

The Dilemma of Deviant Subcultures for Immigrant Youth Integration: An Analysis of Popularity Attainment in Israeli Schools

Abstract

Immigrant and second generation youth face distinct challenges adapting to school environments in the host society. Young people's popularity is often influenced by style-based subcultures. This research focuses on three localized subcultures and three globalized subcultures that represent the subcultural labels most often identified with by high-school-aged youth in Israel. We investigate how students from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in Israel, a multi-ethnic society with a large proportion of immigrant youth, adopt subcultural identities, and the effects this assimilation has on popularity attainment. Israeli youths' relations to subcultures were measured in a nationally representative questionnaire of high school students. Results highlight how youth who have less tenure in the country and preserve indigenous languages are increasingly drawn towards delinquent subcultures as a means towards gaining popularity in school.

Introduction

Entering high school, youth are faced with a challenge to make friends and become popular in school. For immigrant youth and those from minority backgrounds, this challenge can

be even greater (Coll and Magnuson, 2014). In order to achieve social success, recent immigrants and those who maintain their family's indigenous language (L1) are often drawn towards joining delinquent subcultures. Persistent ethnic inequalities are exacerbated as a result of disadvantaged minority youth relying on delinquent subcultures to achieve popularity.

This paper investigates how students from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in Israel, a multi-ethnic society with a large proportion of immigrant youth, adopt subcultural identities (e.g., Nerds, Freaks, etc.), and the effects this has on popularity attainment. Subcultures are widely recognized as playing an important role in one's choice of friends, but hitherto little research has examined the mediating role that subcultures play for immigrant youth, especially in the Israeli context.

Deviant subcultures often provide immigrant youth with an easy way to make friends in the host environment. We examine how subcultures mediate the path to popularity for differing ethnic groups. The results highlight how youth whose families have less tenure in the country and/or preserve L1 are more drawn towards subcultures, the more delinquent of which will increase their popularity. This dilemma of deviant subcultures for immigrant youth integration must be recognized by school educators and families who need to promote ways for immigrant youth to become popular without succumbing to the vices that are associated with delinquent crowds.

Six subcultures were voted in a pilot study as the most prevalent in Israeli high schools. Utilizing a nationally representative survey of 10th and 11th grade high school students across the country, we show how these subcultures mediate the path towards popularity. In order to do so, we display a series of robust models computed using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) and other statistical procedures. Group analyses are made based on two recent ethnic migrations

(Russian and Ethiopian) and two broader ethnic groups with a wider variance of migration (Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews). The results reveal how each ethnic group is influenced differently by each subculture, and how students with lower levels of integration profess to belonging to the more delinquent subcultures.

Our research follows up on James Coleman's discovery (1961) that popularity in school is the most important behavioral motivation for young people. Immigrant and second generation youth, by prioritizing popularity over academic excellence, may further exacerbate the disadvantages they face in the real world. We begin by providing theory followed by background on the two main topics: migration and subcultures.

Migration Theories

Acculturation is a process of cultural change and adaptation following migration and inter-cultural encounters with other ethnic groups in a new host environment (Gibson, 2001). Research shows that acculturation involves several intra-personal processes, such as identity reconstruction (Horenczyk, 2000) and negotiation between the maintenance of the ethnic language - L1 and the acquisition of the local language - L2 (Olshtain and Kotik, 2000).

Several demographic and social factors are believed to impact acculturation. First, ethnic identification declines as a function of length of residence (tenure) in the host society, while national identity strengthens (Jasinskaya-Lahiti and Liebkind, 2000; Liebkind et al., 2004). Moreover, early migration age is expected to facilitate development of the host identity, usually at the expense of ethnic identity. In the area of language acculturation, early second language acquisition may often compromise L1 literacy, which was not consolidated prior to immigration (Olshtain, 1998).

Migrants' perceptions of intergroup relations within the host context are also central to identity reconstruction and to the establishment of language attitudes and behaviors. The construct of 'Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality' (SEV, Giles et al., 1977), is used to assess perceptions of a language group's status in the social milieu, in terms of its demographic strength (population, birth rate and geographical concentration), institutional support (representation in the media, education and government) and social status (economic, political and linguistic prestige).

Giles and Johnson's Ethnolinguistic Identity Model (1981, 1987) maintains that the strength of one's identification with a language group is a function of perceptions of group vitality (SEV), which consequently impacts the degree of favorability towards that group's language and its subsequent use. Moreover, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) posits that in any interaction individuals will choose to represent themselves in the language that will best enhance their social identity (Giles et al., 1973), converging towards or diverging away from L1 or L2 as a means of displaying group affiliation, ethnic solidarity or conformity to mainstream society.

Clearly, however, migrants' acculturation does not occur in a social vacuum but rather, in response to the socio-political context of the host society and the migration ideologies of the latter (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997). In communities where total assimilation is expected- as is the case in a melting-pot society- immigrants may be under pressure to relinquish their ethnic culture and language (Schwartz et al., 2006). In contrast, host societies which reject immigrants' attempts at inclusion, regardless of their attempts to integrate, impede immigrants' identity reconstruction (Bourhis et al., 1997). Such exclusion results in a state of marginalization from mainstream society (e.g., see Liebkind and McAlister's study of immigrants in the Finnish

context, 1999). Immigrant youth may acculturate by preserving their indigenous culture and identity, adopting the values of their host peers, balancing between the two; or end up being drawn into a state of marginalization whereby they reject both the host culture as well as their ethnic roots.

Migration to Israel

The majority of Israel's population immigrated over a period of approximately one century. Each ethnic group encountered different acculturation experiences. Briefly we provide the migration history of the four ethnic groups examined in this study.

A) The Ashkenazi Migration

The original Ashkenazi migration constituted Jews fleeing from pogroms and anti-Jewish propaganda in Eastern Europe. This emigration was coupled with a strong Zionist ideology which perceived the land of Israel as the Jewish homeland (Horowitz and Lissak, 1989). Later Ashkenazi migration was precipitated by the Holocaust, and in its aftermath survivors found refuge in the Yishuv- the Jewish settlement. After the declaration of Israeli independence, a steady flow of Ashkenazi immigrants continued to arrive. Early Ashkenazi immigrants had a socialist worldview which formed the basis for the establishment of pre-state institutions, such as the Kibbutz. Moreover, this group pioneered the revival of Hebrew language and cultural life, thus establishing themselves as the elite of the Yishuv. This paved the way for the successful integration process experienced by later Ashkenazi arrivals (Zeltzer-Zubida and Zubida, 2012).

