

ACCULTURATION AND FAMILY VALUES -  
FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD GENERATION RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS

by

HELEN MARTHA BORTNIK

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Department of Counselling Psychology

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

Date October 10, 1991

## ABSTRACT

This study compared acculturation and familism of first, second, and third generation Russian immigrants. A sample of 71 included 22 first generation, 30 second generation, and 18 third generation male and female Russian immigrants from Vancouver, B.C., ranging in age from 19 to 82. Questionnaires mailed included demographic items, the Bardis Familism Scale (Bardis, 1959), and a revised Short Acculturation Scale (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, and Perez-Stable, 1987). Results of one-way ANOVA's revealed that there were no significant differences in scores on the Bardis Familism Scale between any of the three generations, contrary to previous studies with other immigrant groups. However, second and third generation subjects scored significantly higher on the acculturation scale than first generation ones, [ $F(2, 67) = 25.00, p = .001$ ]. A high level of Russian speaking ability and a low education level were associated with higher familism scores, and greater length of time in Canada was associated with higher acculturation scores. Since scores on the acculturation scale were consistent with those obtained in studies with other immigrant groups, this study provides support for the validity of this scale for Russian immigrants.

Supervisor: Beth E. Haverkamp, Ph.D.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT .....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	iii
LIST OF TABLES .....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	ix
DEDICATION .....	x
<u>Chapter I</u> INTRODUCTION .....	1
Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study .....	1
Background of the Study .....	8
General Discussion of Immigration and Acculturation .....	8
Short History and General Discussion of Russian Immigration to Canada and the United States .....	21
Definition of Terms .....	30
<u>Chapter II</u> LITERATURE REVIEW.....	35
General Value Differences/Similarities Between Immigrant Generations .....	35
Family Power Structure - Obedience and Respect for Authority .....	40
Family Cohesion - Kinship and Interdependence .....	43
Factors Affecting Acculturation and Effects of Acculturation on Familism .....	49

	Characteristics of the Russian Immigrant Family Through the Generations .....	61
	Research Questions/Hypotheses .....	68
<u>Chapter III</u>	METHODOLOGY .....	70
	General Method .....	70
	Subjects .....	70
	Sample Characteristics .....	72
	Procedures .....	76
	Design of the Questionnaire .....	77
	Demographic Information .....	77
	Bardis Familism Scale .....	78
	Revision of the Short Acculturation Scale .....	81
	Participant Incentive .....	82
	Analysis of Data .....	83
<u>Chapter IV</u>	RESULTS .....	85
	Demographic Description of Sample .....	85
	One-Way Analyses of Variance .....	95
	Bardis Familism Scale .....	97
	Short Acculturation Scale .....	111
	Two-Way Analyses of Variance .....	117
	Correlations .....	119
<u>Chapter V</u>	DISCUSSION .....	128
	General Discussion of Hypotheses Tested .....	128

Russian Speaking Ability .....	131
Education Level .....	132
Age .....	133
Length of Time in Canada .....	134
Regular Church/Synagogue Attendance ...	134
Correlations Between Familism and Acculturation .....	135
Limitations of the Study .....	137
Suggestions for Further Research .....	142
Counselling Implications .....	144
Summary .....	146
REFERENCES .....	149
APPENDICES	
A Letter of Introduction .....	155
B Russian Note Attached to Letter .....	156
C Participant Informed Consent Form .....	157
D Demographic Information .....	158
E Bardis Familism Scale .....	164
F Short Acculturation Scale .....	166
G Raffle Ticket .....	168

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Traditional vs. Modern Family Values .....	4
2. Sample Breakdown by Sex and Generation Level .....	73
3. Education Levels by Generation .....	75
4. Chi-Square Tests .....	87
5. One-Way ANOVA for Age .....	88
6. Mean Age by Generation .....	89
7. Ethnicity of Subjects' Parents .....	93
8. Feeling of Ethnicity .....	94
9. Speaking Level of Russian Language .....	96
10. Mean Scores & Standard Deviations for Bardis Familism Scale .....	99
11. One-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Familism Scale Scores (Total) .....	103
12. One-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Nuclear Familism Scores .....	105
13. One-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Extended Familism Scores .....	107
14. One-Way ANOVA's for Acculturation Scale Scores .....	112
15. Mean Scores & Standard Deviations for Short Acculturation Scale .....	113
16. Two-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Familism Scale Scores (Total) .....	120
17. Two-Way ANOVA's for Acculturation Scale Scores .....	122

18. Correlation Matrix of Bardis Scores with  
Accul. Scores ..... 124
19. Correlation Matrix of Bardis & Acculturation  
Scale Scores with Demographic Variables ... 126



## LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Family Values/Familism - Components of Family Power Structure and Family Cohesion .....	3

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To all the Russian immigrants who participated, thank you for making this study possible.

