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Social attitudes of Soviet immigrants to the United States

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SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF SOVIET IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

by

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Abstract

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by

VICTOR GOLDENBERG

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One way to determine whether social attitudes are stable or malleable is to investigate how attitudes are affected when people emigrate to a new society whose norms are discrepant from those of their homeland. The purpose of the present research was to examine how Russian immigrants to the USA change their social attitudes, and what psychological and socio-demographic factors facilitate or hinder this change. A model of immigrants' attitude change was developed and tested.

Telephone interviews with 201 randomly selected first generation immigrants from Brooklyn, NY, and suburban New Jersey were conducted. Russians' attitudes toward women's equality, abortion, homosexuality, and blacks were compared with those documented in 1991 General Social Survey of American population. Immigrants' levels of assimilation, social conformity, intolerance of ambiguity, and authoritarianism were measured.

Russian immigrants gave more pro-abortion, anti-homosexual, and anti-black responses than Americans. They also were less supportive of women's equality. Differences in socialization seem to explain the findings better than a

competing interpretation from a social tolerance perspective. The results suggested that Russians' pro-abortion position remained stable and did not change as a result of immigration. Their views on women's equality became slightly more moderate, as did their attitudes toward homosexuality. Russian immigrants' attitudes toward blacks appeared to change the most; from friendly or indifferent, to predominantly negative. High levels of assimilation and/or conformity facilitated Americanization of the attitudes. No impact of authoritarianism and intolerance of ambiguity was found. The strength of social attitudes brought from Russia appears to be a more powerful predictor of attitudinal change than the individual personality characteristics. Age was associated with less and education with more "tolerant" immigrants' social attitudes.

The present study highlights the limitations of the "persistence" and "life-long openness" models of attitude stability and change. In order to understand variability in attitudinal persistence, one needs to take into account both the history of attitude development and current environmental factors. Attitude derives strength from the past. Factors that operate "here and now" may undermine, modify, or support the attitude. An interaction between these two major forces determines an attitude destiny in a new social environment.

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Special thanks go to my respondents who were generous enough to find 20-30 minutes to talk to me, an absolute stranger. They answered questions far removed from the main concerns of their immigrant lives, overwhelmed by a host of complex and sometimes excruciatingly painful problems of survival in the new and not always friendly social environment.

I was fortunate enough to receive awards from Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) and American Psychological Association (APA) -- awards that enabled me to conduct this research. I greatly appreciate this financial support.

With so much assistance, it is no wonder that the dissertation, finally, came to the successful completion. It is my duty, then, to help others following my steps with the same generosity as my professors helped me.

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Introduction

America is a country of immigrants, by immigrants, and for immigrants. They come into this country and become Americanized through adopting its language, behaviors, and attitudes. The present study examines changes in immigrants' attitudes toward social problems. Acceptance of prevailing US attitudes toward social problems is believed to be a reliable indicator of immigrants' adjustment to American society (Gordon, 1964). An analysis of immigrants' social attitudes is necessary to understand what can be done to facilitate this adjustment.

It is also an important theoretical issue in view of current debates on attitude stability and change. Two major contrasting hypotheses have been proposed to explain the origin of political and social attitudes. A persistence model (see, e.g., Davies, 1965; Dawson, Prewitt, & Dawson, 1977; Easton & Dennis, 1969; Greenberg, 1970; Hess & Torney, 1967) is based on an assumption that attitudes are primarily acquired in childhood. They are passed on to the child from parents by way of words, gestures, and facial expression; have a long history of reinforcement; and are not subject to significant modification in adult life. In contrast, a life-long openness model (Brim & Kagan, 1980; Converse, 1964, 1970; Himmelweit, Humphreys, Jager, & Katz, 1981; Jennings & Niemi, 1981; Marsh, 1971; Searing, Wright,

& Rabinowitz, 1976) posits that influence of preadult experience on adult's attitudes is quite modest. The current social environment is believed to have the greatest impact on attitude formation and change. According to the openness approach, acquisition and modification of attitudes continues throughout the life-span in response to a number of new social stimuli.

One way to determine the relative merits of these approaches is to investigate what happens to attitudes when people come to a new social environment whose norms are discrepant from those of their homeland. Immigrants represent one such group, and immigrants from the former Soviet Union to the USA are especially interesting in this respect because they are in a process of transition between two extremely dissimilar ideological and social systems.

They were socialized in a totalitarian state, yet find themselves in a non-totalitarian society. How do their approaches to social problems become transformed in a democratic society? This question differs from what is traditionally explored in research on assimilation of Soviet immigrants in the USA: mastering English; sharing American types of work habits, clothes, foods, recreational activities; identifying themselves with this country (Kosmin, 1990; Sales, 1984; Simon & Simon, 1982).

Acquisition of new social attitudes is dependent on a number of factors, including the persistence and

malleability of old attitudes, forms and stages of cultural assimilation, and identity change (Gordon, 1964; Newman, 1973; Phinney, 1990). It is not clear whether people in a new cultural environment tend to cling to their accustomed views or they are mentally "mobile" and have little difficulty changing their views. We also do not know if acquisition of a host country's identity leads necessarily to acquisition of views on social matters prevalent in that country. Despite its importance, an analysis of immigrants' social attitudes continues to be a virtually unexplored area of research.

Theoretical Perspective

Only a few psychological studies deal with immigrants' attitudes toward American social problems (see, e.g., Greeley, 1974; Williams & Ortega, 1990; Yao, 1979), and no relevant investigations on Soviet immigrants have been found in the published literature. The present literature review is thus organized around the logic of related studies. A particular emphasis is on available literature on political attitudes -- they are closest to social attitudes, and are, in fact, sometimes studied together (e.g., voting intentions, party identification, policy preference, on one hand, and attitudes toward blacks, women, homosexuals, on the other; see, e.g., Sears, 1983).

The discussion below begins with an analysis of major theories in the area of attitude stability and change. The review focuses then on what is known about immigrants' social attitudes and factors associated with their formation. The literature is used to propose a model of immigrants' attitude change.

Models of Attitude Persistence and Malleability

Assimilation is an uneven process in which some attitudes are modified quickly and some remain quite stable (Gordon, 1964; Gitelman, 1982). The problem of consistency and change in people's attitudes is treated differently by several theoretical approaches. Two most contrasting models, which are already discussed in the literature,

emphasize either the extreme stability or extreme flexibility of attitudes.

The Persistence Model

A theoretical foundation, empirical evidence, and critique of the persistence model are presented in this section.

Theoretical foundation. The persistence model (see, e.g., Davies, 1965; Dawson, Prewitt, & Dawson, 1977; Easton & Dennis, 1969; Greenberg, 1970; Hess & Torney, 1967) is built on an assumption that the most relevant attitudes are acquired in early childhood. This occurs even before the child develops an ability to evaluate critically. These attitudes are passed on to the child from parents (and partly, from peers) by way of words, gestures, and facial expression, often without direct personal contact with an attitudinal object. Because these attitudes are formed early in life, they have a long history of reinforcement.

Extreme affective saturation and frequent activation make these attitudes both potent and easily accessible. They form a basis for other attitudes, developed later, and serve as an organizing, "structural" factor (Searing, Schwartz, & Lind, 1973), a central core around which new attitudes precipitate to form a meaningful pattern of individual evaluation of a wide range of things and phenomena. According to the persistence model, events in adult life are not able to modify the attitudes to a

significant degree.

Some authors (e.g., Sears, 1983) even define attitudes as "stable [emphasis added] dispositions" with an implication that stability is a built-in characteristic of attitudes. Rokeach's (1960) observations provide some support for this view. He points out that attitudes are a "stubborn thing" that are "extremely difficult to change" (p. 336). Ryder (1965) refers to "attitude inertia", while Siegel and Hoskin (1977) use the term "cradle-to-grave orientations". Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson (1977) refer to conventional wisdom expressed in such proverbs as "The child is a father to the man" and " As the twig is bent so shall the tree grow". These latter authors, as well as Sears (1983), note that the Catholic church has long claimed that it could shape values and attitudes of an adult if it had a complete control over the first four-seven years of his/her life.

Dawson et al. (1977), Greenberg (1970), and Hyman (1959) believe that by the end of preadult years political and social attitudes are basically well-developed and are able to survive in the face of disconfirming evidence. For example, symbolic racism theory (McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears, 1988) states that anti-black feelings acquired in early childhood (through social learning) continue to be an important determinant of whites' resistance to racial integration measures, despite dramatic increase in racial

tolerance in the United States. This determinant, according to the theory (McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988), is a more powerful predictor of whites' policy preferences than even their self-interests (fear of desegregation of their neighborhoods and schools, competition with blacks for jobs, concern with personal safety, and so on).

Empirical evidence. Some empirical data provides support for the persistence model. Levitin and Miller (1979) found single item test-retest correlations in a four year (1972 - 1976) panel study .71 for party identification, and .65 for liberal-conservative orientation. Jennings and Niemi (1981) interviewed high school students in 1965, and then again, in 1973. During this eight-year period, only nine percent of respondents switched allegiance from one political party to another. Converse and Markus (1979) report test-retest correlations for a four-year period of .52 for responses to women's liberation questions. The most impressive evidence of attitude stability has been presented by Alwin, Cohen, and Newcomb (1991) who obtained data on fifty-year three wave study (1935-1939, 1959-1960, 1984) that describes the political development of women who were students at Bennington College in 1930s. Brought up in a conservative environment, these women changed their ideology for more liberal after four college years and kept their political attitudes through 1980s.

Critique. Although some findings of the approach seem

to be convincing, the problem of attitude stability remains poorly understood. First, there are only a few studies in which attitudes of the same people are examined for a relatively long time, and even this time interval is too short (usually, two-four-eight years) to provide data on long-term stability (e.g., from childhood to mature years). Such intervals are chosen arbitrarily and vary across research programs, such that it makes difficult to compare results. Second, most investigations deal with a relatively small set of attitudes, among which party identification is the most popular indicator. The problem with this approach is that, according to Glenn (1980), unlike other attitudes, party identification is a remarkably stable characteristic. He even proposed to use party identification as a base line against which to measure changes in other attitudes. Third, the methods of attitude measurement vary in different studies (e.g., in number of items included), and reliabilities of scales are often not reported.

Finally, Alwin's et al. (1991) research suggests a change model as much as it does stability. Although their data illustrate an almost 50-year stability of political orientations, it also demonstrates a radical change in attitudes that took place during college years. This fact stimulated the development of an "impressionable years" approach (Glenn, 1980; Hodge & Treiman, 1966; Miller & Sears, 1986; Sears & McConahay, 1973). This approach

singles out, not childhood, but late adolescence and early adulthood, including college years, as the crucial period in attitude formation. Moreover, as Alwin et al. point out, the Bennington group was unique: it was too selective to represent the population at large and the women spent all their lives in an environment that was compatible with their political orientations. In fact, they actively looked for and chose such an environment.

The evidence for attitude stability, thus, appears on closer inspection to be disputable. In an attempt to reconcile the persistence model with the growing body of disconfirming evidence (discussed below), the staunchest proponents of this approach call for a revision of the notion "stability" itself. Stability, according to Bloom (1964), should be looked for not in attitudes, but in values underlying those attitudes. Bennet (1975) hopes to find stability in a set of related attitudes even when each separate component of this set is highly changeable across time.

In the last two decades, however, more and more data have been accumulated that shed doubt on stability as an inherent characteristic of the attitude. Marsh (1971) states that there is neither "horizontal" stability (consistency across attitudes) nor "vertical" stability (consistency across time). In two influential articles, Searing, Schwartz, and Lind (1973) and Searing et al. (1976)

claim that the "primacy" principle (enduring nature of childhood learning) is overstated, and that the "structural principle" (political and social attitudes acquired in childhood determine adult positions on specific social issues) is not an accurate description.

Moreover, some authors (Brim & Wheeler, 1966; Greenstein, 1974; Rosenberg, 1985) argue that childhood socialization is inadequate for adult life, and very little in adults' attitudes may be explained in terms of agents of socialization -- parents and peers . If anything, early socialization may create only preferences, the translation of which into adults' evaluations depends on a number of often not easily traceable factors (Brown, 1988; Hyman, 1959).

The Life-Long Openness Model

An alternative to the persistence model, the life-long openness (or "constant change") viewpoint emphasizes that the influence of preadult experience on adult's attitudes is relatively modest. The current social environment, on the other hand, has the greatest impact on attitude formation and change. Acquisition and modification of attitudes continues throughout whole life-span in response to a number of new stimuli in social environment (Brim & Kagan, 1980; Converse, 1964, 1970; Himmelweit, Humphreys, Jager, & Katz, 1981; Jennings & Niemi, 1981; Marsh, 1971; Searing, Wright, & Rabinowitz, 1976). The proponents of the openness

perspective support their contentions by pointing at a number of well-documented effects of persuasion, propaganda, "brain-washing", historical trends in racial attitude change within a whole nation (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, 1985). Converse (1964, 1970) stresses that people's attitudes are often remarkably inconsistent and they sometimes respond to survey questions as though they are flipping coins.

Based on "rational choice" theory (Downs, 1957; Fiorina, 1981; Tufte, 1978), several theorists (Armor, 1980; McClendon & Pestello, 1982; Stinchcomb & Taylor, 1980) claim that whites' preferences for racially relevant policies are not archaic residues of early childhood, but a rational calculus of costs and benefits of the specific government measures. Whites' attitudes toward busing, for example, contrary to the symbolic racism explanation, are determined by beliefs that busing is too expensive, too time consuming, unsafe, harmful to children's learning, and not by anti-black feelings learned in early childhood. Bobo (1983, 1988) underscores whites' group interests (in wealth, prestige, and power) as a decisive factor in the formation of attitudes toward blacks.

The supporters of such life-long openness approaches point out that an illusion of attitude stability may be created by the fact that often the social and cultural environment remains constant (Bloom, 1964; Brown, 1981; Sears, 1983). Under such circumstances, there is no

environmental pressure to modify one's attitudes. When, however, environmental norms are no longer congruent with individual's attitudes, then even the most stable evaluations, including partisan preferences, may change (Himmelweit et al., 1981; Jennings & Niemi, 1981). Sears (1983) also considers self-serving changes in attitudes in response to situational changes as a theoretical possibility.

Some empirical findings support this point of view. For example, Converse (1964) analyzed changes in his respondents' positions on a variety of social issues. In his study, when faced with a question about government intervention to support blacks, only 13 out of 20 people were on the same side of the controversy four years later (10 out of 20 would behave so just by chance). Glenn (1980) reports a study in which respondents were retested after 20 years. The test-retest correlations of attitudes (including attitudes toward church and interracial marriage) ranged from .06 to .35 (average .25).

The openness-to-change model has received increased support in the recent decades (Brim & Kagan, 1980; Brown, 1988; Jennings & Niemi, 1981; Marsh, 1971; Searing et al., 1973, 1976; Siegel & Hoskin, 1977). But this approach also failed to answer some difficult questions. If the model is correct, changes in attitudes should follow immediately after changes in the social environment. But some

lliterature -- for example, studies of migrant voters by Brown (1981) and Gitelman (1982) -- shows that it may take years for old evaluations to be abandoned and new ones acquired.

The life-long openness viewpoint also cannot account for the remarkable tenacity of some attitudes that do not fade in a new situation. World history is full of examples of heroic devotion to ancestors' religious attitudes in the face of hostility and persecution (e.g., the Christian martyrs in the Roman empire; see Guterman, 1971; Lesbaupin, 1987).

Conclusion

A great deal of controversy surrounding the problem of attitude stability arises from an indiscriminate application of general principles of each theoretical approach to all or a majority of attitudes. An accumulated body of evidence (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Sears, 1983) suggests that some attitudes tend to be more persistent than others and one and the same attitude may undergo more or less changes depending on a number of factors (e.g., some socio-demographic and personality characteristics). Therefore, instead of arguing about stability versus malleability, it is more reasonable to ask which attitudes tend to be more persistent and which not, as well as under what conditions one may expect to find attitude change.

An idea developed by Darley (1938) and Glenn (1980) may

be employed as a starting point for such an analysis. They believe that attitudes may be placed on a stability continuum. One end of this continuum represents the most changeable attitudes, and the opposite end, the most stable.

There is some consensus about characteristics that lend particular tenacity to attitudes (Sears, 1983). Thus, for example, early-socialized attitudes, probably, have a better chance to be characterized by stronger resilience (Glenn, 1980; Dawson et al., 1977). They are usually acquired from a high authority source (parents) and have a long history of reinforcement. There is general social consensus on their meaning. They enjoy primary group support, and it is easy for a person to express them. Attitudes may also become stable when they are easily accessible, highly relevant, salient, important for the individual, intense, and cognitively simple (Sears, 1983). Extreme attitudes are especially difficult to modify, while the more general, abstract, and symbolic character they have, the better their chances to persist (Krosnick, 1991). Attitudes that have functional significance for personality are also very difficult to change (Katz, 1960), and the certainty with which a person believes in his or her evaluation, as well as familiarity with attitude object, have been cited as factors facilitating resistance to change (Darley, 1938). Finally, attitudes central to and consistent with the individual attitude system, values, and behaviors, as well

as those accompanied by high level of ego-involvement and commitment, are particularly resilient (Sears & Whitney, 1973).

Each of these characteristics or any combination of them lend an attitude stability. Therefore, one may assume that even without early childhood socialization highly relevant, important, and functional attitudes should demonstrate strong persistence. In contrast, irrelevant, distant, ephemeral, rarely emerging in consciousness, and never practiced attitudes, irrespective of their history of socialization, would be in all likelihood less stable (Sears, 1983).

