

## “Untamend” Youth-Cultural Diaspora in Germany in the 1980s

Kornelia Golombek\*

Hamburger Fernuniversität, Pädagogische Psychologie, Psychological Pedagogy, Essen, Deutschland, Germany.

### Abstract

“My present article is intended to serve as a prelude to my upcoming book, whose preparation has already begun. Indeed, it is unusual for a scholarly essay to begin in the manner that mine does. However, the distinctiveness of this work arises from its synthesis of two elements: its theoretical foundation, which draws on sociological and philosophical theories, and its empirical basis, which includes interviews with former scholarship recipients of the Otto Benecke Foundation (Otto-Benecke-Stiftung e.V.). These eyewitness accounts will refer to shared experiences and collective memories that the author – herself a companion of the interviewees – has reconstructed after more than four decades. The text partly offers insights into the author’s autobiographical experiences and her, together with the group, initial educational and social integration in Germany between 1983 and 1986.

The curtain rises, and the first act begins. The stage is set for a play in which young migrants, coming from situations of cultural incompatibility, create a performance for their own piece. Here, the theatre metaphor serves to demonstrate a phenomenon that applies to all everyday events (cf. Goffman, Giddens). The protagonists are as different as they come. Some come from the former Soviet Union and are of German descent, deeply religious and Calvinist; others come from Poland under martial law and are “children of Solidarność.” The last group consists of young Afghans who had to leave their homes in the Hindu Kush mountains due to the Soviet occupation. What is fascinating is that, despite their diversity, they show a clear convergence: through ruptures in their socialization, they all enter unfamiliar territory in a new country, seeking to find a home where they can lead as fulfilling a life as possible.

Among the central elements of their “performance” are:

Periods of political upheaval serve as a kind of living library for them; the migration processes create a conjunctive experiential space (Mannheim) for these young adults, from which they develop habitual practices through shared experiences (Bourdieu).

Tacit Knowledge: This silent, implicit knowledge – intuitively practical and anchored at the emergent level – becomes the key to collective action. Its “secrets” are revealed in group-specific rituals and nonverbal codifications that only they understand. The dynamics of their “scene knowledge” conceal the difference between explicit and implicit knowledge (Polanyi, Rammert). It generates expertise, which manifests itself in indexicality (context-dependent language comprehension) and intersubjectivity (shared milieu experiences).

### Keywords

Migration to Germany, Young migrants, Disruptions in socialization, Concerning educational landscape, Multiethnicity, Resilience.

### Corresponding Author Information

Kornelia Golombek

Hamburger Fernuniversität, Pädagogische Psychologie, Psychological Pedagogy, Essen, Deutschland, Germany.

**Received:** May 05, 2025; **Accepted:** June 11, 2025; **Published:** June 19, 2025

**Copyright:** © 2025 ASRJS. This is an openaccess article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

**Citation:** Kornelia Golombek. “Untamend” Youth-Cultural Diaspora in Germany in the 1980s. *J Psychiatry Res Rep.* 2025; 2(2):1-7.

---

One hears what one feels

... To be aware of the moment in which one has acquired a memory ...”

(Halbwachs: *Das Gedächtnis*, content overview, pp. 7- 9)

## Introduction

One of the main works of Maurice Halbwachs, a student of Bergson and Durkheim, who died at the Buchenwald concentration camp in 1945 and sadly is little known in Germany, is entitled “Memory and its social conditions” (“*Les cadres sociaux de la memoire*”, Paris 1925, 21952). It is now available as Vol. 34 of “*Soziologische Texte*” (ed. by H. Maus and Fr. Fürstenberg, Berlin/Neuwied). It is a comprehensive study that falls primarily under the anthropological theme within the framework of philosophy and comprises seven chapters. The third and fourth chapters, “The reconstruction of the past” and “The localisation of memories”, discuss memory activity as an extended research perspective in the sense of a transcendental analysis.

As far as the nature of brain activity is concerned, memory is not an organ of receptive recovery of the past, but rather its reconstruction. Two differences should be expressed in this renaming: the memory function has a higher degree of activity than the judgements of memory performance previously asserted in the revival version [1].

In Halbwachs’ theory of memory, collective memories play the most important role. This is due to the fact that human existence is dependent on the ability to remember, which in turn is linked to the stability of the social frame of reference. However, social systems differ in how they guarantee the aforementioned stability.

The social system that offers the best guarantee for this is assigned the highest value. Meanwhile, Halbwachs’s theory of memory would not have to be built in in such a way or with such safeguards [1].