To all my family and friends, thank you for being there.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest appreciation to my loving partner, Bill, who has remained by my side and helped me maintain my strength to see this project through to the end.

## DEDICATION

*Светлой памяти матери и отца.*

To the bright memory of my mother and father.

## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the Problem and Purpose of the Study

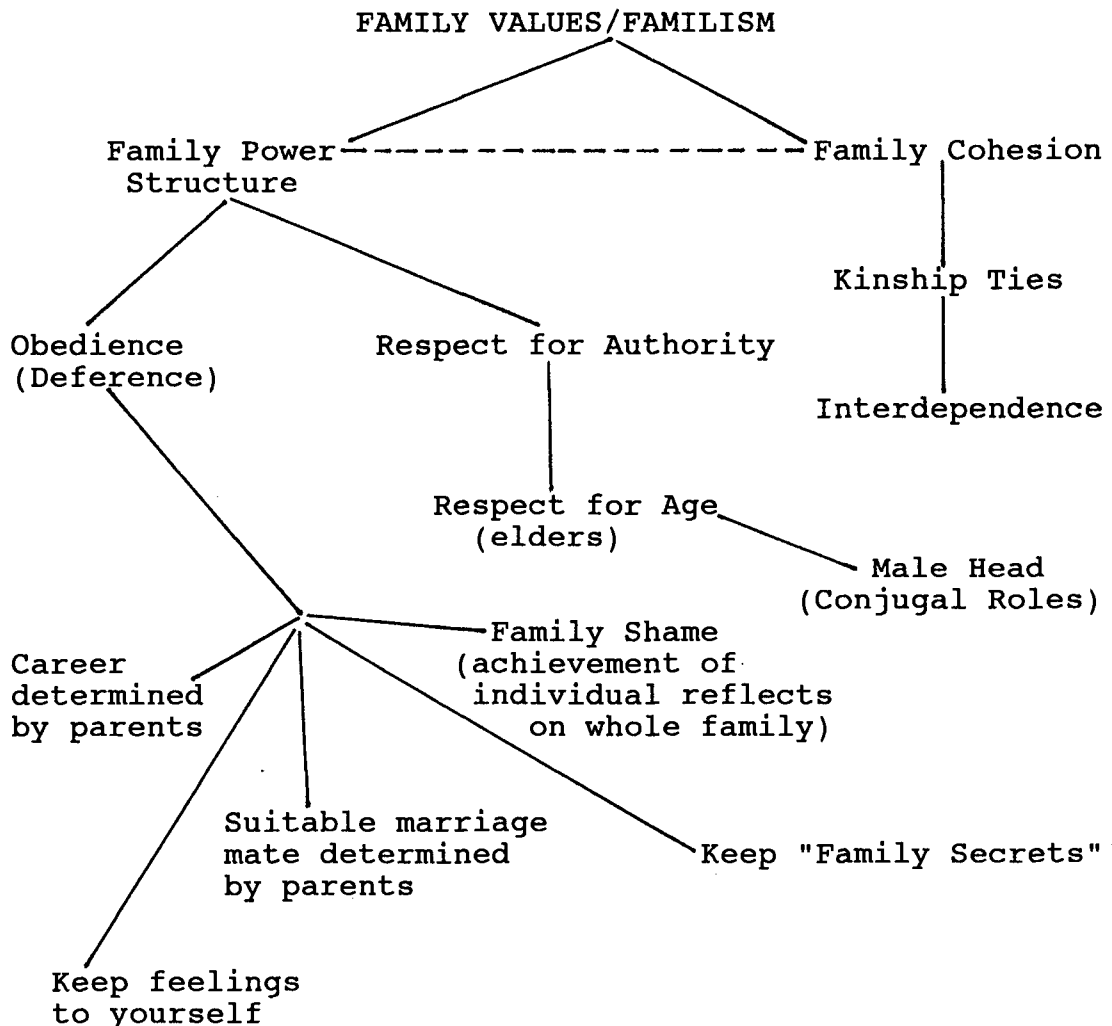
Because American [and Canadian] families vary in their backgrounds and are also influenced by the wider society, an understanding of American [and Canadian] families requires research on ethnic families and the ways they are changing. (Woehrer, 1978, p. 337)

The foregoing quotation describes the general purpose of the current study in that the researcher has hoped to add to the understanding of American and Canadian families who have Russian ethnic background, specifically first, second, and third generation Russian immigrants. It is important to add to this understanding since Russian immigrants, like many other immigrant groups, arrived in a country that has a different language and many customs different from those of their native country. These factors have often made it difficult for these persons to easily adjust to the Canadian or American way of life, even after they have been in the new country for a number of generations. In this study, acculturation and family values were compared for first, second, and third generation Russian immigrants.

