ners for NATO have already drafted a series of strikes against the Yugoslav military. They range from limited cruise-missile attacks to an air campaign that could increase in intensity, if warranted. (September 27, 1998), p.14.

[18]. See, John Breuily, *Nationalism and the Modern State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[19] See, Thanos Veremis, *Greece's Balkan Entanglement* (Athens, Greece, Eliamep, 1995), p. 57. P.C. Ioakimidis, "Greece, the European Union and Southeastern Europe: Past Failures and Future Prospects," in *Greece and The New Balkans*, eds. Van Coufoudakis, Harry J. Psomiades and Andre Gerolymatos (New York: Pella Publishing, 1999).

[20] See, Chris Hedges, *The New York Times* (May 28, 1997), p. A9 and (June 1, 1997), p. E3.

[21] *The Economist* (January 8-14, 2000), pp. 46,48.

[22] According to *The Economist*, "The World in 1999," pp. 72-73: Greece's 1999 GDP: $124.0 bn., its GDP per capita: $11,739; Population: 10.6 m: GDP growth rate: 3.2%, Inflation: 4.0%

Turkey's 1999 GDP: 207.5 bn., its GDP per capita: $3, 159; Population: 65.7 m: GDP growth rate 4.1%, Inflation: 64.7%. Greece's defense expenditures: 4.6% of GDP (1995). Turkey's defense expenditures: 4% of GDP (1995). See, Van Coufoudakis, Harry J. Psomiades and Andre Gerolymatos, eds., *Greece and The New Balkans* (New York: Pella Publishing, 1999), Appendix pp. 457,472.

[23] Monteagle Stearns, *Entangled Allies* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992), p. 40.

[24] *Ibid.* p.43.

[25] Turkey's was given candidate status at the EU's Helsinki, Finland meeting, December 11, 1999.

[26] p. 77.

[27] For a thoughtful presentation of the general issue of insecurity in international affairs, see, Davis B. Bobrow, "Complex Insecurity: Implications of a Sobering Metaphor," *International Studies Quarterly*, 40:4 (December 1996), PP. 435-450.

[28] For example, the most recent incident occurred, in January of 1997, over the uninhabited Aegean Greek islet of Imia. Four years later, Greece and Turkey signed a series of accords that Foreign Minister Ismail Cem of Turkey called signaled "a successful beginning toward a new era in relations between our two countries." *The New York Times* (January 21, 2000), p. A3.

[29] Christopher Cviic, "Yugoslavia: The Unmaking of a Federation," The Volatile Powder Keg, F. Stephen Larrabee, ed. (Washington, D.C.: The American University Press, 1994), p. 116.

The Adaptation, Acculturation, and Psychological Well-being of Greek Americans in New York City

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For first generation immigrants, leaving Greece is among the most disruptive and stressful of life's events. Individuals and families are severed from their place of origin, national identity, community, family, friends, language and mores. The new country is unfamiliar, the language difficult, the customs foreign. These immigrants suffer from disruptions in attachment of person and place, as well as feelings associated with the loss of home or from nostalgia. A sense of continuity with their past as well as a new sense of belonging is necessary for their psychological well-being (Fullilove, 1996).

In spite of these formidable challenges, over the years, many immigrants to the United States adapt remarkably well to American culture. Studies of immigrant groups typically examine the psychological consequences of prolonged exposure to cultural system's other than one's own (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). The present study reports on the acculturation and psychological well-being of Greek immigrants to New York City, a group largely overlooked by the empirical literature, and addresses the following questions: What are the variables that are related to successful acculturation? How is acculturation related to psychological well-being? How do different subgroups of immigrants achieve well-being?

Though we do not know the exact number of Greek Americans in the United States, according to the 1990 United States census, 900,000 Americans identified themselves as having Greek ancestry; 200,000 of these were Greek born (Georgakas, 1999). The majority of the participants in this study, who were not born in the US, arrived with the cohort of approximately 160,000 who immigrated after the Immigration Act of 1965. Like their earlier sojourner cohorts, they dreamed of earning significant wealth and returning to Greece to become proprietors of businesses and hoped their children would graduate from the best American universities and then enter professional life in Greece (Moskos, 1989).

