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INTERGENERATIONAL VALUE SIMILARITY IN POLISH IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN CANADA IN COMPARISON TO INTERGENERATIONAL VALUE SIMILARITY IN POLISH AND CANADIAN NON-IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

Joanna Kwast-Welfel, Pawel Boski & Martin Rovers

The purpose of this research is to contribute to an understanding of the value transmission process by assessing the extent of the influence of immigration on intergenerational value similarity in immigrant families in comparison to value similarity in non-immigrant families. To observe changes in the value similarity in Polish families that immigrated and raised their children in Canada, the current research involves two comparison groups of non-immigrant families; one from the country of the immigrants' origin (i.e., from Poland) (PF) and the second, from the country of immigration (i.e., from Canada) (CF).

One of the primary assumptions made about values is that all people possess value systems in which a relatively small number of values are organized in a coherent framework (Schwartz, 1992). According to Schwartz (1992, p. 1), values function as "the criteria people use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people (including the self) and events." While people and different cultural groups may differ in their endorsement of specific values, the basic structure of a value system seems to be universal (Baer et al., 1996; Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Schwartz, 1992, 1996). One of the most important efforts to undertake the comprehensive study of the intergenerational transmission of values has been conducted by Shalom Schwartz (1994). Although intergenerational transmission of values is one of the major mechanisms of cultural continuity, it has rarely been studied in migration research or in acculturation models. Recently, intergenerational cultural transmission and parent-child value similarity under immigration conditions have been studied in countries such as Germany (Nauck, 2001) or Israel (Knafo & Schwartz, 2001) (i.e., countries with assimilation orientated policies toward immigrants) in a systematic way by applying the Schwartz's universal (i.e., ethic) values model (Schwartz, 1992, 1996).

In the current study, by using the Emic Culture Values and Scripts Questionnaire (ECVSQ) to measure value endorsement (Boski et al, 1992; Boski, 1993; Boski , 2001), we have applied the emic approach to study intergenerational transmission of Polish cultural values in the immigration conditions (i.e., where Polish immigrants' offspring are exposed to two cultures: Polish at home and Canadian at school and in the workplace). While developing ECVSQ, Pawel Boski, with the help of historical analysis, postulated several psychological themes as characteristics of Polish culture (Boski et al., 1992; Boski, 2001). They included: close personalized human relations; non-utilitarian, non-pragmatic approach to daily activities; low priority of business

mentality; romantic orientation in national-political matters; low priority of legal matters and procedures; low priority given to work conceived of as a hard, systematic, and efficient effort; low trust in state authorities; high status of women and femininity. Taking into consideration the role that Catholicism has played in Polish history and culture, Boski proposed that Catholicism could be translated into a set of values he called Humanism, following the official vocabulary of the Catholic Church which refers to humanism and its derivatives as a human face, human dignity, human rights, etc. He suggested the Humanism dimension as a core element of Polish mentality (Boski, 2001). An empirical measure of Humanism-Materialism (HU-MAT) with good psychometric qualities was found in the ECVSQ. In the early research, HU-MAT showed polarization between Polish and North American cultures (Boski et al, 1992; Boski, 1993) and, recently, between Polish and culture of some countries in Western Europe (Boski, 2001). Boski has also found that some aspects of Polish culture, including cultural scripts and a specific hierarchy of values' endorsement, have been transmitted to the third generation of Polish immigrants in North America (Boski et al., 1992).

This study examines an effect of immigration on the intergenerational transmission of values as measured by parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families that live and raise their children in Canada (IF). The focus of this paper is on a parent-child value similarity in immigrant families (PIF) in comparison to parent-child value similarity in non-immigrant families, i.e., Polish families in Poland (PF) and Canadian families in Canada (CF).

Immigrant children come of age in a different cultural environment than their non-immigrant peers. Most of them are primarily socialized by their families into the culture of their parents' origin, and then they are socialized into the culture of the country of residence by that country's education and social system. Therefore, even though immigrant children have been "labelled" with their parents' cultural values (as suggested by Camilleri & Malewska-Peyre, 1996), they actively "test" their values in terms of their compatibility with the values of the outside world and a peer group during their adolescence and young adulthood. A few studies that directly assessed an influence of children's peer group on intergenerational value transmission suggest that peer-group involvement reduces parent-child value similarity (terBoght et al., 2001). For instance, terBoght et al. (2001) reported a significantly lower parent-child value similarity in families with adolescents who favoured peer group over parents and scored high in "youth-centrism." While generally, parental and friends' influences operate independently, they can also be complementary and lead to reinforcement of parent-child value similarity (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Harris, 2000) when young people choose friends who have values similar to the values of their own parents. Brown et al. (1993) suggested that whether adolescents choose friends who support parental values depended on the quality of relationship with their parents.