Specific acculturation and "family value" measures were used to achieve this comparison. The family values in question entail two basic elements (see Figure 1). The first element is Family Power Structure, which includes obedience and respect for authority and the second is Family Cohesion, which includes kinship ties and interdependence. Family Power Structure and Family Cohesion are generally interrelated elements within a family, rather than being totally independent of each other.

The values assessed are based on two types of value systems identified by Kim, cited in and described in a study by Aldwin and Greenberger (1987) in which they studied cultural differences in the predictors of depression, comparing ethnic Korean and Caucasian students. The two types of value systems identified are "traditional" and "modern" (see Table 1). Traditional values accentuate automatic obedience, respect for authority, and maintenance of social ties with family members; modern values, on the other hand, accentuate self-reliance, autonomy, and assertiveness.

Figure 1. Family Values/Familism - Components of Family Power Structure and Family Cohesion.



Note. This model is not meant to imply that Family Power Structure and Family Cohesion are independent. They are generally interrelated and the sub-elements may also co-occur.

Table 1

Traditional vs. Modern Family Values

Value Category	Traditional Version	Modern Version
Obedience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- parents determine children's careers</li> <li>- children's mates must meet parents' standards</li> <li>- keep feelings &amp; thoughts to yourself if it will disrupt "family harmony" (Ho, 1976)</li> <li>- achievements &amp; behaviors of one individual reflects on whole family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- children decide on their own careers</li> <li>- children choose their own mate</li> <li>- express feelings &amp; thoughts openly</li> <li>- achievements &amp; behaviors of one individual is <u>not</u> seen to reflect on whole family</li> </ul>

- keep "family secrets"      - okay to discuss family issues with trusted individuals outside
- discipline children with no questions asked      - discuss issues before disciplining

---

Respect for Authority	- automatic respect for elders	- elders must earn respect
	- automatic respect for authority figures	- authority figures must earn respect
	- conjugal roles ---male dominance	- equality of conjugal roles

---

Maintenance of Social Ties with Family Members	- strong kinship ties with parents, brothers, & sisters, as well as with extended family	- weaker ties
--	--	---------------



- interdependence
- learn to solve problems on one's own

---

Note. Adapted from "Cultural differences in the predictors of depression" by C. Aldwin and E. Greenberger, 1987, American Journal of Community Psychology, 15, p. 799.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will assist counsellors in understanding the conflicts that different generations of Russian immigrants are likely to experience, to learn about Russian family values and customs, as well as obtain an overview of the factors that immigrants in general are faced with, not only immediately after arrival in a new country, but for many generations afterward.

The current author is herself a second generation Russian immigrant and although she attempts to be as objective as possible through review of the literature and through the study itself, personal knowledge of the Russian immigrant population likely also has some bearing on some of the thoughts expressed in this paper.

In searching the literature, I found that there has been very little research done regarding family values and/or acculturation of Russian immigrants. In fact, there has also been little research done to date on these topics regarding other Slavic groups. Research carried out by individuals such as Mostwin (1980) on Polish immigrants and by Bociurkiw (1971) on Ukrainian immigrants, indicated that these Slavic groups have cultural values and traditions

very similar to those of Russian immigrants. In fact, these groups have very often been lumped into the "Russian" immigrant population (Jeletzky, 1983; Pierce, 1978)

There exists, however, a fairly large amount of descriptive literature regarding Russian immigrant church and political organizations, as well as historical accounts of when various immigrant groups arrived, and chronological accounts of how they fared following their arrival. Examples of this literature include Jeletzky (1983), Sadouski (1981), Wertsman (1977), and Pierce (1978). However, the existing literature rarely attempts to study the family dynamics of Russian immigrants, the factors involved in their acculturation process, or how acculturation level and family dynamics relate to each other.

### Background of the Study

#### General Discussion of Immigration and Acculturation

Immigration has been the major building block of both Canada and the United States as they presently exist. Mostwin (1980, p. 72) in her study of the Polish American

family, quoted Oscar Handlin, who described this complex phenomenon of the immigrant role:

Once I thought to write a history  
of the immigrants in America. Then  
I discovered that the immigrants were  
American history.