These immigrants settled primarily in the northeastern United States. Many major cities in this region include a Greek community replete with churches, after-school programs, civic organizations, and Greek businesses. One such neighborhood, Astoria, New York, where most of our study participants resided, is an example of the immigration trends of the past three decades. Astoria is a working-class community with affordable housing and good access to public transportation and attracted large numbers of Greek immigrants in the 1960s. By the mid-1980s, approximately 150,000 Greek immigrants were living in Astoria, making it one of the largest Greek communities outside of Greece (Drucker, 1993). Today, it continues to be a lively immigrant enclave and while Greek Americans still occupy the shops, they do not live in the neighborhood; many have moved east to Flushing, Bayside and towns in Long Island (Onishi, 1998).

Recently in cross cultural studies there has been a increase in the concern with diversity within (as opposed to across) immigrant groups leading to the development of ethnic or acculturation psychology (Segall, Lonner, & Berry, 1998). Acculturation is a widely used concept that describes what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to reestablish their lives in another culture (Berry, 1997). Some theorists posit that acculturation can manifest externally and internally (Rosario, 1985). External acculturation refers to the behaviors and knowledge of the culture and internal acculturation refers to the attitudes and values of the culture. In the process of acculturation changes are more likely to occur first in immigrants' behavior and subsequently in their core values (Rosario, 1985; Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou, & Efklides, 1989). Considered over time, this individual process of adjustment is reflected by the differential acculturation of the first and second generation in immigrant families (Tsemberis, 1999).

Acculturation is often defined as a continuum (Adamopoulou, Garyfallos, Bouras, & Kouloumas, 1990; Madianos, 1980; Papajohn & Spiegel, 1971). At one end of this continuum, individuals are high on immigrant culture and low on host culture and at the other end, individuals are low on immigrant culture and high on host culture. However, in other studies, it is defined categorically. When a categorical definition is used, researchers typically group their samples into one of four patterns: high on immigrant culture and low on host culture, high on both cultures, low on the immigrant culture and high on host culture, and low on both cultures (e.g., Rosario, 1985). In this study acculturation is defined as a continuous variable.

One of the major variables influencing a group's ability to integrate into another country is the degree to which the immigrants' cultural values are similar to the host culture (Lambert, 1987; Rosenthal et al., 1989). Anthropological studies of Greek immigrants have described the dimensions that differentiate them from the host culture. Such studies have found that Anglos score high on individualism, Greeks by comparison, are less individualistic than natives of English-speaking countries but more individualistic than members of Asian cultures (Rosenthal et al., 1989). In the domain of interpersonal relations, when confronted with the same situation, Greeks perceive more intimacy and affect than Americans (Triandis, Vassiliou, & Nassiakou, 1968). Greeks also score differently than Americans on Levenson's multidimensional Internal-External scale. Malikiosi & Rychman (1977) reported that Greeks were more likely to believe that powerful others control their lives and that reinforcers in the environment occur randomly.

Studies examining acculturation and mental health of Greek immigrant communities indicate a complex relationship. In an early study, Papajohn (1979) reported that lack of acculturation by parents was related to their children's psychological distress. In a study of Boston families, he found that the parents of children who had

been admitted to a psychiatric hospital, even after 40 years of residence in the US, still adhered remarkably close to the traditional Greek value orientations while the parents of normal children showed movement towards adaptation of American values.

Similarly, in a study of Greek Cypriot patients in North London (Adamopoulo et al., 1990), acculturation was found to be related to mental health such that the least acculturated were the least healthy and suffered higher levels of psychological disturbance. Nicolaides' (1989) study of Greek immigrants' in New York City also found that individuals who were actively involved in the Greek community and in "transmitting traditions to the next generation," (i.e., were less acculturated), reported lower self esteem. These findings are consistent with Berry's (1997) "acculturative stress" hypothesis - he postulates that holding onto certain traditional values becomes dysfunctional when it interferes with adapting to a new culture.

In a study of Greek Cypriot immigrants from South London, Mavreas & Bebbington (1990) postulated that acculturation and health would have a U-shaped relationship such that the most and least acculturated individuals would be the most healthy. Presumably individuals who have adopted only some of the social behaviors of the host culture have ambivalent feelings toward both cultures and thus feel marginal, belonging nowhere. To their surprise, these authors found that high acculturation was related to psychopathology for males but low levels of acculturation was associated with psychopathology for females.