While parental socializing efforts are most important in a successful value transmission process (Bornstein, 1995; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Gecas, 1981; Stevenson-Hinde, 1998), it has also been shown that the children may significantly influence their parents' values and, as in a consequence, impact the level of parent-child value similarity (Ambert, 1992; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; terBoght et al., 2001). In addition to the mutuality of parent-child influences, other potential antecedents of parent child value-similarity may include: shared genetic heritage, shared life experiences, and shared socio-economic and cultural environments.

While in immigrant families cultural environment is only partially shared by parents and their children, there is no clear answer to the question whether a decrease in

shared cultural environment is associated with a decrease in parent-child value similarity in immigrant families. While some researchers suggest just that, others do not support this expectation (Portes, 1977; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Nauck, 2001). Lack of consistency among published results might be explained in part by the fact that the results may vary depending on the level of parent-child value similarity analyses, i.e., the group or family level of parent-child value similarity analysis. The basic assumption of studies at the group level is that society as a whole socializes consecutive generations into particular value priorities (see Smith & Schwartz, 1997, for a discussion of culture-level and individual-level values). A continuity of value transmission is interrupted and generation gap occurs when individuals from one generation have different life experiences than individuals in the other generation (Boehnke, 2001, Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Harris, 2000). At the family level, parent-child value similarity is indicated by high correspondence between the values of parents and their own children. This is measured as a difference score within a parent-child dyad or as a correlation of value rating by parents and their children within the parent-child dyad (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001; Nauck, 1997; Nauck, 2001; Phinney et al., 2000; Stewart et al., 1999). The later method provides a correlation coefficient for every parent-child dyad that describes the degree of similarity/congruency between parents' and their children's value profiles.

In the present study we tested a hypothesis (hypothesis 1) that the immigration conditions influence negatively intergenerational value transmission, e.g., we expected that parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Canada (IF) is lower than in both Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland (PF) and Canadian non-immigrant families living in Canada (CF). We tested this hypothesis at both the group as well as family levels.

Additionally, we tested some contextual variables that have been implicated in influencing intergenerational value transmission and consequently parent-child value similarity at the family level (Brown et al., 1993; Hart et al. 1998; Max et al., 1997; Schoenpflug, 2001). According to Grusec (Grusec et al., 2000) and others (Kenny, 1991; Knafo & Schwart; 2001; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999; Westholm, 1999; Whitbeck & Geckas, 1988), the key to understanding the parent-child value similarity is an identification of factors that influence the two steps in the process of acquiring parental values: (1) the accuracy of perception and (2) the acceptance of perceived parental values. Potentially important moderators of the accuracy of perception and acceptance of perceived parental values include parental agreement on values, parental consistency between words and deeds, parenting styles, children's emotional closeness to their parents, family cohesion, conflict, and control (Kenny, 1991; Knafo & Schwart; 2001; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999). While this study was not designed to verify the two step model (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Grusec et al., 2000), we have examined possible associations between parent- child value similarity and some parental and children variables as significant contexts for intergenerational value transmission and as hypothetical antecedents of the parent-child value similarity. They include: intergenerational family relations, within family value agreement and young adult's identity status as familial and child's contexts in which value acquisition takes place.

In regard to familial context, we examined the relation between a general values' agreement within the family as well as intergenerational relational styles and parent-child value similarity. We expected that higher value congruence within the family and good/intimate relations between parents and their children correlate positively with parent-child value similarity within these families (hypothesis 2 and 3, respectively). In

regard to child context, we examined the relationship between the age, birth order as well as status of the ego-identity formation of adolescent/young adults and parent-child value congruence. The four basic identity statuses which we employed in this study are based on Marcia's conceptualization of the ego-identity status (Marcia, 1968; Adams et al., 1989). According to Marcia (1968), Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Achievement identity statuses vary according to the dimensions of *exploration*, which refers to a process of active searching for adult roles and values in the various domains of the adolescent life, and *commitment*, which refers to firm decisions about personal goals and specific strategies for achieving them. We expected that Diffusion, which is an identity status characterized by the lack of exploration, lack of commitment and an incoherent and incomplete sense of self, to be negatively correlated with parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4a). On the other hand, we expected that Foreclosure, which is characterized by a high commitment without prior exploration, to be positively correlated with parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4b) as long the young adult's values and beliefs have been modelled on parental ideas (Grotevant & Cooper, 1995).

METHOD

Participants

To establish the degree of intergenerational transmission of cultural values between generations under immigration conditions, Polish immigrants to Canada and their coming-of-age children (18-25 years of age), as well as the corresponding Polish families in Poland and Canadian families in Canada, were tested. All young-adults of Polish ancestry were born in Canada or immigrated to Canada before the age of five. Data were gathered from 69 non-immigrant families living in Poland (74 young adults, 69 mothers and 69 fathers), 47 non-immigrant Anglophone families living in Canada (61 young adults, 44 mothers and 24 fathers) and 37 Polish immigrant families living in Canada (51 young adults, 35 mothers and 33 fathers). Only in Polish non-immigrant group of families both parents filled up the questionnaire.