Research in political psychology has demonstrated that these general principles are consistent with observed stability of some attitudes. A high level of stability has been found for party identification and liberal-conservative orientation (Converse, 1975); social values of individualism and egalitarianism; racial attitudes; attitudes toward political-moral issues, such as abortion, marijuana, and women's status; and attitudes toward prominent public persons (Sears, 1983). Racial attitudes, for example, are typically acquired in early childhood (Harding, Proshansky, Kutner, & Chein, 1969; Katz, 1976), cognitively simple (e.g., "black is bad") and general (with no differentiation within black community). Such attitudes are often consistent with a person's central social values, such as

conservatism, traditionalism, and Protestant work ethic (Katz & Hass, 1988). In a racially divided society, attempts to enforce racial integration affect every citizen's life, and racial attitudes become a relevant, salient, and important social factor. Racial conflicts often make the negative feelings extremely intense. A combination of these factors lends anti-black attitudes a particular stability.

The positions taken by people on most specific policy issues and diffuse subjective orientations (e.g., trust in the political system, interest in political life, and citizen duty), on the contrary, are subject to frequent fluctuations (Gitelman, 1982; Sears, 1983).

In recent years, research on attitude persistence and change has been prominent within political psychology. The main thrust of such research has been to predict political behavior (most often, presidential voting) from a number of characteristics, including party identification and ideological position. Researchers have, however, been less active in studying highly politicized social problems of central importance in current American life (e.g., feminist movement, abortion, homosexuality, drug use, gun control). The clear exception in this respect is the attention paid to the racial problem (Armor, 1980; Bobo, 1988; Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Katz, 1981; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988).

Available research focuses on a relatively narrow range of environmental changes. If studied at all, they usually consider how political events modify the current political climate. Social attitudes in a completely new social environment (e.g., after immigration) rarely become a subject of investigation. As Glenn (1980) correctly points out, "conclusions for the United States should not be generalized to other societies.... Cross-cultural research in this area is yet to be begun" (p. 635). A study of social attitudes of people who arrived in this country from "other societies" is one possible cross-cultural approach to the problem.

Immigration As a Special Case of Attitude Change

Analysis of immigrants' attitudes provides an opportunity to examine the impact of substantial environmental change on individuals' social attitudes. But why should one expect immigrants to change their attitudes? Allport (1935), Dawson et al. (1977), Kinder and Sears (1985), and Newman (1973) point out that dramatic, cataclysmic, overwhelming, and revealing events (and immigration, beyond any doubt, belongs to such a category) are very often accompanied by change in an individual's orientations.

Another explanation is based on an observation that old attitudes may be as dysfunctional in the host society as language, dress, and many cultural habits of the country of

departure (Gitelman, 1982; Handlin, 1951; Taft, 1977). Migration, as Berry, Trimble, and Olmeda (1986) and Brown (1988) point out, separates the individual from old traditions and customs, and, thus, facilitates acquisition of new ones. "Remaining impervious to the social pressure to adopt may simply be beyond the capacity of most typical migrants" (Brown, 1988, p.15).

Changes in Immigrants' Social and Political Attitudes

In this section, some forms of immigrants' adaptation are considered, and attitude changes after immigration are described. Special attention is drawn to different assimilation factors, socio-demographic and personality variables that can facilitate or hamper immigrants' adjustment.

Forms of adaptation. Gordon (1964) believes that acquisition of a host country's social attitudes is a sensitive and reliable indicator of the immigrants' assimilation. Assimilation is defined here as a process by which immigrants gradually acquire elements of the host culture and identify themselves with the host society. The end results of this process may vary significantly. Some immigrants give up their native cultural baggage and completely absorb the new country's culture. Others combine the old and the new cultural views and practices in one harmonious system. There are also immigrants who -- voluntarily or under pressure of external hostile forces --

cling to their native culture and reject the dominant influences (Berry, 1984, 1986; Gordon, 1964; Newman, 1973; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980).

Gordon (1964) points out that assimilation proceeds through several stages: from acculturation (change of cultural patterns to those of host society) through - among other stages - identificational assimilation (development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society) to civic assimilation (absence of value and power conflict between immigrants and mainstream society). As examples of the latter, Gordon mentions acceptance by the newcomers of the mainstream attitudes toward birth control, divorce, and abortion.

Attitude change during assimilation. Although there is a voluminous literature on assimilation of immigrants, only a few works address the question of how people moving from one country to another change their attitudes toward political and social problems. One exception to this observation is a consistent concern by researchers with immigrants' views on women's position in society. The basic conclusion of this strand of research is: Among the acculturated, a "modern", Americanized view on women's rights enjoys more support than among carriers of the traditional ideology that remains dominant in the immigrants' countries (Padilla, 1980; Queralt, 1984; Saran, 1987). Still, the level of support for women's liberation

is less than in American society as a whole. It is as though immigrants are in a transitional period, part-way to the adoption of the new social philosophy.

Research on social (and political) attitudes of immigrants, outside the "women's issue", has received only scant attention. For example, Finifter and Finifter (1989) studied change in political attitudes (party preference, ideological position) of American immigrants to Australia. They described three basic models of organization of those attitudes. First, attachment to the new policy of the host country may occur at the expense of devotion to old political views. Second, original political attitudes may undergo expansion and translation to fit requirements of the new political environment. Third, old and new attitudes may peacefully coexist, in a logically contradictory, but psychologically compatible pattern.

In Finifter and Finifter's (1989) study, half of the respondents identified themselves with an Australian political party after two years of residence in that country, and two-thirds after three years. The relative similarity of the political systems of the USA and Australia probably facilitated this adaptation. The role of the political environment of the country of departure in the formation of immigrants' political views in the host society was demonstrated by Gitelman (1982) in an extensive study of American and Soviet immigrants to Israel. "Attitudes toward

freedom", notices Gitelman, " seemed to be less malleable and more culturally specific. What is freedom to most American immigrants is anarchy to their Soviet counterparts" (p. 338). The Soviet immigrants came to the new country as individuals whose social and political views had been already formed. Their acceptance of the values and norms of the host society was not a unidimensional process. Some aspects of the new political culture were acquired easily and rapidly, and others were rejected. For example, Gitelman showed that the process of political resocialization "affects attitudes toward specific issues most, abstract political ideas less, and fundamental orientations [attitude toward authority, political efficacy, and political trust] least" (p. 344).

In another study, Greeley (1974) compared second generation Catholic immigrants to the USA with Anglo-Saxon Protestants in this country. He found that only Irish Catholics (but not German, Italian, or Polish) were more anti-abortion than Anglo-Saxon Protestants. All Catholic immigrants took a liberal side on such issues as war, pollution, poverty, gun control, neighborhood and school integration, and civil liberties. They were not liberal on another set of issues: crime, riots, radicalism, busing, capital punishment, and legislation of marijuana. Greeley and McCready (1975) also found that Irish immigrants, more than Anglo-Saxons, support a more submissive position of

women in society. After an extensive analysis of the immigrants' attitudes toward different social problems, Greeley's conclusion is at odds with prevalent views of lay persons, mass media, and some social scientists (see, e.g., Handlin, 1951): "The most obvious thing that can be said about the ethnics that they are democrats" (Greeley, 1974, p. 210).

Williams and Ortega (1990), who also studied civic assimilation of American ethnics and measured it by attitudes toward abortion and alcohol use, found that Russians were among the least assimilated (together with Africans, Germans, Mexicans, and Czechoslovakians). Yao (1979) described social attitudes of contemporary Chinese immigrants to the USA (12.3 years of residence in the United States, on average). In the new country, immigrants become more permissive toward their children, demonstrate less support for the traditional passive role played by Chinese women, approve of strong law enforcement and death penalty, and show contempt for the decline in moral standards of American society.

There are only a few studies dealing with civic assimilation of new Americans and none of this literature appears to deal with Soviet immigrants. The extant literature focuses on social and economic adjustment of these people, and puts a heavy emphasis on identity change, specifically the revival of Jewish identity, oppressed and

partly destroyed under the totalitarian regime of the former Soviet Union (Gold, 1989; Kosmin, 1990; Sales, 1984; Simon & Simon, 1982).

Factors Associated with Changes in Immigrants' Social Attitudes

The description of attitude changes is a necessary but not sufficient condition for understanding a dynamics of immigrants' attitudes. Such a description should be complemented by an analysis of forces that bring about those changes. In this section, assimilation, socio-demographic, and personality factors that may have an impact on immigrants' social attitudes are discussed. A particular emphasis, however, is on those personality characteristics that may be accentuated in people brought up in a totalitarian state - authoritarianism, conformity, and intolerance (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). It was assumed that those characteristics that Soviet regime intentionally formed in its citizens do not disappear overnight with geographical relocation (immigration) and continue to affect both the speed of acquisition and the character of new attitudes acquired.

Assimilation. Gordon (1964) believes that the adoption by immigrants of American attitudes toward specific social problems may serve as a sensitive and reliable indicator of assimilation in this country. Any success in assimilation depends, among other factors, on the degree of dissimilarity

between new and old social environments. Taft (1977) reminds us about Erik Erikson's analogy of a trapeze artist in mid-air: "the greater the distance between the trapeze bars, the more difficult the transition" (p. 124). A number of other theorists (Black, 1982; DeAnda, 1984; Hoskin 1989; Matras, 1965; Siegel & Hoskin, 1977; Walsh, 1990) also claim that adaptation is easier when there are few differences between an old and a new environment. Sharp discontinuities in values and attitudes are perceived as a threat to old ways of thinking and mobilize a determination to protect them (Handlin, 1951; Tesser & Shaffer, 1990).

The dissimilarity between the new and old social environment is not the only factor that has impact on assimilation. Among the most often mentioned in the literature are a strong commitment to become a part of host society (Berry, 1984; Finifter & Finifter, 1989; Siegel & Hoskin, 1977), language knowledge, familiarity with the host country's cultural traditions and customs, friendship with the members of mainstream community, participation in mainstream voluntary organizations, satisfaction with life in the country of arrival, and self-identification with the host society (Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 1986; Black, Niemi, & Powell, 1987; Newman, 1973; Taft, 1977). Those who had not been socialized in some values and/or attitudes are especially open to the ideological influences of their destination culture. For example, in the USA, many Southern

blacks deprived of any political socialization migrated to the North and readily developed political values similar to those held by the blacks born in the urban North (Campbell, Converse, Warren, & Stokes, 1960).

It is also the case, however, that "ethnic attachment" (Hurch & Kim, 1984; Kim, 1981), ethnocentrism (Berry et al., 1986), deeply ingrained cultural traditions and life styles of the home country (Garcia, 1987; Phinney, Chavira, & Williamson, 1992), and voluntary or forced isolation (Kim, 1981; Walsh, 1990) may discourage a strong sense of belonging to new culture.

Which way an individual immigrant chooses -- to or from the host society -- depends, to a significant degree, on his/her primary group ("a group consisting of persons with common values, goals, and standards of behavior, and in which there are close personal contacts", Reber, 1985, p. 311). Such groups provide an affective and nurturing support and serve as a kind of "decompression chamber" in which the immigrant may adjust to the new situation at his or her own speed (Brown, 1988; Chau, 1989; Gordon, 1964; Newcomb, Koenig, Flacks, & Warwick, 1967). Such groups also have cultural translators, mediators, and models who help to comprehend the new culture and make intelligent choices (DeAnda, 1984; McCuen & Brown, 1987). When the primary group is oriented toward mainstream society, the assimilation proceeds successfully. Orientation toward an

isolated native community inhibits this process (Shuval,1963; Walsh,1990).

Sometimes immigrants strive to change their primary group. Lipset (1964) observes that those who are on the periphery of mainstream society, including immigrants, often make vigorous efforts to be accepted by the dominant group by conscious or unconscious imitation of its attitudes. Van den Berge (1981) indicates that "it often pays to learn the ways of the rich, the powerful, and the numerous; in the process one becomes more like them and, by that token, often becomes more acceptable to them" (p. 215).

One may expect that immigrants striving to "pass" as members of the dominant group (Tajfel, 1978) are especially prone to what Breakwell (1979) calls "the accentuation of discrimination against the outgroup on all dimensions of differentiation available" (p. 141). This tactic is used to demonstrate loyalty to the societal core, to obtain social approval, and thus to secure one's own position.

Indeed, as Greeley (1972) observed, it is a wide-spread belief that American ethnics (new immigrant groups) are racist. Other publications also emphasize that for many immigrants Americanization includes acquisition of those negative stereotypes about American blacks that are spread among white Americans (The American Jewish Committee, 1987; Newman, 1973; "Pride and Prejudice", 1989; Simpson & Yinger, 1985).

According to Kinder (1986), McConahay (1986), and Sears (1988), current racial attitudes of white America have undergone a significant transformation since late 1950s. The change has been from manifest hostility to hidden, sophisticated expressions of dislike of blacks, the dislike that is often justified by reasons having nothing to do with race. This manifestation of racial attitudes supposedly stems from socialization during childhood and is strengthened through constant, life-long repetition. New immigrants perhaps sense this anti-black sentiment, but are not as skillful as Americans in shaping the expressions of their racial attitudes. Such expressions poorly adjusted to socially acceptable opinions may strengthen an impression that immigrants are more hostile toward blacks than a majority of citizens in this country. Informal observations, as well as interviews with Russian Jewish immigrants (Goldenberg, 1991), lend some support for this assumption. Clark (1972) also notes, that "one can unfortunately tell how Americanized a new group is by measuring the smoothness of its anti-Negro attitudes, the current type of which is subtle rather than flagrantly intense" (p. 128).

Socio-demographic characteristics. Traditionally, the impact of socio-demographic factors was a central interest for students of immigration. These factors affect both the speed of assimilation and positions taken by immigrants on

social issues (it may be argued that these two effects are hard to separate). It was shown, for example, that younger age is associated with more attitude change (Berry, 1980; Brown, 1981). The aging process itself, as some authors claim, "produces" more conservative views on social issues. Likewise, according to many reports (see, e.g., Berry, 1980; Sears, 1983), education facilitates the development of liberal approaches by both general population and immigrants.

Although there are different opinions about the impact of length of residence in a host country, most researchers seem to agree that time is correlated with acquisition of typically American values (Bhatt & Fairchild, 1984; Bloom, 1964; Brown, 1981; David, 1970). Bloom points out that the first year of residence is a period when immigrants are most susceptible to host culture influence. He calls it a "freshman effect". According to Bloom, what accounts for this effect is an absence of defenses against outside values and attitudes. Richardson (1957) states that resistance to a new culture intensifies in the first six months, but the seventh month marks the beginning of conformity to the culture. It is important that both of these authors, as well as Black (1982), emphasize the first year of immigration as the crucial period in acquisition of new attitudes. The following development is characterized as a negatively accelerated curve of change (Bloom, 1964).

Available data are consistent with this claim. For example, David (1970) reports that 38 percent of the immigrants he surveyed felt at home in the USA after one year of living in this country -- a proportion that is larger than for any other year of residence.

There is, however, no unanimity about the effect of time spent by immigrants in a host country. Jones and Strand (1987) in their study of Vietnamese immigrants to the USA found no evidence for an impact of length of residence on understanding the American way of life. Brown (1988) points out that the "immunizing effect" of old attitudes is especially strong in the first ten years, the period of time needed for uprooting effects to diminish. Taft (1976) claims that the first generation of European immigrants to Australia remains far removed from the host country's values and attitudes, and only the second generation manages to cover half the distance separating the immigrants from the Australian culture.

As noted above, geographical mobility is often accompanied by social mobility. Those immigrants who move up seem to be more willing to accept the new culture's approaches; those who are downwardly mobile tend to cling to their old reference group (Hoskin, 1989; Hyman, 1959; Phinney et al., 1992). Although researchers seem to agree that the upwardly mobile prefer conservative values (Population Movement, 1960), some (Katz, 1960; Sears, 1969)

claim that the same is true for status change in any direction. Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950, 1964) observed greater ethnic prejudice among those whose economic status had declined.

The impact of social mobility is of particular interest for students of Soviet immigrants. The socio-demographic characteristics of these immigrants are quite peculiar. As statistical data indicate (Simon & Brooks, 1983; Statistical Abstract of the US, 1984), the average Soviet immigrant has completed 13.5 years of schooling -- one year more than the average American. Chertok (1991) claims that 34 percent of the immigrants from the former USSR have graduated from institutions of higher education. Nevertheless, these individuals, as is ordinarily characteristic of immigrants, suffer serious difficulties in obtaining jobs, especially jobs matching their education and qualification (Holden, 1990). Many of them are involved in occasional menial jobs, and many are unemployed.

Personality factors. As Sidanius (1985) writes, "most people are not terribly interested in social or political affairs and so the extent to which most people have sociopolitical attitudes, is the extent to which these attitudes will have been acquired by a process of attitudinal conformity rather than by active processing of beliefs and values" (p. 638). This statement is particularly applicable to the first generation immigrants.

On one hand, they are deprived of childhood socialization of American cultural norms; on the other hand, they are so preoccupied with the every-day struggle for survival in the new, unfamiliar, and often hostile environment that a deep analysis of American social problems is probably not their first priority. They just absorb what is the prevalent view in the society -- the process that was called by Allport (1954/1989) "learning by identification" (p. 293) with the mainstream society, learning by conformity. "Conformity has occurred when a person's attitude or way of behavior is modified and changed through social pressure toward an opinion or mode of activity which is perceived as being more acceptable to others" (Walker & Heyns, 1967, p.88). Freedman, Carlsmith, and Sears (1974) point out two major sources of conformity: the need for information and the fear of being deviant.