There is a subtle pattern of gender differences that develops when several studies are examined together. One of the first studies reporting gender differences was Papajohn & Spiegel (1971), who found gender and social class differences in their study of psychopathology and acculturation (value orientation) in Greek Americans. Their results indicated that among lower socioeconomic class females the internalization of American core values was associated with psychological health, however the internalization of American core values was associated with psychological distress for the lower socioeconomic class males.

Acculturation and mental health also vary as a function of which generation of immigrants is studied. Madianos (1984) examined

the relationship between acculturation and mental health in recent Greek immigrants (in U.S. less than 6 years) and earlier immigrants (greater than 6 years) in Ohio. For recent immigrants there was a negative correlation between acculturation and mental health. However, for earlier immigrants, a higher levels of acculturation was associated with fewer psychological symptoms.

This review of the major studies of acculturation and mental health for Greeks accentuates the fact that a thorough study of acculturation and well-being must include variables such as duration of exposure to host culture, gender, socioeconomic status, indices of internal and external acculturation, as well as a measure of attitudes and values. The present study uses a large and diverse sample of Greek Americans living in New York City to examine these complex interrelationships. Based on Rosario's (1985) work with Puerto Rican immigrants, the study utilizes external and internal measures of acculturation and examines the variables that are most predictive of well-being for respondents at different levels of acculturation.

Method

Participants

A total of 341 men and women participated in this survey. Participation consisted of completing a battery of self-administered scales and questionnaires. The protocols were distributed to students enrolled in the Greek American Community course at Queens College of The City University of New York. The students were requested by the first two authors to participate by completing the protocol and distributing approximately 20 copies to Greek friends and/or family members. Participation was voluntary. Completed questionnaires were collected by the students and returned to the instructor.

Forty-eight percent of the sample consisted of women. Participants ranged from 14 to 78 years of age and were 29.0 years of age on average (SD=12.7). The majority of the participants (64 %) had never been married and the majority (74%) had no children. The sample was identified as Greek or Greek American. The exceptions were 27 participants who indicated that they were of mixed background and 17 participants who indicated "other" (the major-

ity of which specified that they were Cypriots). One hundred and eighty nine of the participants arrived in the US after age six and were considered first generation American. One hundred and eleven were considered second generation and consist of 85 participants who were born in the US and had parents who were both born in Greece and 26 participants who arrived here at or before age 6. Seventeen of the participants were considered third generation in that they were born in the US and at least one of their parents was also born in the US. For 24 participants, generation status was unknown. For the participants not born in the US, the average year of arrival was 1977 and the participants were on average 17.7 (SD=7.9) years of age when they arrived. Preliminary analyses indicated that the results obtained when retaining the mixed background, "other" background, and third generation participants were similar to the results obtained when these participants were omitted and the decision was made to retain these participants in all further analyses.

Instruments

The battery of instruments consisted of scales measuring culturally relevant behaviors of American and Greek cultures, values, and sex-role attitudes as well as general well-being, social network, and demographic data. All instruments were modifications of those used in previous cross cultural research. The introductory letter explaining the purpose of the survey, the letter of informed consent, instructions and instruments were administered in two languages: English and Greek. The original English version of the entire protocol was translated by a native Greek professional translator from the Greek Consulate. To insure that the Greek and English versions were identical, the Greek version was then translated back into English by a Greek American who was fluent in Greek but dominant in English. After a comparison of the two English versions, the translation was deemed acceptable. One hundred and ninety-six participants filled out an English version of the questionnaire and 145 filled out a Greek version.

Behavioral Acculturation. The behavioral acculturation scale contained 31 items measuring American and Greek behaviors, each with a five-point Likert response scale from "never" (1) to "very often" (5). The behavioral acculturation scale was adapted from

Rosario (1985) who adapted her scale from Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde (1978). The scale contained items referring to American recreational activities (e.g., I listen to American music, observe American holidays), English usage (e.g., In my home, I speak English), Greek recreational activities (e.g., I listen to Greek music, observe Greek holidays), and Greek usage (e.g., In my home, I speak Greek). There were 17 Greek recreational and Greek language usage items and 14 American recreational and English language use items. The major modification of the present scale from the one used by Rosario is that the word "Spanish" was replaced by the word "Greek" for items where typical Greek behaviors were similar to typical Spanish behaviors and changes were made for those items in Rosario's scale that described typical Spanish rather than Greek behaviors (e.g., I use cupping or "ventouzes" for colds).The 31 original items were submitted to a principal components analysis. As it was expected that two factors would emerge (a Greek factor and an American factor), a two factor solution was requested. Though Rosario has demonstrated a two factor solution with her items, the results in this analysis did not show separate Greek and American factors. Specifically, the factor matrix indicated that almost all the American items loaded positively on the first factor and most of the Greek items loaded negatively on the first factor. This factor, which accounted for 32% of the variance explained, indicated that behavioral acculturation is better explained using a continuum model based on a single factor solution. The six items that did not show high loadings were one American item and five Greek items. These items were discarded and the resulting alphas (Cronbach's) were .85 for the revised 12 item Greek subscale and .93 for the revised 13 item American subscale.