Instruments

Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts (EQCVS). To evaluate value priorities and value similarity among the family members, the EQCVS (Boski, 1992, 1993, 2001) was used. EQCVS included 65 items in the form of "I" statements of values, preferences, attributions, scripts and beliefs. Previous research concerning a bipolar scale of the Hum-Mat of the EQCVS showed internal reliability with Cronbach α (.835) (Boski, 1992, 1993). Polish and English versions of EQCVS were available to volunteer respondents. Young adults in Poland and Canada as well as their parents were asked to express–their agreement/disagreement on a 1 (totally disagree) to 6 (totally agree) scale. From the pooled scores from 460 respondents, the four groups of items were identified in the factorial analyses and applied for the quantitative purposes of this research as four value scales with a relatively good internal reliability as measured by Cronbach coefficient: Free Market (α = .771), Christian (α = .728), Rigid Principles (α = .666) and Self-reliance (α = .467) values. The new value sets differ from Hum-Mat dimensions that emerged in the factorial analysis of data collected in Poland and the

United States fifteen years ago (Boski et al., 1992). The Free Market (F1) value set consists of the items that endorse early free-market values, cunningness, typical Polish courtesy towards women and inclination to follow fashion trends. The Christian (F2) value set endorses an attachment to Christianity, respect for tradition, care for the family, motherland and the community. The Rigid Principles (F3) value set includes items that endorse low tolerance for relativity, complexity and spontaneity, strict rules and hard-work. The Self Reliance (F4) values endorse personal autonomy and financial independence.

In order to compare value priorities of immigrant as well as non-immigrant parents and grownup children at the group level analysis, *the mean comparison method* was applied (Nauck, 1997; Knafo, & Schwartz, 2001): the mean ratings of the four value sets were compared between generation of parents and generation of grownup children in the groups of interest, i.e., Polish (PF), Polish immigrant (IF) and Canadian (CF) groups.

At the family level analysis of parent-child value similarity the discrepancy score and within-dyad correlation methods were applied. The *discrepancy scores method* (Moen et al., 1997) was used to evaluate an absolute distance between young adults' value scores and their own mothers' and fathers' value scores. The absolute value score distances were obtained for every parent-child dyad by squaring the difference in value ratings between young adults and their own mothers or fathers. Then the mean values of the absolute value score distances for all three groups (i.e., Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian) were calculated and compared. The *within-dyad correlation method* (Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Knafo, & Schwartz, 2001) was applied to assess an overall parent-child value similarity within the parent-child dyad by correlating the young-adult's ratings of the four values with his/her own parents' ratings.   In the current study, the calculated correlation coefficients for the parent's value ratings and the grownup child's value ratings were employed in further analyses as the measures of an overall parent-child's value similarity. To allow for the use of the within-the-family correlations coefficients in further analyses of linear relationships (i.e., to enhance the assumption of normality and equal variances), obtained correlation coefficient's values (r) were transformed to Fisher z scores.

Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire- College Version (PAFS-QCV). The three scales (i.e., Intergenerational Intimacy, Intergenerational Fusion/Individuation and Intergenerational Intimidation) of the PAFS-QCV were applied to evaluate the quality of intergenerational relations in the families tested (Bray & Harwey, 1992; Williamson, 1991). PAFS-QCV is a well established self-report instrument designed to assess relationships in the two-generational family system as perceived by an adolescent or young adult in the family (Bray & Harwey, 1992).

Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OEMEIS). The Ideological domain (32 items) that probes commitment and exploration of an individual in the areas of occupation, religion, politics and philosophical lifestyle of the OEMEIS questionnaire (Adams et al., 1989) was applied. OEMEIS is a well-established instrument that allows reliable classification of adolescents and young adults into a given identity status, as identified by Marcia (1968, 1994).

All the questionnaires were provided in both Polish and English versions. The original English versions of the PAFS-QCV and OEMEIS were translated into Polish by the author and then translated back into English by a certified Polish-English interpreter to ensure compatibility in meaning (Brislin, 1970). Polish versions of the PAFS-QCV and OEMEIS showed reliability of Cronbach α equal .6954 and .6951,

respectively.