B) The Mizrahi Migration

Mizrahi migration began with Yemenite Jews who arrived even prior to the early Ashkenazi migrants. Immediately following independence, Israel absorbed Jews fleeing persecution from Europe as well as Arab countries. By 1951 nearly all of the Jewish communities of Libya, Yemen, and Iraq had immigrated, often under duress. Mass immigrations of the late 1950s and early 1960s also brought North African Jews from Morocco and Tunisia. They were sent mostly to the periphery, disconnected from the center, residing next to the Kibbutzim but unable to enjoy their facilities (Shohat, 1988). Due to socio-cultural differences between Mizrahi immigrants and the veteran, Ashkenazi elite, a rift developed between the two groups. Mizrahi Jews were seen as lacking the social capital of veteran Israelis and sharing a language and culture with the Arabs who were enemies of the state. Research on mixed relationships describes the racial preference towards the Ashkenazi side of mixed couples (Benjamin and Barash, 2004). Inequalities between the two groups in terms of education, economic and social status, remain to this day (Cohen et al., 2007).

C) Recent Migration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union (FSU)

The 1970s were characterized by a sizable immigration from the Soviet Union (approximately 165,000), largely motivated by Zionist ideology. In the early 1990s this wave was followed by approximately one million immigrants who arrived from republics of the former Soviet Union (FSU). For this recent emigration, Israel presented an alternative to the deteriorating, post-communist society (Remennick, 2003). Immigrants from the FSU have strong representation in Israeli politics (Leshem, 2005), government institutions, culture and the media (Spolsky, 1997). Russian identity and core linguistic and cultural patterns remained firmly intact even when the national, host identity and language were adopted (Ben Raphael et al., 2006;

Remennick, 2009). Russian language maintenance is also prevalent among immigrants who arrived at a young age or were born in Israel (Niznik, 2011), as manifested in patterns of media consumption (Adoni and Cohen, 2003).

D) The Ethiopian Migration

Ethiopian Israelis constitute about 1.5% of the Israeli population. Immigration of this community began after 1973, following their recognition as Jews by the State religious authorities. While this immigration was ideologically motivated, and migrants expressed a desire for inclusion (Shabtay, 2000), transition from a poor, rural environment to a modern, western society was burdened by deep cultural and visible racial differences. Studies reveal a phenomenon of marginalized Ethiopian youth (Golan-Cook et al., 2015), who have turned to 'black culture' in response to feelings of alienation from the local culture (Shabtay 2003). Although L1 (primarily Amharic) is valued, its maintenance is discouraged upon school entrance (Stavans et al., 2009). Ethiopian Israelis who reported stronger socio-cultural identification with their ethnic group were more inclined to maintain and use L1 (Golan-Cook et al., 2014). The low demographic and socio-economic status of Ethiopian Israelis is reflected in their limited institutional representation and participation in Israeli culture and the media (Dobiner, 2012).

Subculture Theories

Initial research on the field of subcultures from the Chicago School (Park et al., 1925) theorized that youth subcultures were a manifestation of immigrant youth who congregated in urban environments. A tipping point for subculture theory came with the doctoral study of James Coleman (1961), "The Adolescent Society", which identified youth subcultures as a

counterculture to adult culture and values. Coleman highlighted how youth are more concerned with social benefits than academic benefits, a finding which has since been explored in depth. Garner et al.'s (2006) revisitation of *The Adolescent Society*, in a manner similar to Coleman's focus on popularity, further explained student culture in terms of prep culture and oppositional cultures. However, in contrast to Coleman, they were analyzing schools based on ethnic and class differences in the community.

Neo-Marxist theorists, playing on the idea of intergenerational preservation of cultural values and status, interpreted subcultures as countercultures, rejecting the culture and values of the host society and prior generations (Roszak, 1995). Subcultures were associated with a rebellion of the working classes who opposed structural inequalities (Clarke and Jefferson, 1976). The Birmingham Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), inspired by this interpretation of cultural hegemony, saw subcultures as a form of class-resistance to subordination. They often explained resistance to schooling and other subcultural conduct as political behavior, associated with class conflict. The Resistance Theory articulated by Willis (1977) focuses on how the delinquency of working class youth (the Lads) replicates capitalist divisions in society (Davies, 1995).

In the Israeli context, the Lads share similarities with the Ars subculture (described in the following section). These stereotypical images portray a perception of subalterns or "under-culture": people who are normatively classified as inferior based on their group identity (Hebdige, 1979). Social dysfunction occurs, whereby students from lower social classes fail in school and behave delinquently. Cultural resistance theories specifically examine how ethnic minority youth debate subcultural affiliations as they struggle to integrate into society. Ogbu (1992) developed an oppositional cultural model to explain such ethnic cleavages. He coined the

term cultural inversion to explain the tendency for involuntary minorities (i.e. descendants of forced-migrations) to regard certain behaviors as antagonistic to their identity and status as a minority. For example, African-Americans often express a counterculture to “acting white,” which they associate with high academic performance (Fordham, 1996).

In the Israeli school context, Arabs and Jews are usually educated separately, and hence our focus is on ethnic conflict that occurs between Jewish ethnicities who are educated together within Hebrew-language schools. Alluding to the latter topic of intra-Jewish ethnic tensions, Mira Karnieli (2004) explains Israeli subcultures in terms of an oppositional cultural model of working-class Mizrahi students who resist schooling. Others have described similar countercultures in Israel against ‘acting Ashkenazi’ (Rozenhal-Marmorstein, 2005) and ‘being a Friar’¹ (Roniger and Feige, 1993). These studies highlight how social behaviors and stereotypes impact social relations. For example, Bloch (1998) explores how American immigrants to Israel develop feelings of anxiety and mistrust of native Israelis, as a result of being associated with the Friar stereotype. Shifman (2004) attributes the development of subcultural stereotypes from Israeli media and comedy to ethnic tensions between elite Ashkenazi and cunning Mizrahi from the development towns.