It is not necessary to extend Halbwachs’ concept of collective memory and thereby dilute it, but rather to restrict it to a distinct form of memory, the “communicative memory”, which can be located right in the middle between the strictly personal and the cultural memory. Even if cultural memory is something quite different from the collective memory described by Halbwachs, the discussion of this notion would be incomplete without Halbwachs’ ground-breaking work [2].

“The call to which memory responds emanates from the present.” However, a call that emanates from the past and finds its way into the present, can also be strange and disruptive, perhaps even destructive, since there are pasts that can neither be forgotten nor concealed, however unhelpful they may seem to the remembering present.

This academic article serves as some sort of prelude to the book I am currently drafting. It will offer unvarnished facts about the heterogenous youth culture of migrants in Germany in the 1980s.

Symbolically, it may be seen as a “time capsule” that documents the first educational steps – complete with all the irritations and confusion that a new start in the Federal Republic of Germany entails, including efforts to learn the German language and to integrate into German society.

The provisional title of the work is “Untamend”. Youth-Cultural Diaspora in Germany in the 1980s.

In a special way, it preserves the memory of a time when a group of young people with an immigrant background started their quest for a new (and previously unknown) meaningful biography, seeking to find their way in a foreign environment. In addition, this “preserved time” creates a stage for youth cultures, with youngsters finding themselves at a fragile stage of their development, which is shaped by migration. I myself am also part of this ‘scene’ – as a young Polish migrant who emigrated to Germany in the 1980s and who has retained both her home in Poland and her home in Germany to this very day.

With my essay, I would also like to clarify some common perceptions about integration obstacles and their impact on young people coming to Germany.

By doing so, I would also like to denounce some integration policies, since they have produced distorted “images” in the general public. However, the fact that I have personal connection to this topic as a one-time migrant and pupil in the boarding school system of the Otto Benecke Foundation should not suggest an additional “blind spot” (as a reference to location or connection to being). On the contrary, this fact expands the authenticity and depth of the subject matter that I am analysing as both a researcher and a person who has lived this experience herself.

As things stand at the moment, the book will comprise seven chapters. Chapter 5 contains a series of interviews with former pupils and graduates who agreed to speak openly about their experiences. The methodological concept of the book does not follow a classical empirical study. Rather, it is predominantly based on a descriptive-scientific technique, thus making the content accessible to wider audiences and not restricting it to academic circles. The aim is to present both the world and the world views of young migrant communities in Germany in a way that everyone can understand.

This article, for its part, is divided into the following chapters:

1. Cultures of Remembrance: In the first part, I will analyse and interpret what constitutes cultures of remembrance.
2. Migration in Germany: The second part is dedicated to the topic of migration in Germany, focussing on immigration from Poland, the former Soviet Union and Afghanistan.
3. Biographical research and acculturation processes in (partly) foreign youth cultures: Here, the causal connections between biographical research and precarious groups of migrants are established, which are closely linked to the concept of acculturation in the country of destination.

---

A central aim of the article is to highlight the educational landscape faced by young people with immigrant background in the 1980s. These young people were confronted with a “mammoth task”: They had to overcome their own breaks in socialisation while also striving for successful integration. The scientific backdrop of this article will include philosophy, sociology of knowledge and cultural anthropology.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to dedicate this article to all my friends at the time and thank them. They have maintained a sense of community over the years and were willing to talk about our common experience as young migrants. Without their support, this book would have been impossible.

Finally, I would like to mention an idea by Karl Mannheim [3]: According to Mannheim, implicit, habitualised knowledge consist of collectively shared orientations. This knowledge is acquired in conjunctive spaces of experience and shared by all those who have had common – Mannheim calls them ‘conjunctive’ – experiences.

Conjunctive experiences are fundamental, existentially significant contexts that shape the socialisation of individuals – or, as in the case of young migrants, determine their breaks in socialisation. Such experiences can be milieu-, generation-, gender- or organisation-specific. One example of this is school socialisation as a conjunctive space of experience for pupils. (University of Kassel :1 access on 12.04.2025. <https://fallarchiv.uni-kassel.de/lernumgebung/dokumentarische-methode>).

## A Brief Timeline of the History of Migration to Germany

Since millennia, people have been migrating, leaving their places of residence in the pursuit of “new happiness” or better living conditions far away – usually in a foreign country. This quest, which is constantly repeated, may be due to climate catastrophes, religious persecution, armed conflicts and economic hardship.