RESULTS

Group Level Analysis

The mean ratings for the four value sets were analyzed by using a 3×2 multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) with membership in a national/immigrant (Polish-PF, immigrant-IF and Canadian-CF) group as the first factor and generation (parents and grownup children) as the second factor. The analysis showed that the multivariate or omnibus Fs were statistically significant for the main effect of national/immigrant group, F (8, 876) = 42.49, p < .000, as well as for the main effect of generation, F (4, 437) = 22.02, p < .000. The cultural group membership's effect, however, was stronger than the membership in one of two generations with eta^2 = .280 versus .0168, respectively. Also the effect for the interaction of culture and generation was statistically significant, F (8, 876) = 2.75, p < .005, even though the effect of interaction between culture (i.e., nationality/immigration) and generation, was relatively small, eta^2 = .025.

Table 1
Mean Ratings and Univariate Fs for Cultural Values Polish,
Immigrant and Canadian Families

Values	Polish Families(PF)		Immigrant Families(IF)		Canadian Families(CF)		Univariate F	
	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Parents	Children	Nation	Generation
Free Market	4.27	4.40	3.67	3.80	3.05	3.21	161.95**	5.36*
	(.57)	(.53)	(.67)	(.57)	(.55)	(62)	*	
Christian	4.41	3.49	4.27	3.94	4.53	4.13	3.37*	33.80***
	(.75)	(.75)	(.61)	(.63)	(.59)	(.67)		
Rigid	4.18	3.31	3.78	3.36	3.60	3.25	7.52**	56.81***
	(.78)	(.76)	(.57)	(.64)	(.62)	(.76)		
Self-reliance	3.60	3.39	3.66	3.95	3.95	4.16	23.21***	1.73
	(.83)	(.73)	(.71)	(.69)	(.63)	(.57)		

Note: For Polish families, N = 137 for parents, N = 74 for adult children; for Immigrant families, N = 56 for parents, N = 50 for adult children; for Canadian families, N = 55 for parents, N = 62 for adult children.
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

The univariate analysis revealed that the nationality/immigration or culture had a stronger effect on the Free Market and Self Reliance value scores than the generation effect, eta^2 = .424 versus .012 and eta^2 = .095 versus .004, respectively. While the membership in one out of the two generations had stronger effect on the Christian and Rigid Principles mean value scores, eta^2 = .071 versus .015 and eta^2 = .114 versus .033, respectively. The culture and generation interacted at the Rigid Principles (F (3, 440) = 6.44, p< .002) and at the Self Reliance (F (3, 440) = 5.44, p< .006) value ratings but the effect of an interaction on the mean value ratings was relatively low with eta^2 =.028 and .023.

Comparison of the mean scores' differences between generations revealed that in the immigrant group these differences are not higher than the differences between generations' scores in the Polish or Canadian, that is, non-immigrant families (Table 1). Therefore, these results do not support the hypothesis that immigration conditions

negatively influence intergenerational value transmission, at least as it was estimated at the group level.

Family/Dyadic Level Analysis

Discrepancy scores method. The discrepancy scores method (Moen et al., 1997) which evaluates an absolute distance between young-adults' value scores and their own parents' value scores within the parent-child dyad, was applied to obtain the average distance value between parents' and their own children's value scores for each of the groups tested. Mean value score's distances between young adults and their own mothers and fathers in all three (e.g., Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian) groups are presented in Fig. 1 and 2. Univariate analysis followed by *t* test analysis revealed that the mean distances in the value scores for the immigrant parents and their children were not statistically higher than the mean distances in the value scores for the non-immigrant group at any of the values tested. Moreover, contrary to the hypothesis, the mean differences between scores of immigrant fathers and value scores of their children for Christian values (M=.42, SD=.20 for F2) and Rigid Principle values (M=.62, SD=.50 for F3) were significantly smaller (t (103) = 3.47, $p<.001$ for F2 and t (103) = 3.84, $p<.000$ for F3) than the mean distances between fathers and their grownup children in Polish non-immigrant families (M=.84, SD=.54 for F2 and M=1.19, SD=.72 for F3). Additionally, the mean absolute distances between immigrant fathers and their grownup children (M=.42, SD=.20) for F2 scores were significantly smaller (t (62) = 3.40, $p<.001$) than the mean distances in Canadian non-immigrant group (M=.77, SD=.49).

Within parent-child dyad correlations.   In order to measure the overall value similarity within parent-child dyad (i.e., congruence in parent and child value ratings across the four values; F1, F2, F3 and F4) (Rohan & Zanna, 1996; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001), correlations within the family's dyads were computed for the young-adults and their mothers as well as the father's value scores, and the mean values of correlation coefficients were calculated for the immigrant (IF) and non-immigrant (that is, Polish-PF and Canadian-CF) groups of families. Computations of the means were based on Fisher's transformations of Pearson's correlation coefficient to z for Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian mother-dyads (M=.96, SD=. 90; M=.74, SD=. 93; M=1.11, SD=. 76, respectively) and for Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian father-dyads (M=.84, SD=.81; M=.89, SD=.93; M=.72, SD=. 62, respectively). The group means comparison analysis (ANOVA) of the correlation coefficients for young adults and their parents' value ratings revealed that there are no statistically significant differences in the mean values of the parent-child dyad correlations in the immigrant (IF) and non-immigrant (that is, Polish-PF and Canadian-CF) families.