Sex-Role Attitudes. The sex-role attitude scale was developed by Soto (1979) and used by Soto (1979) and Rosario (1985). The 21 item scale (e.g., Women should be given equal opportunity with men to learn the various trades.) has a five-point Likert response format from agree strongly to disagree strongly. Item responses were coded so that higher scores indicated liberal sex-role attitudes. For each subject, scale scores were obtained by adding up scores on each item (scores range from 1 to 5) and dividing by the number of items. The reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the scale

where the items were unit-weighted was .85. The mean score on this scale was 3.37 (SD = .69)

Value Acculturation. The value acculturation instrument used in the present study was based on Chandler's study of traditionalism (1979) and modified and adapted by Rosario (1985). This instrument contains 23 items with a five-point Likert response format from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Four items measure integration with kin (e.g., When you need help of any kind, you can only depend on members of your family to help you out.), four items measure occupational primacy (e.g., The best way to judge a man's worth is by his occupation.), seven items measure trust (e.g., Most people will repay your kindness with ingratitude.), and eight items measure activity-time (e.g., It is important to plan our lives and not simply accept what comes.). Items were coded so that higher scores indicate American values; future as opposed to present time, doing as opposed to being activity, weak ties with kin, trust, and occupational primacy. Cronbach's alpha for the 23 item (unit-weighted) scale was .77. For each subject, scale scores were obtained by adding scores on each item (scores range from 1 to 5) and dividing by the number of items. The mean score on this scale was 3.07 (SD =.48).

General Well-Being. The well-being scale used here is based on the General Well-Being Schedule (GWB) developed in the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) by Dupuy (1975). The scale measures the presence, severity, or frequency of some symptoms considered important in assessment of subjective well-being (e.g., During the past year, how often have you felt confident?) and distress (During the past year, how often have you felt anxious?). The scale used here contains 27 items with response scores of 0-4. For all items, higher scores indicate greater well-being. Cronbach's alpha for the 27 item (unit-weighted) scale was .93. For each participant, scale scores were obtained by adding up scores on each item and dividing by the number of items. The mean score on this scale was 2.61 (SD=.63).

Results

Since the Greek and American acculturation items loaded on one factor, a single score for acculturation was created, that is, acculturation was measured on a continuum. This required that Greek

items were reverse coded so that higher numbers indicated less frequently engaging in Greek behaviors. American items were not altered, higher scores indicated more frequently engaging in American behaviors. Participants, on average, scored 3.05 (SD=.80) on the reverse coded 12 item Greek subscale and 3.66 on the 13 item American subscale (SD=.94). The acculturation score derived from combining the means of these two subscales was 3.35 (SD=.77). Based on the frequency distribution obtained on this acculturation scale three groups were created: 1) a high American, low Greek group (consisting of participants who scored at the top third of the overall sample—scoring greater than 3.73); 2) a low American, high Greek group (participants who scored at the bottom third of the overall sample—scoring less than or equal to 2.97); and 3) a moderate American, moderate Greek group (those participants scoring in the range in between those other two groups). This was the operational definition of the three groups and was used as the behavioral acculturation index in all subsequent analysis.

The demographic characteristics for the entire sample and the three acculturation subgroups, as well as their scores on variables describing their external manifestation of acculturation and internal manifestation of acculturation, are presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3. Analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were computed to examine differences in demographic variables among the three acculturation groups. Results indicated that there were significant differences for all demographic variables, except gender among the three groups. The more acculturated respondents were more likely to: be younger, be more educated, hold jobs of higher occupational status, have never married or have children, have moved to the U.S. at an earlier age, and have fewer siblings (all p's $< .05$, See Table 1).