The fall of the Roman Empire at the hands of Vandal tribes is an example of how the collapse of an advanced civilisation can trigger migration. Some these migration processes, which were documented by historical sources, are still effective today [4-6].

Germany has been an immigration country for centuries, even though the country only politically and publicly acknowledged this fact roughly 20 years ago. Until then, the issue was characterised by a certain ambiguity and uncertainty: Who may or should migrate to Germany, and under what conditions?

A closer look at the culture of remembrance of the Middle Ages with respect to immigration shows that historical sources point to a large and economically, culturally and politically significant group of immigrants: “réfugiés” from France, who mostly belonged to reformed churches and later became known as “Huguenots”. Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, an estimated

30,000 to 40,000 of them immigrated to German territories – mainly north of the Main, in particular to Brandenburg-Prussia, Hesse-Kassel, the Guelph duchies as well as the Hanseatic cities [7].

The “century of refugees” began with and after the First World War. The Weimar Republic became the destination for hundreds of thousands of people seeking refuge, for instance fleeing the Russian October Revolution in 1917, the subsequent civil war and the implementation of the Soviet system. In addition, there were tens of thousands of Eastern European Jews seeking protection from pogroms and anti-Semitic movements in many parts of East-Central, South-East and Eastern Europe [8].

In the two world wars: 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, the need for labour (especially in the armaments industry) led to a strong influx of workers from other countries, e.g. Poland and Ukraine. However, this was generally not voluntary as forced labour characterised the employment of foreigners during the war years.

Finally, the first years after the Second World War were dominated by displacement and refugee movements. Roughly 14 million “Reich Germans” and “ethnic Germans” (members of German minorities without German citizenship) fled from Eastern and Central Europe towards Germany.

However, the economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s fundamentally facilitated the economic and social participation of refugees and displaced persons in the Federal Republic. At the same time, they formed a skilled and highly mobile labour force that contributed greatly to the economic recovery. The first so-called “Gastarbeiter” came to Germany, leaving behind their respective countries of origin, which included Turkey, Spain, Italy, the former Yugoslavia and Greece.

With the opening of the “Iron Curtain”, the political and economic changes roiling the former “Eastern Bloc” states and the end of the GDR in 1989/90, resulted in a change in European migration patterns. In Germany, for instance, the number of asylum applications rose significantly, especially from Eastern, Central Eastern and Southern Europe. In 1988, it exceeded the 100,000 mark, rising to roughly 120,000 in 1989, the year of the European revolutions. In 1990, the number climbed to 190,000 and eventually reached almost 440,000 in 1992.

In addition to the immigration of asylum seekers, the number of ethnic German immigrants in the Federal Republic of Germany rose sharply in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The term “Aussiedler” (Resettler) dates back to the early 1950s.

The Federal Expellee Act of 1953 guaranteed them admission as German citizens. From 1950 to 1975, a total of around 800,000, and from 1976 to 1987 another 616,000 “Aussiedler” passed through the West German border transit camps, until another wave of “Aussiedler” immigration began with the opening of the “Iron Curtain”: Starting in 1987, against the backdrop of “glasnost” and

---

“perestroika” in the USSR, the numbers rose rapidly, peaking in 1990 with roughly 397,000 immigrants. Since then, “Aussiedler” immigration figures have fallen sharply. In total, around 2.5 million (late) repatriates immigrated in the period 1990-2021.

Immigration in reunified Germany reached its first peak in 1992, partly due to rising numbers of asylum seekers. In that year, more than 1.5 million people migrated to the Federal Republic – the highest figure in the history of the Federal Republic. In 2015, a total of around 2.14 million people moved to Germany. In recent years, most migrants have come from Europe, especially from other EU member states. Due to the high level of refugee migration from countries outside Europe, the proportion of EU citizens among all immigrants was only roughly 40%. Syria was the main country of origin of new immigrants that year, ahead of Romania and Poland. These two EU member states are regularly among the main countries of origin for new immigrants. In 2019, they topped the list of the main immigration countries, ahead of Bulgaria, Italy and Turkey. In total, 51.1% of all female immigrants came from other EU member states in 2019.

Following a short overview of the long tradition of migration processes that continue to this day, I would like to draw a line to the political scene of the 1980s. This decade was shaped by multiple upheavals, among them political, economic and social crises, thus resulting in new migration waves to Western Europe. The protagonists of the book are “children of this – their – time.”