There are varying reasons for immigration to occur. It appears to the writer that the major reason is almost always hope for a more prosperous life in the new land, that is, hope for a better means of providing for oneself and for one's family. Political and/or economic conditions in the original homeland may be such that there appears to be little or no hope to prosper, or sometimes even survive, such as is the case for many refugees. For example, Mostwin (1980, p. 61) referred to "the early economic 'bread immigration' from Poland," and then the postwar migration, which was "primarily for political reasons."

Since persons first began emigrating, that is, leaving their homeland, they have required various lengths of time to adjust to their new homeland. It appears that even when emigrating from a country where the cultural values and traditions, as well as the language, are similar to those of the new land, there is still some degree of culture shock (or "crisis," as Szyrnski [1971] called it),

especially immediately following arrival in the new land. It is the current author's impression that in Canada and the United States this phenomenon would be true for persons emigrating from countries such as England, Scotland, and Australia.

On the other hand, when originating in a country that has very different cultural values and traditions from the host culture, a different language, as well as different religious trends, immigrants often experience an extreme type of culture shock that causes them to feel extremely alienated from their new surroundings, sometimes to the point of a major loss of self-esteem and self-confidence (Wyspianski & Fournier-Ruggles, 1985).

Immigrants in Canada during the last twenty years or so, especially those in urban centres, have had an increasing number of language learning and socialization resources available to them in order to assist in their acculturation to the new land. From the author's own personal observations throughout the years, such resources are usually difficult to locate in rural regions, due to a lower demand for them. Thus, acculturation for rural immigrants may be delayed because immigrants to such areas

may tend to socialize in the "safety" of their own family, with immigrants who share their own language and customs, or with immigrants who they perhaps work with, but who speak yet another language and have also not had the resources available to them to learn English formally. The research, however, shows a great deal of disagreement as to the effect of rural-urban residence on acculturation. Bayer (1980) stated that some researchers point out that segregated neighborhoods are more prevalent in urban than in rural areas, therefore making the need for immigrants to adopt new cultural patterns less than that for rural residents. Other researchers, however, Bayer stated, do feel that the isolation of rural living places less demand for change on the immigrant than does the greater amount of interaction that is necessary when living in a city.

Until recently, these language and social resources were not available, even for immigrants to urban areas. Learning of English, as well as learning of the local customs and traditions often occurred solely on a "hit or miss" basis, especially if an immigrant's personal support system was virtually non-existent and finances were low. Mostwin (1980) stated that of the "old" Polish immigrants (before World War I), even the ones that came at a very

young age have never integrated into the new society due to factors such as very little formal education and due to failing economic conditions and lack of facilities, very little opportunity to learn English upon immigrating, and little opportunity to integrate into mainstream society due to devoting all their energies to physical survival. Thus, economic conditions in the new land at the time of immigration appear to be important factors for the acculturation process. Women, who usually were expected to centre their existence about the home, had even less opportunity than men to learn English. They remained "linguistically helpless" (Warner and Srole, 1949, p. 108) in any relationships except those of their family and ethnic community.

Value change is considered to be one important aspect of acculturation. The acculturation process of both first generation immigrants and the generations that follow almost always involves the changing of values, including core values. Core values are those values considered to be foundations for their lives, for example respect for elders and authority and loyalty to family. "Pragmatic values" (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981, p. 939) are those values usually considered to be not quite as difficult to let go

of, for example determination of educational goals for children and bedtime curfew time for children.

According to Mostwin (1980), many factors determine whether value changes and thus, acculturation, occur.

Among the factors are:

- (1) economic conditions in new land at time of immigration;

If economic conditions are good in the new land at the time of immigration, that is, if jobs and commodities are plentiful, the newly arrived immigrant will have time as well as finances to spend on learning the new language, perhaps furthering their formal education in other ways, and reaching an occupational status that will allow them more than just the pursuit of survival strategies. Davis (1922) spoke of the old Russian immigrants to the United States (pre-World War I and II) who almost always found themselves living in the worst of conditions due to the poor economic state of America at that time.

- (2) age at immigration;



The younger a person is when they immigrate, the more likely that they will acculturate at a faster rate (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Aranalde, 1978).

- (3) reason for emigrating from original homeland;

Zubrzycki, who studied Polish immigrants in Britain, is cited by Mostwin (1980):

Political exiles...will try to demonstrate their cultural difference, while economic immigrants will be inclined toward a more speedy assimilation. (p. 84)

- (4) resident of rural area before immigration;

It has been noted through the writer's personal experience and also by Gerber (1985), that persons emigrating from rural regions have a slower rate of acculturation in their new homeland.

