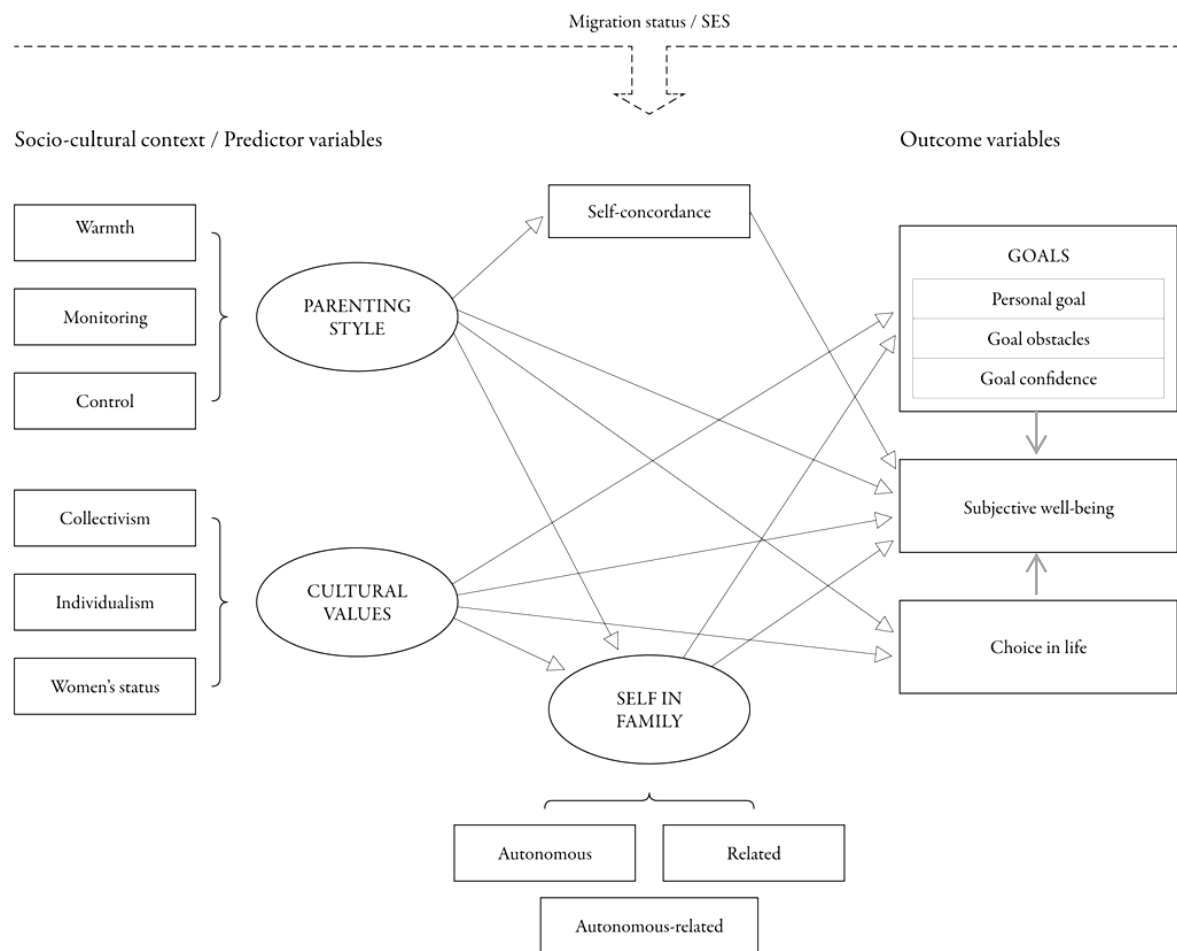
Equally important is the question of well-being. According to previous research (e.g., Diener, Oishi & Lucas, 2003) personal goals will be followed by a higher level of Subjective Well-being if they are supported by the immediate environment. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the choice of specific goals; the reasons underlying their pursuit and the effect they have on SWB are influenced by the characteristics of the family and its socio-cultural context.

Particular research questions with corresponding hypotheses, as well as the conceptual research model will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

## 7 CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF THE STUDY

In order to form an understanding about the motivation of Romani migrant girls, the type of personal goals they foster; the levels of Subjective Well-being and the possible way their socio-cultural context is linked to the outcome variables, we have proposed a broad conceptual model (Figure 9), followed by four research questions with corresponding hypotheses.

Figure 9 Broad conceptual model



The quality of the parenting style and family's inclination to individualism, collectivism and the intra-familial status of the woman lead to different types of Self, influencing a difference in the levels of well-being and goal outcomes. Further on, the associations between Self-concordance and perceived levels of Choice in life will be observed in relation to the outcome variables.

*Note.* Several direct links between research variables exist and will be addressed further, but are not incorporated in this broad figure in order to maintain clarity.



## 7.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

In the Introduction chapter we reflect upon the often precarious situation of Romani migrants in Germany and put a special emphasis on the adverse position of Romani women, with regard to disruption of education, early marriage and conservative social role that develops in response to the demands or expectations of the family and wider environment. This study assumes that adolescent participants of German non-migrant and Romani migrant background in Berlin follow different paths of socialization which provide them with different aspirations, skills and habits necessary for participating within their own families and communities, but also wider society. Since German participants receive a ‘cultural tool-kit’ that fits the society they live in (starting from language, through customs, institutions and wider system), they are expected to (in larger degree) develop choices, proclivities and behaviors which are synchronized with their closer and wider social environment and hence have a beneficial effect on the levels of well-being. On the other hand, Romani migrant participants might experience a conflict between family demands and institutional demands (school, work) in which case the ‘cultural equipment’ they receive at home possibly acts in a constraining manner forcing them to comply with family demands which could lead to detrimental effects on the levels of well-being, unless these demands are fully internalized (as discussed in Chapter 5). Relying on Kagitçibasi’s theoretical assumptions (Chapter 4), we hypothesize that the Romani migrant context represents an environment closer to the family model of (total) interdependence which is more conducive to development of a Related self in family, in comparison to the context of the German control group. Consequently, we hypothesize that German participants grow in families that resemble the independent family model conducive to development of Autonomous self in family. Regarding the measure of Autonomous-related self which reflects the shift towards the family model of psychological interdependence (see Chapter 4.1), we expect it to occur among those Romani migrant participants whose families approve of a greater need for autonomy and independence, as well as among those German participants whose families express a greater level of relatedness and interdependence.

Even if we control the effect of socioeconomic status, we expect an adverse SWB among Romani participants, because we assume that Romani girls experience a more authoritarian upbringing in a highly collectivist family context which diminishes their sense of autonomy and perceived levels of choice in life. On the other hand, we expect the German group to be in a more favorable position compared to the Romani participants when it comes

to practicing autonomy, fewer intra-familial conflicts, perceived freedom of choice etc., which would leave a beneficial effect on SWB.

**RESEARCH QUESTION 1:** *Systematic variations between Romani migrant and German non-migrant participants will emerge with respect to variables of the Socio-cultural context (cultural variables and parenting style), Self in family and the outcome variables of personal goals, Self-concordance, Choice in life and Subjective Well-being, even when controlling for SES.*

This research question was divided into two hypotheses focusing firstly on mean between-group differences across relevant socio-cultural and outcome variables, and secondly on personal goals and obstacles in goal pursuit.

**H1a** While controlling for the possible effect of the SES, German group will score higher than the Romani migrant group on following measures: Authoritative parenting style (in terms of lower levels of Control and higher levels of Warmth and Monitoring), Individualism and Women's status in the family; Autonomous self in family, Self-Concordance and Confidence in successful goal pursuit; Subjective Well-being and Choice in life.

**H1b** We expect a significant difference in the proportion of German and Romani participants with respect to categories of generated *personal goals* (where German group expresses more self-oriented rather than family-oriented goals) and categories of perceived *obstacles* in goal pursuit (where German group expresses more self-related rather than family-related) obstacles.

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Kagitçibasi's Model of Family Change (Chapter 4) argues that the context, education and socioeconomic development of the family plays an important role in shaping the value of children, the childrearing practices and the type of Self that children develop. A more restrictive upbringing is desirable in a collectivist context where close knit relationships and group needs take priority over individual aspirations and loyalty to the family is accentuated.

According to Kagitçibasi's scheme (Figure 5, Chapter 4.1), low affluence, extended family structure, patrilineal ties, low women's status in the family etc. lead to the occurrence of authoritarian parenting style and higher interdependence among family members, which results in a development of Related self in family. On the other hand, individualist families with bounded and stable structure, often more affluent (economically as well as culturally), encourage autonomous behavior among their children relieving them from the burden of severe family loyalty. Here, separateness between family members is welcomed and Autonomous self in family occurs.

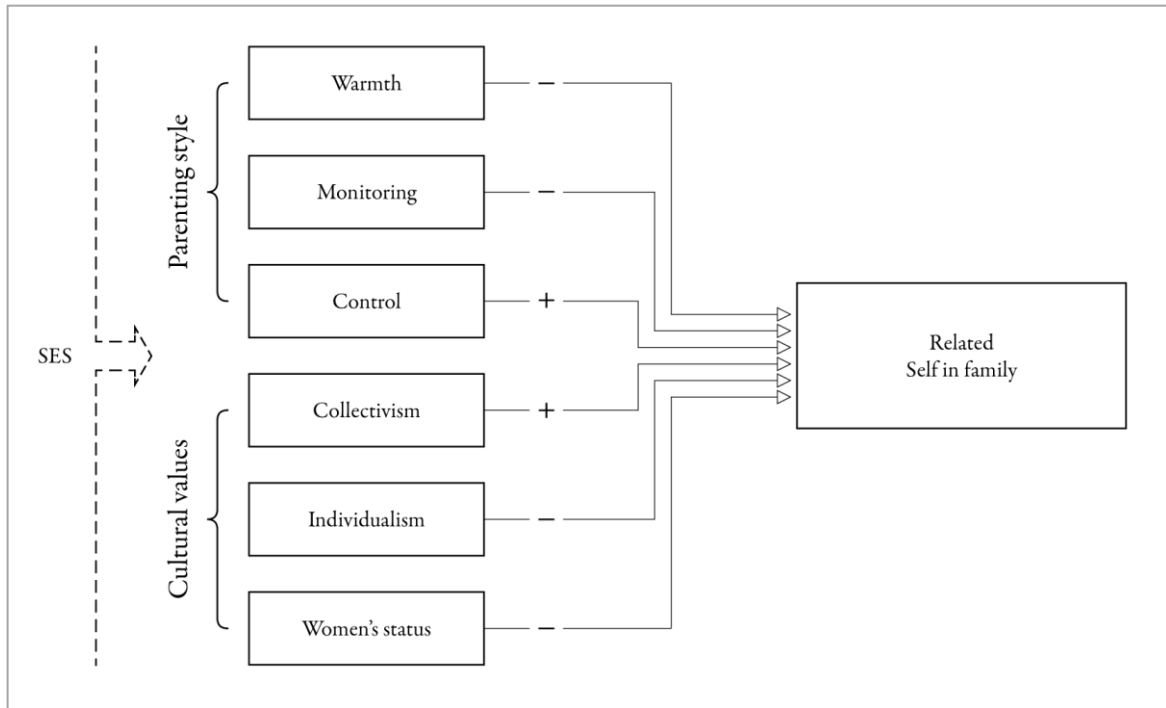
Finally, any family context where a child holds a psychological value and a parenting style is marked by control (rather order-setting, than obedience) and autonomy, provides a context supportive of development of the Autonomous-related self. Hence, differences in the family structure, socioeconomic levels, parenting style and dominant cultural values lead to an occurrence of various types of Self in family. Our second research question aims to examine whether Kagitçibasi's assertions hold relevance with respect to the given sample.

*RESEARCH QUESTION 2: Constructs of Related -, Autonomous-, and Autonomous-related self in family are associated with the variables of the Socio-cultural context (consisting of parenting style and cultural values), as proposed by the Model of Family Change.*

**H2a** Our set of Socio-cultural variables (consisting of parenting style and cultural values) will be able to predict a significant amount of the variance in Related self in family, even when controlling for SES.

More specifically, following variables are seen as potentially significant predictors of Related self in family: authoritarian parenting style, marked through high levels of Control and lower levels of Warmth and Monitoring; conservative gender role values in the family (indicated through a lower intra-family status of a woman) and a higher presence of collectivist values (See Figure 10).

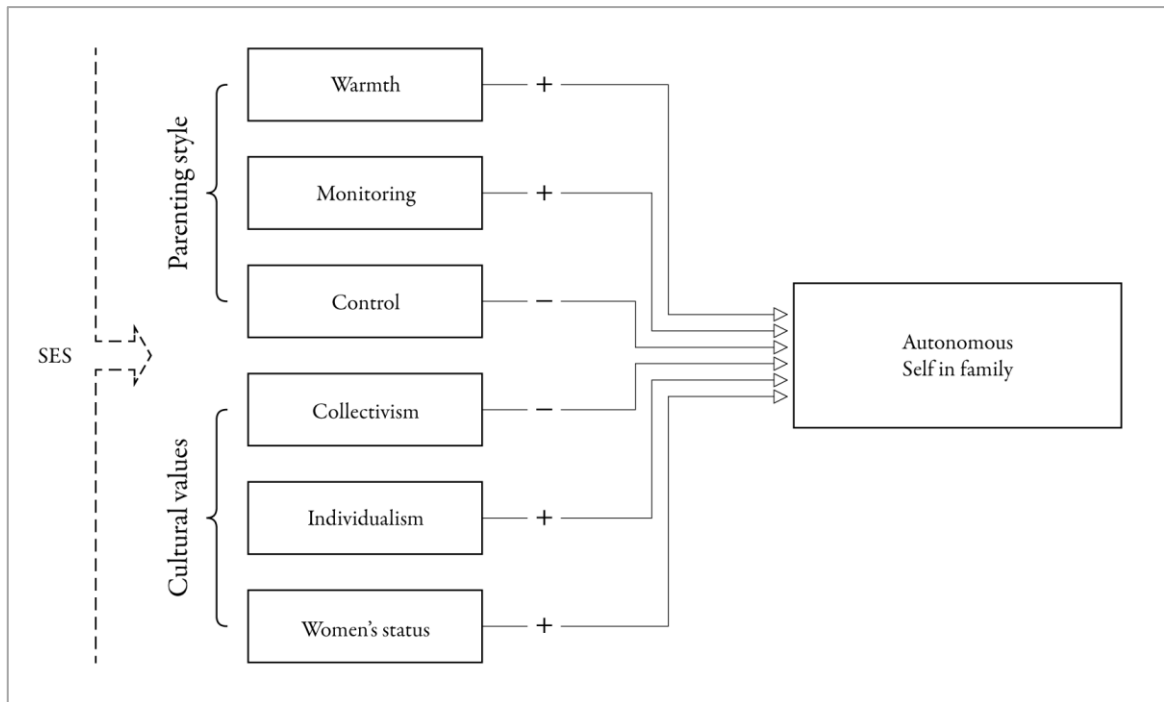
Figure 10 Theorized predictors of Related self in family



**H2b** Our set of Socio-cultural variables (consisting of parenting style and cultural values) will be able to predict a significant amount of the variance in Autonomous self in family, even when controlling for SES.

More specifically, following variables are seen as potentially significant predictors of Autonomous self in family: authoritative parenting style, marked through higher levels of warmth and monitoring, but low levels of control, egalitarian gender values (indicated through a higher intra-family status of a woman) and individualist values (see Figure 11).

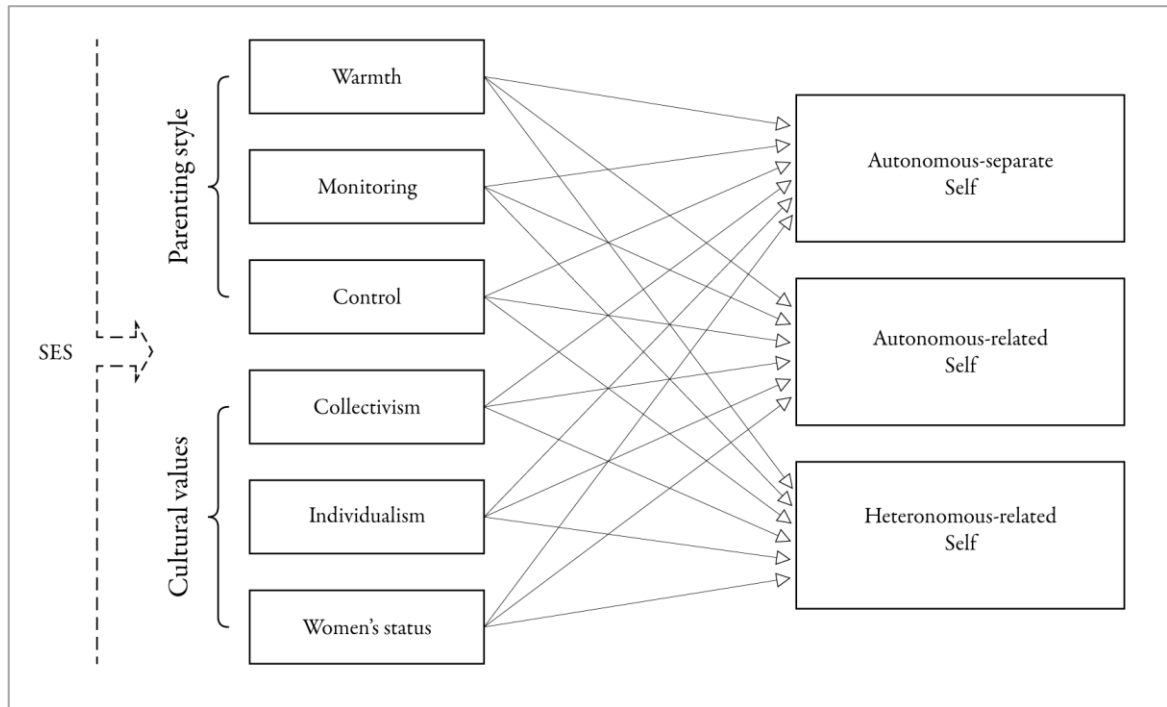
Figure 11 Theorized predictors of Autonomous self in family



**H2c** Our set of Socio-cultural variables (consisting of parenting style, cultural values and socioeconomic status) will be able to predict the probability of category membership in terms of Autonomous-related self, Heteronomous-related self, Autonomous-separate self and Heteronomous-separate self.

The probability for a participant to belong to the category *Autonomous-related Self* in family increases in cases of socioeconomically better-off families, with predominant individualist and egalitarian gender values and a parenting style that combines both (order-setting) control and responsiveness (warmth).

Figure 12 Prediction of membership in categories of Self in family



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As discussed in Chapter 6, various life aspects, from deeply held values over secure attachments with significant others to socioeconomic living conditions play a role in well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2001). This dissertation is interested to see which research variables from the conceptual model act as significant predictors of Subjective Well-being with respect to the given sample.

*RESEARCH QUESTION 3: Variables forming the Socio-cultural context, measures of Self-Concordance, Choice in life, Types of Self in Family and Personal Goals will associate with Subjective Well-being.*

Let us first turn to the theorized relationship between variables constituting the Socio-cultural context (SES, parenting style and cultural values) and Subjective Well-being. Low socioeconomic level of the family can play an important role with respect to well-being, as everyday economic worries tend to be reflected in the socialization style and a higher

degree of exerted parental control. Authoritarian parenting style and obedience in childrearing have been so far often regarded as detrimental for the development of child's independence, autonomy and ultimately - well-being (e.g. Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994 in Güngör, 2008). On the other hand, parental warmth (e.g. Flouri & Buchanan, 2003; Dimitrieva et al., 2004) and monitoring (e.g. Amato & Fowler, 2002) are universally positively associated with adolescents' outcomes and we therefore hypothesize a positive association between Warmth, Monitoring and Subjective Well-being.

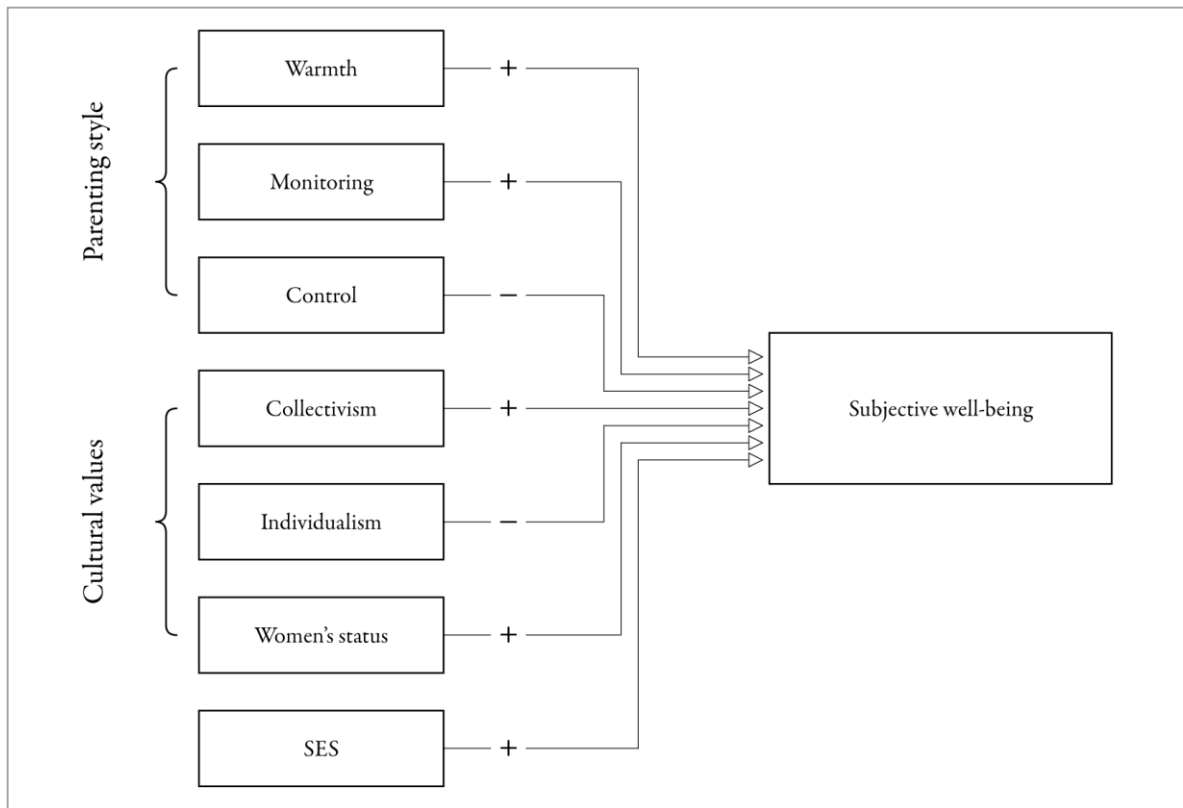
Collectivism prioritizes family relatedness and interdependence and according to several studies (e.g., Chirkov, Kim, Ryan and Kaplan, 2003; Smith et al., 2006), a close attachment to parents in the age of adolescence leads to higher well-being. The measure of collectivism in this study is restricted to values of relatedness as opposed to separateness from the family and is therefore assumed to positively associate with SWB. Our measure of individualism emphasizes independence from the family and parents. Although the influence of parents may decline somewhat during adolescence, parents still provide important resources which is why we can expect that Individualism and SWB stand in a negative association.

The measure of women's status in the family reflects egalitarian gender attitude (in the household) and is expected to positively relate to Subjective Well-being, because it is seen as desirable in an urban individualistic environment such as Berlin. Also, a gradual change towards egalitarian gender values was identified as a sign of successful integration (Kagitçibasi, 1990, 1996; Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2005) and should therefore be related to an increase in SWB.

As for the measure of Choice in life, it is assumed that the notion of choice, as deeper sense of autonomy (Burchardt, 2013) has an intrinsic value and therefore must stand in a positive relation to Subjective Well-being, according to the SDT theorists (Deci & Ryan, 2000, Kasser & Ryan 1993; 1996; 2001).

**H3a** Dimensions of Parenting style (in terms of Warmth, Monitoring and Control), Cultural Values (in terms of Collectivism, Individualism and Women's status in the family), Choice in life and Socioeconomic status can act as significant predictors of Subjective Well-being.

Figure 13 Predictors of Subjective well-being

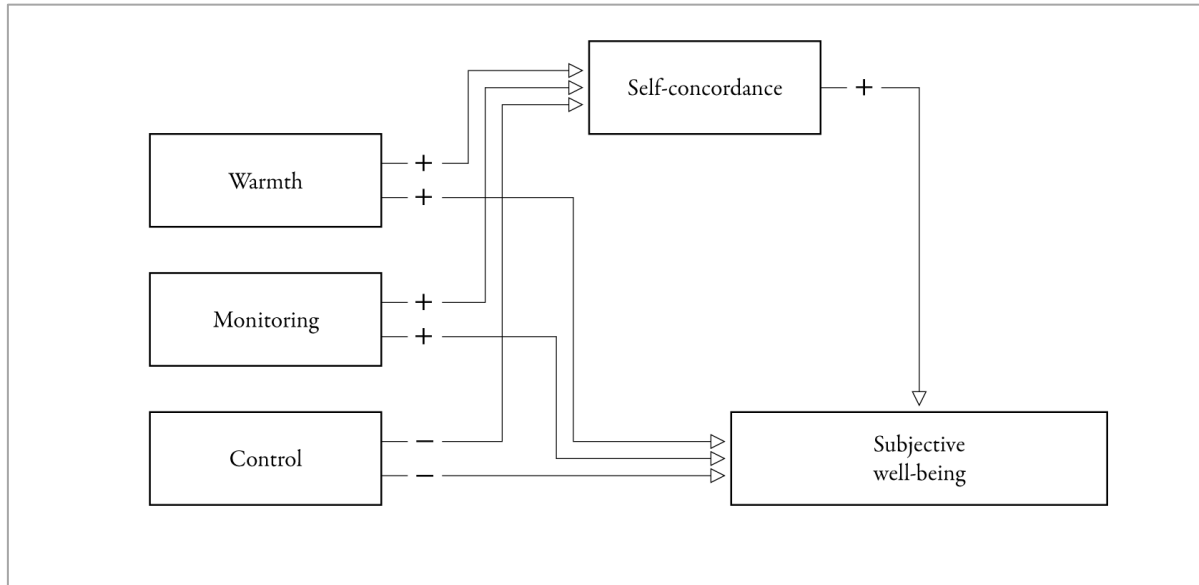


Deci and Ryan (2000:246) call out for more investigation within cultures, with respect to the nature of internalization of dominant cultural values: 'Such research would confirm that the autonomous versus controlled processes through which cultural values are enacted will have differential effects on well-being (presumably by having differential effects on need satisfaction)'. An important factor determining the quality of internalization is parenting style (Deci & Flaste, 1996). The more controlling the parents are - the higher is the chance that their children rely on external motivational regulation (low Self-concordance), which consequently leads to a lower SWB (Kasser & Ryan, 2001). We would therefore like to examine whether parenting styles have an indirect effect on SWB through the measure of Self-concordance.



**H3b** Measure of Self-concordance will mediate the direct relationship between dimensions of parenting style and Subjective Well-being.

Figure 14 Mediation by Self-concordance



**H3c** Levels of Subjective Well-being will differ significantly across categories of Self in family.

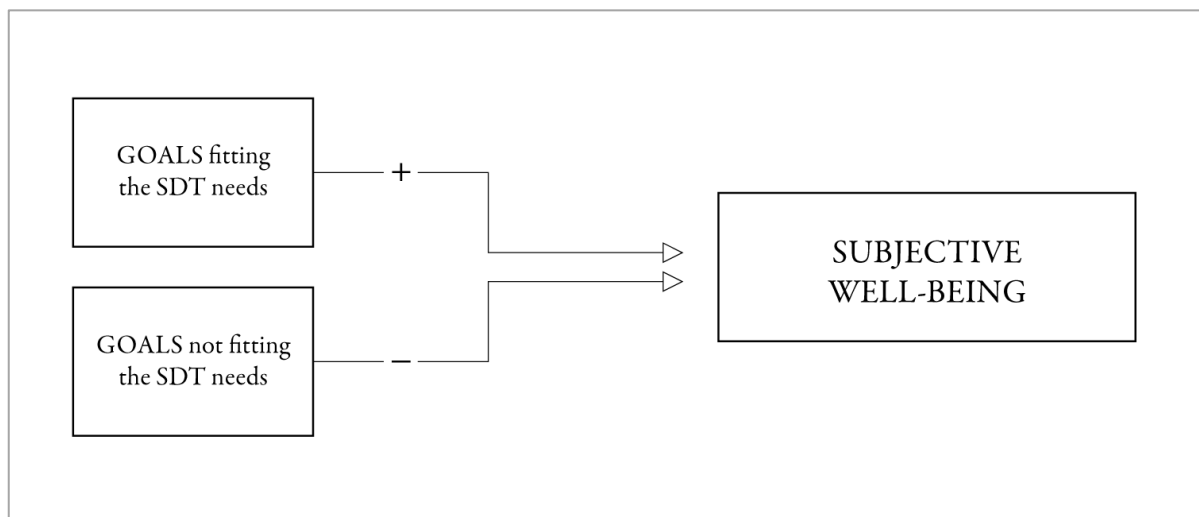
In Chapter 4.2 we discuss Kagitçibasi's convergence hypothesis (2007) which predicts a universal shift towards the model of psychological interdependence and Autonomous-related self regardless of specific cultural context, representing the the type of Self with most beneficial effects on well-being and a healthy development. In fact, the development of Autonomous-related self is possible in both individualist and collectivist context, in so far as both environments are supportive of this change. This goes in line with the SDT theorists (e.g., Deci & Flaste, 1996; Ryan & Deci, 2000) who maintain that the satisfaction of both basic needs of autonomy *and* relatedness (next to competence) contribute to optimal functioning and levels of well-being, regardless of culture. We therefore hypothesize that those participants (regardless of group membership) who acquire a type of Autonomous-related self in family also score highest on the measure of Subjective Well-being.

The Goal Contents Theory (belonging to the larger framework of Self-determination theory) suggests that intrinsic or extrinsic nature of personal goals can have various effects on well-being. More precisely, extrinsic goals focusing on materialism, popularity and

physical appearance are not in accordance with the basic psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence and therefore not beneficial to motivation and well-being, as documented by prior research (e.g., Kasser & Ryan 1993; 1996; 2001; Ryan et al. 2006; Ryan Huta and Deci 2008). We expect that personal goals which reflect the basic SDT needs (such as community, close relationships, and personal growth) manifest higher levels of SWB in contrast to extrinsic goals such as materialism, financial success, or subordination to wishes of others.

**H3d** Levels of Subjective Well-being will differ significantly across categories of Personal Goals.

Figure 15 Change of SWB level with respect to Personal goals



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Many researchers (e.g. Idema & Phalet, 2007; Schwartz, 1994; Nurmi & Salmela – Aro, 2002; Deci & Ryan, 2000) claim that there is a clear connection between personal goals and a culturally defined context, which is especially important in multicultural societies. Individuals in collectivist cultures might more readily subordinate their goals to the goals of their family and community. On the other hand, individualists are encouraged to express autonomy and independence and to focus on their personal (and not their family's) desires. We hypothesize accordingly that measures of Individualism and Collectivism can predict a certain type of personal goal which is more self-centered in content, or respectively - more family oriented.

Similarly to measures of Collectivism and Individualism, we will observe the power of Self in family variables to predict a type of a personal goal. Specifically, we hypothesize that Related self in family predicts family-related goals, whereas Autonomous self predicts goals related to self-achievement and self-interests.

Another important factor to be considered is the SES level of the family which can also influence the choice of goals. As discussed in Chapter 5, structural circumstances can influence a certain type of behavior and decision making. Individuals with lower economic and cultural capital have more difficulties to access certain goals, which might influence them to lower their aspirations to the level which is more likely to be achieved. We therefore conceptualize the measure of SES (which encompasses parental educational and socioeconomic level) as a predictor variable with respect to the type of personal goals and obstacles in goal pursuit.