Subcultures in Israel

When determining subcultural belonging, young people appear to adhere to a unifying concept, an overarching subcultural stereotype. As part of the final questionnaire, the quantitative details of which will be described in the analysis, students were asked in an open

¹ The word Friar refers to a subculture of suckers, people who get ripped off or taken advantage of. The word Friar has an identity that is distinctively Israeli.

question to describe a subculture and whom they called by this name. Using these responses, short stories were created about the heterostereotype of each group. Translations are italicized and pronoun modifications are in parentheses. Gender conversions were made based on whether significant differences exist in being called this name by gender. The gender neutral pronoun (it) is used for the two subcultures with insignificant gender bias (the Hnuun and the Freak).

The Ars

The word Ars is based on the Palestinian-Arabic slang for pimp. Among the Jewish population, the Ars subculture is associated with a counterculture to school norms, combined with a confrontational attitude that can be dangerous and intimidating. The Ars is frequently up to trouble and will *do Davka* (contrary to what others want, on purpose, in order to annoy). He has *no respect for other people's space or even presence*. He often reacts aggressively: *Like* (he) *will be violent*. He *get(s) into fights for no reason*. He will *beat others, and think(s) that* (he is) *above everyone else*. He *enjoy(s) bragging to others that* (he has) *authority and talk(s) bad about important things*. He *isn't interested in the rest of his own life, just destroying others*. He *behaves without respect to* (himself) *and society*. The Ars is a *stupid* (person) *with a crazy ego*. He does *not speak English well, nor read an entire book*. He does *not try to succeed in society, does not want to gain knowledge, and has no expectations of going far in life*. He does not have high aspirations: *drops out of school, is not interested in* (his) *studies, does not invest in* (his) *studies, etc*. His *education* (is) *from home and from the street*. *Pride is the most valued thing*.

The Satlan

The word Satlan derives from the Hebrew slang for becoming intoxicated, usually by use of marijuana. The word Satlan is associated with the Stoner in American society, but differences exist. Most youth tend to agree that the Satlan *drink(s) alcohol. (He) drinks too much and says stupid things. The Satlan does not care so much about studies. He does not care about anything. He arrive(s) late to everywhere. I'm tired of waiting for (him). He is in (his) "shanti", meaning that he is relaxed, apathetic, take(s) everything easy, does what he feels like, go(es) with the flow, (is) very spontaneous, laugh(s) about life, and do(es) not take things seriously. He take(s) life lightly with few concerns for the future. He will say things that don't have any relation with anything and is not connected to what is going on. He sleep(s) a lot in lessons and will make scenes. He does not enlist in the army because (he) do(es) not care about anyone else but (himself). If he does enlist in the army, he will be kicked out for using drugs.*

The Hnuun

The Hnuun subculture draws comparisons with the American Nerd, although certain cultural differences exist. The Hnuun *never goes to parties... never leaves home for fear of being made fun of and bullied by Arsim (Ars, plural). He often call(s) others Arsim. The Hnuun is extremely sensitive and bothered by insults hurled at him. (He is) good at (his) studies, but (his) social skills and appearance are terrible. The Hnuun walks and talks like a girl. His tone of speech is degrading and shrieky (noisy). He doesn't know how to dress. He is an Ashkenazi, and comes from a wealthy family with a liberal political background. Success in school comes easy for him. He especially likes mathematics and science, topics which most students don't enjoy.*

The Freha

The word Freha originates from the Arabic word for flower. The Freha *think(s) all men are attracted to her and adore her*. The other girls think she is *pathetic*. Some think she looks like a *slut* and others think she is just *ugly*. The Freha *look(s) like (a) prostitute*. She loves *bright, flashy colors*. She *wears tight, flashy, sparkling, sequined* clothing. Her shirt is cut so she can *display as much cleavage as possible*. Her *eyes are green*, as a result of *artificial contacts*. She keeps a *dark tan* year-round. She wears *high-heeled shoes*. She *comes from Mizrahi origins*, usually from *Morocco*. Her family *comes from the peripheral areas* at the far *south* or far *north* of the country. She is quick to *say things that insult others*, but she is mortally *insulted* when she is called a *prostitute* or a Freha. She has an *obnoxiously loud and shrill voice*. When she gets angry, she *lose(s) all self-control* and begins screaming *curse*s, as someone undergoing a *psychotic* episode. She often instigates fights in hopes that an *Ars* will physically intervene on her behalf.

The Tsfoni

The meaning of the word Tsfoni is northerner. The name implies one *living in northern Tel Aviv* or rich areas between there and Haifa. The Tsfoni is *Ashkenazi, intelligent and rich, usually live(s) on (her) parents' wealth... and hate(s) the barbaric Sephardic people*. She doesn't think she is racist, but *all of (her) friends are Ashkenazi*. Her ethnicity is *Ashkenazi!!* She is *similar to Europeans*. The Tsfoni does *not rush to be friends with others*. She *won't talk with everyone* and *will not be friends with someone who isn't rich*. She is a *snob*, who *do(es) not receive socially people who are different*. She is accused of being *judgmental* and *retarded*. She is called *deaf*, meaning that she is *not aware of the troubles of others*. She is an *arrogant snob*, who is *over-self-confident* and *thinks (she) is better than every one else*. She *think(s) that money*

is everything. She judge(s) others primarily on looks and rarely on personality and good deeds. Similar to the Freha, she is accused of having an annoying voice, an exaggerated sense of self-confidence, and the deluded belief that she is the most attractive student in the school.