- (5) resident of rural OR urban area in new homeland, i.e. after immigration;

Those immigrants taking up residence in urban areas of their new homeland tend to acculturate more easily, and thus probably more quickly than those taking up residence

in rural areas. This is very likely because of a greater job market in urban areas, as well as more likelihood of amenities catered to various ethnic groups. Mostwin (1980, p. 158) quoted a Polish immigrant physician residing in New York:

...I cannot see myself going to a more American environment -- Midwest or something like that...This is a conglomeration of nations, everybody feels well. Whether you speak English or not, whether you have an accent or not, whether you are darker or lighter complexioned.

(6) knowledge of English upon arrival;

Persons that have a good working knowledge of English upon arrival have a head start in their process of acculturation (Mostwin, 1980).

(7) help received upon arrival;

In her study of Polish immigrants, Mostwin (1980) claimed that those who received help from relatives were likely invited by those relatives, were less prepared for life as immigrants, were more dependent than those who did not receive help, and had a tendency toward a lower income level. This appears to suggest that they were perhaps less motivated than those who did not receive help. However,

Mostwin also found that the higher the educational level on arrival, the stronger the probability of a higher income level.

It appears, therefore, that acculturation to the new society does not necessarily occur more quickly because help is received upon arrival -- in fact, help may be a deterrent to acculturation due to its tendency to produce dependency on others and thus less personal exploration and risk-taking within the new society.

(8) educational level reached before/after  
immigration;

It appears to the writer that the higher the educational level, the higher the rate of acculturation. Johnston (1981) also commented on this issue:

...education tends to break down  
cultural and racial barriers between  
different peoples and facilitate  
their adaptation to the environing  
community. (p. 69)

(9) occupational affiliations in new homeland -  
immigrant or non-immigrant

It has been noted by the writer, as well as by Davis (1922) that when an immigrant works with just other

immigrants, whether like or unlike, and if these immigrants do not have a good working knowledge of English, the acculturation process is slowed down to a large degree.

(10) religious affiliation;

Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1988) defined religiosity as one of the factors contributing to family cohesion and thus ethnic cohesion. This could thus be translated into a slowing down of acculturation for immigrants. Bociurkiw (1971), in a study of ethnic identification and attitudes of university students of Ukrainian descent, found that maintenance of a connection with the Ukrainian church/rite coincided with greater identification with the Ukrainian ethnic group and a tendency to be less active in non-Ukrainian groups and events. In this instance, we are speaking of mainly second and third generation Ukrainian immigrants who vary in their rates and modes of acculturation even though they are Canadian-born.

(11) language spoken at home;

There have been conflicting reports on the effects of language spoken at home on the rate of acculturation. Some

research (Kuplowska, 1980; Marin Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987; Bociurkiw, 1971; Elkin, 1983) has been found to correlate this factor with rate of acculturation, but others have not been able to find a link between language spoken at home and acculturation (Mostwin, 1980; Pereda, Olarte, Carlos, 1982).

- (12) main social network and/or surrounding community composed of immigrants, either same or different, OR of non-immigrant Canadians/Americans

Gerber (1985), in his ethnographic study of a Russian American "closed" community, and Bociurkiw (1971), in his study of university students of Ukrainian descent, both found that less acculturation occurred when there were a large number of like immigrants all living close together within a community, with minimal connections to the "rest of the world". Elkin (1983) pointed out that surrounding environment, especially residential neighborhood, as well as the establishment of ethnic organizations, play a key role in continuing the ethnic trend into the second generation.

(13) sex;

The female often acculturates to the receiving society more slowly than the male, particularly in cases where the native culture prohibits her from working outside the home or from pursuing higher education. Many older immigrant women were in this position, since working outside the home was virtually unheard of for most women until the last few decades, no matter what their cultural background.

Out of fifty Indian and Pakistani wives who had all had some type of formal education, Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil (1981) found that only one-third of them worked outside the home. Thus, even though they had had the education, conjugal roles of wife and mother were still heavily ingrained into their lifestyle.

In the Japanese culture there is an accepted inequality between males and females (Osako, 1976), so it may take quite a number of generations in a new society to even begin changing such a long-standing cultural tradition.

(14) length of residence in the new homeland;

The longer a family or individual has lived in their new homeland and the more generations have passed, the more acculturated they are assumed to be. This appears to be a somewhat "obvious" assumption and has been found to be true in many studies, including Gerber (1985), Bociurkiw (1971), and Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Aranalde (1978). However, in the Japanese culture for example, as found by Connor (1976) and Osako (1976), many of the traditional Japanese values seem to persist strongly at least for three generations, so it appears that the Japanese are resistant to at least some aspects of acculturation for an undetermined number of generations.