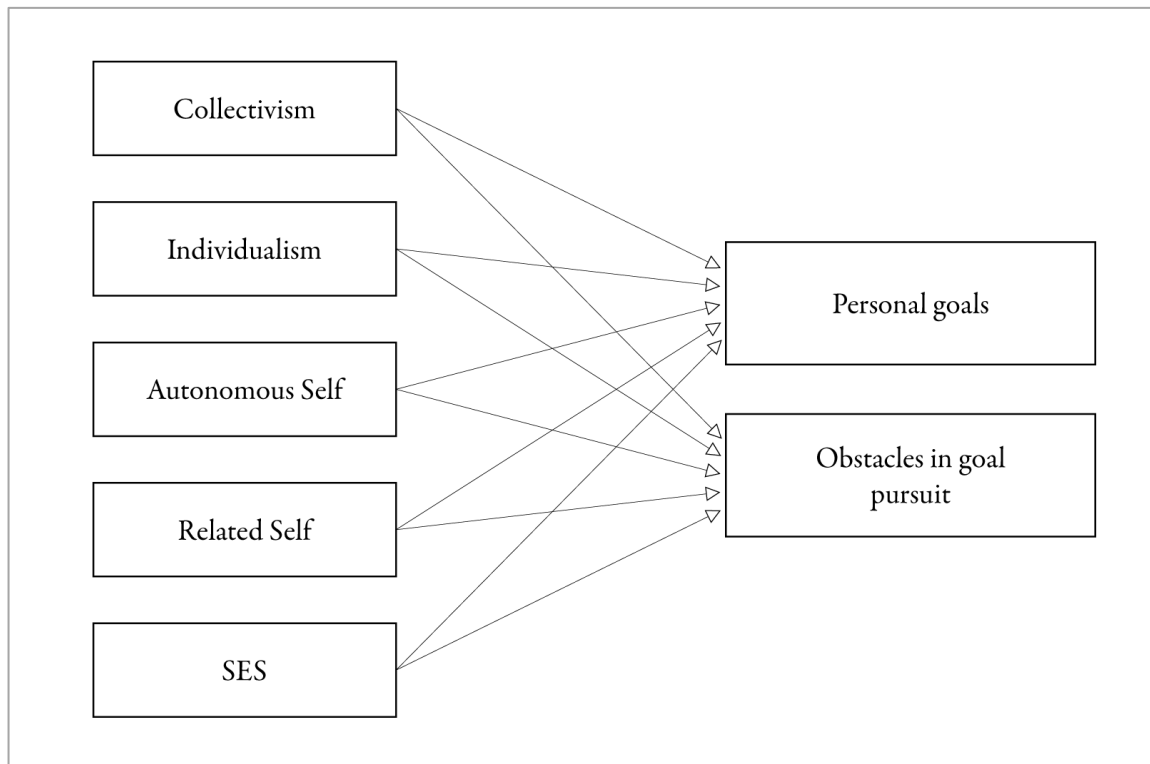
*RESEARCH QUESTION 4: Dimensions of Collectivism and Individualism, Self in family and socioeconomic status impact the choice of specific goal types and goal obstacles.*

**H4a** Dimensions of Collectivism, Individualism, Related- and Autonomous Self in family, as well as SES will have an impact on the choice of a particular goal type.

Following similar arguments, we hypothesize that socio-cultural and socioeconomic context play a role in the obstacles which stand in the way of a goal pursuit. Family can be seen as an obstacle in cases where goals and desires of an adolescent do not match the expectations of their parents and significant others. This kind of a conflict is more likely to be present in interrelated and collectivistic family systems (Collectivism, Related Self) where children are expected to comply with the wishes of their parents. On the other hand, an individualistic context (Individualism, Autonomous Self) allows for more independence from family in goal pursuit, so the obstacles in goal pursuit can be allocated to other factors (self, environment, etc.) and not family.

**H4b** Dimensions of Collectivism, Individualism, Related- and Autonomous Self in family, as well as SES will have an impact on the choice of a particular obstacle in goal pursuit.

Figure 16 Impact of socio-cultural variables on goal types and obstacles



# EMPIRICAL PART

## 8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Following the argumentation by Oyserman and Uskul (2008) that culture-related variables cannot be subjected to experimentation, this study relies on a natural occurrence of Romani migrants in Berlin and therefore has a quasi experimental design.

As this is a cross-sectional, correlative (cross-cultural) study, the findings will not let us infer any causal effects, but they will enable us to take a look at the relationships in which relevant variables stand, giving room to alternate explanations by additional variables that have not yet been considered.

### 8.1 PILOT STUDY

Before the beginning of the main research a small pilot study was conducted to test the suitability of the questionnaire. In cooperation with the social and pedagogical workers of the Youth Centre 'Elpke' in Bielefeld a meeting with about ten female adolescents (aged 13-15) was arranged on two occasions in November and December 2011. The Girls Day (Mädchentag) is a day reserved for the female attendees of the Youth Centre and was chosen as the best time to talk with them in a relaxed atmosphere. Ten participants with various migrant backgrounds (Romani, Turkish, Kurdish, Tamil, Iraqi and other) filled out the questionnaire and gave a feedback on the clarity and difficulty of the questions.

Based on their feedback, several formatting changes were undertaken (adjustment of line and letter spacing, as well as font size) and the sequence of some instruments was changed (for instance Burchardt's scale of choice and control was moved from the back of the questionnaire to the front and a depiction of a ladder with marked ranks from 1 to 10 was made more clear (See Appendix E). The answer categories for the questionnaire statements were adjusted from *„applies rarely‘*, *„applies sometimes‘*, *„applies often‘*, *„applies most of the time‘*<sup>12</sup> to *„doesn't apply‘*, *„rather doesn't apply‘*, *„rather applies‘*, and *„fully applies‘*<sup>13</sup>, because the

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<sup>12</sup> Trifft selten zu, Trifft manchmal zu, Trifft öfter zu, Trifft meistens zu

<sup>13</sup> Trifft überhaupt nicht zu, Trifft eher nicht zu, Trifft eher zu, Trifft voll zu

pilot study participants judged the latter version to be clearer and easier to answer. Some adjectives in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) were found to be difficult to understand, so they were replaced by more conventional synonyms<sup>14</sup>.

The primary translation of a family related item from Multidimensional Student Life Satisfaction Scale (MSLSS) – *My family gets along well together*, was readapted<sup>15</sup>. Further, within the part of the demographic survey questions, instead of offering a list of possible residence permits for the migrant participants to choose from, we leave an open end question as follows: *In case you don't have a German passport, what kind of a residence permit do you own?* On the other hand, instead of an open end question *How many books exist in your house approximately*, we introduce five categories of the number of books (0-10; 11-25; 26-100; 101-200; and over 200).

Additionally, a discussion was held on the topic of the adequate incentive for the task of filling out this lengthy questionnaire. The inclusion of an incentive was to serve the higher response rate, as the questionnaire consists of a substantial number of questions, many of which demand a deeper self-assessment regarding personal goals and motivation. Based on the given feedback the proper incentive of an H&M voucher worth 5 Euros was chosen (similar incentive was used in a cross-cultural study by Michel et al. 2012 where each adolescent received a voucher worth 10 Euros; or by Chirkov and associates, 2003).

The readapted form of the questionnaire was used in the official data collection which started in March 2012 and took place in Berlin.

## 8.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURES

As the ethnic composition of the schools' student body is not available, a convenience sampling approach had to be followed. Both groups of participants were recruited either through research recruiters, or schools in the city areas which are heavily populated with migrant families. Focusing on selected city districts ensured that participants of Romani and German background live in similar environments in close geographical proximity from each other, representing middle and lower SES urban strata. The city areas marked with black color on the Figure 17 are Neukölln (larger black area) and Wedding-Mitte. Over 50% of

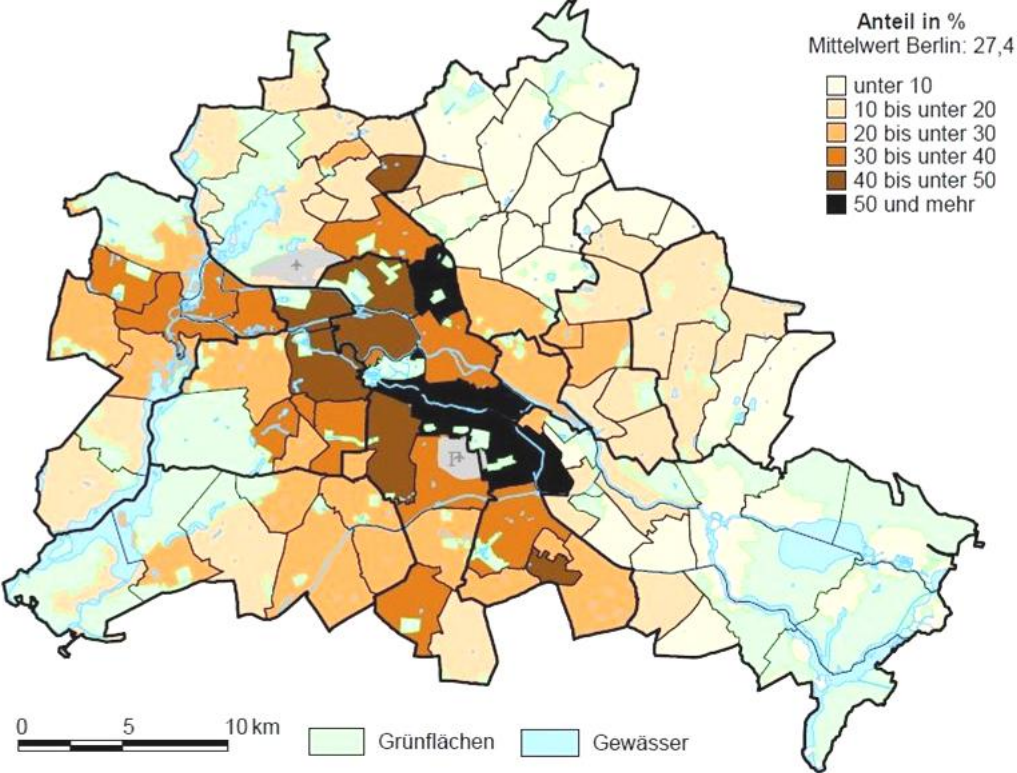
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<sup>14</sup> Instead of *bekümmert* (worried), we used *kummervoll*, instead of *freudig erregt* (elated) we only used *freudig* (happy).

<sup>15</sup> From *Meine Familienmitglieder pflegen einen angenehmen Umgang miteinander* to *Meine Familienmitglieder kommen gut miteinander aus*.

residents in these two city districts have a migration background. These are the areas our participants were recruited from.

Figure 17 Proportion of residents with a migration background across city districts in Berlin



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Source: Statistical Office Berlin-Brandenburg, December 2012<sup>16</sup>

▪ SNOWBALL SAMPLING

Due to a relatively atypical research group consisting exclusively of female adolescents of either Romani migrant or German non-migrant background a snowball technique had to be employed, even though it has a potential bias inherent in it.

The carrying out of the snowball sampling was enabled through cooperation with the association 'Südost Europa Kultur e.V.'<sup>17</sup> from Berlin. This association combines psycho-social

<sup>16</sup> www.statistik-berlin-brandenburg.de

methods, cultural activities and community involvement in working with refugees, minorities and discriminated social groups. Besides, this association has a long history in facilitating the integration of Romani families and was running a project aiming to empower the Romani community in Berlin at the time of the present research. With the help of the associates from 'Südost Europa Kultur' association several young recruiters of Romani and non-Romani background were found. After they filled out the questionnaire themselves, they were explained the goals and the scope of the whole research in more details. Their task was to contact, inform and motivate their Romani, but also German peers (eligible according to given criteria of age and selected neighborhood) to take part in the ongoing study.

#### ▪ SCHOOL SAMPLING

Parallel to snowball sampling, a part of the sample was reached through schools in the pre-selected city areas. Berlin is a city with many multicultural schools which get frequent requests to partake in different studies and projects. Especially in the focal areas (Brennpunkt) and schools with high percentage of students from lower socioeconomic and/or migrant background it is extremely difficult to even arrange a meeting with the school principle, let alone to conduct a study there. However, school principles of the *Willy Brandt* (Wedding); *Liebig* and *Hermann von Helmholtz* (Neukölln) schools were interested in this research and approved the data collection in their schools.

Regarding the school system in Germany, after the primary school (*Grundschule*) that lasts 4 to 6 years (depending on the state), pupils continue their secondary schooling in one of four different schooling tracks depending on their previous school achievement and received recommendations from their primary school teachers. The four types of secondary school are *Hauptschule* (basic general education from the 5<sup>th</sup> up to 9<sup>th</sup> grade), *Realschule* (more extensive general education up to 10<sup>th</sup> grade), *Gymnasium* (in depth general education up to 12<sup>th</sup> grade), and *Gesamtschule* - comprehensive school (for more details see Mühlenweg, 2007).

A study released by the OECD (*Immigrants in Germany Falling Behind*, 2006) shows that migrants are less likely to attend selective schools such as the *Realschule* or the *Gymnasium*. For example, in Munich - a city with 23% of migrants in its total population, only 18.2% of them attend *Realschule*, and most attend *Hauptschule* (51.2 %). Furthermore, according to Nau (2005), 20% of migrant students leave the secondary school (*Hauptschule*)

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<sup>17</sup> <http://www.suedost-ev.de>



without taking the final exam, thus having no school certificate which represents a major obstacle in possible further qualification and job acquirement.

Starting with the school year 2010/2011 the school system in Berlin has fundamentally changed. The most important change is that the schooling tracks Hauptschule, Realschule and Gesamtschule were all subsumed under a new type of integrated secondary school - Integrierte Sekundarschule (See *Neukölln macht Oberschule*, 2012). This type of school offers all lower secondary certificates and it even provides upper secondary education either within its own facilities, or through cooperation with other institutions like comprehensive schools (Gymnasium) which further enable students from integrated secondary schools to pass the Abitur (high school graduation exam). Also, all integrated secondary schools in Berlin are 'all-day schools' (Ganztagsschule) providing their students with various extracurricular educational activities in cooperation with sports organizations, music schools, theater groups and other associations within and outside the school. 'All-day schools' aim to balance out the differences in school achievement among students from different socioeconomic and migrant backgrounds.

All three schools included in this research represent a form of an integrated secondary school (all-day school) with internal differentiation in school organization and certificate provisions. In fact, participants in this research regardless of their ethnic background attended one of the integrated secondary schools (Integrierten Sekundarschulen – ISS) which provide various certificates depending on the schools organization and orientation. At the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> grade pupils have a chance to continue their education and achieve a High School Certificate (Abitur). However, the condition for this is to first acquire a Middle School Qualification (Mittlere Schulabschluss – MSA). Alternatively, pupils have a chance to start a vocational education and acquire a degree of Completed Vocational Training (Berufsbildungsreife – BBR) at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> grade.

The schools from which our participants were drafted have many pupils with migration background. For instance, over 62% of pupils from Hermann von Helmholtz School come from families with first language other than German.<sup>18</sup> In case of Willy Brandt School this number grows to around 90%.

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.sekundarschulen-berlin.de/migrationshintergrund>

### 8.3 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection started in March 2012 and lasted until November 2012. The principals of the participating schools had the authority to act in *loco parentis* giving permission for the students to take part in this study. Data were collected anonymously by the school staff, and supervised by the researcher. Both Romani and German students were externally identified by the teachers and school staff. All students participated voluntarily.

In the 'Südost Europa Kultur' association the head social-pedagogue had the same function as the school directors, permitting and supervising the data collection in the facilities of this association. Additionally, cooperation was established with psychologists and social workers from the 'Youth house' in Wedding<sup>19</sup> and from the residential project 'Harzerstr. 65'<sup>20</sup> through which we managed to reach about 20 participants in total.

The questionnaire was distributed in the presence of the researcher, research assistants, trained recruiters or school staff either in school facilities (in the classroom or rooms provided for extracurricular activities) or in the facilities of the 'Südost Europa Kultur e.V.'. Recruiters and research assistants were previously acquainted with the ethic and methodological issues and trained to distribute questionnaires individually, as well as in small groups where possible. An additional task for the questionnaire-administrators was to fill out a small table on the front page of each questionnaire writing down the date, as well as time and place of data collection for each participant. The unique code for each participant was added by the researcher upon admission. The questionnaire was written in German and participants needed from 30 to 50 minutes to complete it. After a questionnaire was properly filled out, a 5 Euro H&M voucher was handed to participants.

As the process of data collection advanced, it was clear that the number of German national participants is very difficult to find in the pre-selected schools and areas in which there was up to 90% of students with migration background. After a sufficient number of Romani participants were reached, the snowball recruiters had to re-orientate themselves on finding a satisfactory number of German national participants living in Neukölln and Wedding, which turned out to be easier said than done. However, by the end of November 2012 the data collection was completed with satisfactory number of participants (Table 4).

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<sup>19</sup> *Haus der Jugend* am Nauener Platz, Wedding

<sup>20</sup> *Harzerkiez*, an area populated with a number of Romanian families with Romani origin

Table 4 Sampling source

				Total	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Schools	Hermann von Helmholtz School	16	5.8	92	33.5
	Liebig School	29	10.5		
	Willy Brandt School	47	17.1		
Recruiters	Recruiter Da.	12	4.4	78	28.4
	Recruiter De.	14	5.1		
	Recruiter Mi.	30	10.9		
	Recruiter Ni.	9	3.3		
	Recruiter Se.	13	4.7		
Researcher and associates	Südost Europa Kultur e. V.	81	29.5	81	29.5
Youth projects	Residential Project for Roma	14	5.1	24	8.7
	Youth House	10	3.6		
Total		275	100%	275	100%

#### ▪ AVOIDING THE LIMITATIONS OF CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

Oyserman and Uskul (2008:152) point to limitations in studies in which there is an *a priori* assumption about a cross-cultural equivalence in how questions are understood and the rating scales are used. In order to avoid these limitations as much as possible, we sought for Romani participants who are proficient in German language. In cases when participants were not comfortable with German language, the questionnaire was translated for them item by item by the researcher or research assistants to make sure that the participants fully understand their tasks. Most participants (both Romani and German) were already familiar with the form of a questionnaire, as similar forms of surveys are also administered in schools.

Further limitations Oyserman and Uskul express are the potential cross-cultural differences in the extent to which question context (labels on scales) and research context (the researcher, recruiters, procedure of survey) might influence the responses. In order to make sure that there is nothing confusing or offensive in the context of the questionnaire, the way questions and tasks were formulated and presented – a pilot study was conducted before the main research. With respect to the research context most of the participants were comfortable with the questioning procedure, either because they were already acquainted with the recruiters, or because they were familiar with the facilities where the research was taking place (schools or facilities of Südost Europa Kultur association). In case of schools, the

social workers and teachers who already knew the subjects of the study administered the questionnaires which made the whole procedure less alien.

The very last point stressed by Oyserman and Uskul is the research approach in which participants have to express cultural values which tend to be limited to the *a priori* expectations of the researcher. Although this might be a valid point, the current study relies on several open questions where participants have the opportunity to express themselves in a less restricted way.

Additionally, we deliberately avoided the numeric values making up rating scales, as prior findings (Schwartz et al. 1991; Uskul et al. 2010) show that numeric values can affect the participants' interpretation of the intended meaning conveyed by the anchor labels. As the trends in answering influenced by number values systematically differed among various cultural groups (e.g., American and Turkish), especially in cases of self-evaluation, number values were evaded in the present study. Furthermore, Schwartz (1994) claims that it is much better to use rating instead of ranking when dealing with cross-cultural sample, because values viewed as non-desirable in one culture may be viewed as desirable in another.

## 8.4 PARTICIPANTS

In the following segment we will make a detailed description of participant characteristics followed by a short summary at the end of this section. A variety of demographic variables, most of which were previously used in the PARS<sup>21</sup> study or in other cross-cultural studies (e.g. Sam et al., 2008), were used in this assessment as well. With respect to the nature of our research and intended group comparisons, we were focusing on aspects of acculturation (e.g., country of birth, German language acquisition - as language plays a decisive role in the process of acculturation according to many researchers (e.g., Schumann, 2006), socioeconomic level (including occupational and non-occupational indicators), educational history and other relevant demographic indicators in order to interpret possible group differences in the subsequent analysis in a meaningful way.

Starting with basic demographics, we can report on a total number of 275 adolescent participants who were reached within this study. All participants were female with a residency in Berlin, Germany. The sample consists of 115 German non-migrant adolescents,

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<sup>21</sup> Panel Study at the Research School 'Education and Capabilities' in North Rhine-Westphalia directed at longitudinal assessment of children and adolescents

127 immigrant adolescents of Romani migrant background and 33 migrant adolescents of a different ethnic/cultural background (Turkish, Iraqi, Polish etc.) which make 12% of the whole sample. Since the number of the migrant participants with background other than Romani was too small to be meaningfully included in the analysis, they were removed from the dataset. The final dataset consists of 242 participants in total (115 German and 127 Romani migrant).

The age group was ranging between 11 and 17 years of age (mainly from 5<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> grade of secondary education). The average age for the whole sample is 14 (M=14.41, SD=1.54). Most of the participants (91.4%) were between 12 and 16 years of age, however 4.1% of 11 year olds and 4.5% of 17 year olds were also included in the analysis, as their answers did not drastically differ from the rest of the sample.

In the further text we will group the socio-demographic characteristics into five sections: Migration background; Family structure; Non-occupational SES (socioeconomic status); SES; Education history, as well as Socialization and privacy. Each of these sections will be briefly discussed in the summary at the end of this chapter.

#### 8.4.1 MIGRATION BACKGROUND

Relying on previous studies (e.g., Pars Study, 2013), we singled out several points which will help us determine the specific migration background of the participants involved in our study. First of all, we inquired about the country of birth of participants, as well as the country of birth of their parents. Second of all, we inquired about the length of stay in Germany, as well as the type of the current residence permit and possible risk of forced expulsion (See chapter 1.1). Thirdly, we assessed information regarding the language use.

- **COUNTRY OF BIRTH**

Looking at Table 5 we can notice that 62.2% of migrant participants were born in Germany, followed by 17.3% participants with a birthplace in ex-Yugoslavia (Serbia or Bosnia) and 14.2% in Romania. Other countries of birth stated by the participants include Croatia (one participant), Kosovo (2 participants), Italy (2 participants) and Bulgaria (1 participant).

Further on, parents of migrant participants were born in large percentage in ex-Yugoslavia, mainly Serbia and Bosnia (mothers in over 80%; fathers in over 70%) and in a

smaller percentage in Romania (mothers and fathers around 15%) which is proportional to the percentage of Romani participants with a Romanian national affiliation.

Table 5 Country of birth

Country of birth	ROMANI MIGRANT		GERMAN	
	Frequency	Relative value %	Frequency	Relative value %
Bosnia	8	6,3	0	0
Serbia	14	11	0	0
Romania	18	14,2	0	0
Germany	79	62,2	113	98,3
Other	6	4,7	0	0
No Answer	2	1,6	2	1,6
Total	127	100%	115	100%

#### ▪ LENGTH OF STAY IN GERMANY

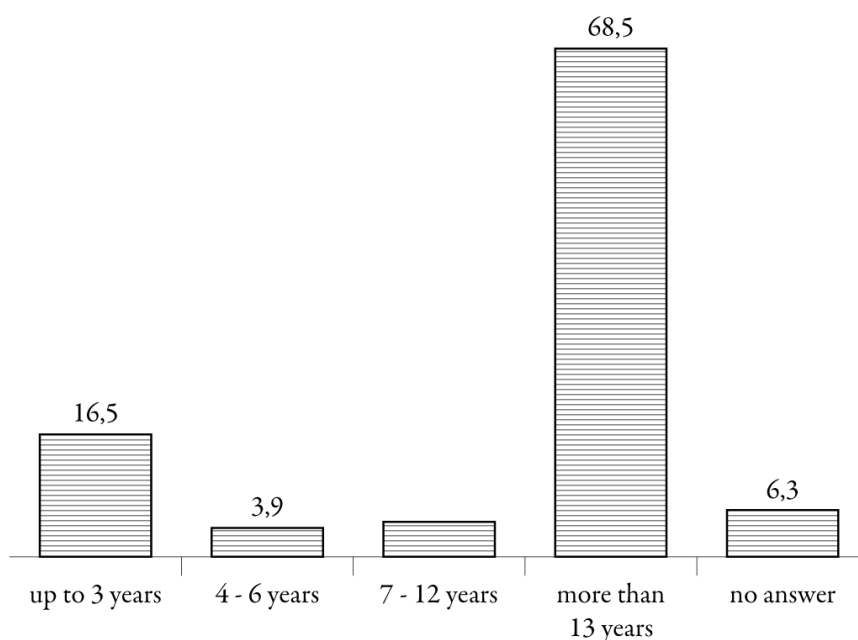
Most of the migrant participants (73.2%) were born in Germany or have lived in Germany for more than 7 years, meaning that they belong to the second generation migrants, according to the criterion used by Berry et al. (2006) and Sam et al. (2008) in previous cultural studies. The rest of the migrant participants were divided in groups up to 3 and up to 6 years of living in Germany (Figure 18).

Migrant participants also differ with respect to the type of their residence status ranging from EU-citizens (around 4%, mostly from Romania), over 45% of foreigners and 29% of German citizens. This information was derived from the question whether participants own a German passport/citizenship. Very rarely would the migrant participants give an answer about the form of residence status they have (e.g., Duldung, Aufenthaltsgestattung, or other, see Chapter 1.1).

#### ▪ FORCED EXPULSION – *ABSCHIEBUNG*

All participants were asked to describe what forced expulsion or ‘Abschiebung’ means. Questions regarding forced expulsion (Abschiebung) were developed specifically for this study. The idea behind this question was to grasp the way this term is perceived among participants that are affected by this issue in different ways, namely the Romani migrant participants and the German non-migrant participants (Table 6).

Figure 18 Length of stay in Germany



*Note.* Values expressed in percentage

Table 6 Meaning of forced expulsion – Abschiebung

What is an 'Abschiebung'?	ROMANI	GERMAN	TOTAL	
A class trip; Getting fired by the boss	5	3	8	3,3%
Leaving Germany; Returning to homeland	32	47	77	32,6%
If one is illegally in Germany; If one does bad things, commits offenses...	4	5	9	3,7%
Get out of Germany!, When 'Kanake' leave Germany	19	14	33	13,6%
When we have to leave Germany	13	0	15	5,4%
I do not know	23	23	46	19,0%
No Answer	31	23	54	22,3%
Total	127	115	242	100%

In summary, around 40% of participants did not answer at all or stated that they do not know what 'Abschiebung' means. The rest of the given explanations were ranging from simple definitions: "When one has to leave Germany"; "When foreigners get sent back to their homeland", over explanations which were stressing the illegal aspect of forced expulsion connecting it to rule-breaking, to more emotional utterances such as "Get out of Germany!" or

more derogatory versions, such as “When ‘Kanake’ leave Germany”, *Kanake* being a derogatory term used for immigrants from southern countries. Especially moving were the answers given by several Romani participants: “An ‘Abschiebung’ is something I do not want to do, but I am forced to”<sup>22</sup>; “When Germans say - you can’t stay here” or “That is when you go back to your home country and cannot ever come back to Berlin.” Forced expulsion is a practice still affecting Romani migrants who have not acquired some form of permanent residency, either in form of a German citizenship or a settlement permit<sup>23</sup>. Over 45% of the migrant participants declared to have a foreigner status, which puts them at risk of a forced expulsion. In accordance with that, 35% of Romani participants admitted that they rarely, often or very often fear that they might be deported.

#### ▪ LANGUAGE USE

As language use represents an important marker of the acculturation process, Romani migrant participants were asked about the frequency of German language usage at home and with friends. The results indicate a quite frequent use of German language at home (in more than 67%) and with friends (in more than 87%). Based on previous studies (e.g. Bošnjak & Acton, 2013) it can be speculated that the migrant participants mostly speak German to their siblings, when at home. It is quite uncommon for Romani parents from Serbia and Bosnia to communicate in language other than Romani to their children.

Additionally, participants were asked about other languages they speak at home, as Romani children often become multilingual being that they speak Romani at home, combined with the language of the country they migrated from (Bosnian, Serbian and Romanian in our case) and the language of the host country, that is, German.

Almost 38% of the participants mentioned that they speak Romani (using different terms such as: Zigeunisch; Gypsy; Romanes, Romani, etc.) followed by another language, usually Serbian or Bosnian (Table 7). It is interesting that 40% of participants named only Serbian or Bosnian as a language used at home, not mentioning Romani. Further analysis showed that around 40% of the Romani participants speaks two or three languages at home, largely confirming the expectations of multilingualism.

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<sup>22</sup> Eine Abschiebung ist etwas was ich nicht machen will, aber ich gezwungen bin.

<sup>23</sup> Niederlassungserlaubnis (unbefristete Aufenthaltstitel)



Table 7 Other languages

What other languages you speak at home?	Frequency	%
Romani and Serbian	27	21,3%
Romani and Bosnian	9	7,1%
Romani and Other	12	9,4%
Bosnian	35	27,6%
Serbian	17	13,4%
Romanian	14	11,0%
Other (English, Spanish, etc.)	5	3,9%
No answer	8	6,3%
Total	127	100,0%

#### 8.4.2 FAMILY STRUCTURE

In order to get a rough estimate of the family size and family structure of the sample, participants were asked to mark the family members they are currently living with. Beside parents (mother and father) and the exact number of brothers and sisters, participants could mark other family members such as aunts, uncles, grandparents and stepparents. If participants were living with persons that do not belong to family, they had a chance to specify it themselves.

Results show that participants mainly live with their parents and siblings, followed by grandmothers (in 12 Romani and 4 German cases), grandfathers (in 5 Romani and 1 German case), uncles (in 8 Romani and 1 German cases), aunts (in 6 Romani and 2 German cases), stepfathers (in 2 Romani and 7 German cases), and one stepmother (German sample). Considering the family size, results show that German participants in over 60% of cases live in households with 4 persons or less, in comparison to around 15% of Romani participants belonging to the same category. On the other hand, around 40% of Romani households number more than 8 persons (Table 8).

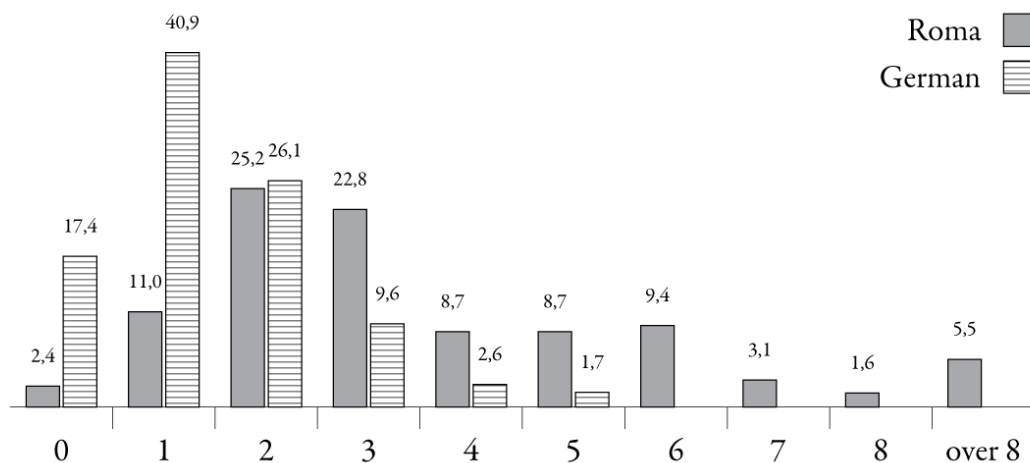
Findings further show that 26% of Romani participants and 33% of German non-migrant participants live in single parent families, mostly with mothers.

Romani families from our sample have in average more children than German families. This is clearly shown in the Figure 19, where almost 20% of the Romani participants have more than five siblings.