### Biography in the Light of Generations

“A theory of memory can hardly be separated from a theory of time”, as Bergson explains. Bergson developed a theory of time and space that strikes a balance between empiricism and Kantian idealism. It can be understood as a repetition of Kant’s transcendental aesthetics, albeit in a different perspective, that of action: space and time are the schemata of our actions on matter.

Bergson shows that the problem of a place where memories should be located is an erroneous one. That is why its solution is rather a dissolution. The past rests in itself, just like the sensually perceptible world. We have no reason to assume that what we have once experienced no longer exists, just as it would never occur to anyone to imagine that the part of the world that we do not see ceases to exist. Now, the temporal past is faded out since it no longer serves any purpose, whereas the spatially distant continues to exist as the object of a virtual consciousness because it remains the object of a virtual action. Memory has the ability to obscure (obscure, masquer) the past. Thus, for Bergson, somewhat like Nietzsche, it is not only an organ of memory, but just as much of forgetting, both times in favour of life (Bergson 2014: 20f, XVIII, XIX) [9]: The “classic” work by Karl Mannheim from [3], [10] on the “problem of generations” resembles an “ode” to what generational differences are and what consequences they can have. On the one hand, there was a generative-positivist understanding of generations, which he saw as predominant, particularly in France. This understanding arises

from the biological rhythm of birth and death and the resulting generative behaviour, which can be measured using demographic methods. On the other hand, there is a romantic understanding of generations, which according to Mannheim, originated in the German humanities. In order to overcome the one-sidedness of both approaches, Mannheim proposed a synthesis.

He differentiated between “generational storage”, “generational context” and “generational unity”. For Mannheim, the common storage of a certain generation in social space did not automatically result from the common growth of certain age cohorts, but from the possibility of common participation in “connecting events or experiences”. Mannheim also used the term “experiential stratification” (which is referred to above as a conjunctive experiential space) to describe this profound influence of collectively shared experiences. This choice of words had a strategic meaning, as Mannheim’s text draws a comparison between social stratification and the concept of class as a fundamental category of social analysis.

A youth cohort only enters into a “generational context” when the possibility of participating in shared experiences becomes a reality, i.e. when this youth is “orientated towards the same historical-actual problematic”. Mannheim described the last point of his conceptual triad, “generational unity”, as a “unified reaction” and “resonance” (as a kind of enactment – creation of shared realities of different groups within a generational context [11]).

In the case of this article, the “resonance is in motion”, which can lead to a sense of belonging within a group that is shaped by the same “signs of the times”, namely restlessness. For instance, the young, adolescent migrant women from the former Soviet Union have some political vestiges in their “rucksacks”, namely in the form of the epochal upheaval of perestroika and glasnost policies.

The youth from Poland were rebellious. They were the “Solidarność children” of former communist Poland. Meanwhile, the youngsters from Afghanistan were leaving behind the national trauma of the Soviet occupation of their homeland, which still casts a shadow over Afghanistan today. However, both groups were united by the upheavals of the decade, which was characterised by a lack of freedom. In addition, both groups experienced totalitarian systems and sought ways to free themselves from them. This gave rise to a cultural scene of young immigrants in Germany who took their first steps on their own, far away from their respective families. Many will fail to overcome these hurdles, while many others will come up with coping strategies in order to gain hard-won and resilient academic positions and live happily in their plurilocal localisations between their home country and the country of residence. While proceeding further with our text, we will turn to biographical research in order to build up a line of argument, exploring the interpretations and different perspectives on biographical passages of the subject matter.

---

## Biographical Research and Acculturation Processes of Migrants

Even though the particular form of housing I would like to address in this chapter has become a socially and politically divisive topic, it has so far not been sufficiently clarified empirically as to whether and to what extent a neighbourhood shapes the individual life chances of its residents. This also applies to the effects of an “ethnically” shaped environment, with a focus on language acquisition, educational success or the general social participation of the migrants living there [12].

In the densely populated immigrant neighbourhoods of the 1980s, the prevailing housing and municipal policies were such that it was not at all surprising that young people with a migrant background refused integration. Such structural discrimination, characterised by separation, does not lend itself to an ideology of diversity that brings together migrants from different countries of origin and with different lifestyles and thus enables an exchange between locals and new immigrants.