(15) attitudes of the receiving society;

Acculturation is slowed down if there is overt or covert discrimination showed to immigrants by the receiving society. Davis, as far back as 1922, spoke of Russian immigrants who were discriminated against by Americans and therefore chose to stick together and form many of their own community amenities and services. Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil (1981) spoke about discrimination against Indian immigrants to British Columbia in 1914 and still in the

1960's and 1970's. The Indian immigrants formed strong community organizations in order to survive in the new land and the result was a strong "antiassimilationist attitude". Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil stated that the more recent immigrants are mainly more highly educated and familiar with Western values before immigration to Canada and "although largely unwilling to assimilate, they are...less resistant to change than were the early immigrants" (p. 931). Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil attributed this willingness to a "less hostile" attitude of the receiving society.

It follows that the attitudes of the receiving society have an important effect on immigrants' self esteem. Szyrynski (1971, p. 128) stated that "proper integration of any ethnic group and of every Canadian whether 'old' or 'new' depends on this feeling of self-respect and acceptance of his role as a full-fledged Canadian."

#### Short History and General Discussion of Russian Immigration to Canada and the United States

The word "Russian" is one of several descriptive terms that are often used interchangeably when referring to a



certain group of immigrants in Canada -- some of these terms include Russian Canadians, Canadians of Russian descent, and Russian immigrants.

To be Russian can mean "to belong to the Russian nationality," but nationality is defined either in terms of "belonging to a nation or to a sovereign state" or in terms of birth on a specific territory (Jeletzky, 1983). However, in Russia before the Revolution or in the U.S.S.R. of today, the majority of the population does not belong to just one ethnic group or race. In fact, citizenship is shared by people whose language, religious, and cultural backgrounds are completely different from each other.

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the largest of fifteen republics of the U.S.S.R., was known as "Great Russia" or "Imperial Russia" before October 1917. [NOTE: As of August 1991, after a major coup attempt on the Soviet president, a number of the republics became autonomous or were in the process of doing so - thus, as of this writing, the political status of the U.S.S.R. is uncertain.] Many immigrants from both Imperial Russia and the larger, more diverse U.S.S.R., were labelled as Russian when they immigrated to Canada or the United States and

this has caused much discrepancy in statistical data. Many of these immigrants, when receiving their new citizenship or during census taking, identified their nationality according to the ethnicity of their parents and not according to place of birth. Thus, in Canada, for example, there has been a statistical increase in the number of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, and others who came from Russia, and a decrease in the number of Russians (Jeletzky, 1983), which they were labelled as when they first immigrated. For instance, for the 1991 Census, the Byelorussian Canadian Coordinating Committee (1991) put out a plea to all persons with Byelorussian heritage to mark this fact on the Census forms that they completed.

According to Jeletzky (1983), another complicating factor of nationality identification occurred during the general chaos that followed World War II. In an effort to escape forced repatriation, Soviet citizens of Russian and other origin often provided incorrect information to immigration officials, that is, they registered themselves as Poles, Ukrainians, or other origins.

The current author wishes to note here that when McCarthyism was prominent in the United States (1950's),

many Russian immigrants, especially Russian Americans, did not wish to label themselves as "Russian" for fear of being accused of being communists. It is interesting, however, to note that recently (late 1980's and early 1990's), especially since "perestroika" and "glasnost" have been eminent in the Soviet Union, it appears that it has become more "acceptable" for persons to label themselves as "Russian."

Jeletzky (1983) also suggested that some of the categories used by the Canadian Bureau of Statistics to classify immigrants and the population as a whole can indirectly point to persons of Russian origin. The categories the Bureau uses are the following:

- (a) former citizenship;
- (b) last place of residence;
- (c) place of birth;
- (d) language (mother tongue);
- (e) ethnic origin;
- (f) religion.

In the larger cities it is easier to obtain information regarding persons of Russian origin, since cities usually have various cultural and religious Russian

organizations -- Jeletzky pointed out that "the very fact that an individual would join such a group is evidence that he considers himself Russian" (p. xiii). It is the author's personal observation, however, that persons of Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Polish, Georgian, as well as other ethnic groups are found to be members of "Russian" organizations. Nevertheless, it is even more difficult to get ethnic background information on those persons who stay outside the community or even try to conceal their Russian origin by changing their name.