Two ANOVAs predicting acculturation were performed to examine gender differences and age/cohort differences in rates of acculturation. For both of these analyses the number of years a person had lived in the U.S. was held constant. There were no effects for gender. Age differences were examined by dividing the sample into two groups - those who had moved to the U.S. when they were 17 years old and younger and those who immigrated after the age of 18 years. Results indicated that given the same

number of years in the U.S., those respondents who immigrated as children and adolescents (M = 4.15) showed higher levels of acculturation than those who immigrated as adults (M = 3.45, F (1,267) = 15.91, p < .001).

Separate ANOVAs, examining differences in the external manifestation of acculturation, indicated that more acculturated respondents were more likely to be more proficient in English and less proficient in Greek, have less contact with Greece, have a lower percentage of Greeks in their social networks, and have answered the English version of the questionnaire (all p's < .001, See Table 2).

A third series of ANOVAs examined differences in respondents' internal manifestation of acculturation. As can be seen in Table 3, acculturated respondents were more progressive in their sex-role attitudes and values, and reported significantly higher well-being (all p's < .001, See Table 3).

Correlations were computed to examine the relationship among the variables in the study. The zero-order correlations between the variables for the entire sample are displayed in Table 4. In this matrix acculturation is included as a continuous variable. As can be seen in that table, age (r=-.35, p< .001), education (r=.16, p<.01), occupation (r=.13, p<.05), marital status (r=-.33, p<.001), having children (r=-.39, p<.001), age moved to United States (r=-.64, p<.001), English language proficiency (r=.67, p<.001), Greek language proficiency (r=-.18, p<.01), contact with Greece (r=.42, p<.001), number of siblings (r=-.33, p<.001), sex-role attitudes (r=.29, p<.001), and values (r=.42, p<.001) are all significantly correlated with acculturation.

Of particular interest in this study was the correlation between acculturation and well-being (r=.23, p<.001). Well-being was also significantly correlated with age (r=.16, p<.01), education (r=.20, p<.001), occupation (r=.12, p<.05), marital status (r=.16, p<.01), having children (r=.11, p<.05), English language profiency (r=.15, p<.01), contact with Greece (r=.14, p<.05), and values (r=.23, p<.001). It is noteworthy that attitudes about sex-roles was not significantly correlated with well-being.

In order to examine the unique contribution of each variable to well-being, hierarchical regressions were performed for the entire sample and simultaneous regressions were performed for the three acculturation groups separately (see Table 5). All the predictor measures, with the exception of language version of questionnaire and percent of individuals in social network who are Greek, were entered into regression equations with well-being as the dependent variable. The language version of the questionnaire item was not included because the English and Greek language proficiency measure was more a comprehensive measure. The percent of individuals in the social network who are Greek had excessive missing data.

Regression analyses for the entire sample revealed that the predictors accounted for a significant proportion of variance in well-being, R^2=.18, F(14,268)=4.31, p<.001. Values (Beta=.16, p<.05) and sex-roles (Beta=.-13, p=.06) were predictors of well-being such that greater well-being was associated with more progressive values and with traditional sex-role attitudes. Degree was also a predictor such that greater well-being was associated with higher educational achievement (Beta=.13, p<.05). Acculturation, which was entered on the last step, accounted for a significant 4% increase in the explained variance (F change=11.38, p<.001, Beta=.30, p<.001).

The predictors accounted for a greater portion of the explained variance within acculturation groups than when the sample was examined as a whole; for the high Greek-low American, middle Greek-middle American, and high American-low Greek groups, results indicated R^2 s of .44, .23, and .21, respectively (all p's <.05).

For the high Greek-low American and low Greek-high American groups, values and sex roles produced similar effects. For both these groups, results indicated higher well-being with progressive values (Betas=.53 and .23, p's < .05), but more traditional sex-role attitudes resulted in higher well-being (Betas=-.42, p<.01 and -.19, p=.07). Additionally, for the low Greek-high American group, age (Beta=.39, p<.05) and having children (kids) (Beta=-.29,p<.05) were significant predictors such that higher well-being was associated with older age and having no children. For the middle Greek-middle American group only having more siblings (Beta=.22, p<.05) and having children (Beta=.43, p<.05) were associated with greater well-being.

Guided by the age at immigration and gender differences in

acculturation reported by several studies of Greek Americans, the effect of these variables was examined by computing two interaction terms - age-moved to US by acculturation and gender by acculturation - and entering them into the initial regression equation. Neither of these were found to be significant predictors of well-being. However, because of the importance of the variable of gender, in particular, separate regression analyses were conducted for males and females.