Today, Georg Simmel is undisputedly regarded as a pioneer in the field of spatial sociology. He is recognised for having discovered spatiality as a sociologically relevant problem early on. How is “Simmelian” space, as defined by the social sciences, conceptualised? And where does it begin and where does it end? Terms such as “region”, “landscape”, “territory” and “place” are thus demarcated. Simmel’s sociology of space plays a special role in these debates since it remains relevant and omnipresent without descending into absolutism.

Up to this point, we have delved into the topic in the introduction, while also taking a brief look at some passages of Germany’s migration history as well as at the genre of biography.

Furthermore, we will deal with both philosophical and cultural-anthropological approaches to biographical research in order to subsequently address acculturation processes. In sum, this will result in a new perspective in order to understand young migrants more easily presented and their social integration tasks.

The genre of biography refers to the retrospective recollection and communication of someone’s experiences and may encompass both written and verbal communication. Beyond this definition, there is no uniform theoretical conceptualisation of this genre, which is concerned with the linguistically produced, recapitulated or currently staged act of interaction [13]. What the various biographical theory concepts have in common is their respective interest in language and interaction.

According to the current state of research, biographical research is defined as an intersection of both social structures and social behaviour.

The subject of sociological biographical research is therefore

not the individual, but the social construct “biography” [14]. It is concerned with the development and the form of biographies under the respective social conditions.

As part of qualitative social research, biographical research deals with the interpretative analysis of life-history narratives. It seeks to reconstruct the narrator’s own perspective and to analyse the narrative self-presentation, how subjects deal with boundaries (and marginalisation) in new situations; how they shape transitions and create or attempt to create new affiliations and participation; where they do not dare, where they resign; where they cross boundaries, demand participation or where they “take themselves out of the field”, etc. [15].

In addition to this interaction between biographical interpretations and the objective conditions and developments of the reconstructed life story [16], biographical research has focussed on the subjects’ constructions of meaning and the subjective perspectives of reality since its beginnings [17].

In reports and studies, such as “Berichte & Studien 94” (Reports & Studies 94) from 2011, young people are described as border crossers and creators. Given such transformation processes, it is hardly surprising that acculturation processes rarely resemble a smooth transition without conflict. The outside world, for instance, often perceives the newly socialised young people with a stigma of “eccentricity” or even “destructiveness”.

Adopting oneself to a new culture – so-called acculturation – refers to the social adjustment processes that people with foreign cultural backgrounds have to go through. It is a conscious confrontation with the foreign with the aim of expanding one’s own behavioural repertoire with newly acquired cultural codes, values, norms and self-reliance of the respective culture. However, acculturation is not a “one-way street”. Existing habitual imprints should merge with the newly acquired experiences and enable a “hybrid” adaptation to the current life situation.

The first acculturation strategy is referred to as integration and means that an individual tries to both adapt and retain cultural elements of the culture of origin. Which of these approaches is the most viable for understanding and explaining the behaviour of young migrants often depends on the characteristics being studied. In research, a distinction is made between two areas of adaptation, namely socio-cultural and psychosocial adaptation [18]. In addition to cultural differences, young migrants are also confronted with the migration process itself, which in turn may influence the solving of developmental tasks. Young people also have to get used to a different form of knowledge transfer in a different language and in a different school system [19], overcome the loss of friends, while building up a new social network [20,21]. This upheaval can lead to the destabilisation of acquired behavioural patterns and the need to establish new behavioural patterns and stabilising social systems [22]. In this phase of upheaval, protective factors may be less effective and risk factors may have a stronger effect due to a lack of buffers [23].

---

For all young people, success at school is the cornerstone for further education and the transition to working life. However, many facts indicate that young migrants in particular have to cope with some difficulties at school. The lower chances of young migrants in the transition from school to work reveal that discrimination also plays a role.

## Conclusion

In this introduction to my upcoming academic work on the topic of “Migrant Women - Youth Cultures”, our “theatre stage” has provided a brief insight into the “leitmotifs” that show what and how the double “puberty” of young immigrants in Germany in the 1980s proceeded. Most of them have only recently gone through the processes of primary puberty and are now faced with a greater challenge: coping with the second, socio-social “puberty” in a foreign country.

Many of them fail on this path, especially in school. The low success rates in German Abitur exams are proof of this. Even in my class, five out of twenty-three female classmates passed their school-leaving exams with a view to possibly going on to study at university in Germany - even though most of them, like me, had only been learning German for two years.

Competing with German-born female students in the academic field and obtaining a degree was certainly not a “miracle”, but rather the result of numerous interactions in relation to resilience factors such as resistance, adaptability and willingness to change, which played a significant role in processing and coping with stress [24,25].