Walker and Heyns (1967) claim that such situational determinants account for more variation in conformity than genetic factors. Cross-cultural investigations may serve as an illustration of this statement. Members of various ethnic groups differ as to the level of conformity. Norwegians conform more than French (Milgram, 1961) -- a finding that was explained by the strong sense of social responsibility and group identification in Norwegian society. Frager (1970) found that Japanese students demonstrated anti-conformity behavior more often than

students in the USA. One may expect that in a totalitarian state, such as the former Soviet Union, conformity would be higher than in a democratic society.

Data obtained by Pettigrew (1958) provide further support for the "situational" point of view. Pettigrew compared two groups of white students in a South Africa college: those who were born on the African continent and "outsiders". He found that the leading independent variables in producing anti-black prejudice were party membership, ideology, and racial climate in which an individual grew up, and not psychoanalytic mechanisms or basic personality structure. The upwardly mobile were especially prone to take a conformist position because, according to Pettigrew, upward mobility is often impossible without conformity to prevalent societal norms.

An individual will conform more readily to the views of a reference group with which he or she is more familiar. In the context of immigration, it means that values and attitudes an immigrant will absorb are, at least partly, determined by who comprises his/her primary group -- the individual's fellow-countrymen or Americans.

Familiarity with an attitude object is also an important factor that has impact on conformity (Walker & Heyns, 1967). It is much easier to make people conform in attitude toward an object that is unfamiliar to them. It may be expected, for example, that Russian immigrants may

absorb prevalent American attitudes toward blacks (a "non-existent object" in Russia) rather easily.

A group that is non-unanimous produces less conformity (Asch, 1951). It is well-known that American society is split on many social issues, including abortion. One should expect that the immigrants would not demonstrate a particular willingness to internalize American views on that highly controversial subject.

More recently, Walsh and Charalambides (1990) raised a provocative question about the connections between self-consciousness and conformity. They claim that individuals high in public self-consciousness (i.e., those who think of themselves as social objects) are more likely to modify their beliefs to make them consistent with the beliefs prevalent in their social surrounding. This observation suggests that immigrants who consider themselves Americans, that is, representatives or members of this society, -- and not just individuals -- will be more willing to change their attitudes to fit American "standards". Conformity is also associated with older age, lower education, and low socio-economic status (Stouffer, 1955; Sullivan, Marcus, Feldman, & Pierson, 1981).

There is no unanimity, however, that conformity plays a decisive role in an individual's attitudes about social problems. Some researchers (e.g., Duckitt, 1988; Morris & Heaven, 1986) present data showing that conformity pressure

has much less effect on attitudinal position (prejudice) than personal characteristics, particularly authoritarianism. Authoritarian personality flourishes in an authoritarian society (Adorno et al., 1950; Niewoudt & Nel, 1975). Gitelman (1989) and Sebba (1989) describe newly arrived Soviet immigrants to Israel as "authoritarians". It is reasonable to expect that this type of personality structure would be represented among Soviet immigrants relatively frequently. Some characteristics associated with authoritarianism (e.g., viewing the world in white and black categories, rejection of dissent, search for weaker scapegoats, overemphasis on traditional middle-class values, conventionalism, and a tough approach to solution of social problems) should bear a direct impact on the individual's position on social matters. The voluminous literature on authoritarianism (see Sanford, 1973) points to a number of attitudinal correlates of this type of personality structure. These include prejudice toward racial minorities. The latest data obtained in Russia (see McFarland, Ageyev, & Abalakina, 1993) show that authoritarianism among Russians is accompanied by negative attitudes toward non-Russian minorities and women.

Authoritarianism and conformity are not the only personality characteristics that have an impact on immigrants' attitudes. Immigrants arriving in a new country encounter an unfamiliar situation, and their adaptation

depends, to a great degree, on their ability to withstand and tolerate the new conditions. The psychological category, intolerance of ambiguity, may be a major determinant of successful or unsuccessful assimilation. Ambiguity in this context includes such dimensions of the situation as novelty, complexity, and insolubility. Intolerance refers to perception of these characteristics as a threat (Budner, 1962; Geller, Faden, & Levine, 1990). Brown (1988) suggests that "individuals with complex belief system are... assumed to be more tolerant of ambiguity and heterodoxy because they are better able to withstand the personal stress of change as a result of their ability to hold conflicting ideas in a more abstract and theoretical fashion" (p. 134). Such individuals are also open to new ideas and able to examine concepts and ideas from several different perspectives or vantage points (Tatzel, 1980).

Intolerance of ambiguity may be shaped by social influences (DeForge & Sobal, 1989) and, as some authors assume (e.g., Norton, 1975; Ray, 1988), may develop as either a situational response or a culture-bound characteristic. Intolerance of ambiguity was found to be a strong correlate of ethnic prejudice and interracial marriage (Sidanius, 1978; Sones & Holston, 1988). For the former Soviet Union, intolerance was a great virtue which was brought up intentionally and systematically. For former Soviet citizens to accept American views on social problems,

this intolerance must first be eradicated. Although intolerance of ambiguity is often associated with authoritarianism, some researchers (e.g., Ray, 1988) stress that this characteristic is an independent entity and may not correlate with authoritarianism.

Most researchers (Adorno et al., 1950; Freedman et al., 1974; Lipset & Zettelberg, 1959; Rokeach, 1960; Sidanius, 1978; Stouffer, 1955; Sullivan et al., 1981; Sullivan, Pierson, & Marcus, 1982; Walker & Heyns, 1967), however, believe that conformity, authoritarianism, and intolerance of ambiguity often correlate with each other as well as with some socio-demographic indicators. Thus, for example, older age, low education and SES, or conservatism are associated with these psychological characteristics.

Conclusion

America is a country of immigrants and continues to be so. Given the importance of immigration for the United States, it is surprising how little is understood about the social attitudes of new Americans. We still do not know which of these attitudes are impervious to change, which are easily modified, and what conditions facilitate immigrants' attitude persistence and malleability. There is no theoretical model that explains changes in immigrants' social attitudes. On a descriptive level, the picture from available studies seems like an unfinished mosaic that has so many missing pieces that it is virtually impossible to

imagine the whole. Some groups of immigrants are completely disregarded, and Soviet immigrants are one such example. What is known about other groups is sketchy and fragmentary. It is hard to compare the results of studies in the area because researchers have analyzed different attitudes, different immigration groups in different countries. The nature of the problem requires a multidisciplinary approach. Still, there are no studies that could unite approaches borrowed from various social science disciplines. Most research is done outside social psychology. Psychological variables are practically disregarded. Instead, socio-demographic and economic factors receive priority. A study of immigrants' social attitudes continues to be a virtually unexplored area of investigation.

Present Study

This section describes a rationale for selection of factors to be studied in the present research. Those factors are included into a model of Soviet immigrants' attitude change. The model is presented too. The section concludes with the major hypotheses derived from the model.

Factors to be Studied

Attitudes, socio-demographic and personality characteristics selected for the study will be discussed in this subsection. It makes no sense to analyze any change in Soviet immigrants' attitudes without understanding what views on social matters were prevalent in the former USSR.

This background information is also given here.

Social attitudes to be studied. Attitudes toward women's position in society, abortion, homosexuality, and blacks are the focus of this study. These attitudes have attracted attention of the American public and mass media for many years, and continue to cause heated debates. Issues like abortion or race became highly politicized and, to a great degree, determine the American political climate. Many Americans, for example, prefer to vote for a presidential or congressional candidate whose position on, for example, abortion or race, coincides with the voter's stance. The immigrants have a high probability of encountering, discussing, and being involved in the selected social issues, and thus to take a side in the dispute.

Aside from their evident impact on political life, the selected attitudes represent, first of all, moral concerns of the American public (as opposed, e.g., to its economic interests) and may be analyzed as a sensitive and reliable indicator of social tolerance to minorities, oppressed, or deviant groups. Women, homosexuals, and blacks represent minority groups, and the right to abortion is viewed as one of the most important women-as-minority rights.

As is characteristic for a democratic society, public opinion in the USA includes a wide range of views on virtually any social issue. For the former Soviet Union, a

"monolithic" ideology and oppression of dissenting approaches were characteristic (Mikheyev, 1987). People brought up in such an atmosphere may not readily get rid of residues of their socialization. This expected discrepancy between attitudes of Americans and the immigrants allows one both to examine how the immigrants bridge this gap and to test hypotheses about persistence and change of attitudes. Moreover, because the present study encompasses different social issues, one can analyze what is common and what is different in the dynamics of attitudes involved. Different patterns of attitude change may be discovered (e.g., a drastic change in one attitude may be accompanied by no change in one or more other attitudes).

Social attitudes in the former Soviet Union. "Despite their rejection of the Soviet regime, they [Soviet immigrants] are more products of Soviet socialization than they themselves realize" (Horowitz, 1989, p. 16). The immigrants brought to the USA Soviet social attitudes together with their material possessions. But what were those attitudes? Unfortunately, a direct answer to this question is difficult, because there is no reliable survey data. Some idea, however, of what those attitudes might have been may be inferred from available data[1].

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[1]Such an inference should be made with a great caution . It is hard to tell if, for example, homosexuals were persecuted in the former USSR because people hated them or it was a government policy that did not take into consideration public opinion. Every scholar who analyzed the Soviet

The (former) USSR has had the highest abortion rate in the world. For example, during 1978 - 1979, according to Juviler (1991), abortion rates per 1000 women of reproductive ages were 5.9 in West Germany, 11.4 in England, 27.5 in the USA, and 102.4 in the Soviet Union (123.2 in Russian Republic in 1985). Even these data are not complete. They do not include illegal abortions that reach as high as 80 percent of all abortions in some parts of the country (Juviler, 1991). This staggering rate would be impossible without a broad societal approval because the Soviet government did not force women to have abortions. Authorities are not willing to restrict abortions "because such measures would greatly increase popular discontent" (Hollander, 1991, p.20). There is no anti-abortion movement in Russia. The abortion issue is not a subject of dispute in that country; in fact, it is not perceived there as an issue at all.

Unlike abortion, homosexuality in Russia is considered a crime and severely punished (up to five years of imprisonment). There is no social movement in support of gay and lesbian rights. The Soviet authority deprived the population of any information potentially favorable to this "sexual perversion". Sanjian (1991) notices that attempts to liberalize Russian laws pertinent to homosexuality have been hampered by strong public opinion against this form of

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political or social culture encounters this problem.

behavior.

Strong public opinion also played role in keeping women in a subordinate position in the USSR. As Soviet researchers themselves notice, in that country "women have fewer opportunities for the development of their personalities, for cultural and social activity" than men do (see Simirenko, 1982, p.147). The former Soviet Union had neither independent women's organizations nor a feminist movement (Juviler, 1991), and sexist values there were widely evident (Sacks, 1988). Attitudes toward women in the family remain traditional: even being employed, they put in nearly three times as much housework each week as men (Juviler, 1991). In the professional sphere, there are no such programs as affirmative action or ERA that shield women from discrimination in the labor market. In the former Soviet Union, "the court doesn't know of a single appeal to the prosecutor to take a legal action in a violation of labor laws" pertinent to women (Juviler, 1991, p. 23). Women are kept from the top echelon of power. Only one woman has ever been a member of Politburo, the main decision-making body in the (former) USSR (Sacks, 1988). As in the case with abortion, the kind of subordinate position Soviet women experience would be impossible without a broad societal consensus in the sphere where government does not impose its restrictions. Still, as the bulk of statistical evidence shows (Anderson, 1987; Pollard, 1990), in general,

the difference in women's position in the former USSR and in the USA is not as pronounced as in the other areas of investigation in the present study (abortion, homosexuality, and race).

Finally, there are neither blacks, nor traditions of anti-black hostility in Russia as opposed to centuries-long history of blacks' oppression in the USA.

Socio-Demographic and Personality Factors to Be Studied

Assimilation (which includes satisfaction with life in the host country, acculturation, identification with this country, and commitment to be a part of this society) is an important prerequisite for adopting new attitudes toward specific social problems. One cannot expect an immigrant to acquire American attitudes if this individual is not assimilated to some degree, for example, if he/she does not know English or is not familiar with American life.

In the process of assimilation, the individual absorbs the new country's culture. A basic mechanism of learning the new culture by immigrants is conformity. Conformity takes place when a person's attitudes are changed through social pressure to be in line with attitudes held by majority. It is probably beyond the capacity of an ordinary immigrant to withstand this pressure.

One may expect that conformity as well as such characteristics as authoritarianism and intolerance may by particularly accentuated in people brought up in a

totalitarian state (Adorno et al., 1950). It is assumed that those characteristics that the Soviet regime intentionally formed in its citizens do not disappear overnight with geographical relocation (immigration) and continue to affect both the speed of acquisition and the character of "foreign" attitudes acquired. Some characteristics associated with authoritarianism (e.g., viewing world in white and black categories, rejection of dissent, search for weaker scapegoats, overemphasis on traditional middle-class values, conventionalism, and a tough approach to solution of social problems) should bear a direct impact on the individual's position on social matters.

Likewise, intolerance of ambiguity as avoidance or rejection of new situations and new views may impede the Americanization of attitudes toward social problems. In the former Soviet Union, intolerance was a great virtue which was brought up intentionally and systematically. It hardly disappears immediately after immigration.

Assimilation and personality characteristics are important but are not the only factors that have impact on immigrants' social attitudes. Some socio-demographic factors also contribute to the formation of these attitudes. For example, the data already reviewed show that aging slows attitude change and tends to "produce" more conservative positions on social problems. Education, on the other hand,

facilitates development of tolerant approaches. On the whole, length of residence seems to correlate with acquisition of typically American views. Particular attention is drawn in this study to indicators of social mobility. Downward mobility is a characteristic of many Soviet immigrants to the USA, especially in the first period of their stay in this country. As was previously noted, this change in social status may be accompanied by changes in social attitudes.

These five factors associated with Americanization of the immigrants' social attitudes (assimilation, conformity, authoritarianism, intolerance, and socio-demographic characteristics) will be examined in the present study.

A Model of Soviet Immigrants' Attitude Change

An analysis of the literature allowed me to create a model of immigrants' attitude change (see Fig. 1). This model does not include all factors relevant to attitude change. A particular emphasis is on some psychological characteristics that, as the literature suggests, may be relevant for Soviet immigrants who, for many years, had been brought up in the spirit of intolerance to dissent, authoritarianism, and conformity to Soviet ideology. The literature continues to discuss the relative contribution of such factors in forcing people to change (or cling to) their attitudes. What a majority of researchers agree with is the factors may have an impact on acquisition of "foreign"

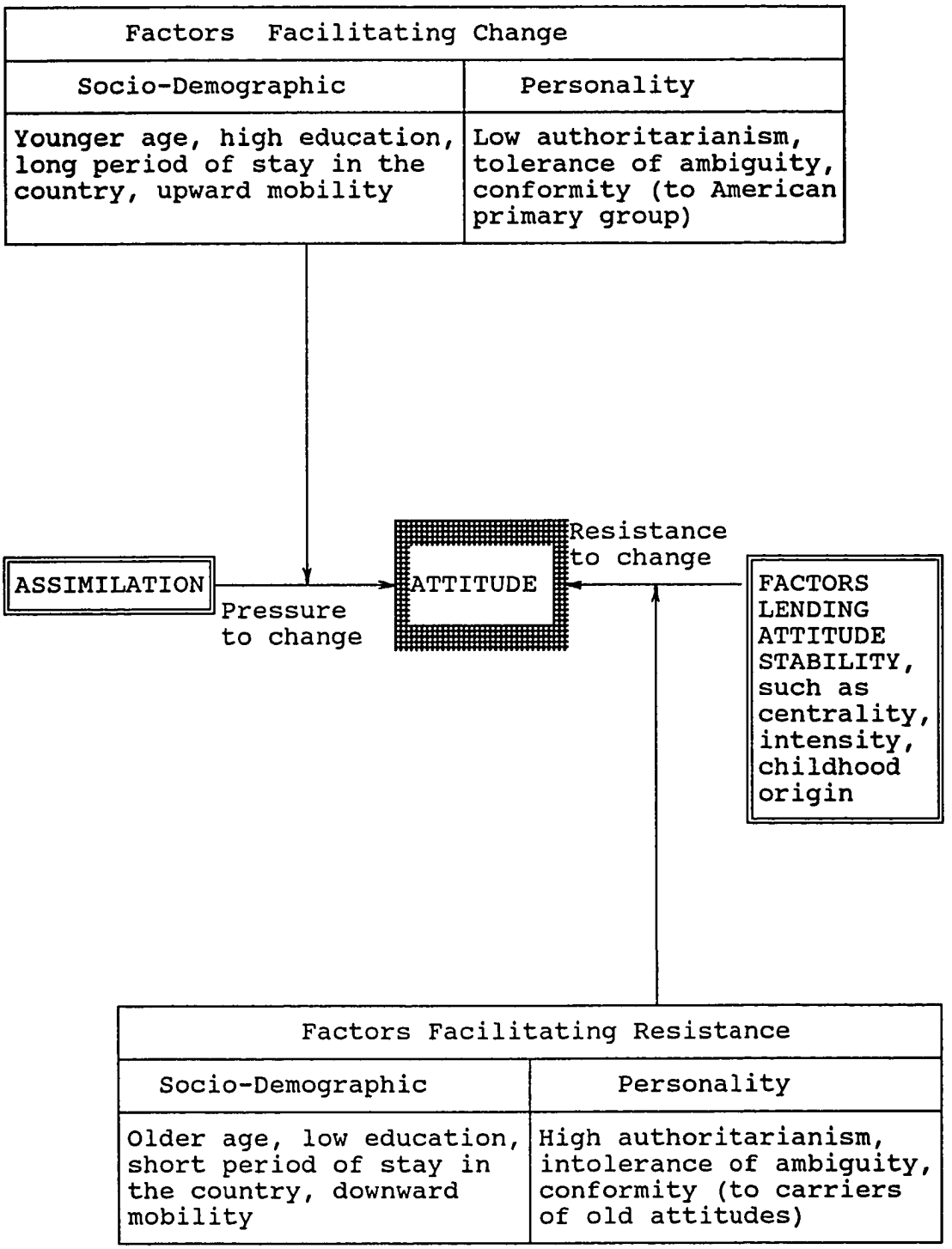

Fig. 1. A Model of Soviet Immigrants' Attitude Change.

values.