Results of the gender differences analysis, as expected, indicated that psychological well-being for males and females was supported by different predictors. For the males (R^2=.23), higher education (Beta=.24, p <.05), greater number of siblings (Beta= .29, p<.01), having children (Beta=.40, p<.05), and higher levels of acculturation (Beta=.26, p<.05) were significantly related to psychological well-being. For the females (R^2=.24), more progressive values (Beta=.21, p<.05) and acculturation (Beta=.26, p<.05) were significantly related to well-being.

Discussion

The composite profile of Greek Americans who are acculturated that emerges from this data includes persons of younger age, higher education and occupational status, greater proficiency in English, less proficiency in Greek, single without children, fewer siblings, fewer Greeks in their social networks, less contact with Greece, and having moved to the US at an earlier age. Acculturated respondents report more flexible sex-role attitudes and American values that includes an orientation towards future planning, greater trust of outsiders (non-Greeks), having non-kin as friends, and emphasizing the importance of occupational achievement.

One of the major findings of this study is that more acculturated respondents report greater psychological well-being even after controlling for all the demographic and attitudinal variables. While the importance of acculturation to well-being is consistent, the other predictors of well-being vary across several sub-samples. Examining the well-being of the three distinct acculturation groups revealed some interesting differences. The least acculturated (high Greek-low American) and most acculturated (low Greek-high American) groups were quite similar. For both of these groups,

greater psychological well-being was associated with adopting American values but retaining traditional sex-role attitudes. These values and attitudes represent dimensions of internal acculturation, and suggest that optimal adjustment requires a balance between adapting some American values but also retaining some Greek traditions. The mid-acculturation group (middle Greek-middle American) was less actively involved with either the Greek or the American community and relied on family support for their well-being.

There were also gender differences in the prediction of psychological well-being. For Greek American men, higher education, having children, and having siblings were all significantly related to well-being. For Greek American women, adopting American values was related to greater well-being. These findings challenge popular stereotypes that women depend on their family members for psychological stability. In a sex-role reversal, men relied on their families for well-being while the women's well-being was enhanced by embracing progressive American values.

Overall, for this sample of Greek Americans, the most effective strategy for achieving optimal well-being was to balance adopting some American behaviors and values while simultaneously retaining a subset of Greek values. This strategy has also been identified as successful in other studies of immigration (Ward, 1996). Berry (1997) posits that one of the most successful ways for immigrants to achieve positive outcomes is through "integration," maintaining some degree of cultural integrity while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of the host culture. Similarly, Massimini & Delle Fave (2000) describe bicultural integration as the most adaptive strategy because people participating in both traditional and modernized activities report optimal experience.

Berry (1997) cautions that the success of the integration strategy is dependent on several variables and urges researchers to consider the cultural context in which such adaptations occur. For example, integration is more likely to be a successful strategy in multicultural societies such as the United States, whereas assimilation may be more useful if immigrating to a homogeneous society. Other cultural characteristics that facilitate a group's ability to adapt effectively into another country includes the degree of similarity in cultural values (Lambert, 1987) and the degree to which

immigration was voluntary (Berry, 1997). There is substantial evidence documenting differences between Greeks and Americans in the value orientations of individualism versus collectivism (Triandis, 1989). More recently, theorists argue that broad cultural differences are not polar opposites of the same construct but are distinct values ordered in a particular sequence that reflects the primary, secondary, and tertiary orientation of the person, family, or culture (Herman & Kempen, 1996). Results from the current study support the ordering of distinct values perspective since the same values have different predictive power depending on the person's degree of acculturation.

The majority perception of the immigrant group also influences the group's ability to adapt. In the case of Greek Americans, the immigrants who arrived prior to the WWII came to a different America than those who arrived after the Immigration Act of the 1960s. Earlier immigrants were confined to "Greek towns" and forbidden to socialize with American whites (Papanikolas, 1974). Thus the relationship between acculturation and well-being may be more accurately described by including indicators of the political, economic, and social context of both the home and host cultures as well as the immigrants' personal perceptions.

These findings strongly support using external and internal dimensions of acculturation when examining the effects of immigration on well-being. In the present study, external acculturation, such as adopting American language and customs, improves the well-being of Greek Americans. However, the internal manifestations of acculturation, such as attitudes and values, have a more complex relationship to well-being. Internal indices of acculturation were important for maintaining the well-being of Greek American women, and respondents who manifest high levels of participation in either American or Greek culture.