Table 8 Number of persons per household

Number of persons	ROMANI MIGRANT			GERMAN	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	
2	1	0,8	5	4,3	
3	5	3,9	31	27	
4	14	11	34	29,6	
5	34	26,7	28	24,3	
6	23	18	12	10,4	
7	10	7,8	2	1,7	
more than 8	38	39,9	3	2,6	
missing	2	1,57			
Total	127	100%	115	100%	

Figure 19 Number of siblings



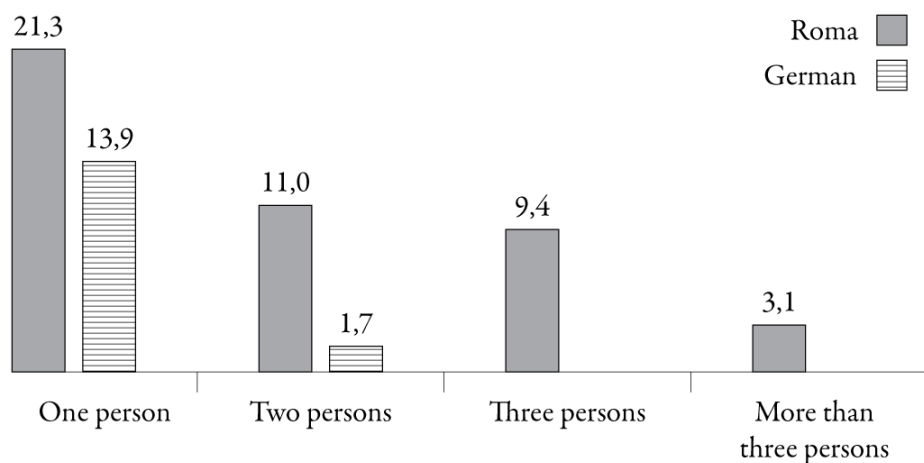
### 8.4.3 NON-OCCUPATIONAL SES INDICATORS

In order to assess family affluence, several indicators (also used in the PARS Study, 2013) were chosen. Questions about computer ownership, internet connection and room sharing were administered.

Results show that the majority of families from the total sample own a computer (89% Romani and 92% German participants). However, it could be speculated that Romani participants share the computer with siblings and other family members (the formulation of the question was: *'Do you have a computer at home?'*). Romani migrant participants further reported to have an access to internet in 73% in comparison to German participants who can access internet in 94% of cases.

One of the indicators of material deprivation classified by Townsend (1987 in Currie 1997:389) is *overcrowding*. In order to make it easier on participants to make this estimate, a question regarding room sharing was used as a proxy to overcrowding. Similar indicators were also used by Boyce et al. (2006). Romani participants share a room more frequently than German participants (Figure 20).

Figure 20 Room sharing



#### 8.4.4 SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (SES)

In order to have a continuous measure of occupational status which is more amenable to multivariate analysis, the categorical data concerning parental education and occupation<sup>24</sup> were transformed into ISEI scores (A standard International Socioeconomic Index of Occupational Status, Ganzeboom et al. 1992). Following the continuous approach it is generally assumed that 'substantively significant differences between occupational groups can be captured in one dimension and can therefore be represented in statistical models by a single parameter' (*ibid*: 4). Despite the young age of our participants, West and his associates (2001) claim that parental occupation information obtained from adolescents as young as 11 can be quite reliable.

<sup>24</sup> Years of schooling, occupation title, description of occupation/job for both mother and father

Socioeconomic Index scales are constructed as a weighted sum of the average education and average income of occupational group, capturing the (indirect) influence of education on income as much as possible. Based upon the standardized effect of education on (personal) income Ganzeboom and his associates (1992:10) observed that education represents a better predictor of income than occupational prestige, thus ISEI measure can be considered as an intervening variable between education and income. In order to properly devise the ISEI scores, we needed to classify the data according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88). An ISCO score was carefully ascribed to each participant after revising several questions related to parental education and occupation. Starting from literacy (can your mother/father read and write?), years of schooling, current occupation, past occupation and occupation description (what exactly does your mother/father do at work?) the answers were analysed and classified to corresponding ISCO categories. After the ISCO codes were derived, a recoding scheme was used to convert them directly into adequate ISEI scores. Scores were transformed in SPSS.20 using the routine by Schimpl-Neimanns (2004).

ISEI scale was constructed in such way that it satisfies Duncan's definition of occupation as 'the intervening activity linking income to education' (Ganzeboom et al. 1992:29-30) and its use is recommended even in cases of more limited occupational categories without much loss of information. It offers a continuous dimension ranging from 16 (Domestic help and Cleaners) over 48 (Cashiers and Clerks) to 85 (Doctors and Lawyers). Finally, a HISEI (Higher International Socioeconomic Index) score which only takes into an account the parent with higher ISEI score was calculated and used further in the analysis.

- **IRON SCRAP DEALERS AND HOUSEWIVES**

Issues which emerged during the classification of the occupations were related to a high number of unqualified housewives with no or little education, as well as a high number of unqualified scrap dealers (Schrotthändler) among the Romani parents. After a personal communication with the creator of the syntax used for transforming the ISCO 88 (COM) to ISEI scores in Germany, the ISEI category for unemployed persons (ISEI=0) was ascribed to housewives, however, in order to achieve a more conservative measure (where differences between the category for housewives and the lowest ISEI category would not consist of 15 units) the score for housewives was subsequently changed to ISEI=15. It was somewhat more complicated to find the adequate ISEI category for scrap dealers. As suggested, the category that suits the occupation of iron scrap dealers (according to the Federal Office for Statistics)

would be wholesale dealers. When translated into ISCO 88 categories<sup>25</sup>, two possible scores appear: ISCO - 131 Manager of small business (independent) and ISCO- 341 Finance and sales associate professionals (not independent). When we recode these to ISEI scores we create a highly unrealistic (and incorrect) image of the income and prestige level of iron scrap dealers. Therefore, we tried to find another solution. The scrap dealers were placed in the ISCO 88 category 91-Sales and services elementary occupations (Verkaufs-und Dienstleistungshilfskräfte). For the purposes of the appropriate ISEI score calculation this category was changed into a three digit category 911 - Street vendors and related occupations (Straßenhändler und Verwandte Berufe) in order to finally recode it into ISEI=29. This way, a more realistic picture about the socioeconomic status was achieved, with minimal adaptations according to the specificities of this sample. In cases where there was no available information about the educational level or occupation, but a vague description of the parental occupation such as self-employed (Selbständig) a missing value was ascribed.

Scores of German participants (N=110, 5 missing) range from min. 15 to max. 85 (M=43.2, SD=16.5, N=117), whereas scores of Romani participants (N=117, 10 missing) range from min. 15 to max. 67 (M=27.8, SD=12.1). The highest parental occupation level (HISEI) for 25% of the participants from the Romani sample were housewives, in comparison to 5% of participants from the German sample. Simple cleaning and housekeeping jobs are more frequent in the Romani group (10%), than in German group (1.7%). Further on, more frequent occupations in the Romani group are construction workers, painters, repairmen etc. (38%), whereas professions in the area of sales, nursing and service appeared more frequently in the German group (around 35%). The highest occupational rank in the Romani group was production manager (Produktions-und Operationsleiter) marked by score 67, whereas the German group encompassed the occupational rank marked by score 85, ascribed to medical doctors and lawyers.

#### 8.4.5 EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

In order to assess some aspects of educational history of our participants, we inquired about the current school grade and school achievement, but also preschool attendance, grade repetition and possible change of schools.

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<sup>25</sup>[http://www.gesis.org/missy/fileadmin/missy/klassifikationen/Amtliche\\_Klassifikationen/ISCO/kldb92\\_isco88.com.pdf](http://www.gesis.org/missy/fileadmin/missy/klassifikationen/Amtliche_Klassifikationen/ISCO/kldb92_isco88.com.pdf)

The majority of participants were in the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade of the integrated secondary schools (Table 9).

Previous reports state that a low number of Roma children (around 30%) attend preschool education (European Commission, 2014:46). According to Jovanovic (2012), only 2% of Romani children in Serbia enter preschools, and less than 40% become part of the overall formal education system. These numbers are similar in other south-east European countries, for instance in Greece, where more than 35% of Romani children do not attend school (European Commission, 2014:14).

In the current study, around 70% of Romani participants stated that they attended preschool in comparison to over 90% of German participants. Over 30% of Romani participants *repeated a grade* in comparison to less than 15% of German participants. The groups further differ in the percentage of participants that changed schools for different reasons, where 70% of Romani migrant participants claimed that they changed schools for the reason of moving (in comparison to 33% of German participants). Frequent change of address due to financial or legal reasons is common among migrants with an insecure residence permit, which might explain the given difference between groups.

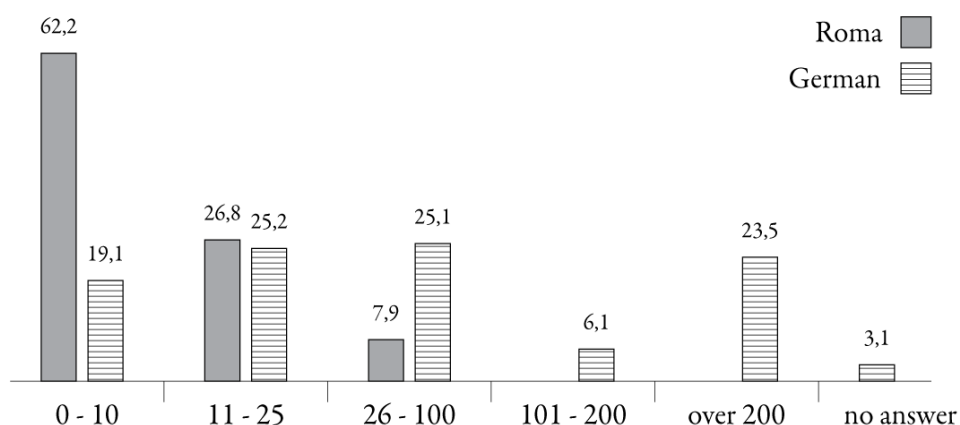
Table 9 School grade

School Grade	ROMANI MIGRANT		GERMAN		Total
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	%
4	3	2,4			1,2
5	13	10,2	1	0,9	5,8
6	9	7,1	5	4,3	6,6
7	15	11,8	24	20,9	20,7
8	29	22,8	24	20,9	27,3
9	22	17,3	28	24,3	21,5
10	27	21,3	31	27,0	25,2
11	3	2,4			1,2
Unclear	6	4,7	2	1,7	0,4

Drawing upon reported grades in Mathematics and German language both subgroups show relatively moderate school success following a normal distribution with an average grade of  $M=3,33$  ( $SD=1,32$ ) in Mathematics and  $M=3,12$  ( $SD=1,44$ ) in German language (Table SD2). Two groups did not differ in the degree of satisfaction with school achievement, where over 60% of participants expressed that they are often or very often satisfied with their school achievement.

In order to further assess the cultural-educational milieu of the family we administered a question: *'How many books approximately do you have at home?'* Responses were provided on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0-10 (*no books at all, or just a few*) to 101-200 (*enough to fill three or more book shelves*). Findings show a stark difference between Romani and German groups with regard to the number of books in the household (Figure 21).

Figure 21 Number of books



#### 8.4.6 SOCIALIZATION AND PRIVACY

Additionally, we administered a couple of questions regarding peer socializing and privacy which can point to an authoritarian family structure (taken from the PARS study, 2013). Regarding the question *'Are you allowed to bring friends home?'* 26% of Romani migrants answered that they are never or rarely allowed to bring friends home, in comparison to 9.6% of German participants.

Tackling the issue of privacy (also connected to the cultural settings of individualism and collectivism), we asked our participants whether they can lock the door of their room, as well as whether their family members knock on the door before entering their room. The results imply that the practice of knocking on the door is more common in German families. Romani migrant participants answered that in 62.9% of cases their family members never or rarely knock on their doors (in comparison to 40% of German participants that state the same thing). Considering the question of door locking, participants from both subgroups did

not drastically differ in their answers stating in 63.8% (Romani) and 52.2% (German) that they can often / very often lock their doors.

#### 8.4.7 PARTICIPANTS SUMMARY

*The sample of the current study consists of 242 female adolescents living in Berlin (115 of German non-migrant and 127 of Romani migrant background). The average age of participants is 14.*

##### ***Migration background***

*Romani participants in this study belong to the second generation migrants, as they are in 73.2% born in Germany or have arrived to the country before the age of 7. Their parents were born in large percentage in ex-Yugoslavia, mainly Serbia and Bosnia and around 15% in Romania. With respect to the residence status, over 45% of participants can be described as foreigners, 29% as German citizens and 4% as EU-citizens (Romanian). Over 50% of the whole sample was familiar with the meaning of forced expulsion. Around 35% of migrant participants admitted that they rarely, often or very often fear that they might be deported. The expectation of multilingualism was confirmed among 40% of Romani participants who speak two or three languages at home. Romani migrant participants often speak German at home (in almost 70% of cases) and to their friends (in almost 90%) which could point to a successful acculturation.*

##### ***Summary of the family structure***

*In line with the data from various reports (e.g. European Commission 2008, 2011; UNICEF 2007b) our study shows that Romani households number significantly more members in comparison to German families (mainly due to larger number of children and members of extended family). Around 30% of families from both groups are led by a single parent (mainly mothers).*

##### ***Summary of non-occupational socioeconomic status***

*Based on the obtained results, we can conclude that the majority of Romani migrant participants live in overcrowded families, with an access to a computer, but a slightly reduced access to internet in comparison to their German peers.*

##### ***Summary of socioeconomic status***

*According to estimated HISEI scores (A standard Higher International Socioeconomic Index of Occupational Status, Ganzeboom et al. 1992), Romani migrant group holds an unfavorable*



position with respect to average parental education and average income, compared to the German group. This disparity was to be expected, considering previous reports on Romani migrants in Germany (e.g., Open Society Institute 2002; 2004).

### **Summary of educational history**

Based on the acquired data we can conclude that the Romani migrant group holds an unfavorable educational position in the sense of a less frequent preschool attendance, more frequent grade repetition, more frequent change of schools and lesser number of books per household in comparison to their German peers. Despite these unfavorable factors, the school achievement and satisfaction with school achievement do not indicate significant between-group differences.

### **Summary of socialization and privacy**

In accordance to the expectation of a more authoritarian and collectivistic setting in Romani migrant families, our results confirm that it is less common for Romani migrant participants to bring their friends home, in comparison to their German peers. Furthermore, respecting the privacy of the child by knocking at the door before entering is less frequent in Romani migrant families.

## **8.5 INSTRUMENTATION**

This study relies on a questionnaire covering a wide range of issues related to personal goals, family and Subjective-well being. Most of the used measures belong to previously known and standardized scales, some scales were mildly adapted and some were translated from English to German. All translated instruments were checked through the method of back translation before the questionnaire was finalized. The back translation and additional consultation about the adequate item formulation was performed with two German and one English native who were proficient in both English and German.

In order to make the process of data collection easier on participants, as well as to ensure the higher quality in obtained answers, the questionnaire began with more demanding tasks related to motivation and personal goals and ended with relatively simple demographic survey questions. For most of the scales participants could choose a response on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from *doesn't apply* to *fully applies*.

### 8.5.1 CULTURAL VALUES SCALE - INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

In the construction of scales measuring the possible underlying variables of collectivism and individualism (or cultures of relatedness and separateness according to Kagitçibasi, 1989) we were relying heavily on the work of Rhee, Uleman and Lee (1996) who used a confirmatory factor analysis to test five existing models of individualism and collectivism. Their results suggested that collectivism and individualism are best conceived as two dimensions, especially in reference to the ingroup because behavior may differ toward ingroup and outgroup members of different cultures. Ingroup was described by Triandis (1994) as a group with whom a person feels similar because they share a common fate, or because the group's norm, values and beliefs shape the person's behavior (1989). In this study an accent was put on kin ingroup and the items mostly referred to parents and family.

If important ingroups such as kin are involved, then the determinants of social behavior may include (a) ingroup interests or goals taking precedence over those of the individual, (b) social obligations taking precedence over individual needs, and (c) the desire to achieve a place in the social order taking precedence over self-expression (Ho, 1993 in Rhee, Uleman & Lee 1996:1038).

Rhee, Uleman and Lee (1996) invited future researchers to replicate and extend their findings with other scale items using various cultural groups and non-college samples. As an answer to that, two subscales (with 7 items each) measuring individualistic and collectivistic values and attitudes were administered to our sample. The items were mainly adapted from subscales measuring *Kin Collectivism and Kin Individualism*, by Triandis (1994); Yamaguchi (1994) and by Hui (1988), which were also used in the confirmatory factor analysis by Rhee, Uleman and Lee (1996). Additionally, a few items relying on developmental goals of adolescents described by Dreher & Dreher (1985) were used with an expectation of an adequate factor loading on the dimension of individualism, as they rather reflect western individualistic ideas of development. Two self-constructed items related to early marriage, a tradition still prevalent in many Romani migrant families in Berlin according to Bošnjak & Acton (2013) were also included. For a detailed list of items see Appendix A.

#### ▪ PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURAL VALUES SCALE

Scales measuring dimensions of Individualism and Collectivism have been constructed using the items from already existing ones (Rhee, Uleman and Lee 1996) with several additional items of which two were self-constructed. To see whether these items indeed measure theoretically predicted dimensions a principal component analysis was

conducted and was followed by a parallel analysis. According to Russell (2002), parallel analysis appears to perform better than the scree test in determining the number of factors. During this procedure eigenvalues derived from factoring a completely random set of data (Monte Carlo simulation process) with the same number of items and participants, are being compared to the eigenvalues of the original data set. The optimal number of factors to extract is marked by the 'point at which the eigenvalues for the actual data drop below the eigenvalues for the random data' (Russell, 2002:1633).

Parallel Analysis is one of the most recommendable rules for factor selection in Exploratory Factor Analysis and PCA, according to Ladesma & Valero-Mora (2007). According to them, the Kaiser's method where only eigenvalues greater than one are retained for interpretation is too arbitrary and shows a tendency to substantially overestimate the number of factors, whereas the Scree test lacks an objective definition of the cutoff point between the important and trivial factors (*ibid*:2). Parallel Analysis, on the other hand, compares the observed eigenvalues extracted from the correlation matrix to be analyzed with those obtained from uncorrelated normal variables (random dataset).

The routine for the parallel analysis recommended by O'Connor (2000)<sup>26</sup> was followed and the results suggested three components. The principal component analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation showed that two out of three factors suit the two theoretically predicted concepts, whereas the third factor consists of items whose content relates to partner relationships and marriage (these are the two self-constructed items aimed at early marriage and the two depicting developmental tasks by Dreher & Dreher, 1985). Although it was expected that these items would load on theoretically predicted cultural dimensions it seems that they measure a separate construct, namely one that has to do with partner relationship. As the component about partner relationships 'steals' the variance from the collectivist and individualist components which we initially aimed to assess, it was decided to exclude the controversial items from further analysis. Both procedures of parallel analysis and PCA were repeated with the remaining items. This time a two-factor solution emerged, with only one item which was negatively loading on a 'wrong' factor (f110) and was therefore subsequently omitted. The reason for this could lie in the negative formulation of the item itself (e.g. *"I would have nothing against living far away from my parents"* – *"Ich hätte nichts dagegen weit entfernt von meinen Eltern zu leben"*).

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<sup>26</sup> <https://people.ok.ubc.ca/briocconn/nfactors/nfactors.html>

The final PCA offered a two-factor solution that was found most acceptable where the first component consists of 5 items that form the dimension of Collectivism (Cronbach's alpha .62) and the second component forms a 5-itemed Individualism dimension (Cronbach's alpha .59).

- *The subscale of Individualism* consists of 5 items and assesses the extent to which adolescents are independent from their parents and family with sample items: "I would like to be independent from my parents" and "I would not sacrifice my self-interest for my parents". Values on this scale ranged from 1 to 15 (M=8.2, SD=2.5, N=235). Internal consistency is measured at  $\alpha=.59$ . Smaller Cronbach alpha values are common when scales have a small number of items; however, the mean inter-item correlation values are optimal ranging from .23 to .48 (a range from .2 to .4 is recommended by Briggs & Cheek, 1986).
- *The subscale of Collectivism* consists of 5 items and assesses the extent to which adolescents are related and dependent on their parents and family with items such as: "Young people should consider their parent's opinion when they make plans for education or occupation" and "Stick to your parents, even when you strongly disagree with them". Values ranged from 0 to 12 (M=10.7, SD=2.8, N=236) and the internal consistency is  $\alpha=.63$ .

Table 10 Scales of Individualism and Collectivism

Item Code	Dimension	Factor loading	Original version	Adapted version
f103	Individualism	.757	Triandis: One should live one's life independently of others as much as possible. Dreher & Dreher: Von den Eltern unabhängiger werden	Ich möchte gerne von meinen Eltern unabhängig werden.
f106	Individualism	.648	Triandis: When faced with a difficult personal problem, it is better to decide what to do yourself, rather than follow the advice of others.	Ich möchte mein eigenes Ding durchziehen, ohne dass meine Familie sich einmischt.
f112	Individualism	.575	Hui: I want to decide for myself the kind of education or occupation I will pursue in future.	Was für ein Ausbildung ich mache/in welchem Beruf ich später arbeite, möchte ich ganz allein entscheiden.
f107	Individualism	.577	Dreher & Dreher: Sich Gedanken darüber machen, wie später einmal der Partner sein soll und ob man irgendwann eigene Kinder haben möchte.	Ich möchte auf den richtigen Partner warten, mit dem man sich eine Ehe und Kinder vorstellen kann.
f116	Individualism	.436	Yamaguchi: Not sacrifice your self-interest for your parents?	Ich würde meine eigenen Interessen nicht wegen meinen Eltern aufgeben.
f104	Collectivism	.637	Hui: Young people should consider their parent's opinion when they make plans for education or occupation.	Bei beruflichen Entscheidungen möchte ich die Meinung meiner Eltern berücksichtigen.
f105	Collectivism	.582	Triandis: Aging parents should live at home with their children.	In der Zukunft möchte ich in der Nähe meiner Eltern leben.
f108	Collectivism	.667	Hui: When I engage myself in a certain activity, I will be concerned with my relatives' opinion.	Es ist wichtig für mich, dass meine Familie stolz auf mich ist.
f114	Collectivism	.643	Yamaguchi: Stick to your parents, even when you strongly disagree with them.	Selbst wenn ich ganz anderer Meinung bin, möchte ich mich meinen Eltern eng verbunden sein.
f115	Collectivism	.575	Hui: Teenagers should listen to their parents' advice on dating.	Mädchen sollten auf ihre Eltern hören, wenn es um Verabredung mit Jungs geht.

### 8.5.2 WOMEN'S STATUS IN FAMILY SCALE

Conservative *vis-à-vis* egalitarian gender values and gender roles were already explored in different acculturative studies (Nauck 1989; Idema & Phalet 2007, Kagitçibasi 2007). Usually, a shift from conservative to egalitarian gender roles is considered as a positive sign of integration of the migrant group to the (western) host society, or as a natural change to a family model of psychological and emotional interdependence (Kagitçibasi, 1989; 2005; 2007).

In order to assess the prevailing attitudes of our participants towards this issue, a short scale measuring women's status in the family was constructed. This scale consists of only three items, as we tried to restrict the length of the questionnaire where possible, ensuring the higher response quality. Two out of three items constructing the scale were chosen from a short version of the *Sex Role Orientations scale* (Brogan & Kutner, 1976): "*In case of disagreement between husband and wife, the husband should always decide*" (reversed) and "*A husband's task is to earn money; a wife's task is to look after the home and the family*" (reversed). One additional item was chosen from *Sex-role Attitudes Survey* (Mason et al., 1976) that assesses household labor division: '*Men should share the work around the house (doing dishes, cleaning, etc.) with women.*' Values range from 0 to 9 (M=5.9, SD=2.4, N=241). The internal consistency of this scale is measured at  $\alpha=.65$  which is quite good considering that the scale consists of only 3 items.

### 8.5.3 AUTONOMOUS, RELATED AND AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF IN FAMILY SCALE

Autonomus, Related and Autonomous-related Self scales developed by Cigdem Kagitçibasi (2007), deal with the self-construal from a developmental perspective, taking into account the interpersonal distance (relatedness–separateness) in the family and agency (autonomy-heteronomy) during growing up and adolescence. Kagitçibasi suggests (2007:194) the possibility to only use the scales of Related-Self and Autonomous-Self in family and to subsequently determine whether a person has an Autonomous-related Self based on the person's standing on the aforementioned two scales. We therefore decided to apply the *Autonomous-Self* and the *Related-Self in family Scale* in this study, calculating the Autonomous-related Self based on the above-median values on these two scales (See next section).

In their original version, the Autonomous-Self and Related-Self in family scales consist of 9 and 8 items, respectively. They are conceived to be unidimensional with a single factor. Kagitçibasi (2007) reported good psychometric characteristics of the scales including good reliability scores with Cronbach's Alpha of .84 for both scales and lowest factor loadings of .49 and .53. The scales were translated from English to German and the two items with lowest factor loadings as reported by Kagitçibasi, were excluded from the versions used in this study, as we tried to reduce the final number of questions where it was methodologically justifiable. The final form of the adapted scales consist of 15 items in total, 8 for Autonomous-Self in family and 7 for Related-Self in family.

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was carried out to validate the hypothesized two-factor structure. The two factors were Autonomous self in family and Related self in family. We used the Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) in SPSS AMOS.22.0.0. However, we first had to create a new data matrix that included only participants with no missing data. Unfortunately, the sample was now reduced to 172 participants which falls under the generally recommended limit for the use of SEM of  $N=200$ . Lei & Wu (2007:35) recommend the minimal sample size of 400, while Myers, Ahn & Jin (2011) suggest the ratio of  $N$  to the number of variables in a model ( $p$ ),  $N/p \geq 10$  as a common rule of thumb for determining adequate  $N$  for a particular application of CFA. In our case this value would be right above the threshold ( $172/16 = 10.75$ ).

Next to the tight sample size, we had to take into an account several other shortages. For instance, CFA requires random sampling (Myers, Ahn & Jin, 2011), whereas our sampling was highly selective. Further on, the condition of normality was not fulfilled. Kolmogorov Smirnov test revealed that almost all of the research variables deviate from normal distribution in a significant manner (Appendix D). However, the analysis of the Q-Q plots indicated that the measure of Autonomous self in family (along with several others) was almost normally distributed. The violation of the normality assumption leads to a possible increase of chi-square and a decrease of standard errors. This practically means that too many models get to be rejected and significance tests of path coefficients will more frequently result in Type I error (Newsom, 2012). However, with reasonably large samples (above 200 cases) skewness and kurtosis will not 'make a substantive difference in the analysis' (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007:80).

In spite of specified limitations, we decided to perform the CFA analysis to establish whether a model fit can be found (Figure 22). The correlation between the two factors was negative, as was theoretically expected. Unfortunately no model fit was found. We modified

the model by excluding the item f193 (*I do not have to think like my family does*), which had a loading below .30 on the factor Autonomous self. The model was further modified by adding theoretically expected correlations between the independent variables in the model through the Modification Index Threshold option in AMOS. A default threshold value of 4 was used allowing AMOS to offer correlations which will improve the model more than one extra degree of freedom could afflict (critical chi-square with  $df=1$  is 3.84, for  $p < .05$ ).

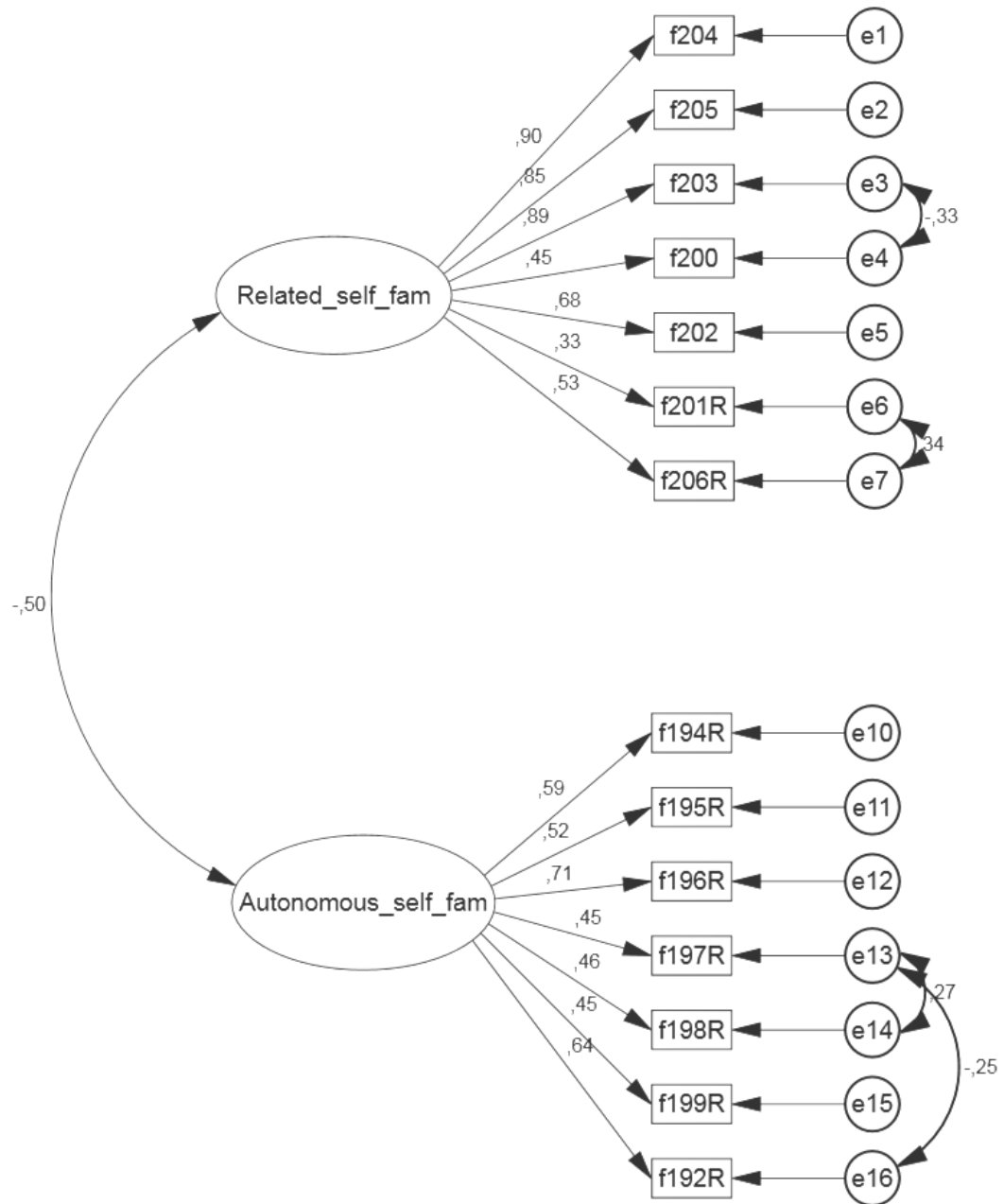
The results depict a model which is relatively in line with theoretical expectations: two uncorrelated factors with items loading on each factor proportionally to the conceptual closeness with the supposed latent variable. For instance, the item f204 (My relationship with my family gives me a comforting and safe feeling) loads .90 on the factor Related self in family, whereas the item f201R (R: The time that I spend with my family is not important to me) has the lowest loading, possibly because of its reversed form. On the other hand the loadings on the factor of Autonomous self indicate a discrepancy between the supposed meaning of the latent variable and the meaning of the observed variable. Generally, the item loadings are lower compared to the factor of Related self in family. The highest loading was achieved by the reversed item f196R (R: I accept my family's decisions regarding my private life); followed by f192R (R: I usually try to agree with the wishes of my family) and f194R (R: You should get approval from your family regarding your plans for the future).

Relying on recommended cutoff values which indicate a good fit between the hypothesized model and the observed data given by Li-tze & Bentler (1999) we must conclude that the performed CFA did not reach goodness of fit with respect to the chi-square test ( $\chi^2=95.870$ ,  $df = 73$ ,  $p = 0.032$ ) and the normed fit index (NFI=0.9), although some values of goodness of fit reached the threshold values (RMSEA=0.04, CFI=0.97).