The Freak

As opposed to the other subcultures in this study, the English word Freak is used to describe this subculture in Israel. Some think the Freak is *Ashkenazi*. *People who use the word Ashkenazi (in a negative way)... call others freaks.* The Freak grew up with *neglectful parents, (who were) uneducated, or parents who did not have enough strength to take the time to spend educating it.* *Its parents kicked (it) out of the house for being weird and taking drugs.* The Freak is *always smoking and usually use(s) drugs.* The Freak *always feel(s) incredibly depressed* and is often considered *mentally ill.* The Freak *tries to show that (it is) different from others.* It makes *disturbing graffiti.* It is a *second class citizen who belong(s) to a satanic cult.* It *write(s) sentences in English and curses because it makes (it) feel so deep.* It wears a *shirt with lettering in English.* It is often called a *Nazi* and said to have *anti-Zionist attitudes.* *Ugh these nasty freaks... how can you be a Nazi and live in Israel?* It is *constantly called gay.* *Disgusting kid.* *These shits just dress like homos. They have pink hair, eeks.* It does *things specifically to disturb others.* It *blared annoying, disgusting rock music all over school and it drove me crazy.* The Freak is a *devoted fan of musicians, usually foreign ones.* It *always listen(s) to foreign music.*

Methodology

The current study will juxtapose the qualitative descriptions of subcultures above with quantitative data. The Ars, Freha, Satlan, and Freak depict more delinquent subcultures. These

qualitative descriptions will be reinforced by indicators of delinquency, such as cutting class, using drugs, and other behaviors that go against the norms of the school.

Sample and Methods

This study uses data from the Survey of Social Crowds in Israel, which was completed by 1,632 high school students aged 15 to 17 (Goldstein 2014). The survey was distributed between February 2009 and February 2010. Schools were chosen based on stratified random sampling with categories for population size and socio-economic cluster from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics. Eighty schools were contacted and 21 agreed to participate. This sample is nationally representative, including approximately 1.5% of all Hebrew-educated 10th and 11th grade students.²

Principle Variables in this Study

Ethnicity and Tenure

Israel is a diverse society spurred by migration waves, which we hypothesized are indicators of subcultural belonging and popularity. Ethnicity was measured based on three questions: 1) student's place of birth, 2) each parent's place of birth, and 3) each grandparent's place of birth. Tenure is based on combining two questions: 1) generation in the country and 2) time in Israel for first generation. Four diverse ethnic groups were analyzed: 1) *Ethiopian* students (one's self or both parents were born in Ethiopia), 2) *FSU* students (one's self or both parents were born in the former Soviet Union), 3) *Mizrahi* students (one's self, both parents, or

² Access from the Ministry of Education was restricted to Hebrew public and public-religious schools.

all grandparents were born in the Middle East), and 4) *Ashkenazi* and other³ (one's self, both parents, or any grandparent were born outside Ethiopia and the Middle East and who were not eligible for inclusion in the FSU group). Mapping of Israeli ethnicities over multiple generations was based on work done by Friedlander et al. (2002). Measures of mixed ethnicity were based on the categorization scheme used by Cohen et al. (2007), which accounted for second generation mixed ethnicity. The classification system in the current survey accounts for 3rd generation mixed ethnicity.

Preservation of L1

Preservation of indigenous language was measured by how often respondents use a language, from not at all (1) to all of the time (5). Amharic was defined as L1 for Ethiopian respondents, Russian for FSU respondents, and Arabic for Mizrahi respondents. The maximum use of any other language was used as the L1 for other respondents. According to previous research (Golan-Cook and Olshtain, 2011), L1 and L2 use among immigrant university students are outcomes of tenure and identity orientations. However, it was also found that in the Israeli context, the use of Hebrew is universally high. In other words, almost all of the students use Hebrew all of the time, regardless of whether they were born in the country, which is why L2 use was excluded from the model.

Subcultural Belonging

Subcultural belonging is a factor based on three questions: 1) Among your group of friends how many belong to each of the following groups; 2) How often do others use this word

³ The Ashkenazi group includes mixed ethnicity, fourth generation Israelis, and other ethnic groups.

to describe you; and 3) How willing are you to be friends with someone who belongs to each group? Each question had a 7-point scale and enabled an answer for each subculture. The first question was based on the original question used by James Coleman (1961), variations of which have been adapted in other studies of subcultures (e.g. Eckert, 1989; Thorlindsson and Bernburg, 2006). The second question was based on research by Lemay and Ashmore (2004) and studies of subcultural stereotypes (McCauley et al., 1995). The third question was adapted from an early study of ethnicity and friendship among Israeli high school students (Herman et al., 1967), where students were asked how willing are you to be friends with someone who is Moroccan, German, etc.

Popularity

Popularity is a factor of 8 variables from two question sets: 1) "How many hours per week do you spend on each of the following activities" (going out with friends, going to clubs, going to parties), with a 7-point scale for not at all to more than 11 hours; and 2) "People often think about how others view them, how do you think others perceive you?" (social, important, attractive, part of the in-crowd, and popular), on a 3-point scale from not at all to very much. The variables were chosen through an Exploratory Factor Analysis of 31 questions about sociability.

Data analysis

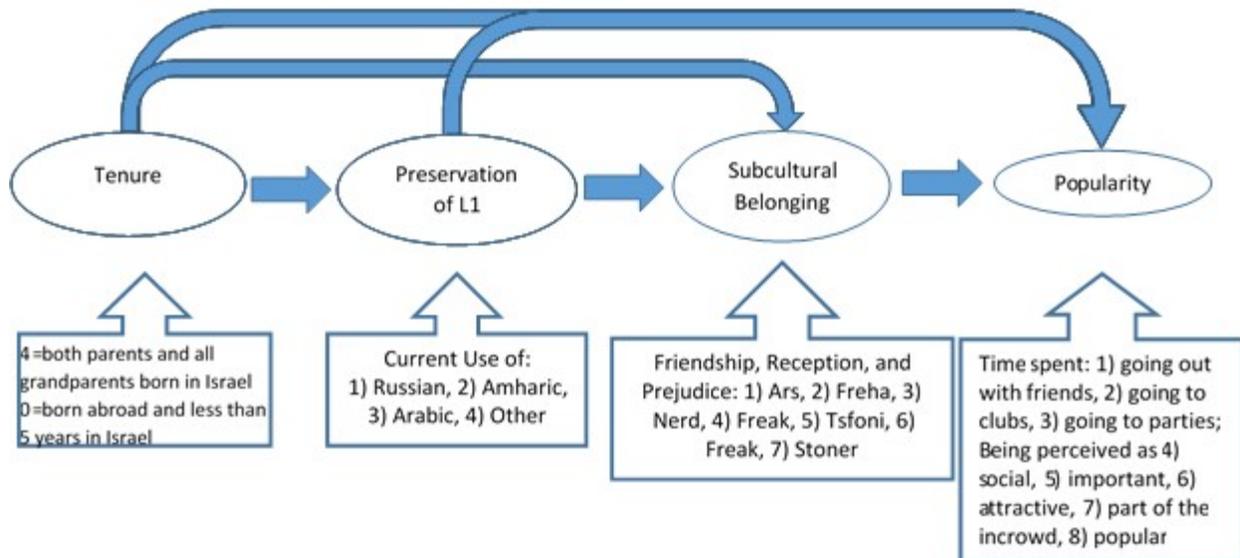
Descriptive statistics were calculated in JMP 10. The configural model (Figure 2) was developed in SEM using AMOS 22 and Lavaan. AMOS 22 was used in order to conduct automated *multigroup invariance tests* on the *configural models*. *Best-fit models* were calculated in Lavaan, an R based statistics program (Rosseel, 2012). *Structural Effect Differences* were