There is a need for further research to identify various changes in acculturation and ethnic identity that occurs for the same cohort over a period of years. It would also be useful to study the immigrants' changing sense of ethnic identity over the life span, as well as examine ethnic identity and acculturation over several generations especially the continuation and dissolution of Greek cultural norms among interethnic and intraethnic families.

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TABLES

TABLE 1

Demographics for the Total Sample and for each Acculturation Group

	Acculturation Group			
Demographic	High Greek Low Amer	Mid Greek Mid Amer	High Amer Low Greek	All
Gender: % female	48% (113)	40% (112)	56% (115)	48% (340)
Age	33.95 (108)	28.15 (110)	25.11 (114)	29.00 (332) SD = 12.71
Degree	2.14 (97)	2.53 (110)	2.63 (114)	2.45 (321) SD = 1.16
Occupation	2.59 (108)	3.13 (111)	3.64 (113)	3.13 (332) SD = 2.74
% never married	44% (112)	71% (112)	77% (115)	64% (339)
% w/ kids	49% (112)	19% (111)	11% (115)	26% (338)
Age moved to U. S.	18.93 (100)	13.83 (111)	3.37 (114)	11.73 (325) SD = 10.60
No. of siblings	2.81 (95)	1.99 (106)	1.63 (111)	2.11 (312) SD = 1.69

Note. Degree status was measured on a 6-point scale where 1 = never finished high school and 6 = professional degree. Occupation status was measured using Hollingshead's scale (1975), where 1 = lowest status and 9 = highest status. Those not working (e.g., students) were coded as 0. For "age moved to U. S.," those born in the U. S. were coded as 0.

TABLE 2

External Manifestations of Acculturation for the Total Sample and for each Acculturation Group

Variable	Acculturation Group: High Greek Low Amer	Mid Greek Mid Amer	High Amer Low Greek	All
English Proficiency	3.64 (111)	4.64 (111)	5.63 (113)	4.64 (335) SD = 1.30
Greek Proficiency	4.42 (110)	4.92 (111)	3.88 (113)	4.41 (334) SD = 1.33
Contact with Greece	2.44 (110)	2.55 (111)	3.73 (115)	2.92 (336) SD = 1.25
% Greeks in Social Network	93% (82)	85% (93)	63% (100)	79% (275) SD = 28.74
% Answered the English Version	19% (114)	63% (112)	90% (115)	58% (341)

Note. English and Greek proficiency scores are the average of three six-point scales (1 = very badly, 6 = very well) measuring self-reported speaking, reading, and writing proficiencies. Contact with Greece is the average of three six-point scales measuring travel, contact by mail, and contact by telephone. Lower numbers represent greater frequency of contact.

TABLE 3

Internal Manifestations of Acculturation and Well Being for the Total Sample and for each Acculturation Group

Variable	Acculturation Group: High Greek Low Amer	Mid Greek Mid Amer	High Amer Low Greek	All
Sex Role (alpha = .85)	3.19 (114)	3.34 (112)	3.57 (116)	3.37 (341) SD = 0.69
Values (alpha = .77)	2.84 (114)	3.11 (111)	3.26 (115)	3.07 (340) SD = 0.48
Well Being (alpha = .93)	2.47 (114)	2.63 (112)	2.73 (115)	2.61 (341) SD =0.63

Note. High scores on Sex Role and Values scales indicate less traditional attitudes. High scores on Well Being indicate greater well being.

TABLE 4

Correlation Matrix of Major Variables

	Accul	Gender	Age	Degree	Occup	Marital Status	Kids	Age Moved to US
Acculturation		.07	-.35***	.16**	.13*	-.33***	-.39***	-.64***
Gender			-.08	-.10	-.01	.05	.00	-.20***
Age				.06	.20**	.73***	.69***	.41***
Degree					.37***	.01	-.12*	-.09
Occupation						.23***	.12*	-.10
Marital Status							.79***	.32***
Kids								.31***
English Profic	.67***	.13*	-.36***	.29***	.17**	-.33***	-.39***	-.63***
Greek Profic	-.18**	.00	-.13*	.06	-.09	-.12*	-.10	.32***
Contact w/Greece	.42***	.02	.11*	.08	.24***	.09	.03	-.38***
No. of Siblings	-.33***	.02	.23***	-.17**	.03	.28***	.30***	.24***
Sex Role	.29***	.29***	-.28***	.12*	.00	-.21***	-.25***	-.15**
Values	.42***	-.03	-.06	.26***	.14*	-.09	-.13*	-.12*
Wellbeing	.23***	-.04	.16**	.20***	.12*	.16**	.11*	-.05