Attitudes will change if the pressure to change is able to overcome resistance to this pressure. Assimilation is a major factor which forces immigrants to modify their views and evaluations, to keep them in line with prevailing ways of thinking in a host country. Satisfaction with life, mastering cultural habits and practices (acculturation), identification with the country of arrival, and strong commitment to be a part of the new society facilitate assimilation process. Although assimilation is a primary source of immigrants' attitude change, a number of socio-demographic characteristics, such as upward mobility, and personality factors, such as low authoritarianism, tolerance, and conformity (to American primary groups) may speed this process.

Resistance to attitude change will be determined by strength of attitude, and this characteristic, in turn, depends on a number of factors associated with origin and "life history" of the attitude (Dawson et al., 1977; Glenn, 1980; Krosnick, 1991; Sears,1983; Sears & Whitney, 1973). Among these factors are relevance, centrality, accessibility, importance, intensity, simplicity, extremity, childhood origin, and long history of reinforcement. As with pressure to change, resistance to this process may be strengthened by some socio-demographic characteristics, such as downward mobility, and personality factors, such as

authoritarianism, intolerance, and conformity (to carriers of old attitudes).

The Research Hypotheses

The objective of this study was to test the proposed model of change in social attitudes of Soviet immigrants to the USA. The proposed model (see Fig. 1) suggests the following hypotheses (due to a relatively small gap in women's position in the USA and in the former USSR, no hypothesis is formulated):

1. Immigrants are more likely than Americans to give proabortion responses.

Attitudes toward abortion are characterized by a high level of stability (Sears, 1983). Soviet immigrants' attitude toward abortion has characteristics that make it particularly stable and resistant to change because it has long history of reinforcement, consensually agreed upon, and often expressed verbally and behaviorally (Hollander, 1991; Juviler, 1991). Given the staggering abortion rate, absence of anti-abortion movement, and resistance of population to any measures aimed at restriction of abortion, one may assume that Soviet citizens perceived abortion as a routine and acceptable way of terminating pregnancy. It is reasonable to expect that this stable attitude will not readily "evaporate" after immigration and will resist modification under pressure of more differentiated American positions on the matter.

2. Immigrants are more likely than Americans to give anti-homosexual responses.

As is the case with abortion, anti-homosexual attitudes of the Soviet people have characteristics that lend them stability (they are intense, extreme, cognitively simple, have long history of reinforcement, consensually agreed upon; see Sanjian, 1991). For many decades, a militant anti-homosexual attitudes in the former Soviet Union were supported by rigorous laws, suppression of any information potentially favorable to this "sexual perversion", and strong public opinion against this form of behavior. And here, too, one should not expect that these stable predispositions will disappear "overnight" and will be readily replaced by more tolerant American views.

3. Immigrants are more likely than Americans to give anti-black responses.

Whatever attitudes toward blacks were in the Soviet Union, they did not have characteristics lending them stability (they were not relevant, central, did not require high level of ego-involvement, did not have a long history of reinforcement, rarely were expressed verbally and never behaviorally). Nothing prevents immigrants from acquisition of American attitudes toward blacks. Taking into consideration that modern racial attitudes in America often find disguised, sophisticated expressions, it is reasonable to expect that the new immigrants are not so skillful in

verbalization of those attitudes as Americans and may give more crude, straightforward, traditional racism type responses to racial items, thus, scoring higher on anti-black feelings.

4. Responses of more assimilated immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of less assimilated immigrants.

Assimilation is associated with increasing pressure to change in direction of Americanization of social attitudes. The better immigrants master English, the more they know about American life, the more strongly they identify themselves with this country, the greater the chances that their attitudes will "mirror" those prevailing in American society.

5. Responses of less authoritarian immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of more authoritarian immigrants.

Authoritarianism is associated with a rigid attachment to a traditional way of thinking, rejection of deviance and dissent, and a tough approach to solution of social problems. For immigrants low in authoritarianism, it is much easier to abandon old, accustomed approaches and to accept ideas prevalent in a more permissive atmosphere of democratic society.

6. Responses of more tolerant immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of less tolerant

immigrants.

Intolerance (avoidance and/or rejection of new, complex situations and ideas) makes it difficult for people to remain open to new concepts and beliefs. More tolerant immigrants do not shield themselves from getting familiar with a new culture and, thus, they are in a better position to objectively evaluate and accept new ideas. Therefore, these immigrants' views have a good chance to become similar to those of Americans.

7. Responses of upwardly mobile immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of downwardly mobile immigrants.

For highly educated, professional Soviet immigrants, upward mobility (and even no change in occupational level) means a relatively high social status within American society and satisfaction associated with this status. Satisfaction with the host country facilitates two major components of assimilation - acculturation and identification. As the model suggests, all these processes strengthen the pressure to change, to replace old attitudes with new ones. It may be assumed that downward mobility, on the contrary, will lead to dissatisfaction with the host country, to alienation from it, to clinging to old values and attitudes.

8. The effect of conformity will depend on the degree of assimilation (interaction effect). Among four possible

combinations of conformity and assimilation (high/low conformity and high/low assimilation), the high conformity/high assimilation immigrants will give responses closest to Americans' opinions, and the high conformity/low assimilation immigrants will give responses most distinct from Americans' opinions.

For conformists, the conformity to a primary group is an important factor in the formation of their social beliefs. When a primary group consists of Americans or assimilated immigrants, conformists will most probably "Americanize" their attitudes. When a primary group is composed of non-assimilated compatriots, social attitudes of conformists are likely to remain unchanged.

Method

Sample

Sources. The present analysis is based on data obtained from two sources: 1991 General Social Survey (GSS) of American population and interviews with Russian immigrants conducted by the author in Russian in December 1993 and January 1994. The total sample size is 500.

For the purposes of current study, only GSS respondents residing in the Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) and New England regions were selected (N=299). The choice of these regions was based on three considerations. First, a comparison of immigrants' and Americans' attitudes is most appropriate when other factors, including region of residence, are controlled for. The Russian immigrants interviewed resided in the selected area. Second, a preliminary analysis showed that respondents in the Middle Atlantic and New England regions held similar social attitudes. They differed from respondents of other regions on one or more such attitudes. This difference has an important implication because Russian immigrants are primarily exposed to and influenced by the culture of their place of residence. Finally, a concern about sufficient statistical power dictated a need in an American sample that is as large as possible and, at the same time, meets the criteria for a comparison with Russian respondents.

Statistical power considerations also guided a choice

of Russian sample size. To do a comparison between any two immigrant subgroups (e.g., the more assimilated with the less assimilated), the subgroups should have consisted of at least 100 persons each. This number of respondents provides a power of .94 for the comparisons, at alpha .05, and effect size .5 (see Glass & Hopkins, 1984, p. 357). To understand how attitudes relate to specific psychological characteristics (controlling for socio-demographic factors), a regression analysis was needed. As Kerlinger and Pedhazer (1973) point out, "any multiple regression analysis, and especially those with many independent variables should have at least 100 subjects, preferably 200 or more" (p. 446). According to the formula given by Cohen and Cohen (1975, p.118) for a regression analysis, a sample size of 200 provides an 80% probability of rejecting a false null hypothesis that the population R (with eight predictor variables) equals zero. In this study the sample of immigrants included 201 persons.

Socio-demographic characteristics. The American respondents represented not only two geographical regions but also different ethnic backgrounds. A majority of them were descendants of those who came from Europe (roughly 80 percent), mostly from England, Italy, and Ireland. The distribution of religious convictions of respondents was as follows: Protestants--41.5 percent, Catholics--46.5 percent, and Jews --2.7 percent. In the American sample, whites made

up 84.3 percent, blacks--12.7 percent, and others 3.0 percent. Thus, the group with which Russian immigrants were compared consisted of predominantly white Americans of European ancestry.

The population of interest for this study was defined as Russian first-generation immigrants in New York Metropolitan area who arrived in this country at age 18 or older. The random sample in this study consisted of 101 respondents from Brooklyn, NY, and 100 from Essex County, NJ. A demographic breakdown of the Russian and American samples is presented in Table 1.

There was a significant difference between the two samples in education and employment status. In addition, 40.8% of immigrants could not keep the same professional and social status they enjoyed in Russia, and only 4.6% moved up the social ladder in this country.

There were some significant differences within Russian sample as well. Table 2 demonstrates the socio-demographic characteristics of Brooklyn and New Jersey respondents. New Jersey Russian respondents appear to have been younger, and exceeded their Brooklyn counterparts in education, employment, and income as well as in social mobility. A difference in sex composition and length of stay in this country is also noteworthy and will be discussed later.

Selection of respondents. A table of random numbers was used to select pages from the Brooklyn telephone

Table 1

Demographic Profile of Russian and American Respondents

Characteristic	Russians (N=201)	Americans (N=299)
Age (years)	M=48.4	M=45.5
	SD=13.3	SD=17.2
Sex: Males (%)	56	41
Highest degree:		
Less than junior college (%)	8	75
Employment status: employed (%)	62	94
Total family income ($1000)	M=35.2	M=36.2
	SD=26.3	SD=22.7

directory. From each page, one of Russian-sounding last and/or first names was randomly selected, and the person was contacted over the telephone and asked to give a telephone interview. If there was no answer after three calls, no more attempts were made to reach a potential respondent.

The average time of interviews was 24 minutes (range from 11 to 62 minutes). Interviewees were permitted and encouraged to give comments and explanations of their "agree - disagree" type responses.

Among those contacted, 201 were interviewed and 36 rejected the request. The response rate, calculated as the

Table 2

Demographic Profile of Brooklyn and New Jersey Russian Respondents

Characteristic	Brooklyn (N=101)	New Jersey (N=100)
Age (years)	M=49.6	M=46.9
	SD=14.7	SD=11.4
Sex: Males (%)	43	71
Highest degree:		
Less than junior college (%)	13	5
Employment status: employed (%)	40	84
Total family income ($1000)	M=21.8	M=49.4
	SD=20.5	SD=24.3
Length of stay in the USA[a] (%):		
two years or less	32	17
from three to seven years	36.6	39
nine years or more[b]	31.7	44
Social mobility (%):		
up	3	6
same	47	63
down	50	31

Note. [a]A choice of the first and the third time intervals is determined by opposite views, presented in the literature,

in respect to a length of time within which immigrants (or migrants) change their attitudes (see Theoretical Perspective chapter).

[b]No respondent arrived in this country eight years ago.

percentage of the interviewed out of the total number of those who accepted and rejected the interviewer's request, is 85.2 percent. This figure overestimates the actual response rate. Some selected immigrants may have not been contacted within the limits of three calls. Some potential respondents expressed their willingness to participate in the interviews, but asked to be contacted later. In 21 cases, however, all attempts to get in touch with these would-be respondents failed, even when they set up a specific time for the postponed interviews. Whether there were objective reasons that prevented the respondents from being contacted, or some of these people just sought to find a "polite" way to "escape" from interviewing remains unclear. Such possible "hidden refusals" might have inflated the response rate.

Interviewing began in Brooklyn. As soon as the number of interviews increased, however, it became clear that obtaining a stratified random sample, based on length of immigrants' stay in this country, would be difficult. Roughly only one out of ten respondents qualified as an "oldtimer" (i.e., an immigrant who arrived in this country ten or more years ago). To increase the number of oldtimers in the final sample, two procedures were employed: (a) A New Jersey suburban area (Essex county) where Russian immigrants often move from Brooklyn after they reach a certain level of prosperity was targeted, and (b) "screening interviews" in

Brooklyn were conducted to identify Russians who had been living in this country for ten years or more.

Because the density of Russian immigrant population in New Jersey is much less than in Brooklyn, all potential Russian respondents listed in the Essex county telephone directory were called. Forty four percent of them proved to be oldtimers.

In the process of conducting screening interviews in Brooklyn, 197 immigrants were contacted, and only four of them refused to answer the screening interview questions. From 30 oldtimers found through this procedure, 22 were interviewed in the full-scale interviews (response rate 73.3%). Thus, the oldtimer stratum of Brooklyn sample consisted of 10 respondents recruited through regular interviewing and 22 found through screening (total 31% of Brooklyn sample).

Biases and representativeness of the sample.

Obviously, interviews over the telephone may be conducted only with people who have telephones. Although, there is no way to find out how many Russian households have no telephones, everyday experience of the author and other immigrants with whom the author discussed this question suggests that immigrants without telephones comprise a tiny fraction of the population. More convincing support for this assumption comes from a comparison of the sample with available statistical data on Russian immigrants presented

in this section.

A more serious bias arises from usage of telephone directories, which list only heads of households. In this respect, the present sample may be characterized as composed predominantly of heads of households. Still, heads of households are usually most socially active and influential members of a community, who, to a significant degree, determine its culture, ideology, core values and attitudes, and are probably the best representatives of the immigrant community spirit. Because these individuals are mostly men, the sex composition may be highly skewed as was the case in New Jersey (Table 2). An attempt was made to compensate for the uneven sex distribution in the total (Brooklyn and New Jersey) sample by selecting slightly more females' names from the Brooklyn telephone directory. Even after these efforts, in the final sample, females made up only 44 percent of all respondents. Household heads are also more educated, more often employed, and have higher income than other members of households, thus, somewhat distorting average characteristics of population of interest. Finally, because characteristics of those who could not be reached or who refused to respond remain unknown, the final sample might not have represented some other groups of immigrants as well.

It is imperative to examine the representativeness of the sample. The most important sample demographic

characteristic in the context of this study - length of immigrants' stay in the USA - closely mirrors that of the whole population of interest (Table 3).

Table 3

Length of Stay in the USA for Russian Respondents and General Russian Immigrant Population

	Respondents (%)	Population[a] (%)
Two years or less	24.4	28
From three to seven years	37.8	35
Nine years or more[b]	37.8	37

Note. [a]Data on population are based on published information (Dannie ob immigracii, 1994; Kaminskaya, 1993a; Kaminskaya, 1993b) [b]No respondent arrived in this country eight years ago.

The median age of adult Russian immigrants, reported by Kosmin (1990), was 49. In the present study the median age of respondents (46) was fairly close to this figure. The Russian community is the most educated immigrant community in this country (Kaminskaya, 1993a). According to Gold (in press), 58 percent of former Soviets in New York City, 72 percent in Los Angeles county, and 97 percent of adult

Russian immigrants in Massachusetts' North Shore had some college education. In the current sample, there were 83 percent of college educated respondents. Also in accord with data on Russian immigrant population (Kaminskaya, 1993a), an average family income of working Russian respondents ($48,879) significantly exceeded that of Americans in the selected region ($36,251). Thus, notwithstanding some biases inherent in the sample, it represents the larger population from which it was drawn reasonably well.

Measures (Interview Schedule is presented in Appendix)

A. Social attitudes:

To measure attitudes toward women's position in society (items 29, 31, 32) , abortion (item 33), homosexuality (items 35, 36), and blacks (items 38-43), questions from 1991 General Social Survey were used.

B.Psychological and social variables.

Assimilation (items 4 - 16) was assessed by several indicators. The respondents were asked about their self-identification (e.g., Russian, American, Russian American), their command of the English language, feelings toward the USA (feeling thermometer), satisfaction with life in America, contacts with Americans, exposure to American mass media, interest in American political and social life, and their retrospective evaluation of the decision to emigrate to the USA. The analysis of the pertinent literature

convinced me that the best, most adequate assimilation scales are those which are created with an eye on specific characteristics of the immigrant group under investigation. Because no special assimilation scale for Russian immigrants appears in the literature, separate items were taken from sources dealing with adaptation of Soviet immigrants to the USA (Kosmin, 1990; Simon & Simon, 1982). A feeling thermometer was also included as well as a question about the immigrants' interest in American political and social life as directly related to the main topic of this research.

A majority of items had three response categories which were assigned scores from one to three. Responses that reflected a higher assimilation received higher scores. For example, those who called themselves Americans or Russian Americans received 3 scores; respondents who identified themselves as American Jews or American Russians - 2; for those who did not mention the word "American" in their self-description, the score was 1. Scores on different aspects of English knowledge were summed up, and the result was categorized according the following scheme: scores from 4 to 8 were coded 1, from 9 to 12 - 2, and from 13 to 16 - 3. Values of the feeling thermometer (a continuous variable) were grouped into three equal categories. Responses in the range from 0 to 33 were coded 1, from 34 to 67 - 2, and from 68 to 100 - 3. The resulting assimilation score was obtained by summing up scores for all items of the

assimilation scale.

Conformity (items 21-24). A subscale of a 16-item Social conformity scale by Pettigrew (1958) was used. The scale was tested on college students in a South African college, and differentiated respondents conforming with prevalent societal racial attitudes from non-conforming respondents. No data on reliability were presented. The scale withstood cross-cultural scrutiny: it was successfully used in South Africa, India, and Australia (Heaven, 1986; Niewoudt & Nel, 1975). In the present research, only four items from the scale that had the most discriminant power in the Pettigrew study ($p < .001$) were used.