computed in MS Excel, using *Gaskin's method* for estimating group differences based on *critical ratio scores* (2012).

The *best-fit models* were arrived at by controlling for certain parameters and removing insignificant variables from the model. Models for each of the ethnic groups were computed separately. The resulting *best-fit models* show the most robust solution for determining popularity in the case of each ethnic group.

The *configural model* includes all direct and indirect effects of tenure in Israel on popularity in school. *Multigroup Invariance Tests* were used to measure whether there are significant differences (based on z-score comparisons) between parameters for the different ethnic groups.

Figure 1: Configural Model for Predicting Popularity



Results

Each ethnic group has different levels of tenure in the country, L1 use, and subcultural belonging. There are not significant differences in the popularity of each ethnic group. Hence, popularity is not caused directly by ethnic group belonging. However, as will be shown, the processes whereby tenure, L1, and subcultural belonging cause popularity are different for each ethnic group. This section will describe: 1) the demographic, subcultural and popularity differences between ethnic groups, 2) the results of the best-fit models, and 3) the structural effect differences between each group. The results compare the two longer tenured groups (Ashkenazi and Mizrahi) and then the two more recent immigrant groups (FSU and Ethiopian).

1) Differences between ethnic groups

Demographics

The longer tenured groups are larger (Ashkenazi, n=600, and Mizrahi, n=524) than the more recent immigrant groups (FSU, n=293 and Ethiopian, n=53). The Ashkenazi group has been in Israel the longest, 3.46 generations on average (both parents and two grandparents were born in Israel). The Ashkenazi speaks native languages more often (3.66 out of 1:5)⁴ than the Mizrahi (1.70), which may be indicative of the preferred socio-linguistic status of European languages over Arabic, but somewhat ironic considering both the geographic location of Israel in the Arabic – speaking Middle-East and the status of Arabic as an official national language.

The Mizrahi population generally arrived in Israel after the large waves of Ashkenazi migration, and therefore have less tenure on average (3.30 generations - both parents and one grandparent were born in Israel). In general, the Mizrahi population is less educated. For example: Only 30% of Mizrahi have a parent who attended college, compared to 53% of

⁴ The numbers “1:5” indicate that the scale is from 1 to 5.

Ashkenazi. These educational trends continue into the present; 67% of Mizrahi expect to attend some level of higher education, as compared to 76% of Ashkenazi. Mizrahi also commit more vice. There is a common gap between the two groups for almost all delinquency variables. For example, Mizrahi have cut class more often: 65% of Mizrahi have cut class compared to 60% of Ashkenazi; 43% of Mizrahi have smoked cigarettes compared to 34% of Ashkenazi, and so on. While there are apparent gaps between these two ethnic groups, those differences are usually smaller than the gaps between the Ethiopians and FSU population.

The Ethiopian population arrived to Israel earlier (1.74 generations) than the FSU population (0.93 generations). The Ethiopians also show less variance in tenure, as their migration was characterized by large waves that occurred primarily during the 1980s. Contradicting research that found adult Ethiopians are more apt than Russians to relinquish L1 (Golan-Cook et al. 2015), the current survey of youth shows that Ethiopians continues to use L1, Amharic (3.87 out of 1:5) at a similar rate as the FSU population (3.97). More of the FSU population though uses Russian all of the time (43%) than the Ethiopians use Amharic all of the time (25%). The Ethiopians also have extremely high levels of Hebrew use (4.96), which are similar to the Mizrahi and Ashkenazi ethnic groups (4.95 and 4.97, respectively), but higher than the the FSU population (4.79).

Within the FSU population 68% indicated Russia as their parents' place of birth. Twenty-two percent has a parent born in the Ukraine and the remaining were from other FSU republics. Thirty-four percent of the FSU population was born abroad compared to 23% of the Ethiopians. Overall, the FSU population has higher educational expectations and academic training. For example: 77% of the FSU respondents expect to attend university, compared to 69% of Ethiopians; They also take more academic credits, such as mathematics (3.9 credits) than the

Ethiopians (3.4 credits). The Ethiopians enjoy school more but invest in more religious pursuits. For example: the Ethiopians have the lowest score for wanting to drop out (1.45 out of 1:7), while the FSU population has the highest (2.04); but while the FSU population studies more mathematics courses, the Ethiopians study more bible courses (2.7 credits) than the FSU population (1.9 credits). However, the FSU population is more delinquent than the Ethiopians in a number of ways: 53% of FSU respondents have smoked cigarettes, compared to just 34% of Ethiopians; and 79% have consumed beer compared to just 58% of Ethiopians.

Subcultural Belonging

Results in Figure 2 display the average for subcultural belonging by ethnicity, along with the total average. The Freha group has the lowest belonging (1.98 out of 1:7) and the Satlan has the highest (3.73). Mizrahi students have high belonging to the Ars (.42) and Freha (.24) groups and refrain from the Hnuun (-.14) and Tsfoni (-.12). FSU students have high belonging to the Freak subculture and refrain from association with the Ars and Freha. Ethiopian students have no positive belonging to any subculture except the Satlan. Ashkenazi and other ethnicities have high belonging to the Hnuun and Tsfoni groups, but refrain from the Ars and Freha.