Considering the results of the CFA and the size of the sample available in the current study we decided that it would be more appropriate to explore the factor structure underlying the scales of Related self in family and Autonomous self in family with some of the factor analytic techniques. We used a principal component method with orthogonal rotation, as well as O'Connor's (2000) routine for parallel analysis where optimal number of factors to extract is marked by the point at which the eigenvalues for the actual data drop below the eigenvalues for a random data set with the same parameters (Russell, 2002). According to the observed eigenvalues for the actual and random data - the optimal number of factors to be extracted is two.



Figure 22 Confirmatory Factor Analysis in SEM



The two factors suit the theoretically predicted constructs where all 7 items of Related self in family loaded on the first factor (Related self), and 8 items of Autonomous self in family loaded on the second factor (Autonomous self). However, item f193 (*I do not have to think like my family does*) had a weak factor loading (.28) and was subsequently removed from the PCA, leaving 7 items in each component (Table 11).

Table 11 Principal Component Analysis of items building the Autonomous and Related self in family scales<sup>27</sup>

Items	Component	
	Related Self	Autonomous Self
f204 Die Beziehung zu meiner Familie gibt mir ein sicheres Gefühl	.828	
f205 Ich fühle mich meiner Familie stark verbunden	.800	
f203 Meine Familie ist für mich das wichtigste	.760	-.326
f206R* Ich verbringe nicht gerne viel Zeit mit meiner Familie	.679	
f202 Sich seiner Familie sehr nah zu fühlen ist eine gute Sache	.674	
f201R Die Zeit, die ich mit meiner Familie verbringe, ist mir nicht wichtig	.594	
f200 In schwierigen Zeiten würde ich gerne wissen, dass meine Familie bei mir ist	.515	
f196R Wenn es um Privates geht, akzeptiere ich die Entscheidungen meiner Familie		.669
f195R Ich vermeide Entscheidungen, denen meine Familie nicht zustimmt		.660
f194R Für seine Zukunftspläne sollte man die Zustimmung seiner Familie einholen		.612
F198R Es fällt mir schwer, Entscheidungen unabhängig von meiner Familie zu treffen.		.583
199R Es ist für mich kein Problem, Entscheidungen auf Wunsch meiner Familie zu ändern		.580
f197R Ich hätte keine Liebesbeziehung ohne das Einverständnis meiner Familie		.565
f192R Normalerweise versuche ich meine Wünsche mit denen meiner Familie zu vereinbaren	-.313	.547

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

\* R= reversed item

In line with the results revealed in the CFA, the principal component analysis shows a more robust construct of Related self in family, with higher factor loadings (5 items load above .67), whereas the highest loading of the Autonomous self in family starts at .67 with other items falling below that value. As we mentioned before, the loadings on the factor of Autonomous self seem to indicate a discrepancy between the supposed meaning of the latent variable and the meaning of the observed variable. The highest loading was achieved by the item f196R (R: I accept my family's decisions regarding my private life); followed by f195R

<sup>27</sup> The items in English can be found in the Appendix B

(R: I avoid making decisions, that my family would not agree to) and f194R (R: You should get approval from your family regarding your plans for the future). Although the items reflect autonomy and agency, they could at the same time indicate a distance from the family which may pollute the intended theoretical construct. Further on, the possible reason for lower factor loadings might be caused by the item formulation. All items of Autonomous self in family scale had a reversed wording. Van Sonderen, Sanderman & Coyne (2013), claim that reverse-worded items can cause score contamination by respondent's inattention and confusion. Podsakoff et al. (2003), as well as Schriesheim and Hill (1981), warn about the method bias caused by the reversed items which often have a lower loading on the common trait factor than positively worded items.

Based on the performed analyses it was decided that the use of Autonomous and Related self in family scales was justified as planned.

- *Autonomous-Self in family Scale* assesses the amount of independence exercised by young adolescents within their families. A prominent characteristic of this scale is that it consists of reversed items, however it showed a good reliability score of  $\alpha=.73$ . Values range from 0 to 21 (M=9.8, SD=4, N=230). Example items are: *I avoid making decisions, that my family would not agree to* (reversed) and *I accept my family's decisions regarding my private life* (reversed).
- *Related-Self in family Scale* assesses the degree in which the adolescents feel related to their parents and family. This scale had only two reversed items and the example items are: *"My relationship with my family gives me a comforting and safe feeling"* and *"I feel closely attached to my family"*. The internal consistency of this scale is measured at  $\alpha=.82$ . Values range from 2 to 21 (M=16.6, SD=4.2, N=236).

#### ▪ AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF

Autonomous-related self reflects a preference of adolescent for both autonomy and relatedness and is, according to Kagitçibasi (2007:198), supported by parenting which integrates control, warmth and autonomy. As previously said, participants scoring above median on both Autonomous- and Related Self in family scale automatically fit into the category of *Autonomous-related Self*; participants scoring higher than median only on Autonomy would point to an Autonomous-separate Self and the reverse would point to a Heteronomous-related Self.

In order to see if and how many participants developed an Autonomous-related Self in family by scoring higher than median on both Autonomous Self and Related Self in family scales respectively, we used the technique of Median split to recode the given variables ascribing 1 to the values below median and 2 to the values above median on both variables (Table 12).

Table 12 Median split of Autonomous self – and Related Self in family scales

	Autonomous Self	Related Self
N	230	236
Missing	12	6
Average	11,58	16,56
Median	11	17
Minimum	0	2
Maximum	24	21

A new variable was computed according to the participants' scores on measures of Autonomous and Related self in family. Participants scoring higher than median on both measures form the category Autonomous-related self. The ones who score higher than median on Autonomous self belong to Autonomous-separate self category, whereas the ones scoring higher than median on Related self in family belong to Heteronomous-related self category. Finally, participants scoring below median on both measures - form the Heteronomous-Separated self category. A score above median on both variables was achieved by 47 participants in total, or 19.7% of the total sample (Table 13). Values range from 1 to 4 (M=2.4, SD=1, N=239).

Table 13 Self in family categories

Categories of Self in family	Freq.	%
Heteronomous-Separated self	59	24.4
Heteronomous-Related self	68	28.1
Autonomous-separate self	65	26.9
Autonomous-related	47	19.4
Missing	3	1.2
Total	242	100%

#### 8.5.4 PARENTING STYLE

Three dimensional aspects of parenting style were included in the questionnaire: Warmth, Monitoring and Control. The scales rely on the work of Steinberg and colleagues (Lamborn et al. 1991) who focused on Authoritative, Authoritarian, Indulgent, and Neglectful Families. However, they were operationalised and adapted to German adolescent population within the project 'Individuation and social change' led by Manfred Hofer, Peter Noack and Elke Wild (Kracke & Held, 1994, Noack & Kracke, 2003). Three dimensions of parenting style were as follows:

- *Parental Warmth* – consisting of 4 items, refers to parental provision of time, clear instructions and emotional support. *Sample items are: "I can count on my parents to help me out if I have some kind of problem" and "When my parents want me to do something, they explain why"*. Values range from 0 to 12 (M=9.3, SD=2.6, N=238) and the internal consistency of this scale is measured at  $\alpha=.76$ .
- *Monitoring* – consisting of 3 items, refers to parents placing limits on their children's actions, without undermining their independence. *Sample items are: "My parents know exactly where I am most afternoons after school" and "My parents know my friends"*. Values range from 0 to 9 (M=5.9, SD=2, N=241). The internal consistency of this scale is measured at  $\alpha=.60$ .
- *Control* - consisting of 4 items, it refers to parental demand for obedience and compliance by their children. *Sample items are: "My parents want me to obey them" and "My parents think I should back down in dispute, rather than to make other people angry"*. Values range from 0 to 12 (M=6.9, SD=2.4, N=238). The internal consistency of this scale is measured at  $\alpha=.52$ . Despite the lower reliability score, mean inter-item correlation values are within optimal limits from .2 to .4.

#### 8.5.5 SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

We intend to measure Subjective Well-being as a combination of cognitive evaluation of satisfaction with life and the evaluation of the prevalent affects. Life satisfaction, Positive affect and Negative Affect are the three robust and interrelated factors which were linked to Subjective Well-being across numerous previous investigations (Andrews & Withey, 1976;

Argyle, 1987; Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Diener, 1984 in Huebner, 1994:149). In most studies SWB is measured more generally (like the 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). However, in this dissertation Subjective-well being represents one of the central outcomes, therefore we took a more differentiated view where we measure life satisfaction with a Multidimensional student's life satisfaction scale (Huebner, 2001) and assess the prevailing affect across the sample using the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, Tellegen 1988).

#### ▪ MULTIDIMENSIONAL STUDENT'S LIFE SATISFACTION SCALE

This instrument was devised by Scott Huebner and its version from 2001 was chosen for this study, foremost because of its suitability for adolescents (recommended for an effective use with children across a wide range of age, grades 3-12) and because it has adequate psychometric qualities. It was designed in a way that provides a multidimensional profile based on life satisfaction judgments by young participants. It is important to measure satisfaction with life in specific domains (e.g., school, family, self), as each of these domains influence the general overall satisfaction with life. The instrument has five subscales and 40 items in total. The details of the subscales are as follows:

- *Family* – assessing satisfaction with family life, this subscale has 7 items. Sample items are: “*I enjoy being at home with my family*” and “*My family gets along well together*” ( $\alpha=.88$ ). Values range from 0 to 21 (M=16, SD=4.6, N=236).
- *Friends* – a subscale with 9 items, assessing satisfaction with friends with sample items: “*My friends treat me well*” and “*My friends are nice to me*” ( $\alpha=.83$ ). Values range from 4 to 24 (M=19.8, SD=4, N=234).
- *School* – a subscale with 8 items, assessing satisfaction with school life through items such as: “*I look forward to going to school*” and “*I like being in school*” ( $\alpha=.82$ ). Values range from 0 to 24 (M=13.8, SD=5.1, N=229).
- *Living Environment* – a subscale with 9 items, assessing satisfaction with the living environment through items such as: “*I like where I live*” and “*I like my neighbors*” ( $\alpha=.80$ ). Values range from 5 to 21 (M=17.3, SD=5.5, N=225).
- *Self*– a subscale consisting of 7 items assessing the satisfaction with various traits of self as physical appearance, openness, sociability etc. through items such as: “*I think I am good looking*” and “*I am fun to be around*” ( $\alpha=.74$ ). Values range from 5 to 21 (M=16.8, SD=3.1, N=239).

## ▪ POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE AFFECT SCHEDULE

Developed by David Watson, Lee Anna Clark and Auke Tellegen in 1988, Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) represents a reliable self-report measure of prevailing affect. It consists of two 10-item mood scales, one for each dispositional dimension. Participants were asked to rate how frequently they experienced each particular emotion during the course of the past weeks. A version which was translated and adapted to German by Krohne and associates (1996) was used. Huebner & Dew (1995) confirmed the suitability of PANAS for research with adolescents.

- *Positive Affect* scale reflects the extent to which a person feels enthusiastic, active, and alert with items: attentive, interested, alert, excited, enthusiastic, inspired, proud, determined, strong and active ( $\alpha=.76$ ). Values range from 5 to 30 (M=19.8, SD=4.8, N=233).
- *Negative Affect* scale assesses subjective distress and unpleasurable engagement with items: *distressed, upset, hostile, angry, scared, afraid, ashamed, guilty* and *nervous* ( $\alpha=.76$ ). Values range from 2 to 30 (M=13, SD=5.1, N=235).

### 8.5.6 PERSONAL GOALS

In the assessment of personal goals we relied on a nomothetic - idiosyncratic approach, as done previously in several studies (e.g., Sheldon & Elliot, 1999; Lüdtke, 2006). Some of the advantages in using idiographic methodologies stressed by Sheldon (in Deci and Ryan, 2002:67), are that individuals provide the units of the analysis themselves; they offer a variety of issues to be explored; they can be connected to a certain point to the longitudinal aspect of a research, as participants specify goals that naturally occupy their attention over time and finally, the ambiguity of the test-situation enables projection processes where participants project their underlying desires and inclinations onto a sheet of paper.

Participants of the present study were asked to write down up to six personal goals they feel were most important to them. The written instructions are as follows:

- *Under ‘most important goals’ we aim at things you are dealing with at the moment and those you want to pursue in the coming years (e.g., things you would like to experience, plans you would like to realize, or changes you would like to achieve).*  
*In short, **what you want to do in the future?***  
*We are interested in most important goals you have, and not everyday things or tasks (such as writing a text message to a friend).*

Focusing on the content of self-generated goals we aimed to obtain categories based on the semantics and the frequency of the answers, which will be further used in data analysis and interpretation, especially with regard to Chapter 5 which postulates that goals are shaped by the cultural context. Adolescents and young adults typically focus on future education, occupation, family, leisure activities and self-related topics when they are asked about personal goals, as it was documented before (Lanz, Rosnati, Marta, & Scabini, 2001; Nurmi, 1991 in Salmela-Aro, 2009). Goals expressed as important by young adolescents in their final year of different secondary schools in Germany (Köller et al., 2004 in Lüdtke, 2006) were primarily in the area of: profession, emotional (partner) relationship, material possessions, friendship, hedonism etc.

Categories which emerged in the present study were very similar to the aforementioned ones. The most frequent answers were related to school and education, as well as work and occupation, followed by answers related to relationships – family and friends (taking care of my siblings, going out with friends, finding a boyfriend). A multitude of answers was revolving around material possessions (to have money, a new house, to have a car), hedonism (to have fun, to eat well, to go dancing, to bungeejump) and other age typical desires (to have a facebook account, to be popular, to be talented, etc.). The vast number of idiographic personal goals was reduced to categories presented in the following table (Table 14). A table with example answers in original can be found in Appendix D.

Additionally, participants were asked to mark one goal they consider most important among the ones they have written down. The answers to this question were also classified across categories shown in the table above. To make sure that the classification of the answers is reliable, a second rater repeated the classification (N=242) after which an inter-rater reliability test based on Kappa measure of agreement was performed (Wirtz & Caspar, 2002, Pallant, 2010). We can report on a very good inter-rater agreement with Kappa Measure value of .97 with a significance of  $p < .0001$ .



Table 14 Goal categories

Goal categories	Example answers
School, education	to study; to finish school; continue going to school after summer holidays; to learn more; to graduate; to succeed in school, etc.
Work, occupation	I want to be a secretary; a hairdresser; to work and make money; to be a saleswoman; to find a good job; to find my dream job; to work as a teacher; to have a steady job, etc.
Family, siblings	I want to be with my parents forever; I want to live in a house with my siblings; I want a house for my parents; to live with my grandmother; to take care of my family; to buy my parents a house – they should not lack in anything, etc.
Marriage and children	I want to marry when I am 20 years old; I want to have 3-4 kids; to start a family; to have children; to marry; to have many sons, etc.
Material goals	I want to have a big house; my own money; a house and a car; to be rich; to earn enough money; a house in Berlin; an apartment; money; car, etc.
Other	To have facebook; to eat; to have fun; I would like to have a dog; to sing well; to grow old; to be talented; to always be nice, etc.

#### ▪ GOAL CONFIDENCE

The construct of goal confidence reflects the degree of perceived self-efficacy (Bandura, 2006) and represents an important determinant of intention described by Deci and Ryan (2000). To evaluate the degree of confidence in successful goal pursuit we asked our participants: *“How confident are you that you will indeed reach this most important goal?”* The resulting measure of Goal confidence ranged from 0 to 3 ( $M=2.3$ ,  $SD=.7$ ,  $N=233$ ).

A preliminary look at the distribution of answers on this measure revealed that almost 90% of the participants expressed that they are *quite* and *extremely* confident in successful goal pursuit. However, we were interested to see for which particular goals participants lacked the confidence in success. Out of the total sample only one participant answered that she is *not at all* confident that she will achieve the goal deemed as most important. It was a Romani migrant participant and her goal was to become a businesswoman. Following that, twelve Romani and seventeen German participants

expressed that they are *somewhat* confident in successful goal pursuit, mostly with respect to goals related to school success and professional career.

The goals stated by the twelve Romani migrants were as follows: to become a medical doctor (in two cases); to become a police officer; to graduate (in two cases); education (in three cases); to get a job; to become a fashion designer and to study. Seventeen German participants expressed that they are *somewhat* confident in successful goal pursuit with respect to following goals: to work in an animal shelter; to live my life; to work/get a good job (in 3 cases); to graduate (in 6 cases); to own a car; to become a hotel manager; to later maintain a good contact to my family.

#### ▪ GOAL OBSTACLES

As discussed in Chapter 5.1, in order to reach intrinsic motivation and an optimal integration of persons's values, the environment needs to be supportive of those values. One of the starting points of this research was the assumption that a patriarchal familial setting of a Romani family largely influences female adolescents to choose more conservative personal goals (for instance marriage or family instead of education). In cases where personal goals of an adolescent do not overlap with goals of the family, the family itself could be perceived as an obstacle (Kwak, 2003). We were therefore interested to explore the possible obstacles our participants perceive in their goal pursuit. The question we asked was formulated as follows:

- *"Who or what might prevent you from reaching this most important goal?"*

Similarly as in the case of personal goals, the vast number of answers was grouped in categories according to the frequency and meaning (Table 15). The inter-rater Kappa Measure agreement is .87 with a significance of  $p < .0001$ , with 32 missing cases (N=210).

Table 15 Goal Obstacles

Goal obstacles	Example answers
No one, Nothing	No one! Nothing!
Family, Parents	My parents; my father; my family
Me personally	Laziness; If I don't learn enough; only me, myself
Health	If I get ill; If someone in my family gets ill; accident
School achievement	Bad grades; if I don't graduate; school; school stress
Friends	My friends; my classmates
Other	Destiny; bad luck; lack of money; lack of time

## ▪ SELF-CONCORDANCE

After writing down up to six personal goals, our participants had a task to give a reason why these goals are being pursued. Following the model formulated by Sheldon and Elliot (1999) we used a measure called perceived locus of causality (PLOC) to assess the degree to which a person is self-concordant, that is, to which the regulation of the choice of a goal is internal or fully internalized versus external or non-internalized.

The statement: "*I pursue this goal because...*" had four possible responses, each reflecting a certain type of motivational regulation on the dimension of internalization.

- *External (non-concordant) motivation* – marks a pursuit of a goal because of external reasons, because somebody else wants it or because the situation demands it. The response for this type of motivational regulation was: "*...because my parents want me too.*"
- *Introjected (non-concordant) motivation* – marks a goal pursuit led by the feeling of shame, guilt, or anxiety. The response for this type of motivational regulation was: "*...because I would feel guilty if I didn't pursue it.*"
- *Identified (concordant) motivation* – marks a goal pursuit led by the belief that it is in fact an important goal to have. The response for this type of motivational regulation was: "*...because it is important to me.*"
- *Intrinsic (concordant) motivation* – marks a goal pursuit led by enjoyment and fun it provides a person. The response for this type of motivational regulation was: "*...because it is fun.*"

We rated the reasons corresponding to Self-concordance (identified and intrinsic motivation) with 1, and non-concordant reasons (external and introjected motivation) with 0, across all six goals per each participant. Each participant could score maximally 6 (if each of the stated goals had internal motivational regulation) and minimally 0 (if each of the stated goals had external motivational regulation). However, the total number of participants which listed all six goals dropped down to N=154 (since it was not mandatory for participants to list all goals). As most of the participants listed at least four goals (N=213), we decided to focus on motivational regulation with regard to first four goals, as the sample remains sufficiently big for further analysis.

The total number of self-concordant answers per participant represent the composite measure of Self-concordance ranging from 1 to 4 (M=3.5, SD=.7, N=213). Although it was

theoretically expected for scores to range from 0 to 4 – there was no single case where all goals chosen by a participant were only externally regulated. The preliminary look on the distribution of answers revealed that the great variety of participants from both groups pursued their goals out of identified or intrinsic reasons. Out of 1276 goals generated in total, only 93 (60 Romani and 33 German participants) were pursued out of external reason of motivation, or because of parents, while 59 goals (given by 35 Romani and 24 German participants) were pursued out of guilt, or introjected motivation. This indicates a reduced variance of the measure of Self-concordance.

#### ▪ CHOICE IN LIFE

Egalitarian and capability-based theories of social justice support the idea that choice -understood in the deeper sense of autonomy - has an intrinsic value (Burchardt, 2013). Inspired by the Capabilities Approach<sup>28</sup> Tania Burchardt and her colleagues developed a survey-based measure of autonomy relying on the notion of choice and control. Burchardt et al. (2010) conceive autonomy as a component of the broader concept of substantive freedom (the central and valuable things in life that people are able to be and do). In order to assess autonomy and constraints on autonomy, we asked our participants to pinpoint on a scale from 1 to 10, how much choice and control they felt they have over shaping their lives. Slightly adapting the instructions given by Burchardt et al. (2010), the question was back translated to German and formulated as follows:

- *Some people feel that they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them.*  
*At the bottom of the page you see a ten step ladder<sup>29</sup>:*  
*On the bottom, **the first step**, stand people who are completely without free choice and control over the way their lives turn out.*  
*On the highest, **the tenth step**, stand those with the most free choice and control.*  
- *On which step are you today?*

The resulting measure of Choice in life ranges from 1 to 10 (M=6.3, SD=2.2) on a complete sample of N=242.

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<sup>28</sup> Especially by the seminal works of Amartya Sen and Sabine Alkire

<sup>29</sup> An image of a ten step ladder with numbered steps was provided for higher clarity.

## 9 RESULTS

### 9.1 PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

Before we proceed with the main analysis of the hypotheses, we will examine whether our data fulfill the necessary conditions for the planned statistical procedures. We intend to use linear regressions (multiple regression, multiple logistic and multinomial regressions), as well as one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and analysis of covariance (ANCOVA). The assumptions for linear models and ANCOVA (Field, 2009) among others assume screening for missing data and outliers, as well as assessing normality and linearity. Additionally, descriptive statistics for main research variables consisting of intercorrelations, means and standard deviations, minimum, maximum, as well as internal consistencies (Table 19) will provide a broad overview of the measures used in the present study.

- MISSING DATA

The highest rate of missing data was established with respect to the aggregate measure of Subjective Well-being and it is 15.7%. Generally speaking, a missing rate of 15% to 20% (item non-response) is common in educational and psychological studies according to Enders (2003). However, missing data can cause several issues in data analysis and interpretation: they can introduce potential bias in parameter estimation and weaken the generalizability of the results. Furthermore, they can lead to a decrease in the statistical power and an increase in standard errors (Dong & Peng, 2013).

With respect to the present data, we firstly analyzed the missing data patterns using SPSS, setting the percentage of missing values for variable to be included at minimum (1%). The results are shown in the following table.

Table 16 Missing values - variable summary

Variables	Missing		Valid N
	N	Percent	
SWB	38	15,7%	204
Self-concordance	29	12,0%	213
Life Satisfaction	26	10,7%	216
SES	15	6,2%	227
Autonomous Self	12	5,0%	230
Goal confidence	9	3,7%	233
Positive Affectivity	9	3,7%	233
Individualism	7	2,9%	235
Negative Affectivity	7	2,9%	235
Related Self	6	2,5%	236
Collectivism	6	2,5%	236
Autonom.-related self	4	1,7%	238
Control (parenting)	4	1,7%	238
Warmth (parenting)	4	1,7%	238

The largest rate of missing data occurred with respect to the variable Subjective Well-being followed by Self-concordance and Life Satisfaction. The rest of the variables have a missing rate around and below 5% which is inconsequential, according to Schafer (1999). Looking at the missing value patterns we concluded that there is no single participant with missing data on all (or most) variables in question, which meant that we can keep all participants in the sample. We then performed a missing value analysis in order to discover the mechanism under which the observed missing data occurred. Using an EM Algorithm (Expectation-Maximization), the values which are most likely to fit the missing data are imputed through a procedure of iteration. After 25 iterations, we found no statistically reliable deviation from randomness using Little's MCAR test:  $\chi^2 = 286.482$ ,  $df = 563$ ,  $p = 1.00$ . We can thus conclude that the missing data are missing completely at random. EM imputations are found to be especially suitable if regression analyses are planned, as they preserve the relationship with other variables, however, they still underestimate the standard error. To treat the problem of the missing data in this dissertation, a method of pairwise deletion will be employed. In their newly published article Newman & Cottrell (2015:156) conclude that '[p]airwise deletion produces no missing data bias when the data are missing completely at random (MCAR)'. In fact, under conditions of MCAR, pairwise deletion performs equally to maximum likelihood estimation (ML) and multiple imputation (MI) techniques.

- **COLLINEARITY**

Since the objective of this study is, among other things, to estimate the individual effects of independent variables on dependent variables, collinearity would pose a problem. Collinearity increases the standard errors of the coefficients, and it may make those coefficients unstable in several ways (Allison, 1999). In order to detect possible confounding variables, that is, predictor variables in a multiple regression model which are highly correlated, we performed several iterations of linear regression analysis on a set of main research variables and we looked at the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF). According to the rule of thumb, VIF above 10 implies definite existence of collinearity (Kuhner et al., 2004). The example table where Warmth was used as the dependent variable can be seen below (Table 17). According to performed tests, there were no variables found which triggered concern regarding multicollinearity.

Table 17 Variance Inflation Factor across main variables

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Collinearity Statistics</b>	
	<b>Tolerance</b>	<b>VIF</b>
SES	.844	1.185
SWB	.532	1.880
Self-concordance	.792	1.263
Choice in life	.847	1.181
Goal confidence	.784	1.276
Monitoring	.698	1.433
Control	.828	1.208
Collectivism	.511	1.958
Individualism	.755	1.324
Women's status	.674	1.484
Autonomous self	.284	3.515
Related self	.429	2.329
Autonom-Relat. Self	.420	2.382

Dependent Variable: Warmth

- **NORMALITY**

Table Normality depicts values of normality across the main research variables. Looking at the outcome variables, the distribution of Subjective Well-being is left-skewed and leptokurtic, indicating that the majority of participants scored higher than median and in a narrow range of scores on the aggregate measure of SWB. Self-concordance, Choice in life and

Goal confidence all have left-skewed distributions, but only the measure of Self-concordance shows a positive kurtosis on a significant level.

Considering dimensions of parenting style, the distributions on Warmth and Monitoring are significantly left-skewed and in the case of Warmth – leptokurtic. Dimension of Control does not show significant deviations from a normal distribution. With respect to cultural dimensions, Individualism shows no significant aberration, whereas Collectivism shows a positive kurtosis on a .05 significance level and Woman's status in the family shows a significant right-skewed distribution, indicating that a majority of participants scored lower than median on this measure. Finally, the Self in family variables also showed deviations from the normal distribution. Specifically, Autonomous Self- and Autonomous-related self in family show a significant right-skewed distribution, whereas Related self in family shows a left-skewed distribution. Autonomous-related self in the family was the only variable that had a platykurtic distribution (as indicated by negative kurtosis). Many scales and measures used in the social sciences have scores that are skewed, either positively or negatively. This does not necessarily indicate a problem with the scale, but rather reflects the underlying nature of the construct being measured' (Pallant, 2010:69). For example, a negative skew detected with respect to Related Self indicates that most participants expressed relatedness with their families.

Table 18 Normality

	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
SES	.77**	.162	.41	.322
SWB	-1.19**	.171	2.47**	.340
Self-concordance	-1.35**	.167	.76*	.333
Choice in life	-.28*	.157	-.17	.312
Goal Confidence	-.53*	.160	-.50	.318
Warmth	-1.28**	.158	2.06**	.315
Monitoring	-.63**	.157	.37	.313
Control	.04	.158	-.08	.315
Individualism	-.68	.159	-.05	.317
Collectivism	-.78	.159	.88*	.316
Women's status	-.61**	.157	-.21	.313
Autonomous Self	.33*	.161	.41	.320
Related Self	-.92**	.159	.29	.316
Autonom.-Rel. Self	.09**	.158	-1.23**	.315

Note \*\*p < .01. \*p < .05



Kolmogorov Smirnov test revealed that all of the main research variables deviate from normal distribution in a significant manner. However, the analysis of the Q-Q plots indicated that the following measures were almost normally distributed: Choice in life, Subjective Well-being, Monitoring, Control, Individualism, Collectivism, Autonomous self, and Autonomous- Related self in family.

We intend to use a one way analysis of variance (Anova) to determine the between-group differences and Anova is considered a robust test against the normality assumption, tolerating the non-normal data (skewed or kurtotic distributions) with only a small effect on the Type I error rate (Khan & Rayner, 2003). Considering multiple regression, if the errors are normally distributed the analysis is robust to violation of normality assumption (Williams et al., 2013). Linear regression is fairly robust for validity against non-normality, but it may not be the most powerful test available for a given distribution. In order to achieve a more normal distribution, mathematical modifications of scores on several variables would be required (e.g., inversion, or square root). However, if the data are incomplete (due to almost inevitable missing values) it is not recommendable to perform data transformation (see Jamshidian & Mata, 2007). Considering Multinomial logistic regression - it does not assume normality or linearity (Starkweather, 2013), and should therefore not be affected by the registered breaches of assumptions.

Table 19 Intercorrelation matrix, means and standard deviations, minimum, maximum and internal consistencies

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	M	SD	Min	Max	N	A
1 SES																	35.2	16.3	15	85	227	-
2 SWB	.06																70.3	17.5	-1	108	204	-
3 Life Satisfaction	-.02	.94**															63.5	12.7	15	84	216	.92
4 Positive Affectivity	.11	.67**	.53**														19.8	4.8	5	30	233	.76
5 Negative Affectivity	-.17*	-.43**	-.15*	.01													13	5.1	2	30	235	.76
6 Self-concordance	.06	.16*	.19**	.07	-.01												3.5	.7	1	4	213	-
7 Choice in life	.07	.04	.07	.09	-.01	.13											6.3	2.2	1	10	242	-
8 Goal confidence	.09	.29**	.31**	.25**	.07	.36**	.17**										2.3	.7	0	3	233	-
9 Warmth	.02	.57**	.65**	.31**	-.02	.17*	.09	.16*									9.3	2.6	0	12	238	.76
10 Monitoring	-.02	.43**	.49**	.18**	-.09	-.03	.13*	.10	.59*								5.9	2	0	9	241	.60
11 Control	-.17*	-.05	.06	.02	.24**	-.03	.06	.08	-.05	.03							6.9	2.4	0	12	238	.52
12 Collectivism	-.11	.47**	.56**	.21**	-.02	.11	.09	.20**	.61**	.40**	.17**						10.7	2.8	1	15	236	.63
13 Individualism	.15*	-.03	-.04	.12	.10	.14*	.24**	.12	-.08	-.16*	.05	-.21**					8.2	2.5	0	12	235	.59
14 Women's status	.35**	.00	-.10	.10	-.18**	.16*	.13*	.03	-.05	-.07	-.15*	-.26**	.22**				5.9	2.4	0	9	241	.65
15 Autonomous self	.17*	-.38**	-.42**	-.19**	.04	.10	.15*	-.08	-.33**	-.38**	-.26**	-.49**	.36**	.44**			9.8	4	0	21	230	.73
16 Related self	.07	.54**	.57**	.23**	-.20**	.20**	.09	.18**	.63**	.35**	-.02	.54**	-.14*	.01	-.30**		16.6	4.2	2	21	236	.82
17 Autonom-Relat. self	.12	-.09	-.15*	-.02	-.09	.10	.12	.02	.00	-.18**	-.21**	-.10	.18**	.29**	.62**	.22**	2.4	1	1	4	238	-

Note.  $N = 242$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ . \* $p < .05$

## 9.2 MAIN ANALYSIS

In this chapter we will present our main findings. Following the four research questions we will look into: Systematic variations between Romani migrant and German non-migrant female adolescents (9.2.1); Antecedents of Related-, Autonomous and Autonomous-related self in family constructs according to the Model of Family Change (9.2.2); Associations between main research variables and the measure of Subjective Well-being (9.2.3); Predictive value of cultural variables (collectivism and individualism), measures of self in family and SES on the choice of specific goal types and obstacles in goal pursuit (9.2.4).