Intolerance of ambiguity (items 17-20). A subscale of a 16-item scale proposed by Budner (1962) was used. The scale was tested on 16 different samples, mostly students at Columbia University. The test-retest reliability is .85. As Sidanius (1988) points out, "of all the instruments purporting to measure the elusive construct of 'intolerance of ambiguity', it [the Budner's Scale] has clearly the best documented and most consistent degree of construct validity known in the literature" (p. 312). It correlates with three other scales of ambiguity intolerance: .50 with the Princeton Scale, .36 with the Coutler Scale, and .54 with the Walk Scale (see Budner, 1962). It also correlates with conventionality, favorable attitudes toward censorship, intolerance of disagreement, and preference for confirmatory

stimuli (Sidanius, 1988). Because intolerance of ambiguity is a three-dimensional construct (its components are novelty, complexity, and insolubility), the scale has a low internal consistency of .49 (Budner, 1962). In the present study only four items reflecting reactions to novelty--a characteristic which is most important in the context of this research--were chosen.

Authoritarianism (items 25-28). A four-item scale proposed by Lane (1955) was used. Christie (1991) notes that the Lane's scale is "the best short form of the F scale currently available for use in large cross-sectional studies of the population" (p. 556). The four-item Guttman scale yielded a coefficient of reproductibility of .90 which meets the minimal criteria for unidimensionality. Lane's (1955) data show that authoritarianism measured by the scale correlates with intolerance of ambiguity, ethnocentrism, proness to moralistic reasoning, and toughness in approaches to foreign affairs. Democratic voters appeared to be slightly less authoritarian than Republican voters.

Demographic and socio-economic variables (items 1-3, 45-49). Data on age, sex, length of residence in the United States, education, profession, employment, occupation now and before the immigration, and income were collected. Because of differences between the Soviet and American educational systems, response categories for documenting the Soviet educational level differed from those used in the

GSS. However, an approximate comparability of respondents' and Americans' education was possible. A difference in occupational titles between the two countries also did not pose a problem because, for the purpose of the present analysis, all occupational titles were collapsed into three broad categories (for details, see section Data Preparation and Analysis), and the same criteria were used for both Russian and American samples.

Previous attitudes (items 30, 34, 37, 44). To better understand the origin of current attitudes, an attempt was made to elicit information about the immigrants's attitudes held in the former USSR. To this end, the respondents' retrospective accounts were assessed. The retrospection should be approached with extreme caution. Though aware of shortcomings of this method, I believe its use is warranted when other ways of obtaining information are not accessible or scarce. Smith (1984) who investigated the reliability of recall data points out that some attitudes (but only some) "can probably be recalled almost as reliably as current attitudes" (p. 645). These include attitudes which are central, dominant, have a long history of reinforcement, often practiced, or fixed in verbal expressions. Attitudes of former Soviet citizens toward women's position in society, homosexuality, and abortion show these attributes, and attitudes toward blacks do not.

Translation of the Questionnaire

An accurate and adequate translation of the questionnaire from English into Russian was of the utmost importance in this study. To this end:

1. Original items in English were translated into Russian.

2. The Russian version of the questionnaire was translated back into English by a professional translator who was unaware of the original items.

3. The original questionnaire was compared with the back-translated version by an expert in questionnaire construction.

4. Some changes were made in the Russian language questionnaire to have the back-translated version as close as possible to the original.

Pretesting

To test whether instruction and item wording would be easily understood by respondents, whether response format, ordering and length of the questionnaire were adequate, telephone interviews with ten immigrants were conducted. Some difficult items were eliminated or changed. The improved version of the questionnaire was also pretested on ten other immigrants, and this procedure was repeated two more times to get a satisfactory version of the questionnaire. Altogether, 36 respondents were involved on this stage of the research.

Data Preparation and Analysis

Responses to attitudinal questions were recorded in such a way that a low score signified an "intolerant" response and a high score characterized a "tolerant" attitude. Lower scores were also assigned to those psychological characteristics that usually correlate with intolerant attitudes: high conformity, low tolerance of ambiguity, and high authoritarianism. Social mobility was assessed by comparison of respondent's occupation in the former USSR and in this country. As a basis for this comparison, three levels of occupation were used. The high level included professionals, engineers, technicians, or artists; the mid was defined as clerical workers, sales people, or students; the low was considered laborers or those in service jobs not requiring an education.

To account for oversampling of oldtimers in Brooklyn, a weighting procedure was employed according to the formula:

$x * (w_{over} * n_{over} + w_{reg} * n_{reg}) = N$, where

N - the total number of actually interviewed oldtimers in Brooklyn (32),

n_{reg} - the number of oldtimers recruited through regular interviews (10),

n_{over} - the number of "oversampled" oldtimers found through screening interviews (22),

w_{reg} - a weight for regular oldtimers (1),

w_{over} - a weight for "oversampled" oldtimers equal to the

proportion of oldtimers in Brooklyn immigrant community (.15),

x - a correction term introduced to prevent a decrease in the total sample size after weighting.

Based on data of the present study, $x(.15*22 + 10)=32$, $x=2.4$, $w_{over\ corrected} = 2.4 * .15=.36$, $w_{reg\ corrected} = 2.4*1=2.4$.

When data were collected, attitudinal items were grouped together into scales that were checked for internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha). As a result, items that significantly decreased internal consistency were dropped from the scales. A list of scales employed in the present study and their coefficients of internal consistency are presented in Table 4.

The data were examined for violations of assumptions necessary for the regression analysis. The distributions of values of dependent variables were displayed in histograms. To check the assumptions of normality, a histogram of residuals and a normal probability plot were drawn. To see whether the condition of constant variance was met, the residuals were plotted against the predicted values and also against the values of the independent variables. To see whether it is appropriate to assume a linear relationship, the dependent variable was plotted against the independent variable.

Taking into consideration that Russian and American

Table 4

Scales of the Present Study and Their Coefficients of Internal Consistency

Computer name	Characteristic measured	O[a]	D[b]	Alpha coeff.
ASSSCALE	Assimilation	4-16	11	.61
NOVSCALE	Intolerance of ambiguity (specifically, of novelty)	17-20	19-20	.56
CONSCALE	Conformity	21-24	21	.48
AUTSCALE	Authoritarianism	25-28	28	.42
WOMSCALE	Attitudes toward women's equality	29,31,32	31	.66
ABOSCALE	Attitudes toward abortion	33 A-G		.89
ABPHYS	Attitudes toward abortion when physical harm for mother or baby is possible	33 A,C,E		.86
ABMORAL	Attitudes toward abortion when morality of this act is challenged	33 B,D,F,G		.94
HOMSCALE	Attitudes toward homosexuality	35, 36 A-C		.72
HOMOACT	Attitudes toward civil rights of homosexuals	36 A-C		.74

table continued

(Table 4 continued)

Scales of the Present Study and Their Coefficients of Internal Consistency

Computer name	Characteristic measured	O[a]	D[b]	Alpha coeff.
RACSCALE	Racial attitudes in general	38-43		.55
POLITSCA	Attitudes toward government racial policy	41, 43		.43
RACDIFSC	Explanation of racial differences in status	42 A-D		.62

Note. [a]O-original items; [b]D-items dropped.

samples differed significantly on socio-demographic characteristics that can have a crucial impact on social attitudes (e.g., education, see Jackman & Muha, 1984; Smith, 1990), statistical procedures that allow one to control for these potentially influential factors were predominantly used in the analysis of respondents' social attitudes. The main statistical instruments in the present study were multiple regression and logistic regression (SPSS for Windows, release 6.0.1). In the process of analyses, after stepwise entry revealed a contribution of socio-demographic

control factors (age, sex, education, income, length of stay in the USA, and social mobility), an independent variable of specific interest (e.g., assimilation score, conformity score, and so on) was added, and its effect was assessed.

Results

Hypothesis One: Immigrants are more likely than Americans to give proabortion responses

An analysis revealed that socio-demographic characteristics of respondents (age, sex, education, and income) did not correlate with attitudes toward abortion (ABOSCALE), but group membership (Russians vs. Americans) correlated with ABOSCALE (R=.41, p<.001). Russian respondents (coded 1) had higher scores, that is, they exceeded their American counterparts (coded 0) in "tolerant" attitudes toward abortion.

There are indications (see, e.g., Callahan & Callahan, 1984) that Americans' attitudes toward abortion depend on specific questions asked about this issue. For example, an overwhelming majority of Americans support abortion in cases when mother's or baby's life is at risk. At the same time, opinions are sharply split when morality of abortion itself is questioned. Therefore, it seemed to be warranted to create two subscales of the abortion scale: ABPHYS, that dealt with cases of physical harm to mother or baby, and ABMORAL, that examined moral aspects of the problem.

An analysis revealed that socio-demographic variables (age, sex, education, and income) did not correlate with ABPHYS and ABMORAL, but group membership (Russians vs. Americans) correlated with ABPHYS (R=.26, p<.001) and ABMORAL (R=.39, p<.001). Immigrants expressed much more

favorable attitudes toward specific aspects of abortion issue than Americans.

Not only was the first hypothesis consistent with the observed data, it was also supported by the respondents' comments. Rather often interviewees asked to skip all the questions regarding abortion: their prochoice position was unshakable. The issue itself was perceived as something "artificial", "invented", or "meaningless".

Hypothesis Two: Immigrants are more likely than Americans to give anti-homosexual responses

Attitudes toward homosexuality (HOMSCALE) were used in a multiple regression analysis as a dependent variable after it was found that the assumptions needed for such an analysis were satisfied. Table 5 shows the output.

Even after income and age variables entered the equation, the group differences remained highly significant. Russians (coded 1) were less favorable toward homosexuality than Americans (coded 0).

HOMSCALE tapped attitudes toward two aspects of the issue: toward homosexual behavior (measured by one item 35) and toward civil rights of homosexuals (measured by a scale HOMOACT). These two aspects were analyzed separately.

Item 35 (HOMOSEX) allowed respondents to choose one of four Likert-type answers ranging from very negative attitude to complete acceptance of homosexual behavior. The interviews demonstrated that respondents experienced

Table 5

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Attitudes toward Homosexuality (HOMSCALE)

Multiple R	.42		F=22.43	
R Square	.18		Sig. F=.0000	
Adj. R Sq	.17			
Stand. Err.	1.73			
Variable	**B**	**SE B**	**Beta**	**Sig. T**
Countinc[a]	.02	.004	.23	.0000
Age	-.024	.006	-.20	.0002
Group	-.83	.20	-.22	.0000
Constant	10.62	.37		

Note. aCOUNTINC is a total family income recoded as a continuous variable by taking midranges of 20 GSS INCOME91 categories (in $1000).

difficulties in choosing among the adjacent categories and tended to judge the matter just in negative vs. positive terms. In light of this tendency, a dichotomization of responses in the analysis seem to be a productive approach. Results of the logistic regression analysis follow (Table 6).

Two factors determined HOMOSEX responses: people with

Table 6

Logistic Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Attitudes toward Homosexual Behavior (HOMOSEX)

Variable	B	SE	df	Sig.	R	Exp(B)
Countinc	.019	.006	1	.0008	.1620	1.02
Age	-.03	.01	1	.0023	-.1445	.97
Constant	-1.10	.48	1	.0216		

Note. Logistic regression analyses were based on the Wald statistic. Under column headings: B - estimated coefficient, SE - standard error of B, df - degrees of freedom, Sig. - significance level, R - partial correlation between dependent variable and each of the independent variables, Exp(B) - the factor by which the odds change when the independent variable increases by one unit.

higher income (COUNTINC) tended to take a more "tolerant" position, and older individuals were less "tolerant". Both Americans and Russians did not differ significantly on their responses.

However, when attitudes toward civil rights of homosexuals became a dependent variable, intergroup differences emerged again. Russians' responses continued to be less "tolerant" than Americans' ones (Table 7).

Table 7

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Attitudes toward Civil Rights of Homosexuals (HOMOACT)

Multiple R	.40		F=21.19	
R Square	.16		Sig. F=.0000	
Adj. R Sq	.15			
Stand. Error	1.03			
Variable	**B**	**SE B**	**Beta**	**Sig. T**
Age	-.014	.004	-.19	.0003
Countinc	.009	.002	.19	.0001
Group	-.53	.11	-.24	.0000
Constant	8.68	.21		.0000

Thus, findings on homosexuality issue seem to be more ambiguous than those on abortion. Whereas both groups of respondents demonstrated some hostility toward homosexual behavior, Russians were ready to restrict homosexual rights to a larger degree than Americans.

In their verbal accounts, many Russians described homosexuals as deviant, dangerous, even mentally incompetent people whose impact on the rest of society should be restricted as much as possible. That these deviant individuals were a bad role model for children was particularly underscored.

Hypothesis Three: Immigrants are more likely than Americans to give anti-black responses

Attitudes toward blacks scale (RACSCALE) was composed of items taken from different GSS interview schedules. There was no one American respondent who was confronted with all the questions on racial matters employed in this study. Therefore comparison of general racial attitudes of Russians and Americans was impossible.

However, there were possibilities to compare the two groups on separate aspects of racial attitudes. For example, POLITSCA was comprised of questions about government racial policy. An analysis revealed that socio-demographic variables (age, sex, education, and income) did not correlate with POLITSCA, but group membership (Russians vs. Americans) correlated with POLITSCA (R=.-51, p<.001). Russians (coded 1) seem to have been less enthusiastic than Americans (coded 0) about hypothetical black president or special favors for blacks.

Objections to having a black president ranged from apprehensions that special favors for blacks will follow to fears of redistribution of power with increase in socially negative behaviors associated (in the minds of many respondents) with blacks. As one respondent expressed this sentiment: "They [blacks] have got out of hand even now. What will happen if this country gets its black president? We had Dinkins in New York. Look how blacks behaved! Have

you forgotten Crown Heights? Do you want more pogroms? No, enough is enough!".

Russian interviewees were even more belligerent when they discussed special treatment of black population. Many of them did not believe that blacks suffer from racial inequality and therefore did not see a reason to help this racial group. From their point of view, such help can only corrupt black population, depriving it of a stimulus to work. A moral dimension of this issue was a subject of special concern. "Injustice", "violation of principle of equality", "reverse discrimination" were mentioned as explanations of objections to preferential treatment.

Another scale, RACDIFSC, dealt with understandings of differences between whites and blacks in social and economic status. A regression where RACDIFSC was a dependent variable explained 35 percent of variability (Table 8).

Although this time degree (highest educational degree), age, and, to a lesser extent, sex had statistically significant effects even after the group variable entered the equation, the latter factor appears to be most powerful. Again, Russian respondents' explanations seem to be less pro-black than Americans' ones. A negative correlation of age with "tolerant"-type attitudes is also noteworthy although not unexpected.

The strong statistical difference between the groups finds its explanation in Russian respondents' comments. A

majority of them (89.6 percent) did not believe that racial discrimination is a factor in determining blacks' position in society. In fact, they just did not believe that such kind of discrimination exists in this country. 80.6 percent of Russian interviewees did not see any obstacles to obtaining education by blacks. "On the contrary, they have privileges in being accepted by educational institutions" - this was the most popular argument. 88.1 percent of

Table 8

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Explanations of Racial Disparity in Status (RACDIFSC)

Multiple R	.59		F=42.37	
R Square	.35		Sig. F=.0000	
Adj. R Sq	.34			
Stand. Error	.99			
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Sig. T
Degree	.15	.06	.15	.0088
Age	-.012	.004	-.15	.0009
Sex	.21	.11	.08	.0639
Group	-1.51	.13	-.61	.0000
Constant	6.43	.22		.0000

Russians put a blame for racial disparities in status on blacks themselves who "do not care about improving their own

situation".

Three items (38, 39, and 40) that, at face value, dealt with segregation issue could not be grouped together in a scale because such a scale had a very low internal consistency (alpha coefficient was .29). However, separate analyses of these items contributed to a better understanding of group differences. Responses to the question about rights to keep blacks away from whites' neighborhoods (item 38) was dichotomized on the same grounds that led to a dichotomization of HOMOSEX. Results of logistic regression analyses with dependent variables attitudes toward segregation (RACSEG, item 38) and toward open housing (RACOPEN, item 39) are presented in Tables 9 and 10.

In both cases (Tables 9 and 10) group differences emerged as the strongest correlates of respondents' positions on the specific issues. In these both cases, Russians (coded 0) expressed more "intolerant" views than Americans (coded 1).

The only racial item that did not reveal an intergroup difference dealt with busing issue. Two remarks about this issue are in order. First, 22.9 percent of Russians did not know what "busing" means. Second, busing brought about strong resistance even among American population: 64 percent of Americans disapproved of this means of racial segregation.

Table 9

Logistic Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Attitudes toward Segregation (RACSEG)

Variable	B	SE	df	Sig.	R	Exp(B)
Degree[a]			4	.05	.06	
Degree (1)	-.90	.42	1	.03	-.08	.40
Degree (2)	.23	.32	1	.47	.00	1.25
Degree (3)	-.28	.29	1	.34	.00	.76
Degree (4)	-.04	.25	1	.87	.00	.96
Group (1)	2.25	.41	1	.0000	.26	9.50
Constant	-.10	.22	1	.65		

Note. aDegree - highest educational degree. Its GSS categories are 0 - less than high school, 1 - high school, 2 - junior college, 3 - bachelor, 4 - graduate. Deviation contrast was used for the categories of degree variable.