Figure 2: Factor Score Averages for Subcultural Belonging by Ethnic Group

	Freha	Tsfoni	Freak	Hnuun	Ars	Satlan
Ashkenazi and Other	-.11	.23	.06	.22	-.27	.06
Ethiopian	-.14	-.62	-.54	-.36	-.38	.03
FSU	-.14	-.06	.25	-.01	-.16	.03
Mizrahi	.24	-.12	-.07	-.14	.42	-.02
Total Average (1:7)	1.98	2.22	2.34	2.42	2.81	3.73
F Score	8.09	9.32	5.35	7.40	23.35	0.25
P	<.0001	<.0001	0.00	<.0001	<.0001	0.86

An additional question examined the local population of each subculture in each school. The results were averaged by ethnic group within each school. Hence, the results show the subcultural school environment that each ethnicity is situated in. The results show that FSU students have a higher perception of being relegated to a school where other students belong to the Freak subculture (3.14 out of 1:7, compared to 2.83 overall). Regressions clearly show that as the percentage of students who are from FSU families increase, the percentage of Freaks in the school go up: (local population of Freaks) = $2.51 + 1.99 * (\% \text{ of FSU students in school})$, ($R^2=.21$). Besides the bias towards the Freak subculture, a discovery was made in relation to FSU adoption of the Freha subculture. FSU students have the lowest levels of Freha friendship (1.65 out of 1:7), while Mizrahi students have the highest (2.21). Questions on population, prejudice, and characteristics of the Freha mirror this ethnic split, whereby the FSU students do not associate positively with the Freha while the Mizrahi students do. However, FSU students are called "Freha" more than any other ethnic group (2.04 out of 1:7, compared to 1.85 for all other ethnic groups). As such, Mizrahi students associate with the Freha, while the Russian students are called Freha. An additional question measured 'how much does being called this name bother you'. Results showed that all ethnic groups have similar high levels of being bothered by use of the Freha tag.

Besides just associating with the Freha population, the Mizrahi population has the highest rate of belonging to the Ars subculture. Even more than the Freha, the Ars typifies an ethnic subcultural divide between the Ashkenazi and Mizrahi. We checked the dynamics of Ars belonging based on the ethnic composition of the school, as was done previously with the Freak and FSU students. Although Ashkenazi students do not show the same level of Ars belonging as

their Mizrahi colleagues, when they are in a Mizrahi school that level becomes similar. Ars belonging among Mizrahi students does not change as a result of the ethnic diversity of the school, while Ars belonging among Ashkenazi students goes up dramatically in Mizrahi majority schools (Figure 3). The Mizrahi remains an Ars, regardless of the diversity of the school.

Figure 3: Hierarchical Regression for Ars Belonging based on Ethnicity and School Diversity (% of Mizrahim)

	Estimate	Std Error	t Ratio	Prob> t
Intercept	0.11	0.04	2.70	0.007
Ashkenazi : (SchoolMizrahi%)	0.98	0.31	3.10	0.002
Mizrahi : (SchoolMizrahi%)	-0.34	0.47	-0.71	0.48
Ashkenazi ethnicity, individual level	-0.32	0.04	-7.61	<.0001

Popularity

The popularity factor is composed of eight variables with sufficient inter-reliability ($\text{Alpha}=.722$). As mentioned, no differences were found in overall popularity by ethnicity, nor does tenure make a difference in popularity. However, there are a number of direct effects that subculture belonging has on each of the distinct measures of popularity that deserve mention. The Hnuun subculture which promotes non-delinquent behavior reduces popularity the most ($r=-.27$), while the Ars subculture, which promotes delinquent behavior, increases popularity the most ($r=.37$). Individual measures of popularity show the specific ways each subculture increases or decreases popularity. Tsfoni belonging is not correlated with any form of popularity, except the perception of being popular in school. On the other hand, the Ars has strong correlations with all forms of popularity. In general a picture emerges, whereby more delinquent subcultures increase popularity and less delinquent subcultures reduce popularity. However, the Freak

subculture, is somewhat unique. True to its name that implies contradiction, it is perceived as a delinquent subculture but it reduces popularity.

2) Best-Fit Models

Figure 4 displays the standardized coefficients of models for each of the ethnic groups.

Figure 4: Standardized Coefficients of SEM Models

X	Y	Ashkenazi	Mizrahi	FSU	Ethiopian
Tenure	L1 Use	-0.28 (0.08)*	-0.09 (0.08)*	-0.30 (0.11)**	--
Tenure	Freak	-0.04 (0.13)	--	--	--
Tenure	Hnuun	-0.02 (0.17)	--	0.10 (0.17)	--
Tenure	Ars	-0.01 (0.15)	-0.07 (0.15)	--	--
Tenure	Tsfoni	0.02 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.12)	--	--
Tenure	Satlan	-0.10 (0.04)*	--	--	--
Tenure	Freha	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)	0.17 (0.13)**	--
Tenure	Popularity	--	--	--	--
L1 Use	Freak	0.22 (0.08)**	--	--	0.34 (0.12)*
L1 Use	Ars	-0.06 (0.09)	0.53 (0.09)**	0.18 (0.11)**	0.31 (0.13)*
L1 Use	Tsfoni	0.07 (0.09)	--	--	--
L1 Use	Hnuun	0.06 (0.09)	--	--	0.51 (0.09)**
L1 Use	Satlan	--	0.30 (0.09)**	--	--
L1 Use	Freha	0.01 (0.06)	0.48 (0.06)**	0.25 (0.07)**	--
L1 Use	Popularity	0.18 (0.06)**	--	--	0.35 (0.15)**
Freak	Popularity	-0.08 (0.03)	--	--	0.01 (0.16)
Ars	Popularity	0.34 (0.04)**	0.34 (0.09)**	0.49 (0.04)**	0.39 (0.14)**
Tsfoni	Popularity	0.03 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)	--	--
Hnuun	Popularity	-0.41 (0.04)**	--	-0.29 (0.04)**	-0.49 (0.22)**
Freha	Popularity	0.04 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	--	--
Satlan	Popularity	0.35 (0.03)**	0.15 (0.03)**	--	0.16 (0.10)
Model Fit	NFI	.955	.952	.950	.910
	RMSEA	.036	.042	.035	.013

(Standardized Errors shown in parentheses. *= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$)

The Ashkenazi Model

Firstly, the Ashkenazi model shows the expected effect of tenure on the use of L1 whereby as an individual is in the country longer their use of L1 goes down dramatically (-.28). The only other significant effect that tenure has on this model is a reduction in Satlan membership (-.10). Ashkenazi students whose families came to Israel more recently are more attracted to this subculture, which intimates that substance use may be more popular among more recent immigrants.