### 9.2.1 SYSTEMATIC VARIATIONS BETWEEN GROUPS

The first research question focuses on systematic variations (between Romani migrant and German non-migrant participants) which are expected to emerge with respect to variables of Socio-cultural context (cultural variables and parenting style), Self in family and the outcome variables of personal goals, Self-concordance, Choice in life and Subjective Well-being, even when controlling for SES. In order to answer this question we have formulated two hypotheses. The first one (H1a) focuses on mean differences across relevant continuous variables, whereas the second one (H1b) looks into between-group differences with regard to personal goals and obstacles in goal pursuit (categorical variables).

**H1a** German group will score higher than the Romani migrant group on following measures: Authoritative parenting style (in terms of lower levels of Control and higher levels of Warmth and Monitoring), Individualism and Women's status in the family; Autonomous self in family, Self-Concordance and Confidence in successful goal pursuit; Subjective Well-being and Choice in life, while controlling for SES.

Between-group differences were initially tested with ANOVA to determine if any between-group differences exist in the first place and then with t-test to determine where those differences lie. We further used the analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) to control for the effect of SES.

A one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of group-membership on levels of main research variables (enlisted in the table below). Levene's test indicated that the following three variables SES, Self-concordance and Women's status in the family, violated the assumption of the homogeneity of variance. For these

variables we turned to Welch test in estimating the mean difference between-groups. There was a statistically significant between-group difference in scores on following variables: SES ( $F(1, 199) = 63.27, p < .01$ ); Self-Concordance ( $F(1, 207) = 4.24, p < .05$ ); Choice in life ( $F(1, 240) = 4.64, p < .05$ ); Individualism ( $F(1, 233) = 14.22, p < .01$ ); Collectivism ( $F(1, 234) = 10.02, p < .01$ ); Women's status in the family ( $F(1, 234,5) = 66.68, p < .01$ ); Autonomous self ( $F(1, 228) = 25.56, p < .01$ ) and Autonomous-related self ( $F(1, 236) = 8.35, p < .05$ ).

A t-test for independent samples was used to compare mean scores across variables which demonstrated significant between-group difference in the ANOVA (Table 20). The significance level of Levene's test turned out to be smaller than  $p = .05$  in case of three variables (SES, Women's status in the family and Self-concordance) implying that the variances for the two groups are not the same. For those variables we used the t-test indicators when homogeneous variances are not assumed.

Table 20 T-Test for independent samples

Variables	Group						95% C.I.	t	df
	Romani migrant			German					
	M	SD	N	M	SD	N			
SES	27.8	12.1	117	43.2	16.5	110	-19.151-11.604	-7.95**	198
SELF-CONCORDANCE	3.4	.83	110	3.6	.67	103	-.417-.008	-2.06*	207
CHOICE IN LIFE	6	2.3	127	6.6	2	115	-1.147-.051	-2.15*	240
COLLECTIVISM	11.2	2.7	124	10	2.8	112	.430- 1.847	3.166**	234
INDIVIDUALISM	7.6	2.6	123	8.8	2.3	112	-1.821-.571	-3.77**	233
WOMEN'S STATUS	4.9	2.3	126	7.1	1.8	115	-2.719-1.653	-8.17**	234
AUTONOMOUS SELF	10.3	3.7	122	13	4.5	108	-3.786-1.663	-5.06**	228
AUTONOMOUS-RELATED	2.2	1.1	125	2.6	1.1	113	-.665-.126	-2.89**	236

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

Matsumoto et al. (2001:487) argue that 'ts and Fs cannot tell us about meaningful differences on the level of people', therefore relying solely on these measures would contribute to continued dissemination of stereotypes in research, theory, and practice. He then suggests alternative methods for data analysis that can provide us with valuable information about the magnitude of cultural differences, allowing us to make finer estimations of the degree to which observed group differences are represented on the level of individuals. In case of a cross-cultural examination of group differences based on culture-

group membership, Matsumoto et al. (2001) suggest a Point-biserial correlation. The point biserial correlation is preferable to other correlational measures of effect size that estimate the proportion of variance explained, such as Eta squared, because the squaring nature of the latter results in a directionless measure and creates an impression that effect sizes are smaller than they are (Rosenthal & Rubin, 1982 in Matsumoto 2001:482). A point-biserial correlation was conducted between dichotomously coded culture groups (Romani and German) and dependent variables placed on *Y-axes* (Table 21). Values closer to 1 indicate substantial differences between cultures, whereas values closer to 0 indicate minimal or even negligible differences regardless of statistical significance.

Table 21 Point-biserial correlation, Cohen's *d*

Variables	N	$R_{pb}$	Cohen's <i>d</i>	Effect size
SES	227	.47**	1.1	Large
WOMEN'S STATUS	241	.46**	1	Large
AUTONOMOUS SELF	230	.32**	0.7	Large
INDIVIDUALISM	235	.24**	0.5	Medium
COLLECTIVISM	236	-.20**	0.4	Small
AUTONOM-RELATED SELF	238	.19**	0.4	Small
SELF CONCORDANCE	213	.14*	0.3	Small
CHOICE IN LIFE	242	.14*	0.3	Small

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

The results of the point-biserial correlation indicate that German participants score significantly higher than Romani participants across following variables: Socioeconomic level, Individualism, Autonomous self, Women's status, Autonomous-related self; Self-concordance and Choice in life, since higher levels on these variables associated with higher levels of group membership (Romani group is marked by 1 and German group by 2). On the other hand, Romani group demonstrated higher levels of Collectivism in comparison to the German group. Relying on Cohen's criteria for determining small, medium and large effect sizes (Cohen, 1988), we can see that only the effect size on variables SES, Women's status in the family and Autonomous self can be considered important.

In order to further examine whether the difference in SES possibly artificially inflates group differences on other variables, we decided to perform an analysis of covariance. The independent variable was the group (Romani and German), whereas dependent variable

consisted of scales enlisted in the Table 22. Participants' scores on the measure of SES were used as the covariate in this analysis.

Results indicate a significant difference between two groups considering following variables: Individualism ( $p < .01$ ); Collectivism ( $p < .01$ ); Women's status in the family ( $p < .001$ ), Autonomous self in family ( $p < .001$ ) and Autonomous-related self ( $p < .05$ ). However, they explain a very small percentage of variance as indicated by the Eta squared measure.

Table 22 Summary of Ancova by groups with SES as covariate

Variables	<i>F</i>	<i>MSE</i>	<i>P</i>	Partial Eta Squared
SWB	3.2	890.34	.075	.017
SELF-CONCORDANCE	2.01	1.07	.158	.010
CHOICE IN LIFE	2.53	11.74	.113	.011
GOAL CONFIDENCE	.626	.286	.430	.003
WARMTH	1.08	6.40	.300	.005
MONITORING	.55	2.07	.457	.002
CONTROL	.34	1.76	.562	.002
COLLECTIVISM	7.04	51.96	.009*	.031
INDIVIDUALISM	7.65	45.92	.006*	.034
WOMEN'S STATUS	36.1	157.11	.000**	.139
AUTONOMOUS SELF	17.2	280.84	.000**	.075
RELATED SELF	1.2	20.78	.273	.005
AUTONOMOUS-RELATED	4.58	5.12	.034*	.020

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ ,  $df = 1$

Observing the measure of partial Eta squared, we can see that the variable Women's status in the family explains the largest percentage of variance (13.9%) and has a large effect according to Cohen's guidelines for group differences (Cohen, 1988). The second largest between group effect can be explained by the Autonomous self variable (7.5%), followed by Individualism and Collectivism explaining more than 3% of variance each and demonstrating a group effect size that is between small and medium. Finally, Autonomous-related self in family explains 2% of variance with a small effect size.

**H1b** We expect a significant difference in the proportion of German and Romani participants with respect to categories of generated *personal goals* (where German group expresses more self-oriented rather than family-oriented goals) and categories of perceived *obstacles* in goal pursuit (where German group expresses more self-related rather than family-related) obstacles.

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relation between group-membership and choice of personal goals. If we consider the total number of observations (answers of all participants across all six goals) included in the Table 23 (N=1276), we can conclude that two groups differ significantly ( $\chi^2$  (5, N = 1276) =35.74,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Looking separately for each category of goals, we can observe that developmental tasks such as education and preparation for the working life come to the forefront within our sample, as was expected based on previous studies (e.g., Erikson 1959, Steinberg 1999, Salmela -Aro 2009, Lüdtke, 2006). Categories *School & Education* and *Work & Occupation* were most frequently chosen as the first and second personal goal. However, goals belonging to *School & Education* category (to study, to finish school, to do vocational training, to learn more, etc.) were more frequently chosen by German participants, and goals belonging to *Work & Occupation* category (to work, to become a secretary, to become a hairdresser, etc.), by Romani participants.

Table 23 Goal Frequency

PERSONAL GOALS	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Sixth		Goals per group		Total
	R	G	R	G	R	R	G	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	
School & Education	56	59	40	38	12	17	10	15	5	12	3	8	126	149	275
Work & Occupation	44	18	26	23	25	19	18	12	15	13	10	6	138	91	229
Family & Siblings	2	0	2	2	6	1	5	3	6	5	7	2	28	13	41
Marriage & children	2	5	11	8	16	8	23	15	34	18	23	13	109	67	176
Material goals	4	6	9	12	28	16	24	18	17	12	17	15	99	79	175
Other	19	27	37	31	34	50	32	40	24	33	15	35	161	216	377
N per group	127	115	125	114	121	111	112	104	101	83	65	79	661	615	1276
Total N	242		139		232		216		184		144				

R=Romani migrant; G= German non-migrant

The category *Family & siblings* contains answers which revolve around family members, mostly expressing a wish to take care or provide for parents and siblings. This category does not have numerous answers (Table goal frequency), with 41 answers of this kind in total (28 Romani participants expressed a goal related to their parents or siblings in comparison to only 13 German participants).

Thinking about marriage and children in the future also belongs to desires which are developmentally expected in this age and which lead to fulfillment of social and gender roles (Dreher & Dreher, 1985). Within the Romani sample this type of goal emerged 109 times in comparison to 67 times within the German sample. Romani group further demonstrated more frequent material aspirations. Category *Other* contains miscellaneous answers that did not correspond to previous five categories (e.g. to buy a cat, to go shopping in Madrid, to have a driver's licence, to travel, to have Facebook, to lose weight, to cut my hair, to play ice hockey, to always arrive on time, for more examples See Appendix D). German participants gave answers that fit this category more frequently than Romani participants.

Turning to the question of goal obstacles, we performed a chi-square test of independence to examine the relation between group-membership and perceived obstacles in the goal pursuit (Table 24). To the question *'Who or what might prevent you from reaching this most important goal?'* A third of Romani participants (35%) and 22% of German participants answered 'No one' and 'Nothing', which was often followed by an exclamation mark. Romani participants further perceived their parents and family members as possible obstacles more frequently, than German participants (22 and 12, respectively). On the other hand, German participants are ready to take on the responsibility for possible failure in goal pursuit in a larger number, than Romani participants (24 and 17, respectively).

Considering other categories, Romani and German participants see potential obstacles in low school achievement, bad influence of friends, health and other reasons in a relatively equal proportion. Since there was a rather low frequency of answers in the latter four categories, we collapsed all of them into one category - 'Other' to achieve proportional categories. The performed Chi-square test indicated significant between-group difference, albeit on a .05 level,  $\chi^2(3, N = 210) = 7.98, p = .046$ .



Table 24 Goal obstacle

Obstacle category	Group		Total	Example answers
	R	G		
No one & Nothing	45	26	71	No one! Nothing!
Family	22	12	34	My parents; my father; my family
Me personally	17	24	41	Laziness; If I don't learn enough; only me, myself
Health	7	8	15	If I get ill; If someone in my family gets ill; accident
School achievement	6	9	15	Bad grades; if I don't graduate; school; school stress
Friends	8	6	14	My friends; my classmates
Other	9	11	20	Destiny; bad luck; lack of money; lack of time
Total	114	96	210	

▪ SHORT SUMMARY OF RESULTS (H1a and H1b)

Regarding hypothesized group differences our results did not confirm the expected difference across dimensions of parenting style, however German group did score higher than the Romani group on the measures of Individualism, Women's status in the family, Autonomous- and Autonomous-related self in family. The independent samples t-test showed a between-group difference in Self-concordance ( $p < .05$ ). However, the effect size was almost negligible and was not detected within the subsequently performed Ancova analysis. Similarly, the small between-group effect regarding the measure of Choice in life detected with t-test was lost when the SES was controlled for. No between-group difference was found in the level of confidence in successful goal pursuit. Interestingly, the between-group difference with respect to Subjective Well-being appeared (in favor of Romani group) within the ANCOVA analysis, albeit on a  $p < .1$  level, so we can only talk about an observed trend that needs further investigation in the future.

With respect to the hypothesis H1b, results show a significant difference in the distribution of answers by German and Romani participants across categories of personal goals and goal obstacles. Romani girls generated goals related to family and siblings, future marriage and children, as well as work and occupation more frequently than German girls. On the other hand, German girls generated goals related to school and education, as well as miscellaneous, mainly self-related goals categorized as *Other* more frequently. Considering perceived obstacles in goal pursuit, Romani participants perceived either no one, or their families as possible obstacles in goal pursuit more frequently than German participants. On

the other hand, German participants located possible obstacles in themselves more frequently than Romani participants.

### 9.2.2 RELATED-, AUTONOMOUS AND AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF IN FAMILY

The second research question revolves around constructs of Related -, Autonomous-, and Autonomous-related self and the theorized association between these constructs and the variables of the Socio-cultural context (consisting of parenting style and cultural values), as proposed by the Model of Family Change. To examine each of the constructs of Self in family we have formulated three separate hypotheses. Hypothesis H2a focuses on Related self -, hypothesis H2b on Autonomous self- and hypothesis H2c on Autonomous-related self in family.

**H2a** Our set of Socio-cultural variables (consisting of parenting style and cultural values) will be able to predict a significant amount of the variance in Related self in family, even when controlling for SES.

More specifically, following variables are seen as potentially significant predictors of Related self in family: authoritarian parenting style, marked through high levels of Control and lower levels of Warmth and Monitoring; conservative gender role values in the family (indicated through a lower intra-family status of a woman) and a higher presence of collectivist values.

Hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to assess the ability of Socio-cultural variables (parenting style and cultural values) to predict Related self in Family, after controlling for the influence of socioeconomic level. A sample size of 219 was deemed adequate to be included in the analysis given seven independent variables (Tabachnik and Fidell (2007)). An examination of the Mahalanobis distance scores indicated no multivariate outliers. The variable of SES was entered at Step 1 and six socio-cultural variables at Step 2.

Table 25 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis - Related self in family

Variable	B	SE	B	Part r	R	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>
Step 1					.067	.005	.005
SES	.017	.018	.067	.067			
Step 2					.674	.454	.450**
SES	.019	.014	.074	.068			
WARMTH	.779	.124	.473**	.318			
MONITORING	-.110	.136	-.052	-.041			
CONTROL	-.039	.097	-.022	-.020			
COLLECTIVISM	.449	.108	.294**	.210			
INDIVIDUALISM	-.133	.093	-.078	-.073			
WOMEN'S STATUS	.160	.102	.089	.080			

Note.  $N = 219$ ; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ ,

Hierarchical multiple regression revealed that at Stage one, socioeconomic level (SES) did not contribute significantly to the regression model,  $F(1, 219) = .991$ ,  $p = .321$ ) and accounted for 5% of the variation in Related Self in family. Introducing the Socio-cultural variables contributed significantly to the model  $F(7, 219) = 25.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and explained an additional 45% of the variance in Related self in family, after controlling for SES. This change in  $R^2$  was significant,  $F$  change  $(6, 219) = 29.14$ ,  $p < .001$ . In the final model, only Warmth and Collectivism showed significance, with Warmth recording a higher beta value ( $\beta = .47$ ,  $p < .001$ ) than Collectivism ( $\beta = .29$ ,  $p < .001$ ). After squaring the Part correlation coefficients of Warmth and Collectivism we were able to establish that the largest predictor contribution to the total  $R$  square came from Warmth (10%), whereas Collectivism contributed with 4%.

**H2b** Our set of Socio-cultural variables (consisting of parenting style and cultural values) will be able to predict a significant amount of the variance in Autonomous self in family, even when controlling for SES.

More specifically, following variables are seen as potentially significant predictors of Autonomous self in family: authoritative parenting style, marked through higher levels of Warmth and Monitoring, but lower levels of Control, egalitarian gender values (indicated through a higher intra-family status of a woman) and individualist values.

In order to assess the ability of Socio-cultural variables (parenting style and cultural

values) to predict Autonomous self in Family, after controlling for the influence of socioeconomic level - we performed a hierarchical multiple regression. The necessary assumptions of linear regression were met. The variable of SES was entered at Step 1 and six socio-cultural variables at Step 2.

Table 26 Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis - Autonomous self in family

Variable	B	SE	B	Part r	R	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>
Step 1					.166	.027	.027**
SES	.044	.018	.166	.166			
Step 2					.679	.461	.434**
SES	-.009	.014	-.033	-.030			
WARMTH	-.087	.127	-.052	-.035			
MONITORING	-.408	.137	-.190**	-.152			
CONTROL	-.347	.098	-.191**	-.181			
COLLECTIVISM	-.353	.107	-.231**	-.169			
INDIVIDUALISM	.395	.093	.230**	.217			
WOMEN'S STATUS	.540	.104	.297**	.265			

Note.  $N = 214$ ; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ ,

Obtained results revealed that at Stage one, socioeconomic level (SES) contributed significantly to the regression model,  $F(1, 214) = 6.013$ ,  $p = 0.015$ ) and accounted for 2.7% of the variation in Autonomous Self in family. Introducing the Socio-cultural variables contributed significantly to the model  $F(7, 214) = 25.33$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and explained an additional 43% of the variance in Autonomous self in family, after controlling for SES. This change in  $R^2$  was significant,  $F$  change  $(6, 214) = 27.80$ ,  $p < .001$ . Almost all measures (except Warmth) showed statistical significance (Table 26) largely matching our theoretical expectations. After squaring the Part correlation coefficients of the significant predictors of Autonomous Self in family we could establish the contribution of each predictor to the total R square. The largest contribution of 7% comes from Women's status in the family, followed by Individualism (4.7%), whereas Collectivism (3.6%), Control (3.2%), and Monitoring with 2.3% represent negative predictors of Autonomous Self in family.

**H2c** Our set of Socio-cultural variables (consisting of parenting style, cultural values and socioeconomic status) will be able to predict the probability of category membership in terms of Autonomous-related self, Heteronomous-related self, Autonomous-separate self and Heteronomous-separate self.

The probability for a participant to belong to the *Autonomous-related Self* in family increases in cases of socioeconomically better-off families, with predominant individualist and egalitarian gender values and a parenting style that combines both (order-setting) control and responsiveness (warmth).

A multinomial logistic regression was performed to establish if the set of Socio-cultural variables is able to successfully predict the membership of Self in family categories. The seven predictor variables are: parenting style (measured through levels of warmth, control and monitoring), cultural values (individualism, collectivism, Women's status on the family) and socioeconomic status. The criterion variable has four outcomes: *Heteronomous-related self*, *Autonomous-separate self*, *Autonomous-related self* and *Heteronomous-separate self* (with below median values on both scales of Autonomous and Related self in family).

The full model with the reference category Heteronomous-separate self is significant,  $\chi^2 = 113.806$ ,  $df = 21$ ,  $N = 206$ ,  $p < .001$ , indicating that it can distinguish respondents who report on each of the four given types of Self in family.

Allison (2013) recommends McFadden's pseudo R-squared, as a trustworthy measure of model fit in logistical regression and a range from 0.2 to 0.4 indicates a good model fit (McFadden, 1974). The McFadden's pseudo R-square in our model equals 0.2 indicating that our model comes close to desired values, but is not particularly strong.

Table 27 shows unique contributions of predictor variables to the model. In line with the previously performed multiple regressions (H2a) Warmth represents a significant predictor of Heteronomous-related self in family with an odds ratio of 1.48. This means that with an increase in Warmth for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the participants are 1.48 times more likely to enter in the category of Heteronomous-related self in family.

Table 27 Multinomial Logistic Regression Model - Self in family categories

Variable	B	SE	p Value	OR	95% C.I.
<b>HETERNOMOUS- RELATED SELF</b>					
SES	-.003	.015	.845	.997	.968-1.027
WARMTH	.389	.139	.005**	1.475	1.124-1.936
MONITORING	-.024	.135	.859	.976	.749-1.272
CONTROL	.115	.106	.282	1.121	.910-1.381
INDIVIDUALISM	-.079	.089	.372	.924	.777-1.099
COLLECTIVISM	.076	.110	.492	1.079	.869-1.339
WOMEN'S STATUS	.036	.097	.708	1.037	.858-1.254
<b>AUTONOMOUS-SEPARATE SELF</b>					
SES	.001	.015	.883	1.002	.972-1.030
WARMTH	-.001	.126	.964	.994	.781-1.279
MONITORING	-.265	.150	.041*	.740	.572-1.029
CONTROL	-.100	.118	.244	.876	.718-1.139
INDIVIDUALISM	.076	.107	.311	1.111	.875-1.330
COLLECTIVISM	-.208	.112	.117	.851	.652-1.012
WOMEN'S STATUS	.262	.108	.020*	1.282	1.052-1.605
<b>AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF</b>					
SES	-.008	.015	.667	.993	.963-1.022
WARMTH	.306	.145	.036*	1.354	1.022-1.802
MONITORING	-.272	.148	.047*	.744	.570-1.018
CONTROL	-.282	.119	.010**	.739	.598-.952
INDIVIDUALISM	.154	.104	.139	1.167	.933-1.409
COLLECTIVISM	.240	.126	.057	1.271	.957-1.585
WOMEN'S STATUS	.365	.120	.003**	1.431	1.139-1.822

Note.  $N = 177$ ; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

Considering the category of Autonomous-separate self, the most significant predictor turned out to be Women's status in the family recording an odds ratio of 1.3, indicating that with an increase of the measure Women's status for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the participants would fall into the category Autonomous-separate self relative to the category Heteronomous-separate self increases for 1.3 times. Monitoring emerged as a negative predictor of the category Autonomous self in family (on the .5 significance level), with an odds ratio of .74. Thus, with an increase of

Monitoring for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the participants would fall into the category of Autonomous-separate self, relative to Heteronomous-separate self, decreases for 13%.

Four variables showed significance in predicting the likelihood of entering the category Autonomous-related self. The strongest positive predictor was Women's status in the family, followed by Warmth, whereas Control and Monitoring represented negative predictors on a .5 significance level. These results indicate that with an increase in Women's status and Warmth for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model) participants are 1.43 and 1.35 times more likely to fit into the category of Autonomous-related self in the family. On the other hand, an increase in Control and Monitoring for one unit each (whilst controlling for other factors in the model) decreases the likelihood that participants would enter this category for around 25%.

#### SHORT SUMMARY OF RESULTS (H2a, H2b and H2c)

A significant amount of variance (45%) of Related self in family has been explained by the suggested regression model. However, not all unique predictor contributions appeared significant. Contrary to our expectations Control and Monitoring did not emerge as significant predictors of Related self in family, but Warmth did. Next to Warmth, only Collectivism played a significant role in explaining the variance in the criterion variable, whereas assumed negative predictors - Individualism and Women's status in the family failed to demonstrate relevance.

Regarding Autonomous self in family, the regression model showed significance in accordance with the theoretical expectations, however the measure of Warmth did not demonstrate the expected relevance. Significant predictors of Autonomous Self in family were Women's status in the family and Individualism. Negative predictors were Collectivism, Control and Monitoring.

Performed multinomial logistic regression showed that the likelihood of entering the category of Autonomous-related self increases with an increase in Women's status in the family and Warmth, and a decrease in Control and Monitoring, which largely fits Kagitçibasi's theory.

### 9.2.3 ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN MAIN VARIABLES AND SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Within the third research question we intend to look into the associations between relevant variables from the model and Subjective well-being. The first hypothesis in this section (H3a) will examine the relationship between variables of Socio-cultural context (parenting style and cultural values), SES, measure of Choice in life and SWB. Next, we will examine whether the measure of Self-concordance demonstrates a mediating effect between dimensions of parenting style and SWB (H3b). Lastly, we will assess whether levels of SWB vary with respect to types of Self in family (H3c) and types of personal goals (H3d).

**H3a** Dimensions of Parenting style (in terms of Warmth, Monitoring and Control), Cultural Values (in terms of Collectivism, Individualism and Women`s status in the family), Choice in life and Socioeconomic status can act as significant predictors of Subjective Well-being.

Multiple linear regression analysis was employed to predict Subjective well-being using following predictors: SES, Warmth, Monitoring, Control, Collectivism, Individualism, Women`s status in family and Choice in life. The sample was found to be of suitable size to carry out a multiple regression (Tabachnik and Fidell, 2007). Mahalanobis distances indicated that no subject exceeded the critical value.

Table 28 Regression Model Estimating Effects of Predictor Variables on Subjective Well-being

Variable	B	SE	B	Correlations		
				Zero-order	Partial	Part
SES	.046	.068	.043	.055	.049	.040
WARMTH	2.191	.594	.322**	.568	.267	.217
MONITORING	1.350	.652	.154*	.427	.155	.121
CONTROL	-.535	.464	-.072	-.050	-.083	-.068
INDIVIDUALISM	.555	.459	.079	-.028	.087	.071
COLLECTIVISM	1.697	.522	.269**	.471	.237	.191
WSF	.472	.489	.064	.003	.072	.057
CHOICE	-.460	.501	-.057	.044	-.066	-.054

Note. N=204, \*p < .05, \*\*p<.01



The eight predictor model was able to account for 38% of the variance in Subjective Well-being,  $F(8, 189) = 13.68$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $R^2 = 0.38$ . Regression coefficients are shown in Table 28. The results suggest that Warmth, Collectivism, and Monitoring ( $p < .05$ ) significantly predict Subjective Well-being. Control has an expected negative relation to SWB, but the regression is too weak to be considered important. The low predictive power of Women's status in the family, Individualism and Choice in life can be attributed to the suppressing activity indicated by the correlation values. The three variables in question have greater absolute values of part correlation, than the absolute values of zero-order correlation which implies that they act as suppressors in the given model with eight predictors. After squaring the Part correlation coefficients for significant predictors we have established that Warmth contributes with 4%, Collectivism with 3.6% and Monitoring with 1.4% to the total R square.

**H3b** Measure of Self-concordance will mediate the direct relationship between dimensions of parenting style and Subjective Well-being.

Many studies in the framework of Self-determination theory emphasize the significance of parenting style in the process of value internalization and self-concordance. Controlling parenting style leads to external motivational regulation and lower self-concordance which consequently reduces the levels of Subjective Well-being. On the other hand, a warm parenting style is more congruent to development of intrinsic motivational regulation, self-concordance and higher well-being. In order to determine whether the measure of Self-concordance mediates the relationship between dimensions of parenting style and Subjective Well-being we performed a multiple regression analysis with dimensions of parenting style (Warmth, Monitoring and Control) as predictors and Subjective Well-being as criterion, subsequently adding the measure of Self-concordance in order to ascertain a possible mediation.

Table 29 Summary of Regression Analysis - Effects of Parenting on Subjective Well-being

Variable	B	SE	B	Part r
WARMTH	3.24	.495	.475**	.380
MONITORING	1.33	.636	.152*	.122
CONTROL	-.217	.433	-.029	-.029

Note.  $N=198$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

The effect size of the model is significant,  $F(3, 196) = 33.18, p < 0.001$  with the coefficient of determination explaining 34% of the variance in Subjective Well-being. Both Warmth and Monitoring significantly predict Subjective Well-being, although Monitoring on a .05 significance level. Control showed a negative, but an insignificant relation to Subjective Well-being (Table 29). The squaring of the Part correlation coefficients indicate that Warmth contributes with 14% and Monitoring with 1.4% to the total R square.

Since Control did not correlate with Subjective-well being in a significant manner, it was omitted from the subsequent model where variable of Self-concordance was added.

Table 30 Summary of Regression Analysis Estimating Effects of Warmth, Monitoring and Self-concordance on Subjective Well-being

Variable	B	SE	B	Part r
WARMTH	3.060	.529	.450***	.350
MONITORING	1.483	.671	.169*	.134
SELF-CONCORDANCE	2.116	1.431	.092	.090

Note.  $N=198$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

The effect size of this model was deemed significant  $F(3, 182) = 31.28, p = 0.00$  with 34% of variance explained. Individual contributions of Warmth and Monitoring to Subjective Well-being remained significant. According to squared Part coefficients, Warmth contributes with 12.2% and Monitoring with 1.7% to the total R square. Self-concordance showed no significant contribution to Subjective Well-being and no mediation was established. Although the correlation table (Table 19) showed a significant association between Subjective Well-being and Self-concordance ( $r = .17^*$ ), the association turned out to be too weak to lead to a significant change of the model.

**H3c** Levels of Subjective Well-being will differ significantly across categories of Self in family.

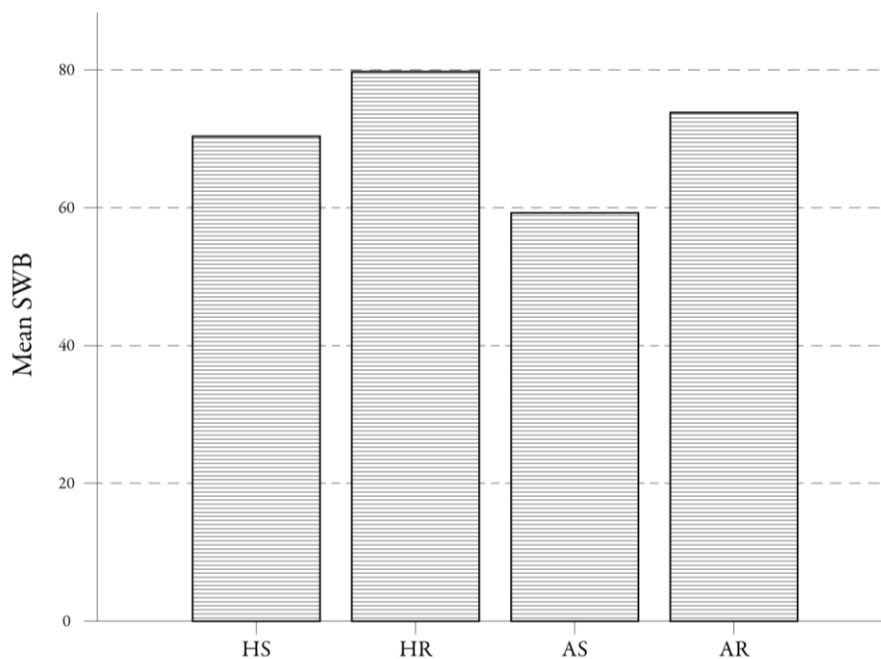
Kagitçibasi's convergence hypothesis (2007) maintains that a shift towards the model of psychological interdependence and Autonomous-related self represents the most adaptive of three models of Family and Self change. We therefore hypothesize that those participants

who acquire a type of Autonomous-related self in family also score highest on the measure of Subjective Well-being.

A one way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of the type of Self in family on levels of Subjective Well-being. A statistically significant difference between groups as determined ( $F(3,196) = 16.162, p = .01$ ). Although the assumption of homogeneity of variance was violated (Levene's Test of Homogeneity of Variances,  $F(3, 196) = 3.81, p = .01$ ), Welch's F Ratio was significant  $F(3, 104.17) = 14.87, p < .001$ , so we can conclude that at least two of the four Self in family types differ significantly with respect to average Subjective Well-being scores.

A Tukey post-hoc test revealed that the mean score in SWB for Autonomous-separate self ( $M=58.9, SD=20.4$ ) was the lowest and significantly differed from all other types of Self. The mean score in SWB for Heteronomous-related self ( $M=79.4, SD=11.3$ ) was significantly higher in comparison to Heteronomous-separate self ( $M=70.1, SD=15.9$ ) and Autonomous-separate self. Autonomous-related self ( $M=73.6, SD=13.9$ ) differed significantly only from Autonomous-separate self. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the categories of Self was quite small. The calculated effect size, using Eta squared, was .02.