The numbers mentioned, although telling, do not convey the depth of respondents' attitudes toward issues raised in the last three items. Even those Russians who did not agree to support the right to keep blacks away from whites' neighborhoods, often noticed that, still, they themselves would prefer to live in all-white neighborhoods. This

Table 10

Logistic Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Attitudes toward Open Housing Law (RACOPEN)

Variable	B	SE	df	Sig.	R	Exp(B)
Degree[a]			4	.06	.05	
Degree (1)	-.49	.36	1	.17	-.08	.61
Degree (2)	.05	.25	1	.85	.00	1.05
Degree (3)	.32	.29	1	.28	.00	1.37
Degree (4)	-.46	.23	1	.05	-.06	.63
Age	-.02	.01	1	.0015	-.14	.97
Group (1)	1.79	.33	1	.0000	.25	5.97
Constant	.07	.45	1	.88		

Note. aDegree - highest educational degree. Its GSS categories are: 0 - less than high school, 1 - high school, 2 - junior college, 3 - bachelor, 4 - graduate. Deviation contrast was used for the categories of degree variable.

typical discrepancy between a proclamation of a noble principle and real negative feelings often characterized respondents' positions. For example, some of those who did not oppose busing were quick to add: "But I would not like my children to study in a school where busing program is implemented". Fear of crime, bad values coming from black

children, disruption of learning process were among the most often respondents' concerns. Thus, the data obtained basically support Hypothesis Three.

Research Question: Attitudes toward women's equality

There was no specific hypothesis about the issue. However, an analysis of attitudes toward women's equality produced data that are consistent with findings of other "tolerance" issues (Table 11).

On women's equality issue, group membership continues to be the strongest correlate of respondents' attitudes. Again, Russians (coded 1) were less willing to accept women

Table 11

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Attitudes toward Women's Equality (WOMSCALE)

Multiple R	.44		F=28.02	
R Square	.20		Sig. F=.0000	
Adj. R Sq	.19			
Stand. Error	1.36			
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Sig. T
Age	-.022	.005	-.22	.0000
Countinc	.012	.003	.19	.0001
Group	-.86	.14	-.28	.0000
Constant	6.27	.29		.0000

as equal partners than Americans (coded 0). The regression equation explained 20 percent of variability in responses on the women's issue.

Hypothesis Four: Responses of more assimilated immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of less assimilated immigrants

Table 12 demonstrates that an increase in assimilation (ASSSCALE) is associated with higher scores on "tolerance" toward homosexuality. An analysis revealed that socio-demographic variables (age, sex, education, income, length of stay in this country, and social mobility) did not relate to attitudes toward civil rights of homosexuals (HOMOACT) and women's equality (WOMSCALE), but assimilation (ASSSCALE)

Table 12

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Attitudes toward Homosexuality (HOMSCALE)

Multiple R	.32		F=9.21	
R Square	.10		Sig. F=.0002	
Adj. R Sq	.09			
Stand. Error	1.72			
Variable	**B**	**SE B**	**Beta**	**Sig. T**
Age	-.03	.01	-.23	.004
ASSSCALE	.11	.05	.18	.02
Constant	7.72	1.53		.0000

correlated with HOMOACT (R=.26, p<.001) and WOMSCALE (R=.30, p<.001). More assimilated immigrants appeared to be more "tolerant" than less assimilated.

Those more assimilated also tended to live in this country longer. A correlation between assimilation and length of stay in the USA was .52 (p < .001). Thus, length of stay provides another (although, indirect) way to assess a possible impact of assimilation on social attitudes. It turned out that the "stay" factor correlated with HOMSCALE, HOMOACT, and WOMSCALE (even in the presence of other socio-demographic control variables) at the noteworthy p levels of .09, .05, and .09 respectively.

What assimilation score should a respondent have to hold the same social attitude as an average American? One way to answer this question is to capitalize on the results of the multiple regression analysis of Russians' social attitudes. For example, if an assimilation score of 36.5 is inserted in the regression equation, a predicted HOMSCALE score of 10.9 is obtained, which is the average American score. Similarly, for a Russian, to have the average American scores on HOMOACT and WOMSCALE requires assimilation scores of 37.4 and 35.7 respectively. Thus, an assimilation score of about 36 could be considered a typical American score. A range of middle 90 percent of Russian assimilation scores was from 23 to 33. Thus, immigrants do need a higher level of assimilation to acquire social

attitudes characteristic of Americans.

Previous findings of this study also showed that Americans scored higher than Russians on homosexuality and women's equality issues. Among Russians, the more assimilated scored higher than the less assimilated. Therefore, one may conclude that more assimilated immigrants are closer to Americans than less assimilated on these issues. No difference was found in respect to abortion and racial attitudes. Thus, the data obtained provide a limited confirmation of Hypothesis Four.

Hypothesis Five: Responses of less authoritarian immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of more authoritarian immigrants

Findings of the study do not support this hypothesis. There was no association between authoritarianism scores and any Russian respondents' social attitudes.

Hypothesis Six: Responses of more tolerant immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of less tolerant immigrants

Tolerance in this context meant tolerance of ambiguity, and was operationalized by items (NOVSCALE) that measured only one component of this psychological variable - tolerance toward novelty. An attempt to show an association between NOVSCALE and social attitudes failed.

Hypothesis Seven: Responses of upwardly mobile immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of

downwardly mobile immigrants

Findings of the study do not provide any support for this prediction.

Hypothesis Eight: The effect of conformity will depend on the degree of assimilation (interaction effect). Among four possible combinations of conformity and assimilation (high/low conformity and high/low assimilation), the high conformity/high assimilation immigrants will give responses closest to Americans' opinions, and the high conformity/low assimilation immigrants will give responses most distinct from Americans' opinions

Contrary to the prediction, there was no interaction between conformity and assimilation. However, the main effects of these variables were noticeable. Impact of conformity (CONSCALE) on attitudes toward homosexuality (HOMSCALE and HOMOACT) (Tables 13 and 14) turned out to be stronger than that of assimilation. The same was true for attitudes toward blacks (RACSCALE and RACDIFSC). An analysis of racial attitudes revealed that neither socio-demographic variables (age, sex, education, income, length of stay in this country, and social mobility) nor assimilation score correlated with RACSCALE and RACDIFSC, but conformity (CONSCALE) correlated with RACSCALE (R=.17, p<.10) and RACDIFSC (R=.21, p<.01). On women's equality attitudes, assimilation emerged as the leading independent factor, and effect of conformity and socio-demographic

Table 13

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Attitudes toward Homosexuality (HOMSCALE)

Multiple R	.40		F=9.29	
R Square	.16	Sig. F=.0000		
Adj. R Sq	.14			
Stand. Error	1.69			

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Sig. T
Age	-.02	.01	-.16	.047
CONSCALE	.52	.16	.26	.0013
ASSSCALE	.08	.05	.13	.09
Constant	6.12	1.62		.0002

Table 14

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Attitudes toward Civil Rights oh Homosexuals (HOMOACT)

Multiple R	.37		F=12.25	
R Square	.14	Sig. F=.0000		
Adj. R Sq	.13			
Stand. Error	1.07			

table continued

(Table 14 continued)

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Attitudes toward Civil Rights oh Homosexuals (HOMOACT)

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Sig. T
CONSCALE	.37	.09	.30	.0001
ASSSCALE	.06	.03	.17	.03
Constant	4.62	.83		.0000

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variables was not significant. Correlation of ASSSCALE with WOMSCALE was .30 ($p<.001$). Both high conformity and high assimilation had a tendency to be associated with more "tolerant" attitudes. Although Hypothesis Eight, in the way it was stated, was not supported by the data, the main effects of conformity and assimilation were found. These effects are of significant theoretical interest.

Research Question: Comparison of Social Attitudes of Brooklyn and New Jersey Respondents

This research question was not foreseen in the dissertation proposal and was raised in connection with expanding "research territory" beyond Brooklyn as a means of finding more oldtimers. Brooklyn is a home to the nation's largest Soviet Jewish community (Littman,1992). In New Jersey, the immigrants are fewer in number and are scattered through the territory; they probably have more contacts with Americans. It was assumed that New Jersey immigrants will

"Americanize" their social attitudes to a greater degree than their Brooklyn counterparts.

Findings of the study do provide some support for such an assumption. For example, when zero-order correlations of place of residence (Brooklyn vs. New Jersey) with all attitudinal scales, subscales, and attitudinal items that did not enter any scale were calculated, it turned out that out of 13 correlation coefficients 12 were positive. It meant that when LOCAL (place of residence) changed from 0 (Brooklyn) to 1 (New Jersey), attitudinal scores also increased, i.e., attitudes became more "tolerant". A possibility that this proportion of positive and negative coefficients is due to a chance may be rejected at $p <= .004$ (Sign test).

One might think that the association between location (Brooklyn vs. New Jersey) and racial attitude scores might be eliminated or at least attenuated when socio-demographic variables are introduced into the equation. But, in fact, age, income, education, sex, social mobility, and length of stay in this country were shown above (p. 88) to be unrelated to racial attitudes. Hence, they cannot possibly "control" for location, as indeed Tables 15 and 16 show. The only important fact about these tables (where Brooklyn was coded 0 and New Jersey was coded 1) is that location related to racial attitudes. In both cases New Jersey respondents were more pro-black than those from Brooklyn.

Table 15

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Attitudes toward Blacks (RACSCALE)

Multiple R	.28		F=1.1	
R Square	.08	Sig. F=.32		
Adj. R Sq	.01			
Stand. Error	2.35			

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Sig. T
Age	.01	.02	.07	.55
Countinc	.002	.01	.03	.87
Degree	-.29	.34	-.09	.39
Sex	-.15	.53	-.02	.78
Socmobil	-.09	.54	-.02	.86
Stay	-.04	.06	-.10	.51
LOCAL	1.27	.55	.27	.02
Constant	12.55	1.47		.0000

Table 16

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Explanations of Racial Disparity in Status (RACDIFSC)

Multiple R	.34		F=2.61
R Square	.11	Sig. F=.0145	

table continued

(Table 16 continued)

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Explanation of Racial Disparity in Status (RACDIFSC)

Adj. R Sq .07

Stand. Error .76

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Sig. T
Age	-.01	.005	-.16	.08
Countinc	-.002	.004	-.09	.51
Degree	-.01	.09	-.01	.90
Sex	.02	.14	.01	.90
Socmobil	-.07	.14	-.05	.60
Stay	.005	.017	.04	.75
LOCAL	.52	.15	.33	.0006
Constant	5.24	.38		.0000

Attitudes toward homosexuality (HOMSCALE) also were more "tolerant" in New Jersey (at p level of .09) (Table 17) as were attitudes toward women's equality (p = .10). In Table 17 Brooklyn was also coded 0 and New Jersey was coded 1.

It is probably fair to say that, on the whole, immigrants from New Jersey had somewhat more "tolerant" attitudes than Russians from Brooklyn.

Table 17

Multiple Regression Analysis: Dependent Variable is Russians' Attitudes toward Homosexuality (HOMSCALE)

Multiple R	.34	F=7.57	
R Square	.11	Sig. F=.0001	
Adj. R Sq	.10		
Stand. Error	1.68		

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	Sig. T
Age	-.03	.01	-.24	.0009
Degree	.34	.16	.16	.03
LOCAL	.44	.26	.12	.09
Constant	9.67	.62		.0000

Summary

Findings of the study provided a solid evidence to support hypotheses about differences in social attitudes between Americans and Russians. With an exception of abortion issue, immigrants' attitudes were less "tolerant" than those of Americans. Less conclusive were data on characteristics responsible for Russians' attitudes. Neither intolerance of ambiguity, nor authoritarianism, an interaction between assimilation and conformity, or social mobility were found to have any impact on immigrants' views. High assimilation and high conformity were associated with

more "tolerant" attitudes toward homosexuality, blacks, and women's equality. There were findings that allow one to assume that, on the whole, immigrants from New Jersey had more "tolerant" views than Russians from Brooklyn.

Discussion

Differences between Russians and Americans in Social Attitudes

The following section analyzes the origin of differences between Russians and Americans, first, in their stable attitudes that were socialized in the former Soviet Union, and, then, in their attitudes toward blacks. It draws particular attention to the development of immigrants' racial beliefs and feelings. The section concludes with a discussion of the importance of the present study for understanding the stability of attitudes issue.

Major findings. As predicted, Russian immigrants gave more proabortion, anti-homosexual, and anti-black responses than Americans. They were also less supportive of women's equality. In all these cases, the difference reached a highly significant level ($p < .001$). Thus, first three hypotheses were supported by the data. Nevertheless, a rationale behind these findings seems to be more complex than initially proposed and will be discussed next.

Theoretical issues. Because the most important socio-demographic characteristics were controlled for, the origin of the differences should be searched in other factors that distinguish the two populations. The most obvious among them is the history of socialization. Russians brought to this country another set of values, approaches, views that were socialized in another culture, within another

ideological and social system. This socialization was so strong that even factors are generally considered to be determining in shaping social attitudes (e.g., education) often failed to compete with its effects. If American standards are applied to assess the difference, one may be tempted to conclude that Russians' attitudes were more intolerant than Americans' ones (with the conspicuous exception of abortion). Since Adorno and al's. (1950) seminal study of authoritarianism, it is generally recognized that people socialized in a totalitarian state tend to absorb a totalitarian "psychology" that is based on intolerance toward foreign values. The problem with this intuitively appealing explanation is that psychological studies of those from the former USSR have found no significant difference in the level of authoritarianism between Soviet people and Western citizens (Brief & Collins, 1993; Christie, 1991). Even more out of line with "stereotypes" of social scientists are the findings of McFarland, Ageyev, and Abalakina-Paap (1992), who conducted a comparative study of authoritarianism in the USA and Russia. McFarland et al. concluded that "Soviets scored lower in authoritarianism than North Americans" (p. 1005; see also McFarland et al., 1993).

It is possible that the authoritarian society succeeded better in transmitting its ideological and, more generally, its cultural values than in transformation of

deep-seated personality characteristics. The Soviet system did not inject into its people a set of psychological characteristics that made these individuals susceptible to intolerant approaches and evaluations. Instead, the system provided them with ready-made values and attitudes - a kind of guidance that allowed them to classify social phenomena in "good-bad" or "acceptable-not acceptable" terms. This guidance was imposed in childhood and was constantly reinforced by the society throughout life. It is no wonder, then, that people cling to these views with a remarkable persistence and resist to give them up even under the overwhelming pressure of assimilation factors.

Although Russian respondents demonstrated, from a US perspective, inconsistent evaluations of social phenomena (intolerance toward women's equality and homosexuality, and a remarkable, almost unanimous "tolerance" toward abortion), from a Russian perspective, there is no inconsistency. What Russian respondents demonstrated was an attachment to the socialized, old, accustomed evaluations they were taught. They demonstrated conventionalism and traditionalism. If, according to the social training Russians went through, abortion is an acceptable and medically approved minor surgical operation, then they see nothing wrong with abortion. It is not tolerance that pushed Russians under the "ceiling" of abortion approval, because tolerance assumes an ability to see a value of an opposite position,

tolerate opinions, beliefs, customs, behaviors different from one's own. Rather one could characterize as tolerance those Russians' position that respectfully takes into consideration arguments of pro-life advocates. There were, however, almost no such Russians among the interviewees. Disregarding conceptual specificity of terms used in social science may lead to misunderstanding of the nature of the social phenomenon, particularly in the cross-cultural studies. Similarly, Russians' anti-homosexual position and their lack of enthusiasm about women's equality should be traced to their origin in the specific culture, and should not be judged in terms of tolerance vs. intolerance. If the Russian predominant culture had socialized people in pro-homosexual spirit (assume, for a sake of argument, this implausible situation), then Russians most probably would have clung to this position. But such attitudes would have been an expression of a rigid attachment to conventional, traditional way of thinking, not of tolerance that is just something opposite - an ability to overcome or, at least, to see beyond conventional views. Seen from such a perspective, the discrepancy between clear "intolerance" toward women's equality and homosexuality and exaggerated "tolerance" toward abortion disappears. A factor that brings in a harmony and consistency into the explanation of Russians' approaches is their attachment to conventional ways of thinking acquired in the country of their origin.

Such a point of view is not a pure abstract reasoning. It is supported by interviewees' comments, the author-as-an immigrant experience, and the present survey itself. According to the self-reports, after immigration, only 17.4 percent of respondents changed their views on women's equality in a more "tolerant" (American-like) direction; for homosexuality issue this shift made up 36.4 percent. Only three Russian respondents changed their views on abortion in a more "intolerant" (again, more American-like) direction. Thus, immigrants' strong, stable attitudes persisted in the new social environment.

Another dynamic characterized the only weak attitudes considered in this study - attitudes toward blacks. One cannot explain the current racial attitudes of immigrants by their attachment to a conventional way of thinking. There was no such conventional way of thinking about blacks in the former Soviet Union. Thirty-five percent of respondents did not have any opinion about this sector of American population when they lived in the Soviet Union; blacks were too remote and irrelevant. Almost a half of respondents (48.9 percent) reported arriving in this country with positive feelings toward blacks. These sentiments were instilled by Soviet propaganda (and respondents reported it) that did it best to present American blacks in an unequivocally favorable light. But, immigrants' pro-black sentiments were too abstract and too weak to resist the

acquisition of what immigrants perceived as predominant American racial attitudes. Among those Russians who had an opinion about blacks before immigration, 71.9 percent changed their opinions in a negative direction. Probably, a multitude of factors may be responsible for this transformation. Only some of such factors will be considered here. This analysis is based on interviewees' comments and the author's previous research (Goldenberg, 1991).