It is the writer's opinion that the best definition of the word "Russian" is presented by Jeletzky (1983, p. xiv):

...the most realistic criterion for defining the nationality of an immigrant is his own declaration, that is, what he considers himself to be...such 'self-definition' is often a reflection of the individual's desire to continue family traditions, to maintain ties with the religious community and to preserve the Russian language, which he considers his native tongue.

However, for the operational purposes of this study (and because so many different peoples have been labelled as "Russian"), we included in our sample any persons whose background at some point in time originated in what is now the U.S.S.R. Otherwise, we would have been likely to

exclude from our study perhaps the most acculturated Russian immigrants who declared themselves as only "Canadian". Mowat (1970), in his book about Siberia, used the word "Russian" in its "sloppy, but widely accepted western usage..." (p. 9) "...for the sake of simplicity." That is, persons from any one of the fifteen Soviet republics were referred to by Mowat, as "Russian." Likewise, Pierce (1978) included in his study of Russian Canadians, all persons "who in spite of their nationality identify emotionally, culturally and politically with Russia, or have done so in the past..."(p. 2). Therefore, in this current study, we use the same rather broad meaning of the terms "Russian" and "Russian immigrant," that is, anyone whose background is in any one of the fifteen Soviet republics.

Historically, there have been four major "waves" (Jeletzky, 1983) of Russian immigration:

- (1) before World War;
- (2) between World War I and World War II;
- (3) post World War II;
- (4) recent immigration - the 1970's.

Jeletzky's descriptions of each "wave" of immigration are summarized below.

### Before World War I

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, there was a "wave" of intellectuals who rebelled against the tsarist regime and were attracted to America and the intellectual freedom it could offer. There were Doukhobors who rejected subordination to any established order and were looking for full religious and social independence. As well, there were immigrants from south-western Russia and Eastern Austro-Hungary who wanted to get away from extreme poverty and acquire a piece of land.

### Between World War I and World War II

There were few Russian immigrants between the two World Wars, but those that did come were more diverse in their make-up than the pre-World War I immigrants. Among those who came to Canada during this period were representatives of the "white" immigration -- adversaries and opponents of the Soviet regime, who left Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Many of these people,

including aristocrats, military officers, professionals, intellectuals, and Orthodox churchmen, had first settled in France, Germany, and several east European countries before immigrating either to Canada or the United States.

At the same time, this "wave" also included Russian immigrants from Poland and Eastern Austro-Hungary whose views were totally opposed to those of the above group and who sympathized with the U.S.S.R.

#### Post World War II

The immigrants of this period were former Soviet citizens and members of the "old" immigration who had been displaced by World War II. Large portions of the U.S.S.R. had been occupied by Germany in 1941-1942, and many Russians had either been sent to work in the German war industry or fled when it was apparent that the Soviet regime they opposed would be victorious. They lived in displaced-person camps in the Western zones of Germany and Austria between 1945 and 1955, until they were able to immigrate to Canada or the United States.

Recent Immigration - the 1970's

This recent "wave" of immigrants have arrived since 1969, when a change in Soviet policy permitted over 200,000 people to emigrate. The majority of these people were Jewish in ethnic origin and many went to Israel, as well as the United States and Canada. Their cultural background is Russian in the majority of cases.

It is the writer's impression that there are two groups of "Russian Jews." One group considers itself Russian, although it may or may not practise the Jewish religion to some degree. The other group, which appears to be a much larger one, considers itself Jewish and it is only in passing that it makes mention that Russia or the Soviet Union was once their homeland, or that the Russian language is their mother tongue.



### Definition of Terms

There were several key terms which were utilized throughout this study. Because there is often controversy as to what definitions are appropriate for many of these terms, it was necessary to define the following terms in the ways that they were relevant for the current study.

acculturation - the degree to which an immigrant adopts or shares the same values, attitudes, and behaviors of the receiving society; a merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contact; becoming bicultural; "the process of changes in behavior and values that occurs when immigrants come in contact with a new group, nation, or culture" (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987).

adjustment/accommodation - adaptation by an immigrant to the receiving society; achieving mental and behavioral balance between one's own needs and the demands of the receiving society, although not necessarily becoming integrated, assimilated, or acculturated, i.e. "a process of mutual adaptation between persons or groups, usually achieved by eliminating or reducing hostility, as by

compromise, arbitration, etc." (The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1966).

assimilation - absorption by an immigrant group into the cultural tradition of the receiving society; adoption of and conformity to behavior patterns and institutional structure of the receiving society; "the merging of cultural traits from previously distinct cultural groups..." (The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1966).

culture - the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon man's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations (Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary).

emigrant/immigrant/first generation immigrant - a person who leaves one country or region to settle in another.