Figure 23 Levels of Subjective Well-being across types of Self in family



*Note.* HS=Heteronomous-Separate self; HR=Heteronomous-Related self; AS=Autonomous-Separate self; AR=Autonomous-Related self

**H3d:** Levels of Subjective Well-being will differ significantly among categories of Personal Goals.

In order to test this hypothesis we performed a one-way between-group ANOVA with planned comparisons. Basically, we were interested to see whether SWB scores vary across 6 types of personal goals in a theoretically predicted way. We used the goals which were deemed as most important by the participants. The six goal types are *School, education; Work, occupation; Family, siblings; Marriage and children; Material goals* and *Other*. According to the SDT theory, goals that are in accordance with the three basic psychological needs associate with SWB more positively than goals that are extrinsic in nature, such as material goals. Therefore, we wanted to know whether participants who chose material goals differ from participants who chose other goals with respect to levels of Subjective Well-being.

Firstly, the appropriate coefficient values were chosen (Table 31), as we compared the category of Material goals with four goal categories whose content suits the basic SDT needs (School, education; Work, occupation; Family, siblings and Marriage and children). Category Other was omitted from the calculation, as it contains extremely diverse answers.

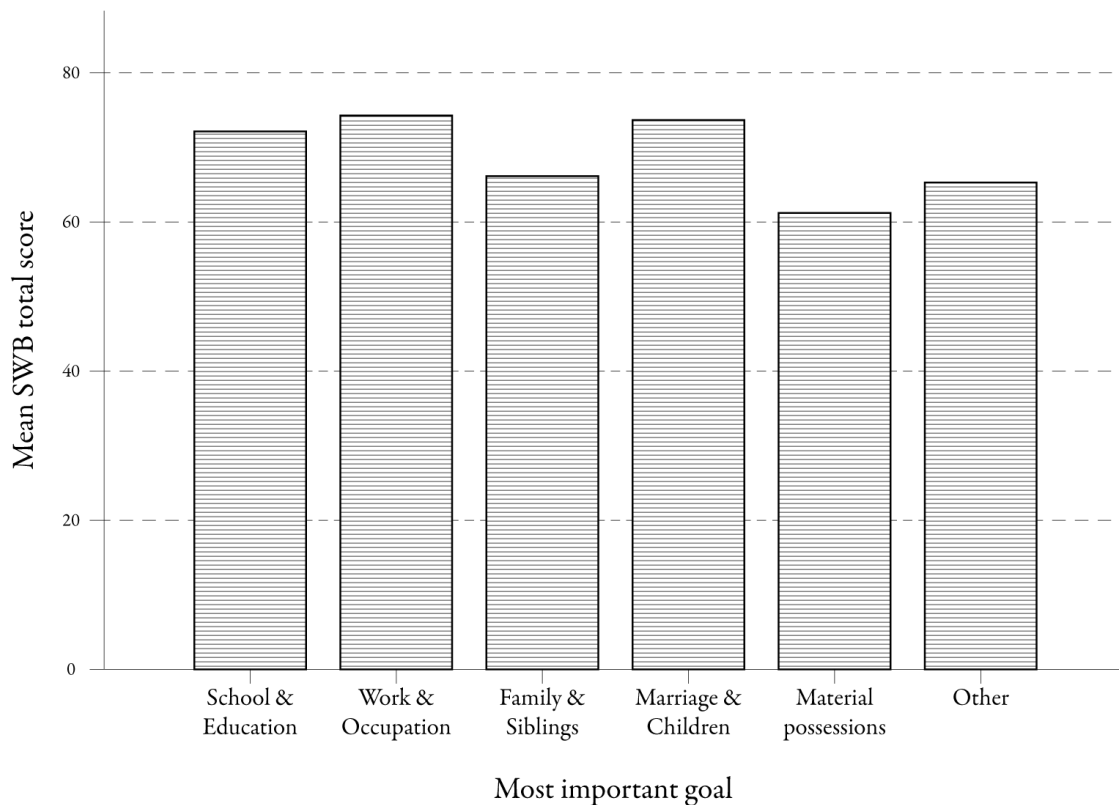
Table 31 Coefficient values

Goal category	Code	Specified coefficient values
School, education	1	-1
Work, occupation	2	-1
Family, siblings	3	-1
Marriage and children	4	-1
Material goals	5	4
Other	6	0

Participants were already divided across 6 types of personal goals according to the content of their answers. As Levene's statistic showed significance ( $p=0.04$ ) we relied on t-test indicators where homogeneous variances are not assumed. There was a significance level of the specified contrast in SWB scores,  $F(1, 197) = 4.62$ ,  $p = .049$ . However, the actual difference between the mean SWB scores is not so drastic. Work related goals have a highest SWB mean ( $M=74.1$ ,  $SD= 15.5$ ) and material goals have the lowest mean ( $M=61.1$ ,  $SD=15.7$ )

(Figure 24). However, the effect size measured in Eta squared is only 0.05. Furthermore, post-hoc comparison using Tukey HSD test did not indicate significant mean score differences.

Figure 24 Levels of SWB across Personal Goals



### SHORT SUMMARY OF RESULTS (H3a, H3b, H3c and H3d)

Performed regression model with eight variables was deemed significant explaining 38% of variance in SWB, however only three variables emerged as significant unique contributors: Warmth, Monitoring and Collectivism.

The mediating effect of Self-concordance between parenting style and SWB was not confirmed.

A difference in SWB across different types of Self in family was confirmed, however it did not follow the theoretical predictions, as Heteronomous-related self in family (instead of Autonomous-related self) associated with the highest score in SWB, although the effect size was quite small.

A difference in SWB across different types of personal goals was confirmed. Material goals had the lowest impact on SWB as predicted by the SDT, however these results will be discussed with care as no post-hoc significance was confirmed.

#### 9.2.4 PREDICTION OF PERSONAL GOALS AND GOAL OBSTACLES

Within the fourth research question we focus on the predictive power of several theoretically relevant variables on the choice of specific goal types and obstacles in goal pursuit. The first hypothesis (H4a) deals with personal goals, whereas the second one (H4b) deals with types of obstacles.

**H4a** Dimensions of Collectivism, Individualism, Related- and Autonomous Self in family, as well as SES will have an impact on the choice of a particular goal type.

A multinomial logistic regression was conducted to assess the impact of five predictor variables: Autonomous self, Related self, Individualism, Collectivism and SES on the likelihood that respondents would prefer one of the six goal types (*School & Education; Work & Occupation, Family & Siblings; Marriage & Children, Material Goals and Other*).

Using the goal type *Other* as the reference category, the full model showed significance,  $\chi^2 = 41.44$ ,  $df = 25$ ,  $N = 204$ ,  $p < .021$  ( $p < .05$ ), indicating that it can distinguish between respondents with respect to each of the six given goals. However, the value of McFadden's pseudo R-squared is rather low (0.8), indicating a bad model fit and a weak predictive power.

In the Table 32 we can see the unique contributions of all predictor variables to the model and conclude that there are no significant predictors for categories *Material Goals* and *Family & Siblings*, relative to goal category *Other*.

With an increase of Individualism for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the preferred goal type would be *Work & Occupation* in comparison to goal type *Other* decreases for around 30%, whereas an increase of Collectivism ( $p < .1$ ) for one unit leads to an increased likelihood of choosing a goal related to *Work & Occupation* for 1.1 times.

Individualism ( $p < .1$ ) also emerged as the predictor of the category *School & Education*, recording an odds ratio of .85. This trend indicates that with an increase of Individualism for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the preferred goal type would be *School & Education* in comparison to goal type *Other* decreases for 15%.

Table 32 Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Estimating Effects of Predictor Variables on Choice of Personal Goals

Variable	B	SE	p Value	OR	95% C.I.	
<b>SCHOOL &amp; EDUCATION</b>						
AUTONOMOUS SELF	-.005	.056	.930	.995	.891-	1.111
RELATED SELF	-.025	.056	.655	.975	.873-	1.089
INDIVIDUALISM	-.168	.089	.057*	.845	.710-	1.005
COLLECTIVISM	.070	.094	.459	1.073	.891-	1.291
SES	.007	.012	.547	1.007	.984-	1.030
<b>WORK &amp; OCCUPATION</b>						
AUTONOMOUS SELF	.026	.067	.697	1.026	.900-	1.171
RELATED SELF	-.104	.066	.111	.901	.792-	1.024
INDIVIDUALISM	-.342	.098	.001***	.710	.586-	.861
COLLECTIVISM	.212	.110	.054*	1.236	.997-	1.533
SES	-.015	.015	.318	.985	.956-	1.015
<b>FAMILY &amp; SIBLINGS</b>						
AUTONOMOUS SELF	-.221	.203	.275	.802	.539-	1.192
RELATED SELF	.011	.251	.966	1.011	.618-	1.654
INDIVIDUALISM	.367	.449	.413	1.444	.599-	3.479
COLLECTIVISM	-.457	.390	.242	.633	.294-	1.361
SES	-.073	.072	.313	.930	.808-	1.071
<b>MARRIAGE &amp; CHILDREN</b>						
AUTONOMOUS SELF	.193	.133	.148	1.213	.934-	1.575
RELATED SELF	-.168	.108	.119	.845	.684-	1.044
INDIVIDUALISM	-.231	.161	.152	.794	.579-	1.088
COLLECTIVISM	.397	.211	.060*	1.487	.983-	2.250
SES	.031	.024	.203	1.032	.983-	1.082
<b>MATERIAL GOALS</b>						
AUTONOMOUS SELF	-.125	.118	.290	.882	.700-	1.112
RELATED SELF	.054	.126	.667	1.056	.825-	1.351
INDIVIDUALISM	-.249	.154	.106	.780	.576-	1.055
COLLECTIVISM	-.071	.182	.697	.932	.652-	1.331
SES	.003	.026	.908	1.003	.954-	1.055

Note. N = 204; \*p < .01, \*\*p < .05, \*\*\*p < .001

Lastly, Collectivism predicts ( $p > .1$ ) an increased probability of choosing the goal category *Marriage & Children*, relative to category *Other* with an odds ratio of 1.49, meaning

that an increase of Collectivism for one unit increases the probability of choosing a goal related to *Marriage & Children* for almost 1.5 times.

**H4b** Dimensions of Collectivism, Individualism, Related- and Autonomous Self in family, as well as SES will have an impact on the choice of particular obstacle in goal pursuit.

In order to assess the power of five predictor variables (Autonomous self, Related self, Individualism, Collectivism and SES) to predict the likelihood of participants to report on one of the four types of obstacles in goal pursuit (*No one, nothing; Family; Me personally* and *Other*) another multinomial logistic regression was conducted. The reference category was *Other*. The full model is significant,  $\chi^2 = 34.21$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $N = 177$ ,  $p < .003$  indicating that it can distinguish between respondents who report on each of the four given goal obstacle types. However, the value of McFadden's pseudo R-squared is rather low (0.7), indicating a bad model fit with low predictive power.

No significant unique contributions for the obstacle type *Me personally*, relative to the obstacle *Other*, could be found (Table 33).

Considering the obstacle type *Family*, Autonomous self turned out to be a significant negative predictor recording an odds ratio of .83. This indicates that with an increase of Autonomous self for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the participants would report on *Family* as a perceived obstacle in comparison to the category *Other* decreases for around 15%. Similarly, Related self in family decreases the chances of choosing *Family* as an obstacle in goal pursuit for around 15%. Another significant predictor was the variable SES with an odds ratio of .96, indicating that with an increase of SES for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the participants would report on *Family* as a perceived obstacle in comparison to the category *Other* decreases for around 5%.

Finally, both Autonomous self and SES showed significance in predicting the likelihood of participants reporting on the obstacle category *No one, nothing* recording an odds ratio of .85 and .97 respectively. This result indicates that with an increase of Autonomous self and SES for one unit each (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the participants would report on *No one, nothing* as a perceived obstacle relative to the obstacle *Other* decreases for around 15% and 3% respectively.



Table 33 Multinomial Logistic Regression Model Estimating Effects of Predictor Variables on Choice of Goal obstacles

	<b>Variable</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>p Value</b>	<b>OR</b>	<b>95% C.I.</b>
<b>NO ONE/NOTHING</b>						
	SES	-.029	.012	.019*	.971	.948-.995
	INDIVIDUALISM	.124	.091	.173	1.132	.947-1.352
	COLLECTIVISM	-.086	.097	.379	.918	.758-1.111
	AUTONOMOUS SELF	-.161	.064	.012*	.852	.751-.965
	RELATED SELF	.037	.060	.539	1.038	.922-1.168
<b>FAMILY</b>						
	SES	-.043	.018	.015*	.958	.926-.992
	INDIVIDUALISM	.009	.115	.938	1.009	.805-1.264
	COLLECTIVISM	-.126	.114	.267	.881	.705-1.102
	AUTONOMOUS SELF	-.182	.076	.017*	.834	.718-.968
	RELATED SELF	-.150	.070	.032*	.861	.751-.987
<b>ME PERSONALLY</b>						
	SES	-.013	.013	.306	.987	.962-1.012
	INDIVIDUALISM	.084	.100	.400	1.088	.894-1.324
	COLLECTIVISM	-.032	.108	.767	.968	.784-1.197
	AUTONOMOUS SELF	-.085	.070	.224	.918	.801-1.054
	RELATED SELF	-.007	.065	.918	.993	.875-1.128

Note. N = 177; \*p < .05, \*\*p < .01

### 9.3 SUMMARY OF RESULTS

In order to acquire an overview of the main findings, we enlisted the hypotheses with corresponding results in a form of a table (Table 34). Out of 11 hypotheses, 2 were confirmed, 5 were partially confirmed and 4 were not confirmed.

Table 34 Summary of results

<b>Hypothesis</b>	<b>Results</b>
<p>H1a: While controlling for the possible effect of the SES, German group will score higher than the Romani migrant group on following measures: Authoritative parenting style (in terms of lower levels of Control and higher levels of Warmth and Monitoring), Individualism and Women's status in the family; Autonomous self in family, Self-Concordance and Confidence in successful goal pursuit; Subjective Well-being and Choice in life.</p>	<p>PARTIALLY CONFIRMED Expected group differences regarding parenting style and goal related measures (Self-concordance, Goal confidence), as well as Choice in life were not confirmed. In line with expectations, German group scored higher on measures of Individualism, Women's status in family, Autonomous and Autonomous-related self in family. Romani group scored higher on Collectivism and, opposite to our expectations, on SWB (<math>p &lt; .1</math>).</p>
<p>H1b We expect a significant difference in the proportion of German and Romani participants with respect to the categories of <i>personal goals</i> (where German group expresses more self-oriented rather than family-oriented goals) and categories of perceived <i>obstacles</i> in goal pursuit (where German group expresses more self-related rather than family-related) obstacles.</p>	<p>CONFIRMED A significant difference in the distribution of answers by German and Romani participants across categories of personal goals and goal obstacles largely fits our expectations. Romani group generated family-oriented goals, next to goals related to work more frequently, whereas German group generated goals related to education and self-oriented goals (<i>Other</i>) more frequently. Regarding obstacles in goal pursuit -Romani group sees no obstacles at all, or attributes possible obstacles to family more frequently, whereas German participants more often see themselves (laziness, lack of perseverance) as obstacles.</p>
<p>H2c: Our set of Socio-cultural variables (consisting of parenting style, cultural values and socioeconomic status) will be able to predict the probability of category membership in terms of Autonomous-related self, Heteronomous-related self, Autonomous-separate self and Heteronomous-separate self.</p>	<p>PARTIALLY CONFIRMED The model was deemed significant in distinguishing respondents on each of the four given types of Self in family. In line with Kagitcibasi's theory the positive predictors of Autonomous- Related self, were Women's status in the family and Warmth, with Control and Monitoring acting as negative predictors.</p>

<b>Hypothesis</b>	<b>Results</b>
H3a Dimensions of Parenting style (in terms of Warmth, Monitoring and Control), Cultural Values (in terms of Collectivism, Individualism and Women`s status in the family), Choice in life and Socioeconomic status can act as significant predictors of Subjective Well-being.	NOT CONFIRMED Results suggest that out of all predictors included in the regression model only Warmth, Collectivism, and Monitoring significantly predict Subjective Well-being.
H3b: Measure of Self-concordance will mediate the direct relationship between dimensions of parenting style and Subjective Well-being.	NOT CONFIRMED Self-concordance showed no significant contribution to Subjective Well-being, therefore no mediation was established
H3c: Levels of Subjective Well-being will differ significantly across categories of Self in family.	PARTIALLY CONFIRMED A statistically significant difference in the levels of SWB was established across different types of Self in family with Related self having the highest and Autonomous self the lowest SWB levels. However, it was hypothesized that the Autonomous-related self will manifest highest levels of SWB. Secondly, the effect size was small.
H3d: Levels of Subjective Well-being will differ significantly across categories of Personal Goals.	CONFIRMED A difference in SWB across different types of personal goals was confirmed with material goals having the lowest impact on SWB as predicted by the SDT, however no post-hoc significance was established.
H4a: Dimensions of Collectivism, Individualism, Related- and Autonomous Self in family, as well as SES will have an impact on the choice of a particular goal type.	NOT CONFIRMED Although full model showed significance, McFadden`s pseudo R-squared indicated a bad model fit and dimensions of Self in family and SES did not emerge as significant predictors of goal types. However, Collectivism predicted the likelihood of choosing a goal related to Work & Occupation or Marriage and family for 1.1 and 1.5 times, respectively. Individualism reduced the likelihood of choosing a goal related to Education for 15% and the likelihood of choosing a work related goal for 30%.
H4b: Dimensions of Collectivism, Individualism, Related- and Autonomous Self in family, as well as SES will have an impact on the choice of a particular obstacle in goal pursuit.	NOT CONFIRMED The model emerged as significant, but with a low predictive power. An increase in Autonomous Self and SES on the one hand lowers the probability that Family will be perceived as an obstacle in the goal pursuit (for 15% and 5%, respectively), on the other hand it increases the likelihood of perceiving no obstacles in goal pursuit for 15% and 3%.

## 10 DISCUSSION

This dissertation was firstly set out to examine whether Romani migrant and German non-migrant participants form two socioeconomically similar subpopulations in order to identify the theorized disadvantages faced by Romani girls. Secondly, it offered conceptual models which a) investigated the internal relations between distal and proximal constructs used in the model and b) examined the predictive value of relevant socio-cultural and Self in family variables with respect to particular goal outcomes.

A uniform self-report questionnaire was administered to a sample of 242 female adolescents (aged 12-16) of Romani migrant and German non-migrant background residing in Berlin. The main part of the sample was reached through snowball sampling in cooperation with Südost Europa Kultur association and young recruiters of Romani and non-Romani descent. The rest of the sample was acquired in cooperation with three schools located in the areas with the highest percentage of migrant families (Wedding and Neukölln).

The scales measuring dimensions of Individualism and Collectivism were subjected to principal component analysis which resulted in omittance of four items and the final extraction of two factors measuring the theoretically predicted constructs. Confirmatory factor analysis was performed to validate the two-factor structure of Self in family scales using AMOS 22.0.0. As model fit could not be fully confirmed and the sample size was deemed too small, a further exploration of the factor structure employed a principal component analysis. The theoretically assumed factor structure of the instruments measuring Related and Autonomous self in family was confirmed, with the exclusion of one item measuring Autonomous Self. The internal consistency of the scales used in this research ranged from .52 for the measure of Controlling parenting style (4 items) to .92 for Life satisfaction scale (MSLSS).

Data analyses were conducted in statistical program SPSS.22.0.0 including descriptive analysis; analysis of variance, analysis of covariance, multinomial logistic, multiple hierarchical and multiple linear regressions. The implication of the obtained results will be discussed in the following text. Subsequently, attention will be called to limitations of the research and recommendations for further studies.

## 10.1 DISCUSSION OF SYSTEMATIC VARIATIONS BETWEEN GROUPS

*Research question 1: Systematic variations between Romani migrant and German non-migrant participants will emerge with respect to variables of the Socio-cultural context (cultural variables and parenting style), Self in family and the outcome variables of personal goals, Self-concordance, Choice in life and Subjective Well-being, even when controlling for SES.*

One of the key questions of this dissertation was to establish if and what kind of variations exist between two groups of participants of Romani migrant and German non-migrant background, even after controlling for socioeconomic status. In addressing the variations which emerged in the data analysis we will first look at the differences related to the context of family and wider environment such as SES, socio-cultural variables and Self in family. Afterwards we will turn to the outcome variables related to personal goals (self-concordance, choice in life) and Subjective Well-being.

First of all, stark group differences were found in the socioeconomic status, parental education level, as well as in the number of siblings, number of books and other non-occupational SES indicators, clearly demonstrating that Romani migrant group faces more precarious living and educational conditions. This justifies the use of the SES as statistical control variable in the analysis of between-group differences. Romani migrant participants further demonstrated a proclivity towards Collectivism and a conservative gender attitude (lower intrafamily status of a woman), whereas German participants expressed more egalitarian gender values and individualistic tendencies, which goes in line with our initial expectations based on several prior studies (e.g., Kühnen et al., 2001; Idema & Phalet, 2007; Keller, 2006). Prior research on cultural retention implies that migrant families may resist acculturation due to experienced exclusion (Nauck, 2001; Kwak, 2003; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006), perceived cultural distances (Segal, 1991; Bourhis, Moïse, Perrault & Sénécal, 1997) or a culturally specific socialization context (Idema & Phalet, 2007; Birman & Trickett, 2001; Bošnjak & Acton, 2013). As a result of cultural retention, the acquisition of the language and values of the host society might be hindered, which can further negatively affect school achievement, career opportunities and successful integration. However, our findings show that 70% of Romani migrant participants speak often and very often German at home and with friends (in 90%) and reach similar school achievement as their German peers indicating a high degree of acculturation.

Interestingly, no differences in the perceived parenting style were detected between groups, although prior research argues that low SES and Collectivism usually come with authoritarian parenting style marked in high control. We therefore expected a higher occurrence of controlling parenting style in the Romani migrant group, but this was not confirmed by our results. A possible explanation can be found in the formulation of the two items of parental Control (4 items in total). One of the items was focused on school success (*My parents make my life difficult, when I have bad grades in school*), which is rarely the case in Romani migrant families, according to professionals working closely with Romani families (social workers, pedagogists from Südost Europa Kultur). In more conservative Romani migrant families, the most important task of an adolescent girl is to preserve her virginity (and thus the honor of her family) for she will get married relatively young and will have to take on childrearing and housekeeping chores. In less conservative (or better integrated) Romani families, girls are encouraged to finish school and find work (e.g. cashier, hairdresser) at the same time preserving their virginity, but there is no pressure regarding school success, because parents (especially mothers) have little or no school experience and they are satisfied if their children manage to even complete several grades of school.

The second item we deem problematic was: *My parents believe that I should rather step back in situation of a quarrel than to make other people angry*<sup>30</sup>. Experiences of practitioners working with Romani migrant families in Berlin rather show that parents manifest loyalty towards their children and usually take the side of their children in case of a conflict, for instance with teachers, encouraging their children to stand up for themselves. In situations of conflict especially with non-Romani people and representatives of institutions – members of Romani families stick together. It is evident that the instrument used in this research failed to encompass the exact form of control exercised in Romani families which is based on strict hierarchic structure and rules, especially gender-wise. However the measure of Women's status in the family confirmed a more conservative gender attitude among Romani migrant participants that goes in line with the patriarchal upbringing. Further on, the sample in this study is highly selective. We deliberately looked for Romani migrant girls who attend school and can speak German in order to form two methodologically comparable groups. It is quite possible that in those families where girls are allowed to attend school there already came to a shift in acculturation process and loosening of parental control in some areas of upbringing.

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<sup>30</sup> Meine Eltern meinen, in Auseinandersetzungen sollte ich eher zurückstecken, als andere Leute zu verärgern.

## SELF IN FAMILY

In order to understand our own behavior and to predict behavior of others we use the self, or self-construal as an important guide. When individuals differ in self-concepts, it is safe to presume that it is because they are subject to different *demands* in their respective cultural environments. Based on that, we expected Autonomous Self in family which, according to Kagitçibasi (2007) develops in independent families, to appear more frequently among German participants. This was confirmed by our results and a large between-group difference emerged on the measure of Autonomous Self, followed by a difference on Autonomous-related self, albeit with a smaller effect size. However, the measure of Autonomous self did not reach optimal construct validity as it emphasized separateness from the family, instead of interpersonal independence leading to healthy autonomy. Similarly, the measure of Related self failed to measure aspects of family control and obedience. Instead, it measured rather harmonious closeness to the family. Probably for this reason the assumption that Related Self in family would be more prevalent among Romani participants was not empirically confirmed. In fact, both groups expressed similar levels of relatedness to their families. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the following section regarding Self in family.

## PERSONAL GOALS

Initial assumption of this research was that Romani adolescent girls endure higher pressure from their families to follow more conservative developmental trajectories marked by early marriage and family life (rather than career driven forms of self-actualization, see Chapter 1.2). We further expected this to be reflected in the idiographic personal goals. In line with the initial expectations, Romani participants generated family-related goals more frequently than their German counterparts. Although getting married and having children in the future belong to expected developmental goals among adolescents, according to Dreher & Dreher (1985), it is apparent that among Romani participants this topic occurs more often (62% of the answers in category Marriage & Children is given by the Romani sample).

Taking care of family (usually parents) and siblings was also a goal more frequently generated by the Romani sample, which fits the expectation considering the cultural context of Collectivism and a greater number of siblings in Romani migrant families. Romani participants expressed material aspirations in a slightly larger percentage (55%) than German participants (45%), which is understandable considering the more adverse SES level of Romani migrant group.

Finally, goals related to work and occupation were generated by the Romani sample more frequently than by the German one. Considering the stark between-group difference regarding socioeconomic status and educational capital, it is not surprising that Romani participants expressed work-related goals more frequently, because acquiring work enables them to receive income and start supporting their families sooner. Also, it is possible that Romani participants acquire more encouragement and practical support from their environment in the area of work, rather than in the area of education. 'One can hardly pursue success in a world where the accepted skills, style, and informal know-how are unfamiliar. One does better to look for a line of action for which one already has the cultural equipment' (Swidler, 1986:275). Despite the significantly lower educational capital of Romani group (e.g., scarce number of books in the household, low educational level of parents including 35 mothers and 16 fathers who are illiterate) the expected between-group difference regarding goals related to school and education was not that severe. Around 55% of German and 45% of Romani participants generated goals revolving around school or education. Students' motivation and academic strivings depend on various factors, the ways their lives are structured and arranged, socioeconomic and socio-cultural background, values and priorities they adopted, activities they pursue and wider social structures that hinder or support a certain developmental path. 'And unless and until students and their parents view success in school as a necessary and worthwhile goal...students will not seek it with passion or commitment' (Steinberg, 1996:181).

Our findings confirm that Romani migrants included in this research appreciate the importance of education. Repeated surveys have shown that lower-class youth and their parents *value the pursuit of good education*, secure friendships, stable marriages, steady jobs and high incomes (Jencks et al. 1972 in Swidler, 1986, Arroyo & Zigler, 1995). Of course, the fact that we recruited Romani participants who attend school and speak German indicate that a certain shift in acculturation already took place, at least regarding formal education. Lastly, German group generated miscellaneous goals classified under category *Other* (containing goals which are rather fun- and self-oriented) more frequently than Romani participants. This goes in line with the assumption that more individualistic, independent family systems encourage self-oriented desires and goals (as opposed to family or community oriented goals) in a larger degree.

With respect to the four types of obstacles in the goal pursuit (*No one & Nothing, Family, Me personally, Other*), Romani participants stated more frequently that no one and nothing can stop them in achieving their goal. This expression of determination in goal



pursuit can be a result of a continuous effort to follow a developmental trajectory that differs from the expectations of the family and close environment. The resolve expressed by Romani participants might further reflect a greater degree of self-regulatory skills required for a successful management of normatively less expected life events and transitions, as described by Wrosch & Freund (2001 in Salmela-Aro, 2009). On the other hand, it can be a result of socially desirable responding more typical for cultures of honor (discussed in Section 3.2.2). Clearly, further investigation is needed to grasp the true meaning of this finding, possibly through qualitative research. Further on, Romani participants recognized members of their families as possible impediment actors in their goal pursuit, more frequently than their German peers. This could be explained by possible discrepancies between Romani parents and children in the acceptance of new cultural values and goals to which adolescents adapt in a much faster pace, than their families do (Kwak, 2003). Also, conformity is 'simply expected of children and youth' (Özdemir, 2013:66) in many collectivist and migrant settings, therefore a developmental trajectory that differs from the one expected by parents might cause intergenerational conflict which results in perceiving family members as possible obstacles in goal pursuit. German participants perceived themselves (myself, laziness, lack of hard work) as goal obstacles more frequently than Romani participants, however this difference is not large. The issue of obstacles in goal pursuit requires further investigation in the future research.

*Confidence* in the goal pursuit reflects the individuals' judgments of their capabilities to perform relevant goal-directed behaviors and the beliefs that these behaviors will be successful (Oettingen & Gollwitzer, 2004). Almost 90% of the sample expressed confidence in successful goal achievement. This is somewhat comprehensible, as participants freely chose to note down the goals of their preference.

With respect to the measure of *Self-concordance* we expected Romani migrant participants to be more prone to external motivational regulation, due to assumed pressure from the family and community to comply with particular social tasks and roles. Even though Romani participants in this study opted for extrinsic locus of causality (pursuing goals because of parents or out of guilt) more frequently than their German peers, the total number of these cases is negligible and we can only talk about an observed trend. Both subgroups demonstrated high *Self-concordance*, pursuing their goals mainly from the perspective of identified motivational regulation, that is, because of the importance ascribed to the goal. It is important to state two possible reasons for the observed lack of sensitivity of the measure of *Self-concordance*. Firstly, in order to simplify the task and ensure clarity, as well as to avoid

error in response patterns, participants ascribed only *one* type of motivational regulation (external, introjected, identified or integrated) to each goal they generated, instead of selecting a degree of agreement with all four types of motivational regulation for *each* goal. Secondly, the aggregate measure of Self-concordance was based only on four (instead of six) goals, because of the dropout effect (only 144 participants generated all six goals). This way, the variance of Self-concordance was significantly reduced disabling us from discovering finer between-group differences in motivation regulation.

On the other hand, stating that a goal (e.g., to finish school) is being pursued because the goal is deemed important, can still be partly pursued for the sake of family or other relevant others. Especially in more marginalized and impoverished families, the motivation behind a goal pursuit can be socially oriented in order to enhance the social status of the family or satisfy one's sense of obligation towards the parents. Kagitçibasi claims that '...a socially oriented morality based on a sense of duty does not mean lack of agency...for a person in a collectivistic context, meeting social expectations may be experienced as agentic and integral to self, such behavior may be motivationally satisfying rather than perceived as coerced' (2007:114). "...[R]elatedness, growth, health, and community contribution all tend to be supported by autonomous reasons, including identified or integrated values, and in some cases intrinsic motivation" (Ryan, Huta, Deci 2008:155). For instance, Romani girls (of Macedonian origin) living in New York show more ambition towards further education, employment and self-improvement (Silverman, 2012) and they are largely motivated by the wish to help out their families. However, *only* if the (family-driven) goals fit the core values of a person and go in line with the basic SDT needs can we expect self-concordant motivational regulation and self integrated action (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). Certainly, further investigation on the improved assessment of the measure of Self-concordance is needed.

Regarding the measure of *Choice in life*, which is designed to assess autonomy and constraints on autonomy (Burchardt et al., 2010), the initial analysis detected a small effect size in favour of German participants who expressed having a high level of choice and control over shaping their lives. This finding is in accordance with our initial assumptions, as we expected German (individualist) families to be more supportive of autonomous behaviour and choice-making. In support of this assumption, measure of Choice in life had significant correlations with Goal confidence ( $r=.17$   $p>.01$ ), Women's status in the family ( $r=.13$   $p>.01$ ) and Individualism ( $r=.24$   $p>.01$ ). However, this effect size was lost after the SES was controlled for. This puts a limit on a straightforward conclusion and demands further investigation.

## SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

Based on the reviewed literature we expected that migration, lower socioeconomic status and possibly higher inter-generational differences within the context of migration result in a lower *Subjective Well-being* among Romani participants. However, no group effects were found. When SES was controlled for, the difference between groups in SWB became more accentuated ( $p < .1$ ) indicating that Romani girls feel more satisfied with their lives in comparison to their German peers. These results point to the immigrant paradox (Sam et al., 2008; van Geel & Vedder, 2011) where the lack of prominent differences between immigrant and national youth can be explained by better welfare and health care accessibility to migrants (van Geel & Vedder, 2011) or by assimilation in the national society (Sam et al., 2008). Further explanation might be the seemingly stronger connectedness with parents and wider family registered through higher scores on the measure of Collectivism (family interrelatedness) within the Romani group, but also by lower scores on Autonomous self in family, a measure which partially reflects separateness from the family. Prior studies (e.g., Portes & Zhou, 1993, Silverman, 2012) showed that connectedness contributes to well-being and counteracts maladjustments. However, this issue will be discussed in more details within the section based on the third research question related to Subjective Well-being.

## 10.2 DISCUSSION OF ANTECEDENTS OF SELF IN FAMILY

*Research question 2: Constructs of Related -, Autonomous-, and Autonomous-related self in family are associated with the variables of the Socio-cultural context (consisting of parenting style and cultural values), as proposed by the Model of Family Change.*

‘Culture on the social, institutional and individual level may very well influence individual self-construals in different ways, and these self-construals, in turn, may influence cognitions, emotions, and motivations’ (Matsumoto, 1999:302). Following Matsumoto’s quote, the fundamental logic behind this research question was to establish if culture (operationalised in selected socio-cultural variables) influences the development of self construals coined by Kagitçibasi (1990, 2007) in an expected manner. This study assumed that Kagitçibasi’s self construals can be associated with a certain mindset and behavior, choice of goals and subsequently well-being. To establish this chain of associations we firstly wanted to make sure that construals of Autonomous, Related, and Autonomous-Related Self in family match their theoretically corresponding antecedents.

### ANTECEDENTS OF RELATED SELF IN FAMILY

Based on Kagitçibasi's Model of Family Change, Related Self in family develops in conditions of authoritarian upbringing, collectivism, more conservative gender values and a lower socioeconomic environment (see Figure 5, Chapter 4.1). A hierarchical regression analysis (controlling for SES in the first stage) was carried out to identify significant predictors of Related Self in family. Out of three parenting dimensions, Warmth was the only one to significantly predict the dependent variable. Lack of a significant relation between Control and Related self might lie in already discussed failure of the measure of Control to encompass the particular type of control exercised in Romani families (based on patriarchy and a strict gender role division), but also in the lack of the controlling aspect that Related self in family was supposed to measure. Collectivism emerged as a second significant predictor of Related Self in family, matching the theoretical expectations. Following Kagitçibasi's theory (2007) we assumed a negative prediction of Women's status in the family on Related Self, however this relationship was not detected in the analysis. According to the findings, we can argue that the construct of Related self in family used in the current research differs from the original construct described by Kagitçibasi. Namely, it can be reasoned that the given construct of Related self in family actually reflects close intrafamilial relationships, connectedness and ingroup loyalty which relates positively to SWB. A significant correlation between SWB and dimensions of Collectivism ( $r=.43$ ,  $p>.01$ ) and Related Self in family ( $r=.54$ ,  $p>.01$ ) was confirmed (Table 19). It seems that the instrument we used lacks aspects like obedience orientation and family control which theoretically belong to the description of the family model of interdependence and correspond to Related self in family. An instrument encompassing said aspects would probably lead to results that resemble the originally intended model.

### ANTECEDENTS OF AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY

Following Kagitçibasi's theory we further assumed that a more permissive or authoritative parenting style, Individualism, SES and egalitarian gender values predict Autonomous Self in family. These assumptions were partially confirmed through our findings. In line with Kagitçibasi's theory, measures of Individualism and Women's status in the family both predict Autonomous Self in family in a significant way. Considering parenting styles, Control and Monitoring demonstrated expected negative predictions on Autonomous self, however Warmth failed to emerge as a significant predictor. Negative association between Autonomous self and Warmth ( $r= -.33$ ,  $p>.01$ ), as well as SWB ( $r= -.36$ ,  $p>.01$ ), suggests that

the construct of Autonomous self in fact measures separateness from parents urged by a lack of warmth and connectedness, or due to intrafamilial conflicts and not as a result of a healthy developmental trajectory. Kagitçibasi states: ‘...in my theoretical perspective, autonomy is not necessarily a lone individual affair because it does *not* imply separateness from others. It is, therefore, agency, as willed and felt by the person (not coerced) (2007:191)’. Following this statement, the construct of autonomy would have to correlate with Warmth and SWB, as it goes in line with person’s authentic desires and needs (matching the theoretical assumptions of Self-determination theory, e.g., Ryan and Deci, 2000). Unfortunately, Kagitçibasi’s instrument used in this study failed to grasp the intended meaning of autonomy.

#### ANTECEDENTS OF AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF IN FAMILY

Kagitçibasi (2007) maintains that the global social change leads universally towards a family model of psychological/emotional interdependence and Autonomous-related self. This kind of shift happens, amongst other factors, also because of a shift in parenting style that entails both control and autonomy orientation. With respect to the current study, we used a multinomial logistic regression to establish if the set of relevant independent variables is able to successfully predict the membership into four categories of Self in family created based on the median split. We mainly focused on the category of Autonomous-related self and concluded that the strongest predictor for this category was an increase in Women’s status in the family, followed by an increase in Warmth and a decrease in both Control and Monitoring. These results go in line with the theorized development of Autonomous-related self and Kagitçibasi’s congruence hypothesis.

Generally speaking, expected associations between socio-cultural antecedents and Self in family construals were only partially confirmed. Autonomous Self in family (more frequent among German adolescents) fits Kagitçibasi’s model of independent family pretty well, demonstrating a clear relationship between Autonomous self and Individualism, Women’s status in family, lesser control and monitoring in the perceived parenting style, but failing to show a significant role of warmth in parenting. Further on, only two variables (Collectivism and Warmth) managed to verify the anticipated direction to Related Self in family, confirming the theoretical connection between collectivism and interdependence, with the rest of the variables failing to fit the theoretically expected model. In line with the theory, an increase in egalitarian gender attitude and Warmth, together with a decrease in parental control emerged as significant predictors of Autonomous-related self. Unfortunately, Kagitçibasi’s instruments of Related and Autonomous self in family require improvement in

order to fully capture the theoretically expected concepts. More precisely, the measure of Related self in family should encompass aspects like obedience orientation and family control, whereas Autonomous self in family needs to reflect a healthy need for autonomy and agency, opposed to mere separateness from family members.

### 10.3 DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

*Research question 3: Variables forming the Socio-cultural context, measures of Self-Concordance, Choice in life, Types of Self in Family and Personal Goals will associate with Subjective Well-being.*

Discussion of the significant associations between Subjective Well-being and relevant research variables identified in the analysis will continue within sections that correspond to specific hypotheses.

#### SIGNIFICANT PREDICTORS OF SWB

Firstly, we assumed that dimensions of Parenting style (in terms of Warmth, Monitoring and Control), Cultural Values (in terms of Collectivism, Individualism and Women's status in the family), Choice in life and Socioeconomic status act as significant predictors of Subjective Well-being. Findings from the regression model show that Warmth and Monitoring appear significant and predict Subjective Well-being in the theoretically expected way. Warmth explained 4%, whereas Monitoring explained 1.4% of the variance in SWB. Based on studies which established a detrimental effect of controlling parenting on adolescent development (e.g., Grolnick & Apolstoleris, 2002; Grolnick & Pomerantz, 2009) it was assumed that controlling parenting style may not be beneficial for SWB. Pomerantz and Ruble (in Grolnick, Deci and Ryan, 1997) demonstrated that mothers who are more controlling (rather than autonomy granting) associate with maladaptive attributions of their children (particularly girls). As expected, controlling parenting style made a negative, albeit a non-significant prediction to SWB. The lack of a significant prediction may be partly attributed to the already discussed problematic construct validity of the dimension of Control.

Another theoretically based assumption that Collectivism (operationalized as closeness to the family) associates positively with SWB, gained support in the results where Collectivism contributed to variance in SWB with 3.6%. This is in accordance with prior studies where harmonious family relations and connectedness emerged as the strongest

protective factor when it comes to adolescent health and well-being (Resnick et al., 1993). Attachment to parents in the adolescent age was further found to be beneficial for well-being and a stronger predictor of well-being than peer attachment in studies by Greenberg et al. (1983) and Raja and associates (1992). A recent study on a German sample found that Collectivism had a significant positive effect on parental social capital and consequentially well-being (Beilmann et al., 2014). This goes in line with previous studies which maintain that close relationship with parents can be beneficial for adolescents' well-being (e.g. Kim, Butzel & Ryan, 1998; Keller et al., 2003; Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001; Georgas, Berry, Van de Vijver, Kagitçibasi & Poortinga, 2006). Although intense parental involvement in the lives of adolescents can be also seen as overwhelming, especially from the individualistic standpoint, it seems that within the given adolescent sample parental involvement and interdependence contributed to life satisfaction and well-being.

Variables of Women's status in the family, Choice in life and Individualism showed no correlation with Subjective Well-being in the intercorrelation matrix (Table 19), but were correlated with each other and other independent variables in the regression model, increasing the total explained variance and acting as suppressors (based on Horst, 1941 in Friedman & Wall, 2005:127). The more predictors there are in the model, the greater the potential there is for an association between variables (Pedhazur, 1997; Zientek & Thompson, 2006). Ludlow & Klein (2014) maintain that the introduction of several correlated predictors of interest into the regression model cause a change in the regression coefficient (standard error, significance test value, and p-value) in a way that some predictors may be diminished or enhanced and even reversed in sign. This kind of change was registered with respect to the independent variable Choice in life whose regression coefficient was reversed in sign with respect to SWB.

Although we expected SES to play a significant role with respect to SWB, the effects revealed in this study are too weak to be noteworthy. The measure of socioeconomic status was based on a classification of various answers regarding parental education and occupation. The high number of unemployed mothers (housewives) and scrap dealers in the Romani migrant sample, as well as relatively uneven distribution of HISEI categories across the whole sample most likely reduced the variance and therefore the sensitivity (and predictive power) of the SES measure. Despite noticeable and objective differences in the socio-economic level, the measure of SES failed to demonstrate precision. If we turn to available literature there is a lack of consistent findings when it comes to a relationship between social class and well-being. For instance, socioeconomic status did not emerge as an

important protective factor in adolescence in a study by Resnick et al. (1993), nor did it show significance in studies examining resiliency and well-being among youth living in adverse and risky environments (e.g. Resnick & Hutton, 1987; Seifer & Sameroff, 1987 cited in Resnick et al., 1993:56). On the other hand, Huurre and associates (2003) showed that parental socioeconomic status has an effect on well-being in adolescence, measured through indicators such as self-esteem and distress symptoms. This effect was especially apparent among girls from a lower social class who reported significantly lower self-esteem, higher distress symptoms and poorer health behavior.

In a widely cited review by Bradley & Corwyn (2002), different mechanisms linking SES to child development are discussed in detail. Various studies demonstrate negative effects of low SES on health, cognitive and academic achievement, socio-emotional development, access to resources and stress reactions, especially emphasizing the long-lasting negative effects of early childhood deprivation. An abundance of longitudinal studies provide 'substantial empirical support for the path linking low SES to lower competence and maladaptive behavior via harsh or neglectful parenting and compromised parent-child relationships' (Bradley & Corwyn, 2001; Conger et al., 1992, 1997; Elder et al., 1985; Felner et al., 1995; Luster et al., 1995; Lempers et al., 1989; McCoy et al., 1999; McLoyd et al., 1994; Morrison & Eccles, 1995 in Bradley & Corwyn, 2002:384).

The table of intercorrelation (Table 19) showed a negative association between SES and Control ( $p < .05$ ), indicating that poorer families with lower educational and occupational level exert more control in parenting, which should have a detrimental effect on well-being, yet this effect was not registered in the multiple regression analysis. One possible explanation is the German welfare system which enables migrants to get housing subsidies, child welfare, paid health insurance and financial support. With this kind of state-run help the access to resources is available to migrants, as well as to non-migrant families. Therefore, our findings resemble the findings from studies examining immigrant paradox in Europe (Sam et al., 2008; van Geel & Vedder, 2011) where a strong welfare system (e.g., in Netherlands or Belgium) balanced out the differences in well-being between migrant and non-migrant participants.

Access to resources is one of the most important linkages between SES and well-being (Klerman, 1991 in Bradley and Corwyn, 2002). It is possible that German welfare system enables migrant families to access the available resources more easily and therefore the detrimental effect of poverty on well-being is reduced. Although Romani participants included in this study live in over-crowded apartments and lack educational capital (scarce number of books, illiterate family members) they can still (in large number) have access to



material and educational resources in form of welfare benefits and all-day schools (*Ganztagsschule*) where they can receive additional help after class. A research focusing on the way Romani migrants perceive their quality of life after they migrated to Sweden shows that beside factors such as family, friends and good living conditions, the mere fact that they are in Sweden gave them a chance to avoid poverty and 'to build a meaningful and quality rich life' (Cron Dahl & Eklund, 2012:164). Same could be said for Romani migrant families included in the present research who, in most cases, enjoy a more affluent life style in comparison to their relatives and friends still living in their countries of origin (e.g., Bosnia or Serbia), considering the current GDP levels in those countries. Therefore, the frame of reference might play a big role in the perception of socio-economic status and Subjective well-being.

### THE MEDIATING ROLE OF SELF-CONCORDANCE

Relying on Self-determination theory (Sheldon et al., 2004), we hypothesized that the measure of Self-concordance mediates the direct relationship between dimensions of parenting style and Subjective Well-being. According to the conducted models of regression, the association between parenting style and SWB was not significantly reduced after the inclusion of Self-concordance in the model; in other words, no evidence of mediation was found. Possible explanation for this might be the already discussed reduced accuracy of the measure of Self-concordance. However, the fact that there was a significant correlation between Self-concordance and SWB in the matrix of intercorrelation ( $r=.16, p>.05$ ) indicates that the measure of Self-concordance goes in the theoretically intended direction, but demands improvement. Future assessment of Self-concordance should be conducted with higher methodological scrutiny in order to ensure greater variance of this measure.

### TYPES OF SELF IN FAMILY AS PREDICTORS OF SWB

Following Kagitçibasi's convergence hypothesis (2007), out of all types of Self in family, the most beneficial effect on Subjective Well-being should come from Autonomous-related self, regardless of the cultural context. This is based on the idea that the satisfaction of two basic needs of autonomy and relatedness match a healthy development of an individual. In order to establish whether levels of Subjective Well-being differ significantly across categories of Self in family, a one way between-groups analysis of variance was performed. Our findings indicate that participants who scored above median on Related-self scale, reported on highest well-being, followed by Autonomous-related self, Heteronomous-separate self (scoring below median on both scales) and finally Autonomous-separate self.

Although the effect size turned to be quite small, we can observe a trend that only partially matches the theoretical expectations. As previously discussed, measures of Related and Autonomous self in family did not reach complete construct validity. Although quite reliable, they measure relatedness and closeness between family members (omitting the aspect of obedience and control) in case of Related self in family; or separateness and detachment from parents and family (omitting the aspect of agency and autonomy) in case of Autonomous self. Autonomous Self in family did not only fail to predict SWB, but has shown a negative correlation indicating that a decrease in Autonomous self results in an increase in SWB. These findings clearly point to a need for a thorough improvement and adaptation of Kagitçibasi's instruments.

### PERSONAL GOALS AND SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

The last hypothesis within the third research question focused on the content of personal goals and the assumption that goals which fit the basic SDT needs associate with increased levels of Subjective Well-being. Relying on Goal Contents Theory we labeled the following goals as intrinsic: *School & Education; Work & Occupation; Family & siblings; Marriage & Children*, whereas the category of *Material goals* represented extrinsic goals. We then chose the appropriate coefficient values and performed a one-way between-group ANOVA with planned comparisons. A difference in SWB across different types of personal goals was established, with material goals having the lowest impact on SWB, in line with the assumptions of Self-determination theory. However, no post-hoc significance was confirmed. Tim Kasser and associates (1995:912) showed that adolescents who were oriented towards material values (e.g., financial success, as opposed to sociability or curiosity) had mothers who tended to value conformity more than self direction, who had less education and a lower income and who lived in low-income neighborhoods. Although our two groups differ significantly with respect to the SES level, the tendency of Romani participants (who belong to the less affluent group with lower education) to choose material goals was not so striking (99 Romani girls and 79 German girl chose material goals in total).

Goals related to family and siblings or affiliative goals (because they imply caring for family members) also had a weak impact on SWB. It is possible that participants in our sample perceived caring for family members (mostly siblings) as an imposed obligation, rather than autonomous choice. In contrast to that, in a study by Salmela-Aro and Nurmi (1997), young adults who reported interpersonal and family related goals showed a higher level of well-being than other young people.

Educational and work-related goals, as well as goals related to participants' future family (marriage, children) all had a stronger impact on SWB. Two developmental tasks or institutional careers that are of special importance during adolescence are education and preparation for working life (e.g., Erikson, 1959, Havighurst, 1953, Steinberg, 1999 all cited in Salmela –Aro, 2009). The connection between these goals and Subjective Well-being which emerged in our analysis goes in line with SDT theorists (e.g., Kasser & Ryan, 1993), but also with the life-span model of motivation (Nurmi, 2001) according to which personal goals that match the developmental tasks of a particular stage of life contribute to higher well-being.

## 10.4 DISCUSSION OF PERSONAL GOALS

*Research question 4: Dimensions of Collectivism and Individualism, Self in family and socioeconomic status impact the choice of specific goal types and goal obstacles.*

Within the last research question we were examining the impact of relevant socio-cultural variables on the type of a personal goal and a type of a perceived obstacle in goal pursuit. Within the first hypothesis, we were focusing on the choice of a particular goal type. The types of goals were created based on the content of participants' answers (*School & Education; Work & Occupation, Family & Siblings; Marriage & Children, Material Goals and Other*). A multinomial logistic regression was conducted to assess the impact of five predictor variables on the likelihood that respondents would generate one of the six goal types. Unfortunately, McFadden's R-squared indicated a bad model fit, which limits the predictive power of our findings.

According to our initial assumptions, Collectivism and Related self were expected to impact a choice of family related goals. These dimensions were even assumed to indicate a possible subordination of participants' goals to the goals of their families and communities. In other words, we expected that an increase in measures of Collectivism and Related Self leads to a greater likelihood of generating goals belonging to categories *Family & Siblings* or *Marriage & Children*. Results show that Collectivism indeed increases the probability of choosing the goal *Marriage & Children* (relative to category *Other*) for 1.5 times. Additionally, it increases the probability of choosing a goal related to *Work & Occupation* for 1.1 times. However, the expected association with respect to the goal type *Family & Siblings* was not detected. These findings can be interpreted in line with the theory, as Collectivism supports traditional family values, marriage and children. Regarding the increased odds of choosing a

goal related to *Work & Occupation*, it can be interpreted as a need of the individual, but of the family too, to acquire work and meet the existential needs of the family.

We further hypothesized that Individualism and Autonomous self in family might play a role in the choice of a personal goal which is less related to the family and more individual in content, as '[t]he central meaning of individualism is giving priority to personal goals over in-group goals' (Singelis, 1994:580). This was partially confirmed in the analysis as an increase in Individualism emerged as a negative predictor of the goal type *School & Education* and *Work & Occupation*, decreasing the odds of choosing these goals relative to category *Other* for 15% and 70% respectively. If we argue that the choice of an educational or an occupational goal might be loaded with the expectations of the surroundings (parents, family), it might be more reasonable for a person scoring high on Individualism to choose a goal belonging to category *Other* (e.g. having a Facebook profile, or going on a trip, for more examples see Appendix D) which has a higher personal priority.

Possible reason why dimensions of Self in family did not emerge as significant factors in the choice of personal goals might lie in the flawed construct validity of these measures. Since Related self in family reflects rather harmonious and close relationship with family – it can theoretically be supportive of any personal goal. The lack of the theoretically announced aspects of obedience and control must have influenced the lack of an impact on the choice of family-related goals (especially with respect to the category *Family & Siblings*). On the other hand, Autonomous self in family seems to reflect separateness from the family, rather than autonomy and agency and therefore manifests a weak predictive power in the choice of personal goals.

Low socioeconomic status could theoretically play a role in predicting the choice of *Material Goals* or *Work & Occupation* (reflecting the immediate need for a change in economic status), however this was not confirmed in the analysis.

Contemplating on the given findings, a question regarding the power of personal goals to predict the life path of an individual arises. Nurmi and Salmela-Aro (2002) found that individuals who appraised work-related goals as important had more success in dealing with the transition from vocational school to work. Another study showed that individuals whose goals were directed to an academic track were more likely to be on an academic track one year later, while those with a goal for a vocational track – pursued vocational training (Kiuru, Nurmi, Aunola, & Salmela-Aro, 2009). Unfortunately, the cross-sectional design of the current study prevents us from discovering which life paths were chosen by our participants.

## OBSTACLES IN GOAL PURSUIT

Turning to the topic of obstacles in goal pursuit, we assumed that Collectivism, Individualism, Related- and Autonomous Self in family, as well as SES impact the choice of a particular obstacle. Four categories of obstacles were created: *No one & Nothing*, *Family*, *Me personally* and *Other*. Although performed multinomial logistic regression showed significance (using category *Other* as reference), a bad model fit according to McFadden's R-squared lowers its predictive power.

Our findings show that with an increase of Related self for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model), the likelihood that the participants would report on *Family* as a perceived obstacle in comparison to the category *Other* decreases for around 15%. This finding makes sense, because the measure of Related self reflects harmonious relationships within the family. Therefore, it is unlikely that parents or family members would be perceived as obstacles. On the other hand, Autonomous self showed practically the same predictive power and direction with respect to the obstacle *Family*. Considering the nature of the measure of Autonomous self in family, such result could be interpreted as expectable in cases of severe detachment where family loses relevance in the process of goal pursuit and decision making process.

An increase of SES for one unit (whilst controlling for other factors in the model) decreases the likelihood of reporting on *Family* as perceived obstacle in goal pursuit (for 5%). This finding could be interpreted as meaningful considering that most adolescents in the age of 12 to 16 financially depend on their parents and family. The higher the SES, the more likely can the participants benefit and realize goals which depend on financial support.

Collectivism and Individualism did not emerge as significant predictors of particular obstacles in the goal pursuit. From the theoretical perspective, Collectivism could influence the individual to conform to family rules, which could in some cases represent an obstacle in pursuit of goals which do not match family values. On the other hand, Individualism supports independence from family and responsibility for one's actions. Therefore, it would be expected from Individualism to increase the probability of choosing the obstacle *Me personally*, relative to *Other*. However, these assumptions were not confirmed by the given regression model.

## 10.5 LIMITATIONS

Several issues emerged as constraining regarding the present research:

- 1] The used questionnaire was lengthy and demanding, which was especially challenging in case of younger participants, or participants who were less proficient in German. This may have increased the measurement error and lowered the credibility of the results.
- 2] As we aimed to examine a very particular target group consisting of female adolescent Romani migrants, we had to rely on snowball sampling method which comes with several disadvantages: the representativeness is not guaranteed and it is difficult to guess the true distribution of the population, as well as the sample; initial subjects were instructed to find further participants according to very specific criteria which can lead to sampling bias; the conditions of data collection process were not uniform, which could have also increased the measurement error and reduced the control over the sampling process. On the other hand, snowball sampling allowed us to reach a population that would be extremely difficult to sample through other sampling methods.
- 3] We relied on self-reports as our main methodological source and self-reports imply certain weaknesses, such as motivating respondents to give accurate and complete information (Beiske, 2002) and to avoid giving socially desirable or dishonest responses.
- 4] We relied on a cross-sectional design which prevents us to monitor the temporal course and stability of reported measures, especially regarding personal goals and levels of well-being. Therefore, our findings have to be considered preliminary and should be replicated in longitudinal research designs.
- 5] Our study involves only certain Romani groups which are prevalent in Serbia and Bosnia (e.g., Chergashe or Arli). A more comprehensive coverage of diversity of Romani groups is needed in the future research, so that a wider perspective according to which what is typical and what is atypical in the Romani community may be redefined.

## 10.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

Future work would have to allow for the possibility of a longitudinal assessment for several reasons. For instance, Nurmi and his associates (2002) showed that young adults who appraised their work and educational goals as important were more likely to find employment after graduation. It would be interesting to follow-up on educational and

professional outcomes of the participants from the current study. Furthermore, the immigrant paradox theorists (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, & Smith, 2004 in Sam et al., 2008) warn about the convergence hypothesis and a possible decline in the immigrant adaptation over time, manifested in decreased levels of well-being.

It is important to note that within the SDT, measures that have incorporated collectivist content and role obligations were referenced only in relation to external or introjected motivation, as is the case in the present research (“I am pursuing this goal because my parents expect me to”). However, some SDT theorists tried to frame new measures that would be more sensitive to relational values giving collectivist entities a locus of agency: e.g. ‘Because in my family, we want to know if our ideas are correct’ (Rudy et al., 2007 in Miller et al., 2011:48). This way, individuals have a possibility to express their agency and choice in accordance to familial or collectivist expectations and values, and not despite of them.

Anderson and his associates (2012) propose the use of sociometric, rather than socioeconomic status as a measure that has a stronger effect on SWB. Sociometric status that is defined locally, with respect to relevant reference points of the individual in focus affects one’s happiness more than a global SES measure. Anderson and his colleagues therefore propose a local-ladder effect claiming that a higher sociometric status (within a class, neighborhood, club etc.) leads to a higher SWB. In fact, sociometric status was a better predictor of SWB in comparison to SES both in cross-sectional and longitudinal studies. With respect to the current study, Romani families who migrated from Serbia, Bosnia or Romania and settled in Berlin possibly enjoy a higher sociometric status in comparison to their relatives and friends who remained in their respective countries of origin.

Further work in the area of personal goals should include a measure of self-esteem, as research shows that individuals get motivated to achieve goals important to them in order to avoid a decrease in the level of self-esteem and negative emotional consequences (Crocker & Knight, 2005; Crocker & Park, 2004 in Ehrlich, 2012).

Finally, Kagitçibasi’s measures of Autonomous- and Related Self in family need further improvement. It would be interesting to compare scales of Autonomy and Relatedness developed by Self-determination theorists with Kagitçibasi’s measures of Autonomous and Related self, which could result in the validation and possible improvement of Kagitçibasi’s constructs.

## 10.7 CONCLUSION

Romani migrants and minority groups have a reputation of being 'inadaptable' and reports on high number of school dropouts, unemployment and poverty rates (e.g., Strauß, 2011) only strengthen these opinions. Various reports (e.g., EUMAP and ERRC Report, 2004) are particularly concerned with the role and developmental opportunities of women in Romani communities. As noticed by Poviliunas (2007 in Andresen et al., 2010), the policy priorities have been so far limited to the childcare approach emphasizing material situation and ignoring other important dimensions such as children's relationships and child well-being.

A need to scientifically examine this population group and provide new empirical findings and insights inspired the emergence of the present dissertation. In particular, this research explored the influence of the socialization context on the developmental trajectories and well-being of Romani migrant female adolescents. A comparative sample of German non-migrant female adolescents from similar social background enabled us to critically estimate the possible influence of culture, with particular attention placed on dynamics of parenting, development of Self, personal goals and well-being. Relying on cultural constructs of Individualism and Collectivism (Triandis, 1989), Kagitçibasi's Model of Family (Self) Change (2007) and Self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 1989, 2000) we formulated and empirically validated several conceptual models which aimed to investigate the internal relations between distal and proximal constructs used in the model and to examine the predictive value of relevant socio-cultural and Self in family variables with respect to particular goal outcomes. These aims were operationalized in four broader research questions. The first question concerned the disadvantaged position of Romani migrant girls as identified in relevant reports and literature, which was examined through group-comparisons. The second question concerned Kagitçibasi's Model of Family(Self) Change and its premise that particular cultural and family contexts influence the development of particular Self-construals which can be pinpointed on a coordinate system of agency (heteronomy to autonomy) and interpersonal distance (relatedness to separateness) (See Chapter 4). Third question explored significant associations between relevant research variables and Subjective well-being, relying on prior studies, as well as theoretical assumptions of Self-determination theory. Finally, the fourth question investigated the predictive value of chosen socio-cultural variables with respect to a certain type of personal



goal and obstacle in goal pursuit. We will summarize the most significant empirical findings with respect to said research questions.

1. Mean group differences were established with respect to the socioeconomic status across a set of indicators, confirming the initial assumption that Romani migrant group disposes of lesser economic and educational capital in comparison to the German group. After controlling for the effect of socioeconomic level, group differences emerged regarding the values related to Women's intra-family status, Collectivism and Individualism depicting German non-migrant participants as more egalitarian and individualistic. Two groups further differed on the measure of Autonomous self in family (more prominent in the German sample), which is assumed to develop in independent family types. However, the construct validity of this measure was not fully confirmed, as it rather indicated a degree of detachment from the family instead of healthy autonomy. With respect to perceived parenting styles (Warmth, Monitoring, Control), no significant between-group difference emerged. Assumed higher control in Romani migrant families was not confirmed on our sample. This was explained by the flawed construct validity of the used instrument with respect to specific exertion of control in the Romani families (based on strict patriarchy). Finally, there was an observed trend of a higher Subjective Well-being among Romani, in comparison to German participants. Possible explanations coming from research on immigrant paradox (e.g., Sam et al., 2008; van Geel & Vedder, 2011), point to a good welfare system which diminishes the socio-economic differences between migrants and non-migrants or a higher degree of migrant assimilation. This and other explanations will be mentioned in the section revolving around Subjective well-being.

With respect to personal goals, both groups expressed mainly age appropriate goals for the future, although Romani group generated family-oriented goals (*Marriage & Family, Family & Siblings*), next to goals related to work and occupation more frequently than the German group. On the other hand, German group generated more frequently goals related to education and miscellaneous, rather self-oriented goals (*Other*). This goes in line with our expectations that the Romani group would express goals more saturated with family concerns. In comparison to their German peers, Romani migrant girls recognized their families as possible obstacles in goal pursuit in a larger percentage. They were also more determined in the goal pursuit

(claiming that nothing/no one could stand in the way of success). German group perceived self-related obstacles (e.g., laziness) more frequently than Romani group. Further on, both groups demonstrated self-concordant motivational regulation and confidence in successful goal achievement.

2. The expected association between the Autonomous, Related and Autonomou-Related Self in family construals with their theoretically corresponding antecedents was only partially confirmed. Based on the obtained results the construct validity of Kagitçibasi's scales was brought to question and discussed in detail. Autonomous Self in family was predicted by measures of Individualism, Women's status in the family, and more permissive parenting (low Monitoring and Control), just as theorized by Kagitçibasi's Model of Family Change. The only measure that failed to predict Autonomous self was Warmth in parenting. Related Self in family was predicted by measures of Warmth and Collectivism, whereas measures of Control, and negative predictions of Individualism and Gender Equality failed to demonstrate a significant effect.

Four variables showed significance in predicting the likelihood of entering the category Autonomous-related self. The strongest positive predictor was Women's status in the family, followed by Warmth, whereas Control and Monitoring represented negative predictors on a .5 significance level. These results fit with Kagitçibasi's model which claims that a combination of a warm parenting with a decrease in (obedience oriented) control, together with egalitarian gender attitudes suit the development of Autonomous-Related self.

3. Corresponding the theoretical expectations, this study confirmed a beneficial effect of a warm parenting style and Monitoring on Subjective well-being. Further on, measure of Collectivism also contributed to SWB indicating the value of connectedness and close family relationships in the age of adolescence. The measure of socioeconomic status failed to show significance with regard to SWB. One possible explanation is that Germany's welfare system enables migrant, as well as non-migrant groups to reach higher quality of life and reduce the differences in social class, thus minimizing the detrimental effect of low SES on SWB. On the other hand, the possible use of a particular frame of reference (depicting Romani migrants in a more favorable

position in comparison to their relatives and wider community still living in their countries of origin) could have influenced the lack of the expected effect of SES on SWB.