Secondly, L1 maintenance has a positive effect on Freak belonging (.22). The Freak subculture was qualitatively characterized in the students' open responses as having English and other foreign roots, which may explain this covariance. L1 maintenance also increases popularity. Those who maintain L1 are able to make friends in school, presumably with others who share their language, while those who relinquish L1 find it more difficult to become popular in school.

Finally, there are three subcultures that moderate the route of Ashkenazi students to popularity: the Ars, the Satlan, and the Hnuun. The increase in popularity associated with the Satlan and Ars provides an interesting perspective on the route to popularity: Those with low tenure in the country use delinquent subcultures as a means to gain popularity. Furthermore, the fact that the Ars subculture commonly associated with the Mizrahi population increases popularity for Ashkenazi students, explains their increased sense of belonging to the Ars subculture in Mizrahi majority schools.

The Mizrahi Model

Firstly, the Mizrahi model also shows a significant negative effect of tenure on L1 use (-.09), but this effect is not as strong as it is for the Ashkenazi. This finding intimates how Arabic

use among modern Israelis decreases dramatically upon immigration. Furthermore, tenure has no significant effects on subculture membership.

Secondly, L1 use causes a positive increase in Satlan (.30), Ars (.34), and Freha (.48) membership. In other words, maintenance of L1 and not one's family's history of tenure is what is driving delinquent subculture membership, and while there is an expected reduction in L1 use based on tenure, that reduction is not nearly as strong as it is for other ethnic groups.

Finally, when examining the effects of subcultural belonging on popularity, only the Ars and the Satlan have significant effects, both positive (.34 and .15).

The FSU Model

Firstly, the FSU model, as in both previous models, shows that tenure decreases L1 use (-.30). Tenure also increases Freha belonging (.17). Previously, we learned that FSU students are called Freha more than other students but do not associate with other students who are called Freha, indicating that perhaps this stigmatized subculture is being applied to FSU students and this upsets them. Here we learn that those FSU students who have been in the country longer begin to adopt this subculture more.

Likewise, we find that maintenance of L1 increases Ars (.18) and Freha (.25) belonging. The Freha is not a significant cause of popularity for the FSU population or any ethnic group. Rather, similar to the Ashkenazi population, the Ars increases popularity (.49) and the Hnuun reduces popularity (-.29).

The Ethiopian Model

Owing to the lack of variance among migration periods, the tenure variable was removed from this model. L1 use though does have substantially positive effects on both subcultural belonging and popularity. Specifically, there is a positive increase in belonging to the Ars (.31), Freak (.34), and Hnuun (.51) subcultures among those who preserve L1. These three subcultures are perhaps the most contradictory of those studied.

The elevated levels of popularity for those who preserve L1 may be indicative of friendships with other Ethiopians. While this finding on the relations between L1 maintenance and subculture belonging are unique, the effect of subcultures on popularity are similar for Ethiopians as they are for other ethnic groups. The delinquent subculture, the Ars, increases popularity (.39), while the school-positive subculture, the Hnuun, decreases popularity (-.49).

3) Structural effect differences between Ethnic Groups

Figure 5 compares differences, as expressed by z-scores, between ethnic groups when matched in pairs. This unconstrained model includes all parameters implied by the configural model. The results indicate whether the critical ratio difference in parameters between two ethnic groups is significant. We describe the most significant ethnic differences in structural effects that provide a basis for a discussion of how each ethnic group develops popularity.

Figure 5: Z-Score Group comparison of ethnic groups

X	Y	Mizrahi-Ashkenazi	Mizrahi-Ethiopian	Mizrahi-FSU	Ashkenazi-Ethiopian	Ashkenazi-FSU	Ethiopian-FSU
Tenure	L1	2.96**	-0.65	-3.25**	-0.05	-1.09	-0.22
Tenure	Freak	-0.30	0.70	1.66	0.56	1.47	0.31
Tenure	Hnuun	0.15	1.45	1.60	1.52	1.67	-0.33
Tenure	Ars	-1.25	1.68	0.90	1.13	-0.09	-1.12
Tenure	Tsfoni	-1.10	3.49**	1.91	2.08*	0.88	-0.93
Tenure	Satlan	1.00	-0.62	0.73	-0.23	1.48	0.94
Tenure	Freha	-0.56	-0.24	3.10**	-0.46	2.65**	1.60
L1 Use	Freak	-2.59**	0.83	-0.80	-1.28	-2.97**	-1.41
L1 Use	Ars	10.18**	-5.44**	-6.09**	2.50**	2.80**	0.01
L1 Use	Tsfoni	1.05	3.09**	-1.12	3.61**	-0.08	-3.66**
L1 Use	Hnuun	-0.04	2.27*	-0.75	2.04*	-0.72	-2.71**
L1 Use	Satlan	3.12**	-0.25	-3.28**	1.92	-0.55	-2.21*
L1 Use	Freha	9.01**	-3.76**	-5.66**	2.57*	2.87**	-0.41
L1 Use	Popularity	-2.50*	2.42*	0.81	1.64	-1.77	-2.16*
Freak	Popularity	0.71	0.59	-0.09	0.80	0.59	-0.62
Ars	Popularity	-0.61	1.80	1.23	1.62	0.71	-1.34
Tsfoni	Popularity	2.62**	-1.37	-0.71	-1.06	1.63	1.26
Hnuun	Popularity	-0.13	-2.56*	0.09	-2.62**	-0.02	2.58*
Freha	Popularity	-0.09	-0.40	-0.19	-0.44	-0.27	0.31
Satlan	Popularity	-1.91	-0.39	0.05	-1.01	-1.76	0.40