In conclusion, the results obtained from the absolute discrepancy scores and the within parent-child dyad correlations method of analysis do not support the hypothesis that immigration conditions negatively influence the intergenerational value transmission as estimated by the value similarity between parents and their grownup children at the family level.

Correlations and Regression Analysis

Table 2 shows that in all three groups of families, significant correlations were obtained between the parent-child value similarity (i.e., degree of correlation between parent and child value ratings within parent-child dyad) and an overall value congruence in the family, as characterized by value similarity within parental dyad (i.e., degree of correlation between parents' value ratings) and value similarity between child and the other parent (i.e., degree of correlation between child and other parent value ratings). The highest correlations between parent-child value similarity and value congruence in the family were found in the Canadian families' sample (CF).

Table 2
Relation between Parent-Child Value Similarity and
Overall Value Congruence within the Family

| Within Family Dyad | Group of Families | Correlations (r) | |
		Value Similarity within Parental Dyad	Value Similarity with Other Parent
Mother-Child	Polish (PF)	.196	.301*
	Immigrant (IF)	.407*	.477**
	Canadian (CF)	.343	.737**
Father-Child	Polish (PF)	.561*	.301*
	Immigrant (IF)	.128	.477**
	Canadian (CF)	.600**	.737**

Note: *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$;***$p<.001$

Table 3 shows that significant correlations were obtained in the non-immigrant (Polish-PF and Canadian-CF) samples between parent-child value similarity and intergenerational intimacy. In addition, statistically significant negative and relatively high correlation was found for the immigrant sample between father-child value similarity and intergenerational intimidation.

Table 3
Relation between Parent-Child Value Similarity and
Relational Styles in the Family

| Within Family Dyad | Group of Families | Correlations (r) | | |
		Intimacy	Intimidation	Autonomy
	Polish (PF)	.383**	-.095	.300
Mother-Child	Immigrant (IF)	.205	-.019	.168
	Canadian (CF)	.392**	.028	.193
	Polish (PF)	.159	-.133	.003
Father-Child	Immigrant (IF)	.099	-.422*	-.112
	Canadian (CF)	.448*	-.258	-.023

Note: *$p<.05$; **$p<.01$;***$p<.001$

With the exception of the immigrant father-child dyads, an extent of young adults' diffusion was found to be negatively correlated with parent-child value similarity. Table 4 also shows that significant correlations between father-child value similarity and identity statuses that are characterized by lack of commitment, namely Diffusion and Moratorium, were obtained for the immigrant families' sample. In addition, statistically significant positive and relatively high correlation between father-child value similarity and Foreclosure of young adults' ego-identity status was found for the Canadian sample.

Table 4
Relation between Parent-Child Value Similarity and Identity Status of

Young-Adult

Within Family Dyad	Group of families	Correlations (r)			
		Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement
Mother-Child	Polish (PF)	-.307**	-.04	.071	.169
	Immigrant (IF)	-.024	.147	.132	-.084
	Canadian (CF)	-.337	.151	.114	.077
Father-Child	Polish (PF)	-.328*	-.122	.24	.256
	Immigrant (IF)	.351*	.099	.425*	-.024
	Canadian (CF)	-.275	.474*	.27	-.186

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01;***p<.001

Table 5 shows the results of multiple regression analysis that support conclusions drawn from the correlation analysis. Stepwise regression analysis' procedure identified a within-the-family value congruence and two intergenerational styles, Intimacy and Intimidation, as relatively good predictors for parent-child value similarity.

Table 5
Step-wise Regression for the Prediction of Value Similarity within
Parent-Child Dyad in Polish, Polish Immigrants and Canadian Families

	Predictor	R	Adj. R^2	F	Beta
Mother-Child Dyads					
In Polish Families (PF)	Intergenerational Intimacy				.519***
	Intergenerational Intimidation				-.295*
	General	.480	.210	9.65***	
In Immigrant Families (IF)	Value similarity within opposite parent-child dyad				.421*
	General	.421	.138	4.53*	
In Canadian Families (CF)	Value similarity within opposite parent-child dyad				.587***
	General	.587	.315	11.55***	
Father-Child Dyads					
In Polish Families (PF)	Value similarity within parental dyad				.591***
	Intergenerational Intimidation				-.294**
	Identity Status: Achieved				.243*
	General	.667	.419	16.59***	
In Immigrant Families (IF)	Identity Status: Moratorium				.468*
	General	.468	.182	5.88*	
In Canadian Families (CF)	Value similarity within parental dyad				.631***
	Intergenerational Intimidation				-.209*
	Identity Status: Achieved				-.287**
	Value similarity within opposite parent-child dyad				.312**
	General	.925	.826	28.32***	