In their first period of stay in this country, the immigrants did not have job, did not participate in American organizations and community events. They saw blacks predominantly on streets, trains, in welfare offices, in public places. Easily observable anti-social behavior of some blacks, as any kind of negative behavior, was more salient than prosocial one. According to the "illusory correlation" phenomenon (Hamilton, 1981), relatively rare negative characteristics of a minority group are disproportionally magnified and seen as typical for the whole group (black community, in the context of this study).

Abrasive encounters with specific blacks sabotaged the victim's sense of reality and led to excessive and faulty generalizations. As one of the respondents recalled, "they [blacks] have beaten my husband, my brother, and my brother-in-law. How can I love them? Do not tell me that there are good blacks, blacks-professors. I hate them all." Such

negative impressions came in sharp contrast with the idealistic positive image of blacks, created by Soviet propaganda. The violation of previous expectations was experienced painfully as a shock of revelation. This situation militated against the formation of an objective, balanced understanding of black community life. A former exaggerated positive image was easily changed for a new exaggerated negative one.

Being deprived of interpersonal skills needed to interact with blacks, the immigrants felt uneasy and uncomfortable when such an interaction occurred, and preferred to avoid contacts with this sector of the American population. The avoidance behavior resulted in an inability to test negative beliefs against reality. Under conditions of self-isolation, immigrants relied on social stereotypes of blacks. These stereotypes not only filled gaps in the respondents' knowledge but also determined the newcomers' interpretation of future encounters with blacks. Immigrants selected fragments of reality that confirmed their prejudgments. They disregarded the complex reality of black community life and the diversity of the black life style.

Because a language barrier prevented the newcomers from becoming familiar with Americans and English-language mass media, they often relied on other sources of information about American life. The main transmitters of "American" values for newly arrived immigrants were acquaintances,

friends and relatives who arrived in this country earlier. They themselves have had little understanding of the complexity of the American reality and were easy prey for wide-spread racial stereotypes.

Factors that could inoculate the newcomers against the negative racial attitudes are conspicuously absent. The immigrants did not have an experience of life-long first-hand communication with blacks; they have a primitive knowledge of American history, particularly, the history of civil rights movement; they are not familiar with positive black experience, with economic, social, and cultural problems black community faces; they are not exposed to interracial education, diversity and tolerance programs, "anti-hate" broadcastings and articles.

It should be noted that these anti-black sentiments are not the exclusive prerogative of Russian immigrants. Lipset (1964) observed that those who are on the periphery of mainstream society, including immigrants, often make vigorous efforts to be accepted by the dominant group by conscious or unconscious imitation of its attitudes. As Hacker (1992) indicates, it became a kind of tradition for immigrants "only hours off the boat... to assert their superiority to black Americans" (p. 14). McConahay and Hough (1976) point out that socially peripheral groups tend to cling to more intolerant views than are characteristic of the rest of society. Finally, Simpson and Yinger (1985)

stress that the level of anti-black sentiments decreases in each successive generation of immigrants.

Although it is plausible that first generation Russian immigrants are, on average, more anti-black than Americans, there is another possible explanation of Russians' attitudes. One cannot exclude the possibility that immigrants' social attitudes do not differ from Americans' ones, but that newcomers lack those sophisticated skills that allow Americans to express their racial views in a socially acceptable, "politically correct" way. Feelings do not differ, words do.

Jackman and Muha (1984) raised a similar issue with respect to Americans of different levels of education. They suggested that American education teaches how to express views in a "polished" way without affecting racial sensitivity of minority groups. According to this line of reasoning, those who lack such training (poorly educated people, as well as immigrants) may be expected to give more crude, straightforward responses in surveys and public opinion polls, thus, scoring higher on "hate-items". Whether this alternative explanation allows one to account for a significant part of variability of responses on racial issue is an extremely important (socially as well as scientifically) question. A response to this question is beyond the scope of the present study.

Attitudes toward blacks as well as attitudes toward

women's equality, abortion, and homosexuality clearly distinguished Russians from Americans. This conclusion, however, disregards the complex structure of social attitudes. This conclusion is correct only in application to broader, most inclusive scales. Some components of such scales "behaved" otherwise. For example, although Russians and Americans differed in their overall attitudes toward homosexuality, they had similar attitudes toward homosexual behavior. Both groups also differed in their overall racial attitudes, but they clung to the same position in respect to busing. Such examples warn against overgeneralizations in conclusions, and stress once again that social attitudes are multicomponent structures, and that they may be highly issue-specific.

Possible implications of such a warning are far-reaching. One should avoid labeling respondents' views, for example, unequivocally anti-black or anti-homosexual. A study of another aspect of racial or homosexuality issue might have produced another result. Thus, the conclusions of this study should be considered only in relation to specific issues with limitations imposed on the analysis by specific measurement instruments.

Implications. Russian immigrants were believed to be an appropriate group to be used in a study of attitude transformations following dramatic changes in social environment. This kind of research allowed one to test the

relative merits of two major approaches to understanding a dynamics of social attitudes: a "persistence" and a "life-long openness" models.

A great deal of controversy surrounding the problem of attitude stability arises from an indiscriminate application of general principles of each theoretical approach to all or a majority of attitudes. As research discussed earlier suggests (see Theoretical Perspective chapter), and as data of the present study confirm, social attitudes are neither stable or malleable but some of them are more stable than others. Even based on a small set of attitudes studied in the present investigation, one may construct a continuum of the attitudes - from the most malleable to the most stable. Racial views of respondents underwent the radical transformation (only 23.3 percent did not change their views), followed by attitudes toward homosexuality (62.6 percent), women's equality (70.1 percent), and abortion (95.2 percent).

Attitudes that are early socialized, acquired from a high authority source (parents), relevant, functionally significant, consistent with individual values and behaviors, accompanied by high level of involvement become stable. Irrelevant, distant, rarely emerging in consciousness, and never practiced attitudes have few chances to persist under environmental pressure to modify them. Attitudes toward women's liberation, abortion, and

homosexuality met requirements necessary for attitudes to become stable both in Russia and in the USA. Attitudes toward blacks are extremely persistent in this country (Sears, 1988; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986) and have no functional significance in Russia where there are neither blacks, no traditions of anti-black hostility. Russians' attitudes toward blacks lacked an "inner strength" that provides an ability to resist environmental pressure. Thus, one and the same attitude may be stable or malleable depending on the history of its development. An illusion of stability of some attitudes may arise from studying them in a basically constant social and cultural environment with only minor changes present. When pressure to change is weak, most attitudes persist. Immigration has a powerful impact on human life and is a powerful test of attitude stability.

The present study suggests that to understand the dynamics of social attitudes, one should abandon the inadequate "persistence" vs. "life-long openness" dichotomy. Instead of arguing about stability versus malleability, it is more reasonable to ask which attitudes tend to be more persistent and which not, as well as under what conditions one may expect to find attitude change. This approach shifts emphasis from putting an attitude into a "stable" or "unstable" category to the history of attitude development.

As a legendary Greek mythological hero Antaeus derived

his strength from the earth, so do attitudes from their history. History, however, is not the only factor that determines an attitude's destiny in a "foreign" environment. The final outcome of the attitude's struggle for survival depends on the relative strength of the attitude and a host of environmental forces trying to weaken, modify, or support it. Therefore, to understand and predict changes in social attitudes, one should pay as much attention to the contextual factors as to historical ones. This interactionist, historico-contextual position does not promise a convenient, clear-cut way to place an attitude into one out of two categories - "stable" or "malleable". Instead, it recognizes a significant variability of attitudes along the stability - malleability continuum. It provides a theoretical basis for prognoses of changes in individual social attitudes within specific environmental contexts.

Inadequacy of the stability vs. malleability dichotomy was underscored recently by Brody (1986) who showed that the simple "black-and-white" approach does not fit data. He put forward a "black-grey-white" model allowing for significant variability in attitudinal stability. This explanation is rooted in a number of studies that consider a stability-malleability continuum a viable alternative to the persistence vs. constant change approach (see, e.g., Glenn, 1980; Darley, 1938). The present data support such a

conclusion.

Differences in Social Attitudes Among Russian Respondents

An emphasis on differences between Russians' and Americans' social attitudes may disguise significant variability in Russians' approaches to social problems. Psychological and social factors underlying this variability will be discussed in this section. Theoretical implications of the findings will be highlighted.

Intolerance and authoritarianism. The interactionist approach requires one to pay attention to both historical and contextual factors that may impact attitude change. Among those factors, personality characteristics that may be accentuated in people socialized in a totalitarian society - intolerance, conformity, and authoritarianism - drew particular attention. Contrary to what was predicted, however, neither intolerance, nor authoritarianism had a significant correlation with respondents' social attitudes. This result is in a clear contradiction with what "should be", according to the well established tradition in social sciences, a tradition stemming from the classic work of Adorno et al. (1950).

There are a variety of reasons for this discrepancy. Until recently, research on authoritarianism had been done within so-called Western society whose ideology and culture ("context") remarkably differ from those of Russia. One of main pitfalls of cross-cultural research is an uncritical

generalization of conclusions obtained from studying one society to another. For example, as was discussed above, what may be considered an expression of tolerance in the USA (e.g., pro-abortion attitudes) has a quite different meaning for Russian citizens. The Russian strain of authoritarianism may be also specific. It may not correlate with particular social issues as "nicely" as its Western counterpart. Of course, to exclude this difference, one should do stringent research. There are, however, only scant data on attitudes toward abortion and homosexuality in Russia. From what is known, a meager evidence emerges that authoritarianism in Russia correlates with negative attitudes toward women's equality and non-Russian minorities (see McFarland et al., 1992, 1993).

The present study and the studies conducted in Russia are difficult to compare. It is disputable whether Russian immigrants in the USA are similar to a representative sample of population in Russia. Methodological approaches in both cases differed too. For example, women's equality issue includes many aspects that may generate opposite reactions of respondents. It is possible that the studies tapped different components of women's equality issue (and different components of authoritarianism too). Researchers in Russia used Altemeyer's (1988) scale of Right-wing authoritarianism, adjusted for Russia, that has little in common with Lane's (1955) scale employed in the present

study.

Methodological problems may have affected the ability to confirm the hypotheses about effects of intolerance and authoritarianism. The measurement instruments were designed for the American population. The Intolerance of ambiguity scale that included NOVSCALE employed in this study was tested on a homogeneous group - young and highly educated students at Columbia University. Older Russian respondents had some difficulties comprehending the rather "abstract" items from NOVSCALE and the Authoritarianism scale. Neither were the items designed for use in a telephone survey. This way of the item presentation, most probably, aggravated the comprehension problem. The part of the interview that included NOVSCALE and AUTSCALE (authoritarianism) was the most difficult both for the interviewees and the interviewer.

In an attempt to raise the scales' internal consistency, two out of original four items of NOVSCALE were eliminated (see Table 4). The remaining two might have been not powerful enough to uncover respondents' attitudes toward novelty. AUTSCALE was also curtailed: one out of four items was dropped out (see Table 4); this operation could have diminished the scale ability to tap authoritarianism. There is always a possibility that, in the presence of more powerful factors, variables that are presented here as "intolerance" and "authoritarianism" may

have a very weak impact on social attitudes. Probably, the best candidate for this powerful role - the ideological position of respondents - was not controlled for.

Social mobility. It was assumed that those immigrants who "move up" are more willing to accept the new culture's approaches; downwardly mobile, on the contrary, tend to cling to their old reference groups (Hoskin, 1989; Hyman, 1959; Phinney et al., 1992). Some theoretical, methodological problems, and sampling characteristics may account for the failure to support this prediction.

Researchers (Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1950, 1964; Katz, 1960; Population Movement, 1960; Sears, 1969) disagree about what kind of social mobility produces what kind of changes (if any) in social attitudes. This state of research suggests the prediction of social mobility effects is a risky business.

Several methodological problems in this study possibly contributed to the unexpected outcome. Probably, to use only one indicator of social mobility is not sufficient. A more complex scheme that includes education, income, and occupation is, in all likelihood, needed. Assignment of respondents to the three levels of social mobility was based on subjective criteria, and therefore, fraught with inaccuracy. The hypothesis itself pitted "upwardly mobile immigrants" against "downwardly mobile immigrants". This hypothesis, in principle, could not be tested in a sample

where only nine out of 201 respondents reached a higher occupational status. To some degree, this "skewness" has its origin in the character of the sample: newly arrived immigrants experience severe adjustment problems, and for them it is a great achievement even to keep the social position they enjoyed in their former homeland.

Assimilation. It was predicted that responses of more assimilated immigrants will be closer to Americans' opinions than responses of less assimilated immigrants. The data obtained provided only limited confirmation: assimilated respondents had more American-like attitudes than non-assimilated in respect to homosexuality, civil rights of homosexuals, and women's equality, but not toward abortion. Thus, the same force (assimilation in this case) produced different changes in different attitudes. These dynamics suggest that the hypothesis itself might not have been formulated correctly. Instead of predicting changes across all the attitudes, it should have employed a more differentiated approach. The differentiation should have taken into account the relative strength of attitudes under consideration.

Problems in the measurement instrument might have contributed to the failure to find effects of assimilation on a broader range of attitudes. For example, there is a possibility that changes in attitudes toward abortion were undetected because the measurement instrument was

inadequate. It was an appropriate instrument for American respondents, among whom there is a clear variability of opinions about abortion. It may, however, not adequately assess Russians who supported pro-choice position almost unanimously. As a consequence of the methodological inadequacy, a "ceiling effect" resulted and the overwhelming majority of Russians obtained the maximum score possible. There is no easy way to avoid such problems. Obviously, to assess Russians' attitudes toward abortion, one needs a more fine-tuned instrument. But if Russians' attitudes are measured by one scale and Americans' attitudes by another (GSS scale), a meaningful comparison of the two groups' views on abortion becomes more difficult.

Another potential problem regards sampling. The search for respondents with Russian-sounding names missed those immigrants who either "Americanized" their names or preserved their traditional Jewish-like names. The former immigrants probably belong to the most assimilated part of Russian population in this country, and the latter, comprised basically of older persons, tend, in all likelihood, to cling to the views they held in Russia. Exclusion of the immigrant groups that represent opposite poles of assimilation continuum significantly decreased within-sample variability and, thus, decreased chances to find correlation between the level of assimilation and social attitudes.

Interaction of assimilation and conformity. It was assumed originally that, for highly assimilated immigrants, high conformity (to assimilated, "Americanized" groups) would lead to a successful "Americanization" of the attitudes, and for low assimilated, high conformity (to low assimilated reference groups) would facilitate retaining of "old" social attitudes. Thus, conformity was considered a "flip-flop" characteristic, that makes it easier to absorb attitudes of whatever reference group one belongs to.

Results of the study demonstrated that this seemingly simple, logical point of view does not provide an adequate explanation for the findings. Contrary to the prediction, there was no interaction between assimilation and conformity. Instead, the main effect of conformity was a significant correlate of Russian immigrants' attitudes toward homosexuality and blacks, and the main effect of assimilation was associated with attitudes toward women's equality. Both high conformity and high assimilation predicted more "tolerant", American-like views.

It is reasonable to assume that "Americanization" of attitudes, that is their acquisition from Americans, is facilitated by assimilation. "Conformity with prevailing folksways" (Allport, 1954) seemed to have played the crucial role in this process. Both factors acted independently, although they were associated with similar changes in attitudes. In the present study, conformity emerged as a

unidirectional force, as conformity to American attitudes. It is not clear from these data why conformity to the "old" views did not have a comparable effect. Further investigation of the problem seems to be warranted.

The methodological approach should be reconsidered too. The Conformity scale may have had the same problem as intolerance of ambiguity and authoritarianism scales. It was devised for another population and for another form of presentation, and was modified in the present study so radically that the scale requires additional test of its validity. From the original 16 items of Pettigrew's (1956) social conformity scale, only eight were selected when the present study was planned, and only three remained for the final analysis (see Table 4). On the other hand, a scale value is not determined by the number of items it contains. Even these three item scale was able to produce a result that is both theoretically meaningful and thought-provoking.

Brooklyn respondents vs. New Jersey respondents. No specific hypothesis predicted changes in social attitudes in Brooklyn and New Jersey. New Jersey became a "research territory" when attempts to find sufficient number of oldtimers (immigrants who arrived in this country 10 or more years ago) in Brooklyn failed. Brooklyn is a home to the nation's largest Soviet Jewish community (Littman, 1992). In New Jersey, the immigrants are fewer in number and are scattered through the territory, they probably have more

contacts with Americans. It was assumed that New Jersey immigrants will "Americanize" their social attitudes to a greater degree than their Brooklyn counterparts.

A majority of zero-order correlations between a place of residence and immigrants' social attitudes were statistically significant. Respondents from New Jersey had more "tolerant" attitudes. This difference may arise from a disparity in socio-demographic characteristics: New Jersey immigrants were younger and more educated than those residing in Brooklyn. Age and education are generally considered among the most important correlates of social attitudes (see, e.g., Jackman & Muha, 1984; Smith, 1990). Indeed, the correlation of these factors with attitudes, for example, toward homosexuality, was statistically significant when other socio-demographic characteristics were controlled for. But these two factors explained only a part of variability in responses. The source of another part of the variability was the place of residence. This factor correlated with attitudes toward homosexuality and blacks above and beyond the effects of age and education. Why were attitudes toward homosexuality and blacks affected and attitudes toward abortion and women' equality were not? One of possible explanations is: the first two attitudes are less stable than the second two. Of course, "place of residence" is an umbrella notion that may include a number of separate factors beginning with the level of urbanization

and ending with the number of blacks or homosexuals in each location.