Despite a detected correlation between Self-concordance and SWB – no mediation effect was established, most likely due to the reduced variance of the Self-concordance measure.

A statistically significant difference in the levels of SWB was established across different types of Self in family. Although Autonomous-related self in family theoretically has the optimal level on SWB, findings showed that Related self had the highest and Autonomous self, the lowest impact on SWB levels. However, the effect size was weak and further investigation is needed, especially regarding the construct validity of the used measures.

A difference in SWB across different types of personal goals was confirmed. As Self-determination theory predicts, material goals had the lowest impact on SWB. However no post-hoc significance of results was found.

4. When examining the power of relevant socio-cultural variables to predict the choice of a personal goal or an obstacle in goal pursuit, findings indicated significant models with a rather low predictive power (bad fit). Matching the theoretical expectations Collectivism predicted the likelihood of choosing a goal related to Work & Occupation or Marriage & family for 1.1 and 1.5 times, respectively. Individualism reduced the likelihood of choosing a goal related to Education for 15% and the likelihood of choosing a work related goal for 30%, relative to a self-oriented goal (Other). Regarding obstacles in the goal pursuit, Autonomous Self and SES reduce the likelihood of perceiving Family as an obstacle in the goal pursuit (for 15% and 5%, respectively).

‘Culture is to society what memory is to the person. It specifies designs for living that have proven effective in the past... (Triandis, 1989b:511)’. In other words, cultural context provides us with normative tasks to fit in and play the assigned roles (Matsumoto, 2001). Based on the findings of the present research we can see that Romani migrant participants foster more conservative gender values and family interdependence, thus adapting to the

norms provided by their close cultural context. However, on many parameters Romani participants achieved similar levels as their German counterparts (Goal confidence, Self-concordance, Subjective Well-being) indicating that they practice a combined involvement in the national and ethnic culture, which according to Berry and his associates (2006) has the most beneficial effect on well-being.

Most studies which involve Romani participants are conducted from the perspective of human development (large scale reports on health, housing and welfare conditions) or ethnographic perspective (mostly qualitative studies focusing on description of the customs of particular Romani groups or individuals within those groups). In contrast, this research focused on psychological issues related to motivation and well-being in the age of adolescence, taking into consideration specific structural and sociocultural context our participants were embedded in. Many findings from our study (especially the lack of flagrant between-group variation with respect to levels of well-being and general area of personal goals) indicate that Romani migrants adapt to the host society embracing values of education and job acquirement. '[W]e psychologize the structural when we incorrectly assume that a person is failing to flourish primarily because of problems with her psychology (her values, desires, etc.) rather than because of her structural environment' (Khader, 2011:56). Apparently, structural changes related to available educational agencies and social policies support the process of acculturation of Romani migrant families. For instance, a high number of school dropouts among children from a Romani settlement in Lithuania (Kirtimai) is explained as a failure of their families and not as a failure on a wider societal level. '...one can predict that this ethnic group is likely to remain confined within the reproduction of poverty if no structural changes occur' (Leončikas in Andresen et al. 2011:190).

According to Berry (2001), research examining both migrant and host society populations enables us to link the phenomena in question to the broader setting in which it develops and occurs. Unfavorable position of the Roma in Germany was thus far scarcely scientifically researched and was often aggravated due to misunderstandings and ignorance of the general population. This dissertation adds to an existing body of knowledge regarding cross-cultural research and offers new facts which can contribute to higher social awareness and potential improvement of the position of Romani migrant girls within their local and wider communities. Furthermore, we hope that this dissertation holds relevance with respect to policies for the management of group relations in culturally plural society, such as Berlin.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix A

*Cultural Values Scale –Collectivism and Individualism*

Item code	SOURCE	DIMENSION	ORIGINAL VERSION	ADAPTED VERSION
f103	-Dreher & Dreher, <i>Developmental goals</i> (1985)  - Triandis <i>Attitudes Individualism</i> (1994)	<b>INDIVIDUALISM</b>	Triandis: One should live one's life independently of others as much as possible.  Dreher & Dreher: Von den Eltern unabhängiger werden	Ich möchte gerne von meinen Eltern unabhängig werden.
f106	Triandis <i>Attitudes Kin individualism</i> (1994)	<b>INDIVIDUALISM</b>	Triandis: When faced with a difficult personal problem, it is better to decide what to do yourself, rather than follow the advice of others.	Ich möchte mein eigenes Ding durchziehen, ohne dass meine Familie sich einmischt.
f107	-Dreher & Dreher, <i>Developmental goals</i> (1985)	<b>INDIVIDUALISM</b>	Dreher & Dreher: Sich Gedanken darüber machen, wie später einmal der Partner sein soll und ob man irgendwann eigene Kinder haben möchte.	Ich möchte auf den richtigen Partner warten, mit dem man sich eine Ehe und Kinder vorstellen kann.
f110	Triandis, <i>Behaviors Kin Individualism</i> (1994)	<b>INDIVIDUALISM</b>	Live far from your parents?	In der Zukunft hätte ich nichts dagegen, weit entfernt von meinen Eltern zu leben.
f111	-Dreher & Dreher, <i>Developmental goals</i> (1985)	<b>INDIVIDUALISM</b>	Dreher & Dreher: Einen festen Freund/eine feste Freundin finden.	Ich möchte bald einen festen Partner finden.
f112	Hui, <i>INDCOL Kin Collectivism</i> (1988)	<b>INDIVIDUALISM</b>	I want to decide for myself the kind of education or occupation I will pursue in future.	Was für ein Ausbildung ich mache/in welchem Beruf ich später arbeite, möchte ich ganz allein entscheiden.

f116	Yamaguchi, <i>Behaviors Kin Individualism</i> (1994)	<b>INDIVIDUALISM</b>	Not sacrifice your self-interest for your parents?	Ich würde meine eigenen Interessen nicht wegen meinen Eltern aufgeben.
f104	Hui, <i>INDCOL Kin Collectivism</i> (1988)	<b>COLLECTIVISM</b>	Young people should consider their parent's opinion when they make plans for education or occupation.	Bei beruflichen Entscheidungen möchte ich die Meinung meiner Eltern berücksichtigen.
f105	Triandis, <i>Behavior Kin Collectivism</i> (1994)	<b>COLLECTIVISM</b>	Aging parents should live at home with their children.	In der Zukunft möchte ich in der Nähe meiner Eltern leben.
f108	Hui, <i>INDCOL Kin Collectivism</i> (1988)	<b>COLLECTIVISM</b>	When I engage myself in a certain activity, I will be concerned with my relatives' opinion.	Es ist wichtig für mich, dass meine Familie stolz auf mich ist.
f114	Yamaguchi, <i>Behaviors Kin Collectivism</i> (1994)	<b>COLLECTIVISM</b>	Stick to your parents, even when you strongly disagree with them.	Selbst wenn ich ganz anderer Meinung bin, möchte ich mich meinen Eltern eng verbunden sein.
f115	Hui, <i>INDCOL Kin Collectivism</i> (1994)	<b>COLLECTIVISM</b>	Teenagers should listen to their parents' advice on dating.	Mädchen sollten auf ihre Eltern hören, wenn es um Verabredung mit Jungs geht.
f109	Self-constructed item	<b>COLLECTIVISM</b>	Self-constructed item aimed to assess the desire for early marriage.	Ich möchte gerne bald heiraten.
f113	Self-constructed item	<b>COLLECTIVISM</b>	Self-constructed item aimed to assess the desire for early marriage.	Ich denke daran, zu heiraten.



**Appendix B***Items of Autonomous- and Related Self in family in German and English*

Item code	Items in German	DIMENSION	Items in English
f192	R:Normalerweise versuche ich meine Wünsche mit denen meiner Familie zu vereinbaren.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	R:I usually try to agree with the wishes of my family.
f193	Ich muss nicht so denken wie meine Familie.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	I do not have to think the way my family does.
f194	R:Für seine Zukunftspläne sollte man die Zustimmung seiner Familie einholen.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	R:You should get approval from your family regarding your plans for the future.
f195	R:Ich vermeide Entscheidungen, denen meine Familie nicht zustimmt.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	R:I avoid making decisions, that my family would not agree to.
f196	R:Wenn es um Privates geht, akzeptiere ich die Entscheidungen meiner Familie.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	R:I accept my family's decisions regarding my private life.
f197	R:Ich hätte keine Liebesbeziehung ohne das Einverständnis meiner Familie.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	R:I would not have a close relationship with anyone without my family's permission.
f198	R:Es fällt mir schwer, Entscheidungen unabhängig von meiner Familie zu treffen.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	R:I find it hard to make decisions without involving my family.
f199	R:Es ist für mich kein Problem, Entscheidungen auf Wunsch meiner Familie zu ändern.	AUTONOMOUS SELF IN FAMILY	R:It is not a problem for me to change my decisions if my family wants me to.
f200	In schwierigen Zeiten würde ich gerne wissen, dass meine Familie bei mir ist.	RELATED SELF IN FAMILY	During hard times I would like to know that my family is with me.
f201	R:Die Zeit, die ich mit meiner Familie verbringe, ist mir nicht wichtig.	RELATED SELF IN FAMILY	R:The time that I spend with my family is not important to me.
f202	Sich seiner Familie sehr nah zu fühlen ist eine gute Sache.	RELATED SELF IN FAMILY	To feel close to your family is a good thing.
f203	Meine Familie ist für mich das wichtigste.	RELATED SELF IN FAMILY	My family is my top priority.
f204	Die Beziehung zu meiner Familie gibt mir ein sicheres Gefühl.	RELATED SELF IN FAMILY	My relationship with my family gives me a comforting and safe feeling
f205	Ich fühle mich meiner Familie stark verbunden.	RELATED SELF IN FAMILY	I feel closely attached to my family.

f206 R:Ich verbringe nicht gerne viel Zeit mit meiner Familie. RELATED SELF IN FAMILY R: I do not enjoy spending much time with my family.

## Appendix C

### Tests of Normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov <sup>a</sup>			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	Df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
HISEI score	.124	142	.000	.927	142	.000
SWB Total score	.072	142	.069	.952	142	.000
Individualism	.126	142	.000	.943	142	.000
Collectivism	.139	142	.000	.943	142	.000
PS_Warmth	.166	142	.000	.850	142	.000
PS_Monitoring	.128	142	.000	.950	142	.000
PS_Control	.112	142	.000	.978	142	.019
Autonomus Self	.118	142	.000	.971	142	.004
Related Self	.161	142	.000	.868	142	.000
Gender Equality	.189	142	.000	.899	142	.000
Self-concordance	.406	142	.000	.657	142	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

## Appendix D - Examples of personal goals in original

Schule/Ausbildung	Arbeit/Beruf	Familie/Geschwister	Eigene Familie	Eigentum/Geld	Sonstiges
Studieren	Ich möchte Sekretärin werden	Ich möchte mit meinen Eltern immer zusammen sein	heiraten	Ich möchte reich werden	Facebook haben
Schule beenden	Ich will in Salon arbeiten	Meine Familie später etwas gutes bieten können	Ab 20 heiraten	Haus kaufen in Berlin	Hüpsch werden
Ausbildung	Arbeiten	Ich möchte das meine Eltern ein Haus haben	Gemeinsame Familie	Ich will ein Haus haben das sehr groß ist	das mich viele mögen und nicht so hassen
Nach den Sommerferien, weiter die Schule machen!	Frisörin	In ein Haus mit Geschwistern wohnen	Ich möchte gerne 3-4 Kinder haben	Ich will in ein Haus wohnen aber es soll schön sein	Ich möchte später einen Hund besitzen
Für die Schule jede Menge lernen	Als Verkäuferin arbeiten	Mich um meine Geschwistern kümmern	Ich möchte in Zukunft eine Familie haben mit meinem Freund	Reich werden	Nuttelawette durchhalten
Ausbildung beenden	Ich möchte mal ein Job haben	kein Streit mit Eltern haben	Ich will mein Leben schön leben mit Kindern und vielleicht Mann	Ich möchte mein auto haben	Ich will später mal mit taucher flossen tauchen
mehr lernen!	Ich will arbeiten und Geld verdienen	das ich auf meine Schwestern aufpassen sollte	Eine Familie gründen	reich werden	das ich immer nett bin
Guten Schulabschluss!	Fitness club job	Eine Gesunde Familie	Meine eigene Familie unterstützen	Ein Haus bauen	Essen
Die Schule schaffen	Arbeiten	Ich wünsche mir für meiner Mütter das sie eine Arbeit bekommt	Kinder haben	Ich möchte in Zukunft eine eigene Wohnung haben	Trinken
Abitur schaffen	Mein Traumberuf finden	Ich wünsche mir das meine Familie und ich gesund bleiben	ich will heiraten	Ein Haus haben und ein Auto	Spaß
Meine Schule beenden	Eine Karriere machen ( Sängerin)	Das meine Mutter gesund bleibt	das ich mit Toni heirate	Ein Haus zu haben	Talent
Meine Ausbildung	Arzt werden	Mit meiner Familie alt werden	Ich will auch noch eine Familie haben	eigenes Geld	Armen Leuten mit meinem verdienten Geld zu helfen
Ich will die Schule schaffen	Meinen festen Job haben	um meine Familie zu kümmern	kinder haben	Wohnung	Erfahrungen sammeln
ich will gute Noten schreiben	Ich möchte später als Einzelkauffrau arbeiten	Meinen Eltern ein Haus kaufen. Es soll ihnen an nix fehlen.	heiraten	ein Haus am See	Vieles Erleben
MSA nachholen	Ich will als Frisörin arbeiten	Immer ein gutes Verhältniss mit Eltern	ich wünsche das ich 2 jungs und 2 mädchen habe	Ein Haus mit einem Auto	immer auf den richtigen Bahn bleiben

**Appendix E***Questionnaire*

# FRAGEBOGEN

## zu persönlichen Zielen junger Mädchen



f100a-Code:	f100b-Datum:	f100c-Zeit-Start:	f100d-Zeit-Ende:	f100e-Ort:	f100f-Institution:

## So wird's gemacht!

Bei dieser Befragung geht es darum, wie es dir geht und wie deine Lebensbedingungen und Zukunftsvorstellungen aussehen. Wir interessieren uns dafür, was dir wichtig ist. Bei jeder Frage solltest du die Antwort auswählen, die du für die beste hältst. Es gibt keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten. Ganz allein deine Meinung zählt.

Wir beginnen mit ein paar Übungsfragen, damit du genau weißt, wie die Fragen im Fragebogen zu beantworten sind.

### Beispiel 1:

Gehst du zur Schule? *(Kreuze nur ein Kästchen an.):*  ja  nein

### Beispiel 2:

Wie ist deine Meinung? Gib an, wie sehr du mit diesen Aussagen übereinstimmst. <i>(Bitte kreuze in jeder Zeile nur ein Kästchen an.)</i>	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll zu
a) Ins Kino gehen macht Spaß	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Ich esse gerne Schokolade	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Frühes Aufstehen mag ich gar nicht.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Wichtig!



1. Lies dir jede Frage aufmerksam durch und wähle die Antwort aus, die auf dich zutrifft.
2. Male dazu ein Kreuzchen in das entsprechende Kästchen
3. Wenn du deine Antwort auf eine Frage ändern möchtest, male das alte Kästchen aus und kreuze das Kästchen bei deiner neuen Antwort an.
4. Bitte um Hilfe, wenn du etwas nicht verstehst oder unsicher bist.

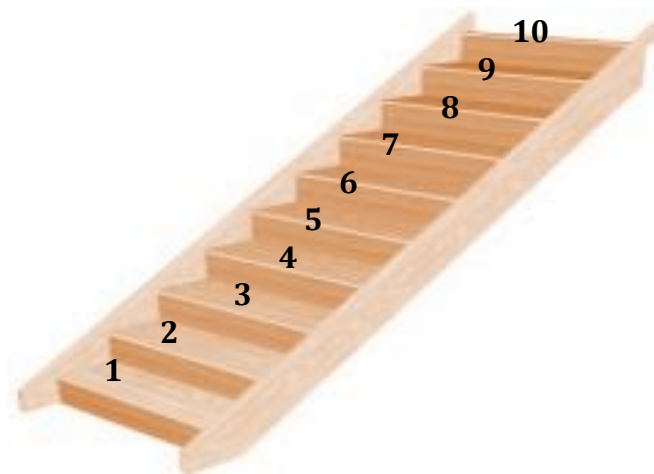
## Die erste Frage!

Manche Menschen haben das Gefühl, vollkommen freie Wahl und Kontrolle über ihr Leben zu haben. Andere haben das Gefühl, dass sie keinen Einfluss darauf haben, was mit ihnen geschieht.

Du siehst unten eine **Zehn-Stufen-Leiter**:

Auf dem Boden (**erste Stufe**) stehen die Menschen, die gar keine freie Wahl und Kontrolle über ihr Leben haben;

auf der höchsten Stufe (**zehnte Stufe**) stehen diejenigen die vollkommen freie Wahl und Kontrolle haben.



**Bitte kreuze eine Nummer an!**

Auf welcher Stufe stehst du heute?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

f264

**Erste Aufgabe! Was sind deine wichtigsten Ziele?**

1. Bitte lese Dir zuerst die Aufgabenstellung in Teil A sorgfältig durch und schreibe dann deine Ziele auf.

2. Danach lese Dir bitte Teil B durch und kreuze an, warum Du diese Ziele verfolgst.

Beantworte danach die Fragen C, D und E.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>A</b></p> <p><small>f101a</small> Unter "wichtigsten Zielen" verstehen wir Sachen mit denen du dich derzeit beschäftigst und die du in den nächsten Jahren verfolgen möchtest (z.B. Erfahrungen, die du machen möchtest, Pläne, die du verwirklichen willst oder Veränderungen, die du anstrebst).</p> <p>Kurzum: <b>Was willst du in Zukunft machen?</b> Dabei interessieren uns die <b>größten Ziele</b> die du hast, und nicht die alltägliche Sachen oder Aufgaben (z.B. einer Freundin einen SMS zu schreiben).</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>B</b></p> <p><small>f101b</small> <b>Ich verfolge dieses Ziel weil...</b></p>				<p style="text-align: center;"><b>C</b></p> <p><small>f101c</small> Welches der unter A genannten Ziele ist dir <b>am wichtigsten</b>?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>D</b></p> <p><small>f101d</small> Wie <i>zuversichtlich</i> bist du, dass du dieses <b>wichtigste Ziel</b> erreichen wirst?</p>			
	<p>...meine <b>Eltern</b> es von mir verlangen.</p>	<p>...ich mich <b>schuldig</b> fühle, wenn ich es nicht tue</p>	<p>...es mir <b>wichtig</b> ist.</p>	<p>...es mir <b>Spaß</b> macht.</p>		<p>überhaupt nicht</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>einigermaßen</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>ziemlich</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>äußerst</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/></p>
1.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>E</b></p> <p><small>f101e</small> Wer oder was könnte dich daran <i>hindern</i>, dieses <b>wichtigste Ziel</b> zu erreichen?</p> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>			
2.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
3.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
4.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
5.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				
6.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>				

Wie treffen die folgenden Aussagen auf dich zu?	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll zu	
Ich möchte gerne von meinen Eltern unabhängig werden.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f103
Bei beruflichen Entscheidungen möchte ich die Meinung meiner Eltern berücksichtigen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f104
In der Zukunft möchte ich in der Nähe meiner Eltern leben.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f105
Ich möchte mein eigenes Ding durchziehen, ohne dass meine Familie sich einmischt.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f106
Ich möchte auf den richtigen Partner warten, mit dem ich mir eine Ehe und Kinder vorstellen kann.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f107
Es ist wichtig für mich, dass meine Familie stolz auf mich ist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f108
Ich möchte gerne bald heiraten.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f109
In der Zukunft hätte ich nichts dagegen, weit entfernt von meinen Eltern zu leben.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f110
Ich möchte bald einen festen Partner finden.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f111
Was für eine Ausbildung/Beruf ich mache, möchte ich ganz allein entscheiden.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f112
Ich denke daran, zu heiraten.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f113
Selbst wenn ich ganz anderer Meinung bin, möchte ich mit meinen Eltern eng verbunden sein.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f114
Mädchen sollten auf ihre Eltern hören, wenn es um Verabredungen mit Jungs geht.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f115
Ich würde meine eigenen Interessen nicht meiner Eltern zuliebe aufgeben.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f116
Im Falle von Uneinigkeit zwischen Mann und Frau, sollte der Mann immer entscheiden.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f117
Ein Ehemann hat die Aufgabe Geld zu verdienen, eine Ehefrau hat die Aufgabe sich um den Haushalt und die Familie zu kümmern.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f118
Ehemänner sollten die Arbeiten rund ums Haus mit ihren Frauen teilen(Geschirr spülen,	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f118a



putzen, usw.).					
Ich kann darauf zählen, dass meine Eltern mir helfen wenn ich ein Problem habe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f119
In meiner Familie machen wir oft etwas zusammen, das Spaß macht.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f120
Wenn meine Eltern wollen dass ich etwas tue, erklären sie mir warum.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f121
Meine Eltern und ich reden häufig einfach so miteinander.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f122
Meine Eltern wissen genau, was ich nachmittags nach der Schule mache.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f123
Meine Eltern kennen meine Freunde.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f124
Meine Eltern wissen oft, was ich denke und wie ich mich fühle.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f125
Bei schlechten Noten machen mir meine Eltern das Leben schwer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f126
Meine Eltern verbieten mir Dinge, wenn ich etwas getan habe das sie nicht wollen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f127
Meine Eltern meinen, in Auseinandersetzungen sollte ich eher zurückstecken als andere Leute ärgerlich zu machen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f128
Meine Eltern wollen, dass ich ihnen gehorche. (Das ich auf sie höre).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f129

**Wie sehr stimmst du den folgenden Aussagen zu?**

	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll zu	
Ich genieße es, mit meiner Familie zu Hause zu sein.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f131
Meine Freunde behandeln mich gut.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f132
Ich bin gerne in der Schule.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f133

Wie sehr stimmst du den folgenden Aussagen zu?	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll zu	
Meine Familie und ich haben zusammen viel Spaß.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f134
Es gefällt mir dort, wo ich wohne.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f135
Meine Familienmitglieder kommen gut miteinander aus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f136
Die meisten Menschen mögen mich.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f137
Ich mag meine Wohngegend.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f138
Ich kann viele Sachen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f139
Meine Freunde sind nett zu mir.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f140
Ich finde, dass ich gut aussehe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f141
Ich genieße schulische Aktivitäten.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f142
Man kann viel Spaß mit mir haben.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f143
Ich verstehe mich mit meinen Freunden nicht immer gut.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f144
Ich wünschte, ich würde irgendwo anders wohnen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f145
Ich habe genügend Freunde.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f146
Ich freue mich darüber, zur Schule zu gehen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f147
Meine Familie ist besser als die meisten anderen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f148
Schule ist interessant.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f149
Das Haus in dem wir wohnen ist schön.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f150
Es gibt vieles, was ich an der Schule nicht mag.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f151
Meine Freunde sind gemein zu mir.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f152

Wie sehr stimmst du den folgenden Aussagen zu?	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll zu	
Ich lerne viel in der Schule.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f153
Ich wünschte, andere Leute würden in meiner Gegend wohnen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f154
Ich verbringe gerne Zeit mit meinen Eltern.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f155
Ich habe viel Spaß mit meinen Freunden.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f156
Ich wünschte, ich würde in einem anderen Haus wohnen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f157
Meine Freunde sind großartig.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f158
Ich fühle mich in der Schule nicht wohl.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f159
Ich mag meine Nachbarn.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f160
Meine Freunde helfen mir, wenn es nötig ist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f161
Meine Eltern behandeln mich gerecht.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f162
Dort, wo ich wohne, kann man viel machen, was Spaß macht.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f163
Ich wünschte, ich müsste nicht zur Schule gehen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f164
Diese Stadt ist voller gemeiner Menschen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f165
Ich bin nett.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f166
Meine Familie kommt gut miteinander aus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f167
Ich wünschte, ich hätte andere Freunde.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f168
Ich probiere gerne Neues aus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f169
Ich mag mich.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f170

**Gib bitte an, wie du dich im Verlauf der**    **Nie**    **Selten**    **Häufig**    **Sehr häufig**

**letzten Wochen gefühlt hast?**

aktiv?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f172
kummervoll?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f173
interessiert?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f174
freudig?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f175
verärgert?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f176
stark?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f177
schuldig?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f178
erschrocken?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f179
feindselig?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f180
aufgeregt?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f181
stolz?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f182
gereizt?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f183
begeistert?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f184
beschämt?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f185
wach?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f186
nervös?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f187
entschlossen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f188
aufmerksam?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f189
durcheinander?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f190
ängstlich?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f191

Wie oft trifft die folgende Aussage zu?	Trifft überhaupt nicht zu	Trifft eher nicht zu	Trifft eher zu	Trifft voll zu	
Normalerweise versuche ich meine Wünsche mit denen meiner Familie zu vereinbaren.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f192
Ich muss nicht so denken wie meine Familie.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f193
Für seine Zukunftspläne sollte man die Zustimmung seiner Familie einholen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f194
Ich vermeide Entscheidungen, denen meine Familie nicht zustimmt.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f195
Wenn es um Privates geht, akzeptiere ich die Entscheidungen meiner Familie.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f196
Ich hätte keine Liebesbeziehung ohne das Einverständnis meiner Familie.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f197
Es fällt mir schwer, Entscheidungen unabhängig von meiner Familie zu treffen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f198
Es ist für mich kein Problem, Entscheidungen auf Wunsch meiner Familie zu ändern.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f199
In schwierigen Zeiten würde ich gerne wissen, dass meine Familie bei mir ist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f200
Die Zeit, die ich mit meiner Familie verbringe, ist mir nicht wichtig.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f201
Sich seiner Familie sehr nah zu fühlen ist eine gute Sache.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f202
Meine Familie ist für mich das wichtigste.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f203
Die Beziehung zu meiner Familie gibt mir ein sicheres Gefühl.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f204
Ich fühle mich meiner Familie stark verbunden.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f205
Ich verbringe nicht gerne viel Zeit mit meiner Familie.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	f206

**Weitere Fragen...** (bitte ergänzen oder markieren!)

Wie alt bist du?		f223
In welche Klasse gehst du?		f224
Bist du in den Kindergarten gegangen?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja <input type="checkbox"/> Nein	f225
Gehst du in eine Ganztagschule?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja <input type="checkbox"/> Nein	f226
Hast du schon Klassen wiederholt?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja <input type="checkbox"/> Nein	f227
Hast du schon mal die Schule gewechselt?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja <input type="checkbox"/> Nein	f228
Wenn ja, warum?		f228a
Welche Note hattest du im letzten Zeugnis in Mathematik?		f229
Welche Note hattest du im letzten Zeugnis in Deutsch?		f230
Bist du zufrieden mit deinen Noten bzw. deinen Leistungen in der Schule	Nie      Selten      Häufig      Sehr häufig <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	f231
In welchem Land bist du geboren?		f232
Hast du schon mal in einem anderen Land gelebt? Welchem?		f233
Seit wann bist du in Deutschland?		f234
Hast du einen deutschen Pass / Ausweis?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja <input type="checkbox"/> Nein	f235
Wenn du keinen deutschen Pass oder Ausweis hast, welchen Aufenthaltsstatus hast du?		f236

**Ich lebe mit folgenden Familienmitgliedern zusammen:**

<input type="checkbox"/> Mutter	f237a	<input type="checkbox"/> Vater	f237b
<input type="checkbox"/> Brüder (Anzahl) :- _____	f237c1	<input type="checkbox"/> Schwestern (Anzahl): _____	f237c 2
<input type="checkbox"/> Großmutter	f237d	<input type="checkbox"/> Großvater	f237e
<input type="checkbox"/> Stiefmutter	f237f	<input type="checkbox"/> Stiefvater	f237g

- Onkel f237h       Tante f237i
- andere, und zwar: f237j
- 

### Die letzten Fragen...:

Weißt du, was eine Abschiebung ist? Bitte beschreibe!					f238
Hast du Angst, dass du abgeschoben werden könntest?	Nie <input type="checkbox"/>	Selten <input type="checkbox"/>	Häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	Sehr häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	f239
Meine Eltern machen sich sorgen, dass wir abgeschoben werden können.	Nie <input type="checkbox"/>	Selten <input type="checkbox"/>	Häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	Sehr häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	f239a
In welchem Land ist deine Mutter geboren?					f240
In welchem Land ist dein Vater geboren?					f241
Wie oft sprichst du zu Hause Deutsch?	Nie <input type="checkbox"/>	Selten <input type="checkbox"/>	Häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	Sehr häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	f242
Wie oft sprichst du mit deinen Freunden auf Deutsch?	Nie <input type="checkbox"/>	Selten <input type="checkbox"/>	Häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	Sehr häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	f243
Welche anderen Sprachen sprichst du zu Hause?					f244
Kann deine Mutter lesen und schreiben?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja			<input type="checkbox"/> Nein	f245
Welchen Schulabschluss / wie viel Schuljahren hat deine Mutter?					f246
Kann dein Vater lesen und schreiben?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja			<input type="checkbox"/> Nein	f247
Welchen Schulabschluss / wie viel Schuljahren hat dein Vater?					f248
Was ist der Beruf deiner Mutter? (z. B. Hausfrau, Frisörin, Küchenhelferin, Anwältin)					f249
Wenn sie nicht berufstätig ist, teil uns bitte ihren letzten Beruf mit.					f250
Was genau macht deine Mutter in ihrem Beruf? (z. B. Sie führt einen Friseursalon./ Sie ist in					f251

einem Friseursalon angestellt. Sie hilft in einem Restaurant beim Essen kochen.) Bitte beschreib in einen Satz die Art der Arbeit, die sie in ihrem Job macht.

Was ist der Beruf deines Vaters? (z. B. Bauarbeiter, Küchenhelfer, Anwalt)

f252

Wenn er nicht berufstätig ist, teil uns bitte seinen letzten Beruf mit.

f253

Was genau macht dein Vater in seinem Beruf?  
(z. B. Er baut Häuser/Straßen. Er hilft in einem Restaurant beim Essen kochen.) Bitte beschreib in einen Satz die Art der Arbeit, die er in seinem Job macht.

f254

Wie viele Bücher gibt es bei dir zu Hause ungefähr? Kreuze nur ein Kästchen an!

0-10 Bücher (keine oder nur sehr wenige)

11-25 Bücher (genug, um ein Regalbrett zu füllen)

26-100 Bücher (genug, um ein Regal zu füllen)

f255

101-200 Bücher (genug, um zwei Regale zu füllen)

über 200 Bücher (genug, um drei oder mehr Regale zu füllen)

Hast du einen Computer zu Hause?

Ja

Nein

f256

Hast du Internetanschluss zu Hause?

Ja

Nein

f257

Wie oft bist du am Computer in deiner Freizeit?

Nie

Selten

Häufig

Sehr häufig

f258

Hast du ein eigenes Zimmer

Ja

Nein

f259

Wenn du kein eigenes Zimmer hast: Mit wie vielen Personen teilst du dein Zimmer?

f259b

Darfst du Freunde mit nach Hause bringen?

Nie

Selten

Häufig

Sehr häufig

f260



Kannst du dein Zimmer abschließen wenn du möchtest?	Nie <input type="checkbox"/>	Selten <input type="checkbox"/>	Häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	Sehr häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	f261
Wenn nicht, würdest du es gerne abschließen können?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ja		<input type="checkbox"/> Nein		f262
Wird bei dir zu Hause geklopft bevor dein Zimmer betreten wird?	Nie <input type="checkbox"/>	Selten <input type="checkbox"/>	Häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	Sehr häufig <input type="checkbox"/>	f263

Jetzt hast du es geschafft!

**DANKE!!!**



Du hast uns

sehr geholfen!