Note: *p<.05; **p<.01;***p<.001

In the immigrant group (IF), Moratorium identity status of young adults predicted value similarity between these young adults and their fathers. In non-immigrant groups (i.e., PF and CF), the Achievement status of the young adult's identity predicted father-child value similarity in a culture-dependent manner; while in Polish families (PF) an identity achievement predicted higher value similarity—in Canadian families (CF) the same identity status predicted lower value similarity within father-child dyads.

DISCUSSION

In the present study we tested a general hypothesis (hypothesis 1) that immigration conditions negatively influence intergenerational value transmission and therefore reduce value-similarity between parents and their children. We tested this hypothesis on an example of the group of Polish families that immigrated to Canada. Children in all these families have been socialized into two cultures; to some extent in Polish values and cultural scripts by their parents at home and in Canadian culture outside of their families. We expected that due to divergent influences of these two cultures the parent-child value similarity in immigrant families would be reduced in comparison to the value similarity in non-immigrant families who have raised their children in one culture: Polish in Poland and Canadian in Canada. While testing this (1) hypothesis at the culture/group and at the family levels by three different methods of analysis we have not found evidence to support this hypothesis.

Each of the methods applied (i.e., mean comparison method, discrepancy scores method and within dyad correlation method) has advantages but none of them is perfect. By employing all three of them we have tried to compensate for their drawbacks. The mean comparison method is widely used in researching differences between generations (i.e., generational gap) and different cultural groups (Harris, 2000; Knafo & Szwartz, 2001; Nauk, 1997). The major disadvantage of this method is that the mean comparison method disregards within-generation variance, therefore if, for example, parents and children have opposite value preferences the difference between generations might be overlooked due to huge variability in value preferences within each generation. The discrepancy score method complements the mean comparison method because it considers across-family variability by computing the difference score for every parent-child dyad. Yet, both the mean comparison and score discrepancy methods are known to be more useful for descriptive purposes than for further statistical analyses (Nauk, 1997) and the both methods are employed in this study to this extent only. The within parent-child dyad correlation method provides a measure of the overall correspondence (shared variance) between parents' and their own grownup children's values ratings. The disadvantage of this method is that it ignores mean differences between parents and children in value preferences. Yet, other methods applied in this study (i.e., the mean comparison and score discrepancy methods) compensate for that. The major advantage of the within dyad correlation method is that it provides a single measure of an overall value similarity between parents and their own children and it could be used in further analyses (Knafo & Szwartz, 2001). In this study, the within parent-child correlation coefficients were applied in establishing associations between parent-child value similarity and some contextual variables, i.e., value congruence within the family, quality of parent-child relationship as well as age and identity status of young adults.

This research employs the four sets of values that emerged in factorial analysis of EQCVS data that were collected in Poland and Canada. The new sets of values arbitrary named Free Market (F1), Christian (F2), Rigid Principles (F3) and Self-Reliance (F4) differ from the previously described Humanism-Materialism dimensions (Boski 2001; 2002). The Free Market (F1) value set consists of items endorsing early free-market values, cunningness, typical Polish courtesy towards women and inclination to follow fashion trends. The Christian (F2) value set is almost the same as the previous Humanism value dimension (Boski et al., 1992; Boski 2001; 2002) with an exception of the items describing courtesy towards women. It is characterized by: an attachment to Christianity, respect for tradition, care for the family, motherland and the community. The Rigid Principles (F3) value set may characterize people who have low tolerance for relativity, complexity and spontaneity. They follow strict rules in their simple, busy and

hard-working lives. The Self Reliance (F4) values characterize people for whom personal autonomy and financial independence are very important. This research found that the Free Market (F1) and the Self-reliance (F4) values differentiate between the three groups of families, Polish, Polish immigrant and Canadian, while the Christian (F2) and the Rigid Principles (F3) values ratings differentiate between parents' and grownup children's generations. The lack of differences between Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF) groups in endorsement of Christian (F2) values, that has been observed in the previous studies (Boski, 1992, 1993), could be explained by a relatively high content of Roman Catholics in both groups tested (i.e., 95% and 76% of total Christians in Polish and Canadian groups of families, respectively) and almost the same percent of the respondents who declared no religious affiliation (i.e., 16.7 % of Polish respondents and 18.3% of Canadian respondents). On the basis of this data it could be also suggested that contemporary generations in both countries substantially differ from their parents in their endorsement of the Christian, religious and traditional values. An observed sharp decrease in these values endorsement by the generation of contemporary young-adults in both countries seems to be well in agreement with general social trends, as they have been researched and described by Michael Adams (Adams, 2000).