Unconstrained Model: NFI=.950, CFI=.982, RMSEA=.019 *= $<.05$, **= $<.01$

Tenure

Tenure has a negative effect on L1 use for all ethnic groups but Ethiopians. However, there are significant differences in the structural effects of tenure on L1 for Mizrahi versus Ashkenazi and Mizrahi versus FSU students. The effect of tenure on L1 is profoundly weaker for Mizrahi students. Structural differences in the direct effects of tenure on subcultural belonging are only apparent among the Tsfoni and Freha. Tenure in the country has a profound effect on Ethiopians' adoption of the Tsfoni, an effect which is significantly greater than that felt by the Ashkenazi and the Mizrahi. Tenure also has a profound effect on Freha belonging for the FSU population. This effect is more significant than that felt by the Ashkenazi and the Mizrahi.

L1 use

There exist dramatic differences by ethnicity in how L1 use influences subcultural belonging. The Mizrahi and Ashkenazi split is defined by Freak, Ars, Satlan, and Freha belonging. Ashkenazi use of L1 increases belonging to the Freak subculture, while Mizrahi use of L1 is associated with greater belonging to the Ars, Satlan, and Freha subcultures. The lack of influence of L1 on Ars and Freha belonging for the Ashkenazi group is in stark contrast with the other ethnic groups, where L1 increases belonging. Interestingly, when comparing the FSU and Ethiopian models, L1 use influences belonging to almost entirely different subcultures.

Popularity

Regarding the effects of subcultures on popularity, there are no significant differences between the ethnic groups in how belonging to the Freak, Ars, Freha, or Satlan subcultures influences popularity. Both the Ars and Satlan subcultures increase popularity equally (with insignificant difference) for each ethnic group. The Freak, Tsfoni and Freha do not have clear relations with popularity attainment. On the other hand, the Hnuun reduces popularity for everyone, but it reduces popularity much more for the Ethiopian and Ashkenazi groups, which both have higher rates of Hnuun belonging.

Discussion

The current research investigated the manner in which students from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in Israel, a multi-ethnic society with a large proportion of immigrant youth, adopt subcultural identities, and their consequent effect on attaining popularity. While tenure in the country was theoretically assumed to impact subculture belonging and subsequently

popularity, the impact of tenure was generally found to be mediated by ethnic language use (L1). As expected, tenure is seen to have a negative influence on L1 use, and youth who preserve L1 were found to be more drawn towards subcultures, the more delinquent of which increased their popularity. The *dilemma of deviant subcultures for immigrant youth integration* is that disadvantaged students are forced to adopt delinquent subcultures in order to become popular.

In the field of migration studies, it is suggested that both language maintenance and subculture affiliation may be markers of a resistant cultural identity (Giles, 1979) - which defies the adult, mainstream culture and serves as a means of gaining acceptance and popularity. In the field of subculture studies, the research findings allude to prior neo-Marxist theories (Hebdige, 1981; Willis, 1977) that subcultures represent a dialectical opposition between the working and upper classes, manifested by the revolt of working class youth. Owing to the relative concentration of migration waves in the past century, Israel provides a unique example where local and global subculture identity formation has developed alongside ethnic and national identity adoption. As such, our findings allude back to the earliest period of Chicago School investigations whence subcultures were interpreted as a development of urbanization and the clash of ethnic groups that was taking place among immigrants in the USA.

Our research pitted two higher status ethnic groups (Ashkenazi and FSU) against two lower status ethnic groups (Mizrahi and Ethiopian). It was assumed that the Ashkenazi would share similar levels of subculture belonging as FSU respondents, and the Mizrahi would be similar to the Ethiopian respondents. However, results show that the FSU respondents share a number of similarities with the Mizrahi, such as the ability of the Ars and Freha subcultures to increase popularity. On the other hand, the Ethiopian respondents share similarities with the Ashkenazi, such as how L1 use leads to Freak belonging and the Hnuun subculture attenuates

popularity. The Ashkenazi-Mizrahi divide which was established early in the country's history remains intact, and second and third generations of families belonging to these two groups retain and preserve their allegiances to their ethnic roots. However, the acculturation of the Ethiopian population, which rejects the Ars and Freha subcultures, often mimics that of the Ashkenazi, while the FSU population develops a stronger bond with delinquent subcultures common to the Mizrahi.

The local context also seems to impact subculture preferences, when the latter is perceived as a means of fitting in and attaining popularity (for example, Ashkenazi associate with the Ars culture in a predominantly Mizrahi environment). Association with the delinquent subculture may be indicative of extreme identity diffusion associated with adolescent immigrants (Schwartz et al., 2006), who feel disengaged from their culture of origin and reject the dominant culture, leaving them in a state of marginalization, and vulnerable to falling into patterns of delinquency (Shabtay, 2003).

To summarize, subcultural belonging of youth often underlies the dichotomous relationships between ethnicities. This structural hypothesis contradicts the claims of post-subcultural theorists, who are critiqued for providing an overly reflexive interpretation of subcultures derived from individual styles and ignoring structural inequalities (Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006; Bennet, 2011). A Neo-Marxist interpretation of Israeli subcultures is often valid: Teenagers' attraction and aversion to subcultures represent deep rooted social cleavages that have been festering in Israeli society. However, more recent waves of migration (the Ethiopians and FSU) have perhaps learned how subcultures function as tools for social integration in school. Hence, the Ethiopians who are fearful of being allocated working class

status reject delinquent subcultures associated with the lower class Mizrahi, and FSU youth who reject the privileged status of the Ashkenazi adopt those delinquent subcultures more.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the following organizations for providing financial support to fund this research: The Hebrew University Research Authority, The Israeli Government, Department of Sciences, The Levi Eshkol Institute for Social, Economic and Political Research in Israel, The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, The National Association for War against Drugs and Alcohol, The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education, and The Shaine Center of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the Hebrew University

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