In the context of the present study dealing with "Americanization" of attitudes, that is with their acquisition from Americans, a number and quality of immigrants' contacts with citizens of this country should be considered in the first place. The findings of this study are consistent with an assumption that immigrants from New Jersey have more opportunities to meet Americans and therefore have more chances to acquire their attitudes than immigrants from Brooklyn. This is a plausible but not a conclusive explanation. One needs to study the contacts between immigrants and Americans directly to support or reject this explanation.

Theoretical implications. Despite theoretical, methodological, and sampling limitations of the present study, it may well be that intolerance and authoritarianism are, indeed, have little impact on immigrants' social attitudes. If this is the case, one may assume that some other, more potent factors might have intruded and pushed those two psychological variables to retreat into background. The present study suggests that it is ideology of respondents, not their psychology, that determined the fate of immigrants' attitudes. One should remember that the present study deals with a specific kind of attitudes that belong to socio-political (and may be politico-social)

category. In the former Soviet Union, such attitudes were indoctrinated by way of almost "brainwashing". Those, who absorbed such approaches, were guided by them, and individual psychological characteristics might have been relatively weak to have a real impact on individual views in this sphere. You may be tolerant or intolerant, authoritarian or not authoritarian - it does not matter. What matters is how deeply the attitudes under consideration are engraved in your psyche. Immigrants transform their social attitudes as a part of becoming assimilated to the new society. Conformity provides a mechanism to achieve this transformation.

If the study failed to find an impact of intolerance and authoritarianism, it nevertheless found that age and education are the strongest correlates of immigrants' social attitudes. One may probably assume that by analogy with attitudes themselves, their socio-demographic correlates may be placed on a continuum. One end of this continuum represents the most influential factors (age and education in this case) and the opposite end the least significant ones (e.g., employment status and social mobility). Thus, in predicting attitude changes, one should differently weight both social attitudes and their possible socio-demographic determinants.

Conclusions

1. Russian immigrants' attitudes toward women's equality, homosexuality, and blacks are less "tolerant" than those of Americans. Immigrants' support for abortion is overwhelming.

2. Different attitudes undergo different changes after immigration. Immigrants' proabortion position remains basically unshakable. Views on women's equality become slightly and views on homosexuality noticeably more "tolerant". Attitudes toward blacks change significantly from friendly or indifferent to mostly unfavorable.

3. There are findings that allow one to assume that, on the whole, immigrants from New Jersey succeed in acquisition of American-like attitudes more than their Brooklyn counterparts. This difference is consistent with an assumption that New Jersey immigrants have more opportunities for contacts with Americans than immigrants from Brooklyn.

4. Immigrants adopt the social attitudes as a part of becoming assimilated to the new society. High conformity to new, American approaches facilitates the acquisition of American-like attitudes.

5. The study failed to find an impact of intolerance and authoritarianism on immigrants' social attitudes. It is possible that the level of stability of social attitudes brought from Russia is a more powerful predictor of

attitudinal change than the individual personality characteristics.

6. Social attitudes are neither stable nor malleable entities, but some of them are more stable than others. The task of the researcher is to determine (a) which attitudes tend to be more persistent and which not, as well as (b) under what conditions one may expect to find attitude change. The answer to the first question lies in the history of attitude development. The answer to the second question comes from an analysis of a host of current environmental forces trying to weaken, modify, or support the attitude. An analysis of the interaction between historically-originated and current contextual factors provides clues to understanding and predicting attitude destiny.

Implications for Immigration Policies

The United States were created by immigrants and for immigrants. American policy-makers should be particularly interested in studying immigration problems. Resettlement agencies await clear and workable practical recommendations which could help to convert the newcomers into fully incorporated members of American society, who have overcome a conflict between values and attitudes of the country of departure and the country of arrival. People living in harmony with the social environment should be the most productive and useful members of society. Least of all,

Americans may wish the newcomers cling to views discrepant from the American creed.

A potential value of studies such as the present is that they draw attention to serious problems in attitudinal immigrants' adjustment that otherwise would remain unnoticed. The results reported here show that many Russian immigrants to the USA express negative attitudes toward blacks. This observation is in a sharp contrast with the views of the American Jewish community that exceeds other groups in the positive attitudes toward blacks and the commitment to equal opportunity (Smith, 1990). It is important to understand what causes the newcomers to take such a hostile attitude, and to use this knowledge to develop targeted measures to eliminate or reduce these prejudicial attitudes.

Instead of being easy prey for stereotypical racial beliefs, immigrants should be familiarized with the roots of current racial problems, with the history of the struggle for racial equality, with the role of the civil rights movement in the USA, with the participation of American Jews in this struggle. Newcomers to this country also should learn about social, economic, and cultural problems black community faces now, about black positive achievements, and the contribution American blacks made to the progress of this country. Through multicultural programs, interracial education, diversity and tolerance lessons, immigrants may

accept more objective, realistic, differentiated, and tolerant views.

From the present study, as well as from the author's previous research (Goldenberg, 1991), it is clear that anti-black sentiments and stereotypical beliefs of Russian immigrants are usually acquired very quickly, probably in the first months of immigrants' stay in this country. Once acquired, they are extremely difficult to eradicate. Therefore the tolerance programs have much more chances to succeed if they involve the newcomers immediately after their arrival in this country. The main goal of such an intervention is to provide new immigrants with a realistic and objective frame of reference, to create a mind set that will direct their perception and interpretation of the complex and diverse black community life.

Unfortunately, the resettlement agencies dealing with Russian immigrants underestimate the importance of diversity and tolerance programs. The lack of multicultural education may be, to a significant degree, responsible for anti-black sentiments in Russian immigrant community. Ill weeds grow where gardening is neglected.

Another currently important American social issue - attitudes toward homosexuality also presents a difficult adjustment problem for Russian immigrants. They arrived from a country whose prevalent ideology is characterized by militant intolerance toward gays and lesbians. The

newcomers tend to retain such negative attitudes, and there is a danger that they also may practice discrimination against homosexuals. Diversity and tolerance programs should also address this issue.

The increasing importance of educating the Russian immigrant community is underscored by the rapid growth of this population. If the rate of immigration from the former Soviet Union to the USA remains at the present level, by the year 2000, Soviet immigrants will make up one fourth of the Jewish community in New York City and may become the largest Jewish group in the City of New York (Teplicky, 1992). Thus, we deal here with a sizeable population, with a potentially important social force.

There is, at least, one more aspect of this study that has practical implications. For resettlement agencies, it is often important to predict an immigrant's chances for a successful assimilation. An accurate prognosis facilitates social and occupational counseling of immigrants. Aside from the obvious predictors, such as age, education, qualification, and so on, some psychological characteristics should be considered. The present research demonstrates that high conformists adjust to the new society faster than those low in conformity. Measurement of the level of conformity, therefore, may increase chances for a better prognosis of individual adjustment.

Recommendations for Future Research

Taking into consideration the finding that social attitudes are highly issue-specific, it makes sense to expand the repertoire of issues to be analyzed. It seems reasonable to ask immigrants themselves which social issues are the most important for them. An increase in the number of attitudes being studied will facilitate their classification within stability/malleability framework. Creating a taxonomy of attitudes along a stability continuum provides an additional opportunity to find underlying factors responsible for attitude persistence.

Among such factors, history of attitude development plays a prominent role. Comparing attitudes of immigrants from countries where ideological socialization is similar to or dissimilar from socialization in Russia is a promising way to understand the origin of attitudinal strength. Changes of social attitudes in each succeeding (and, in all likelihood, more Americanized) generation of immigrants is also able to shed light on the socialization effects.

A study of attitudinal history should be complemented by an analysis of current contextual factors. One can only guess how Russians' attitudes in different geographical regions of the USA may differ if attitudinal differences were found even between two neighboring states (New York and New Jersey). Studying Russians' attitudes in different countries (e.g., the USA, Israel, and Russia) may further

advance our knowledge of attitude transformation associated with environmental forces.

The cross-cultural approach should consider ideology a potentially important independent variable because social attitudes often have political implications. It is, probably, not psychology, but ideology that makes most difference. Effects of conservatism/liberalism or right/left political orientation should be incorporated into any future research of immigrants' social attitudes.

Changes in social attitudes should be analyzed as a part of studying general assimilation. This requirement makes it imperative to measure assimilation with as high precision as possible. Americanization of attitudes is facilitated through identity changes and contacts with Americans. These two factors deserve particular attention. An assimilation scale as well as scales for psychological variables should be tested on a specific immigrant population and with an eye on a specific mode of presentation.

The methodological improvements will produce reliable results only if a truly representative group of immigrants replaces a head-of-household sample. An increase in the immigrants' sample size will make it possible to do research on different subpopulations of immigrants.

A Concluding Remark

Despite methodological limitations, the present study

provided valuable insight into thinking of Russian immigrants. It revealed a significant dissimilarity between the immigrants' and Americans' approaches to social problems -- a dissimilarity that, in all likelihood, stems from different ways of socialization. The study found that assimilation and conformity are two major factors that decrease this dissimilarity. The results also suggest that not all immigrants' attitudes are created equal. Each of them changed to a different degree in a new, "foreign" environment. This variability in attitudinal resistance highlights limitations of two major contrasting explanations of attitude stability: "persistence" and "constant change" models. According to the position advocated in this study, in order to understand and predict attitude transformation, one needs to take into account both the history of attitude development and current environmental factors. Attitude derives strength from the past. Factors that operate "here and now" may undermine, modify, or support the attitude. An interaction between these two major forces determines an attitude destiny in a new social environment. Understanding such interactions is important both for theorists of attitude change and for those concerned with the assimilation of new immigrants.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

FOR SOVIET IMMIGRANTS

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1. In what year and month did you arrive in the U.S.A.?

   Year_____ Month_____

2. Are you employed?

   Yes____ No____

3. (If employed) Could you please indicate your job title_____
   (If the meaning of the title is not clear, ask What are your basic professional duties?_____
   _____

4. Which of following terms describes your perception of yourself most accurately?

   American _____
   American Jew _____
   Russian American _____
   Jewish _____
   Russian Jew _____
   Russian _____
   Or some other term you choose for yourself _____
   _____

5. How would you describe your command of English language? Assess your knowledge of English on the 5-point scale where 1 means no knowledge in the language, and 5 means totally competent like a person born and fully educated in that language.

   Reading _____
   Writing _____
   Speaking _____
   Comprehension of speech _____

6. What are your feelings toward the U.S.A? Please rate this country using the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the country. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the country and that you don't care too much for this country. If you **do not feel particularly warm or cold** toward the country, you would rate the country at the 50 degree mark. How would you rate the U.S.A. using the thermometer?

   _____

7. All thing considered, if **you** had to do it again would you choose to remain in the (former) Soviet Union, come to the United States, or emigrate to some other country?

Remain in the (former) USSR ____
Come to the U.S.A. ____
Emigrate to other (than the U.S.A.) country ____

8. Taking all together, how would you say things are these days-- would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?
   Very happy _____
   Pretty happy _____
   Not too happy _____

9. During the last year, how often did you visit homes of people born in the U.S.A.?
   Never _____
   1 to 5 times _____
   More than 5 times _____

10. To which group do a majority of your **closest** friends belong? Are they
   Former Soviet Jews _____
   American Jews _____
   Americans,non-Jews _____
   Or somebody else? _____

11. On the average day, about how many hours do you personally watch television?
   Do not watch at all _____
   Less than one hour _____
   One hour or more _____

12. Do you have a Russian channel of TV?
   Yes _____
   No _____

13. (If 'Yes' to Q.12). Do you watch English TV, Russian TV or both?
   English _____
   Russian _____
   Both _____

14. How often do you read the newspaper - every day, a few times a week, once a week, less than once a week, or never?
   Every day _____
   A few times a week _____
   Once a week _____
   Less than once a week _____

   Never _____

15. Do you read the newspaper in English, in Russian, or

both?

English _____
Russian _____
Both _____

16. How interested are you in American socio-political life?
Very interested _____
Slightly interested _____
Not interested at all _____

Now, I will read you a whole series of sentences, and you tell me please whether you agree or disagree with their content?
Let's start:

17. What we are used to is always preferable to what is unfamiliar.
_____

18. A person who leads an even, regular life in which few surprises or unexpected happenings arise, really has a lot to be grateful for. _____

19. I like parties where I know most of the people more than ones where all or most of the people are complete strangers. _____

20. I would like to live in a foreign country for a while.
_____

21. It is better to go along with the crowd than to be a martyr.
_____

22. To be successful, a group's members must act and think alike.
_____

23. It is important for friends to have similar opinions.
_____

24. It is more important to be loyal and conform to our own group than to try to co-operate with other groups._____

25. What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents. _____

26. Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power. _____

27. A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk. _____

28. People sometimes say that an insult to your honor should not be forgotten. Do you agree or disagree with that?

_____

Now, I'll ask you some questions about social problems, and the first of those questions is women's status in society.

29. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself.

Strongly agree	_____
Agree	_____
Disagree	_____
Strongly disagree	_____
Do not know	_____

30. If you were asked the same question when you lived in the former Soviet Union, how would you have answered it at that time?

Strongly agree	_____
Agree	_____
Disagree	_____
Strongly disagree	_____
Do not know	_____

31. Do you approve or disapprove of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?

Approve	_____
Disapprove	_____
Do not know	_____

32. It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family.

Strongly agree	_____
Agree	_____
Disagree	_____
Strongly disagree	_____
Do not know	_____

33. Tell me your opinion whether or not **you** think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a **legal** abortion if

	Yes	No	Do not know
A. There is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby?	_____	_____	_____
B. If she is married and doesn't want any more children?	_____	_____	_____
C. If the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the			

pregnancy? _____ _____ _____

D. If the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children? _____ _____ _____

E. If she became pregnant as a result of rape? _____ _____ _____

F. If she is not married and does not want to marry the man? _____ _____ _____

G. The woman wants it for any reason? _____ _____ _____

34. When you lived in the (former) Soviet Union, was your attitude toward abortion, on the balance, more favorable than now, less favorable than now, about the same, or did you not think much about this?

More favorable _____
Less favorable _____
About the same _____
Did not think much _____

35. What about sexual relations between two **adults** of the same sex--do you think it is always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?

Always wrong _____
Almost always wrong _____
Wrong only sometimes _____
Not wrong at all _____
Do not know _____

36. And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual?

A. Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak or not?

Yes, allowed to speak _____
Not allowed _____
Do not know _____

B. Should such a person to be allowed to teach in a college or university or not?

Yes, allowed to teach _____
Not allowed _____
Do not know _____

C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Favor _____
Not favor _____
Do not know _____

37. When you lived in the (former) Soviet Union, was your attitude toward homosexuality more tolerant than now, less tolerant than now, about the same, or you did not

think much about it?

More tolerant _____
Less tolerant _____
About the same _____
Did not think much _____

38. Here is an opinion expressed in connection with black-white relations: White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and blacks should respect that right.
Which statement below comes closest to how you, yourself, feel:

Strongly agree _____
Slightly agree _____
Slightly disagree _____
Strongly disagree _____
No opinion _____

39. Suppose there is a community-wide vote on the general housing issue. There are two possible laws to vote on:
A. One law says that a homeowner can decide for himself whom to sell his house to, even if he prefers not to sell to blacks.
B. The second law says that a homeowner cannot refuse to sell to someone because of their race or color.
Which law would you vote for?

A _____
B _____
Neither _____

40. In general, do you favor or oppose the busing of black and white children from one district to another?

Favor _____
Oppose _____
Not sure _____

41. If your party nominated a black President, would you vote for him if he were qualified for the job?

Yes _____
No _____
Do not know _____

42. On the average blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than white people. Do you think these differences are

A. Mainly due to discrimination?

Yes _____
No _____
Not sure _____

B. Because most blacks have less in-born ability to

learn?

Yes _____
No _____
Not sure _____

C. Because most blacks do not have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty?

Yes _____
No _____
Not sure _____

D. Because most blacks just do not have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty?

Yes _____
No _____
Not sure _____

43. Some people think blacks have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to help improve their living standards. Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to blacks. What is your opinion?

Strongly agree: the government is obligated to help blacks _____
Agree: the government is obligated to help blacks _____
Agree with both answers _____
Agree: the government shouldn't give special treatment _____
Strongly agree: the government shouldn't give special treatment _____

44. When you lived in the Soviet Union, was your attitude toward American blacks more positive than now, more negative than now, about the same, or you did not think much about this?

More positive _____
More negative _____
About the same _____
Did not think much _____

And in conclusion, please give me some your personal data.

45. What is your date of birth?

_____/___/_____
Month Day Year

46. Sex M___ F___

47. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Some high school _____

High school graduate _____
Secondary technical education_____
Some college _____
College graduate _____
Candidate of science _____
Doctor of science _____

48. What was your job title in the (former) Soviet Union called?_____
(If the meaning of the title is not clear, ask What were your basic professional duties?_____
_____

49. There is a table of income ranges in front of me. Tell me please in which of these ranges did your total family income, from <u>all</u> sources, fall last year before taxes, that is?
I'll name one of such ranges at random, and you'll tell me where to move: up (if your family income is higher) or down (if it is lower).

Below $1,000	_____
$ 1,000 - $ 2,999	_____
$ 3,000 - $ 3,999	_____
$ 4,000 - $ 4,999	_____
$ 5,000 - $ 5,999	_____
$ 6,000 - $ 6,999	_____
$ 7,000 - $ 7,999	_____
$ 8,000 - $ 9,999	_____
$10,000 - $14,999	_____
$15,000 - $19,999	_____
$20,000 - $24,999	_____
$25,000 - $29,999	_____
$30,000 - $34,999	_____
$35,000 - $39,999	_____
$40,000 - $49,999	_____
$50,000 - $59,999	_____
$60,000 - $74,999	_____
$75,000 or over	_____

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