The above four values do not, by any means, characterize the entire Polish or Canadian culture. They are employed in this study as a differentiating tool between the three cultural groups and two generations; parents and grownup children. While no general conclusions on the basis of these results could be drawn about the Polish or Canadian cultures, the four sets of values seem to be adequate and satisfactory for use in the current study. Because of their ability to differentiate between the cultural and generational groups, they were useful in addressing the main research question which is concerned with changes in the values transmission process in Polish families that immigrated to Canada (IF) as compared to the two groups of non-immigrant families; Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF).

A comparison of culture and different life experiences common to a particular generation (also referred to as a cohort effect) indicates that both have an influence on the value priorities (Table 1). The effects of culture and generation differ depending on the set of values considered. Accordingly, the culture effect is stronger on the Free Market (F1) and the Self Reliance (F4) mean value scores than the generation effect, while the generation effect is stronger on the Christian (F2) and the Rigid Principle (F3) mean value scores than the culture effect. Moreover, the multivariate analysis shows that the effects of culture and generation interact at the Rigid Principles (F3) and Self Reliance (F4) values. It means, therefore, that the culture's effect on the Self Reliance (F4) mean value scores is qualified by the generation's effect, and generation's effect on the Rigid Principles (F3) mean value scores is qualified by the culture's effect.

As mentioned above, while the mean comparison method was applied the significant differences between generations have been found in values endorsement. Yet, contrary to expectation (hypothesis 1), the "generational gap" in value ratings by the immigrant (IF) has not been found larger in comparison to the "generational gap" in value ratings by non-immigrant groups (PF and CF). In fact, the highest differences between parents and grownup children generations in mean value ratings were found in the non-immigrant Polish group of families (PF) (Table 1). The results obtained by applying discrepancy scores method that takes under consideration the difference of value ratings within the parent-child dyad (i.e., involves family level analysis) supported the results obtained at the group level analysis. The mean differences in value ratings within parent-child dyad in immigrant families were found generally smaller than that in

both the Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF) non-immigrant family groups (Figure 1 & Figure 2). Additionally, while correlation coefficients for value ratings across the four values (F1, F2, F3 and F4) within the parent-child dyads in the families were computed, the mean correlations of the value ratings within parent-child dyads in groups of immigrant and non-immigrant families were not significantly different.
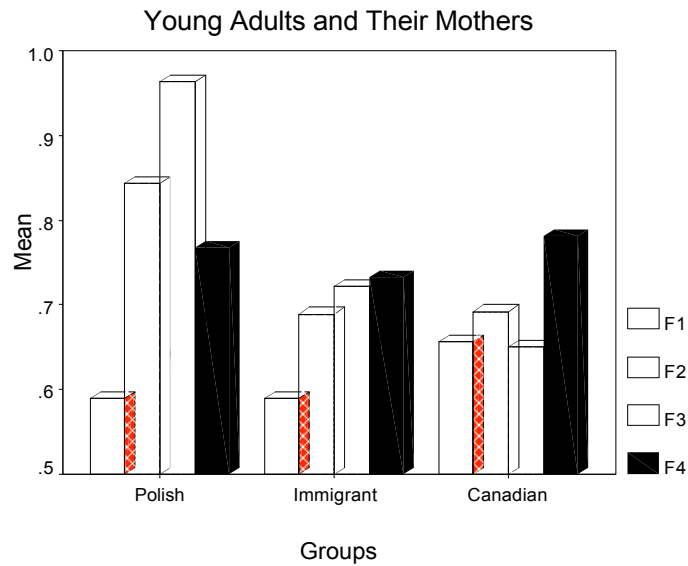

Figure 1
Mean value scores distances between young adults and their mothers
(Note: F1—Free Market Values; F2—Christian Values; F3—Rigid Principles; F4—Self-Reliance Values)
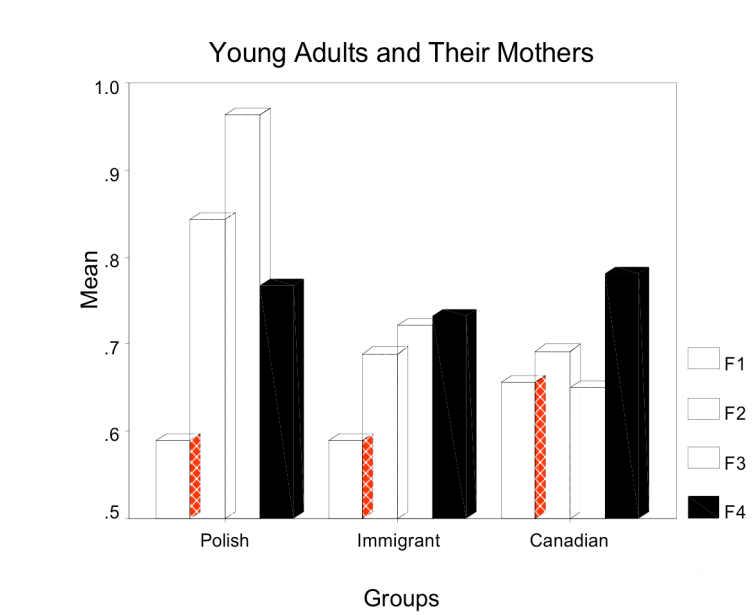