	Greek Prof	Greek Contact	No. of Sibling	Sex Role	Values	Wellbeing
English Profic	.17**	.25***	-.24***	.25***	.35***	.15**
Greek Profic		-.44** *	.00	.08	.06	-.04
Contact w/ Greece			.05	.00	.24***	.14*
No. of Siblings				-.15**	-.12*	.00
Sex Role					.41***	-.01
Values						.23***

Note. Gender was coded 1 for male and 2 for female. Marital status was coded 1 for never married, 2 for all else. Kids was coded 1 for no children, 2 for children. For degree and occupation status, higher numbers indicate higher status. For "Age Moved to U. S.," those born in the U. S. were coded as 0. English and Greek proficiency scores are higher with greater proficiency. For "Contact with Greece," lower numbers represent greater frequency of contact. High scores on Sex Role and Values scales indicate less traditional attitudes. High scores on Well Being indicate greater well being.

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p <.001.

TABLE 5

Betas from four separate Regression Analyses Predicting Well-Being

	Acculturation Group			
	High Greek Low Amer	Mid Greek Mid Amer	Low Greek High Amer	Overall Sample
Gender	-.01	.06	-.10	-.01
Age	-.00	-.01	.39*	.13
Degree	.13	.20	.00	.13*
Occupation	.01	-.11	-.07	-.04
Marital status	.07	-.03	.07	.09
Kids	.20	.43*	-.29*	.07
Age moved to US	.06	-.24	-.02	.00
Siblings	-.19	.22*	.06	.06
English proficiency	.02	-.14	.09	-.04
Greek proficiency	-.02	.09	.08	.05
Contact w Greece	-.01	.02	.11	-.02
Sex Role Attitudes	-.42**	.12	-.19+	-.13+
Values	.53***	.03	.23*	.16*
Acculturation				.30**

Note. Gender was coded 1 for male and 2 for female. Marital status was coded 1 for never married, 2 for all else. Kids was coded 1 for no children, 2 for children. For degree and occupation status, higher numbers indicate higher status. For "Age moved to U. S.," those born in the U. S. were coded as 0. English and Greek proficiency scores are higher with greater proficiency. For "Contact with Greece," lower numbers represent greater frequency of contact. High scores on Sex Role and Values scales indicate less traditional attitudes. High scores on Well-Being indicate greater well-being.
+ $p<.07$. * $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$. *** $p<.001$.

Book Review

Edmund Keeley, *Inventing Paradise, The Greek Journey, 1937-1947* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, June 1999) 288 pp.

In the past, the Greek world has had perceptive and, by and large, enthusiastic visitors who, in the form of sketches, travel books, and memoirs, have left important witnesses to the terrain and people. To them we owe our knowledge, not always flattering, of Greeks under Ottoman or Venetian rule, and of the appearance of ancient and Byzantine structures at the time of their visit. Without their observations, in sketches like those the Dilletanti Society commissioned, which provide views of temples and locales before the destruction caused by battles or earthquakes, water colors like those of Edward Lear, or memoirs and travel studies like those of William Senior, George Finlay, Edmund About, and William Miller our knowledge of the recent Greek past would be sparse indeed. Some took whirlwind trips, some established residence, some stayed so long that they lost touch with their own countries, some recently even became citizens of Greece.

Keep in mind that the foreigner is almost always dependent on Greeks who know his or her language. Consequently, the French, German, or Anglo-American travelers are introduced into those circles whose cultural background, traditions, and expectations are compatible. Often this has meant a carefully selected cultural experience, without the discordance of awkward, conflicting, or confusing details.

The traveler to Greek lands is either struck by the splendor of the ancient world and its monuments, charmed by the romance of Byzantium or Ottoman ruins, or swept up in the multifarious present. In each case, however, there is the willing guide who introduces sympathetic people, explains events or customs, cultivates prepared responses, and selects the data that will become the traveler's view. Only occasionally does a traveler arrive in Greece