They can – which could also be the case here – enable young migrant women to emerge successfully and unscathed from stressful situations.

## References

1. Heinz Rudolf. Maurice Halbwachs' concept of memory. *Journal for Philosophical Research* H. 1969; 73-85.
2. Assmann Jan. Das kollektive Gedächtnis zwischen Körper und Schrift. On the memory theory of Maurice Halbwachs. 2005; 65-83.
3. Mannheim Karl. Structures of Thought. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp. 1980.
4. Demandt Alexander. History of Late Antiquity. Beck, Munich. 1998; 445-447.
5. Meier Mischa. History of the migration of peoples. Europe, Asia and Africa from the 3rd to the 8th century AD. Munich, Beck. 2019.
6. Witschel Christian. Imperium im Wandel. Das Ende des Römischen Reiches im Urteil der modernen Geschichtswissenschaft. Praxis Geschichte. Ausgabe. 2014; 4-11.
7. Oltmer Jochen. Migration from the 19th to the 21st century. 3rd ed. Munich. 2016.
8. Oltmer Jochen, Hanewinkel Vera. History of migration to and from Germany. Federal Agency for Civic Education. 2012. <https://www.bpb.de/themen/migration-integration/regionalprofile/deutschland/341068/geschichte-der-migration-nach-und-aus-deutschland/#footnote-target-1>.
9. Henri Bergson, Margarethe Drewsen, Rémi Brague. Materie und Gedächtnis. Versuch über die Beziehung zwischen Körper und Geist. Felix Meiner Verlag. 2015; 664.
10. Mannheim, Karl. Das Problem der Generationen. *Sociology of Knowledge*. 1964; 509-565.
11. Ziemann Benjamin. Generationen im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert Zur Kritik eines problembeladenen Begriffs. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. 2020; 1-5. <https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/generationen-2020/324485/generationen-im-20-und-21-jahrhundert/>
12. Münch Sybille. The mantra of mixing: The problematisation of ethnic segregation in Germany and the Netherlands. Spatial effects of international migration. Hannover, Verlag der ARL-Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung. 2014; 327-343.
13. Griese Birgit. Complexities in the field of biographical research. Reflections on biographical research. 2010; 115-146.
14. Fischer Wolfram, Kohli Martin. Biographical research. Methods of biography and life course research. 1987; 25-49.
15. Dausien Bettina. Bildungsbiographien als Norm und Leistung gesellschaftlicher Teilhabe. Springer. 2017; 87-110.
16. Schütze Fritz. Biographical research and the narrative interview. *New Practice*. 1983; 13: 283-293.
17. Schörmann Christin. Biographical research vgl. 2024. [https://www.socialnet.de/lexikon/Biografieforschung#toc\\_2](https://www.socialnet.de/lexikon/Biografieforschung#toc_2).
18. Leung C. The sociocultural and psychological adaptation of Chinese migrant adolescents in Australia and Canada. *International Journal of Psychology*. 2001; 36: 8-19.
19. Roebbers CM, Weese H, Bechler L, Schneider W. Immigrant children in integration classes and in mainstream classes: Evidence for the reference group effect. *Zeitschrift für Entwicklungspsychologie und Pädagogische Psychologie*. 1997; 29.
20. Sluzki CE. Unterbrechung und Wiederaufbau von Netzwerken nach Migration Umzug. *Family Systems Medicine*. 1992; 10: 359-363.
21. Silbereisen Peter, Titzmann F, Rainer K. Jugendliche Migranten: Akkulturation und Entwicklung, vgl. 2011. [http://www.hss.de/uploads/tx\\_ddceventsbrowser/BS-94\\_02.pdf](http://www.hss.de/uploads/tx_ddceventsbrowser/BS-94_02.pdf).
22. Granic I, Patterson GR. Toward a comprehensive model of antisocial development. A dynamic systems approach. *Psychological Review*. 2006; 113: 101-131.

- 
23. Titzmann PF, Raabe T, Silbereisen RK. Risiko- und Schutzfaktoren für Delinquenz bei männlichen jugendlichen Einwanderern in verschiedenen Stadien des Akkulturationsprozesses. *International Journal of Psychology*. 2008; 43: 19-31.
  24. Antonovsk A. *Health, Stress, and Coping*. Jossey-Bass Inc., San Francisco. 1979.
  25. Lazarus Richard S. *Stress and Emotion. A new Synthesis*. London. Free Association Books. 1999.