Figure 2
Mean value scores distances between young adults and their fathers

(Note: F1—Free Market Values; F2—Christian Values; F3—Rigid Principles; F4—Self-Reliance Values)

In summary; on the basis of the group and family level analyses this current study provides data that consistently suggest that the "generational gap" (group level analysis) is neither larger nor the value similarity/congruence (family level analysis) lower in the Polish immigrant group of families (IF) when compared to the non-immigrant - Polish (PF) and Canadian (CF) groups of families (Hypothesis 1). Taking under consideration the reduced number of shared contexts between the two generations in immigration conditions, these results are intriguing, but not isolated (Knafo & Szwartz, 2001; Nauck, 2001). For example, Knafo and Schwartz (2001) demonstrated results suggesting that parent-child value congruence between the value priorities of adolescents and their parents is unaffected by immigration. While traditional socialization theories view development of children's values as being due to parental influences (Gecas, 1981), other researchers (Ambert, 1992; Kuczynski, 2000; Knafo & Schwartz, 2001) indicate that in the course of living together, children also influence parent-child value similarity by influencing their parents' values and attitudes. In our opinion, at least three different lines of observations point to immigrant children's influence on their parents' values as one of the most important antecedents of parent-child value similarity in immigrant families. First, according to Ambert (1992) and Knafo & Schwartz (2001), children's influences on parents' value systems are especially likely to take place in immigrant families because immigrant children often serve as mediators between the new environment and their parents. Second, immigrant children often choose environments for themselves that increase the overlap between cultural contexts to which they and their parents are exposed. For example, in the current study almost all young-adult immigrants, like their parents, had immigrants with Polish ancestry as their close friends: only three out of 64 young-adult immigrant respondents declared not having any friends of Polish origin. Third, both, immigrant parents and their grownup children might be on the average more open to the value exploration and more tolerant to a variety of cultural values. As a consequence, both generations might be more receptive and accepting of each other's values and value priorities than a population without an immigration experience.

In this study, we also examined some of the family's and child's characteristics as possible antecedents for parent-child value similarity. As expected (hypothesis 2) and in agreement with previous studies (Max et al., 1997; Schoenpflug, 2001), a consistency in the family's value system strongly predicted a parent-child value similarity. Intergenerational intimidation negatively correlated with father-child value similarity in all three groups of families, and predicted lower value similarity between fathers and their children in both Polish and Canadian cultural samples (hypothesis 3). These findings correspond well with the earlier research that measured associations between affectionate or rejecting parenting and parent-child value similarity (Brody et al., 1994; Rohan &Zanna, 1996; Schoenpflug, 2001; Whitback & Geckas, 1988).

With one exception of the Polish immigrant father-child dyad, this study provides support for an expected negative association between the diffused identity status and parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4a). Also in the context of immigration, Moratorium was the only identity formation status that predicted father-child value similarity. Since the Diffusion and Moratorium differs from Achievement and Foreclosure identity statuses in that they are characterized by an confusion and or exploration of self-identity, values and ideas rather than by commitment, one could

presume that immigrant parents are going through an continuing acculturation process that reminds an identity exploration and/or confusion of their children's experience (Berry, 1992, 1997).

With one exception, the Canadian father-child dyad, this study does not provide support for an expected positive association between the foreclosed identity status and parent-child value similarity (hypothesis 4b). Taking under consideration the two-step model of value acquisition (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), these results might be explained as follows: due to a lack of value exploration, the foreclosed adolescents did not achieve an accurate perception of their parents' values and by acceptance of whatever they inaccurately perceived as their parents' values, have diminished parent-child value similarity.

Despite the differences found for the associations between the identity statuses and parent-child value similarity in samples tested, these results alone do not allow for general conclusions. In particular, as based only on one variable (i.e., on the within-dyad correlation coefficient) the results might not be fully reliable. Therefore a conclusion, that the identity status predicts parent-child value similarity in a culture-specific manner, can not be reliably drawn on the basis of presented data.

Additionally, as a cross-cultural convenience sample was employed, the findings presented here are tentative and should be interpreted with caution.

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