Note: For this study, persons of Russian origin are referred to as "immigrants" in a general sense, no matter what their generation. However, persons of Russian origin who emigrated from countries other than Russia/U.S.S.R., for example from China, Czechoslovakia, or Yugoslavia, were considered as first generation Russian immigrants.

emigration - the act of leaving one's native country or region to settle in another; migration.

ethnicity - degree to which an individual sees himself/herself as a member of a particular group, including both racial (biological) and socio-cultural features.

familism - "...the feeling, rights, and obligations existent among the members of a kinship group" (Rao & Rao, 1979, p. 417); "...'exclusiveness' centred around familial relationships; a division of the social environment into 'we' (certain specific kin members) and 'they' (non-kin members)" (Heller, 1976, p. 423); "the subordination of the personal interest and prerogatives of an individual to the values and demands of the family" (The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1966); "...a strong identification and attachment of individuals with their families (nuclear and extended) and strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity among members of the same family" (definition by Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Lisansky & Chang, quoted by Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987, p. 398).

- (a) attitudinal familism - beliefs and attitudes regarding the extended and nuclear families.
- (b) behavioral familism - the behaviors associated with attitudinal familism.

family cohesion - the amount of unity within a family.

family power structure - the hierarchial structure within a family.

family values - general opinions, ideas, and philosophies regarding the family, as to its power structure and degree of cohesion. (For purposes of this study, "family values" will mean "degree of familism.")

immigration - the act of coming to a country of which one is not a native, usually for permanent residence.

integration - incorporation of immigrants into a new society, as equals; "fitting" of the immigrants into the receiving society (does not mean assimilation or absorption and does not negate the different characteristics of the integrated individual) (Mostwin, 1980, p. 109); "the inclusion of people of all races on an equal basis in neighborhood, schools, parks, or other facilities" (World Book Dictionary, 1985).

second generation immigrant - the child of a first generation immigrant; a person born in the country/region to which their parent(s) had immigrated to.

NOTE: For purposes of this study, the second generation will also include those persons who immigrated before age 10 (were born in original native country), since many of their developing years, including most of their schooling, were spent in the new country. This categorization was also used in a study by Camilleri (1983).

third generation immigrant - the child of a second generation immigrant.

### Summary

Since there is a minimal amount of previous research concerning acculturation and family values of Russian immigrants, this study hopes to expand the knowledge within that area. The literature review which follows in the next chapter identifies common factors which have been found to relate to acculturation and family values for various immigrant groups. The purpose of the current study is to investigate the possibility of similar trends within the Russian immigrant population.

## Chapter II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The current author reviewed studies that were previously carried out in the areas of immigration, the change/non-change of family values across generations, acculturation levels reached at various generational stages, as well as the factors that may determine these acculturation levels and change/non-change of family values. This review of the literature served to provide a foundation for the present study.

#### General Value Differences/Similarities Between Immigrant Generations

Research has shown that values tend to change once people have immigrated to a new country. This section provides a general review of some of the studies that have shown changes in values in first generation immigrants, as well as in the second and third generations. Some of the studies also show that for some immigrant groups some values tend not to change, even for the second and third generations.

In the study by Aldwin and Greenberger (1987), referred to earlier concerning "traditional" and "modern" values, it was found that Korean parents are more likely to hold traditional values than their offspring, even though the offspring (Korean college students) in this case were themselves recent first generation immigrants (the average age of immigration of the Korean students was 13, although some came as young as 2 and others as old as 20). Korean students were found to have a significantly different view than their parents of what "doing well" in college meant. That is, parents expected a higher Grade Point Average than the students did, as a measure of "doing well". The Korean students were also noted to experience much higher parental pressure for good grades than did their Caucasian counterparts. Overall, a high negative correlation appeared between parental traditional values and Korean students' modern values: that is, the more parents followed traditional values, the more likely their children were to follow modern values.

Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil (1981) did a study dealing with the values held by Indian- and Pakistani-born immigrant parents and by their second generation children who were either born or brought up in Canada.

Specifically, the authors explored the values stressed by parents in the process of socialization and the reaction to these values by the children. They spoke of "value conflict" within families due to the "taking on" of new values by the children. The children were found to have opposing and/or different ideas from their parents with regards to values such as strong family ties, automatic respect for the elders (assumed correlation between age and wisdom), and the Indian/Pakistani system of arranged marriages.

Connor (1976), who did extensive studies in Japanese American value orientations, stated,

...acculturation is not necessarily a unitary process in which all of the meanings or values of one group are completely replaced by those of another (p. 3).

In other words, acculturation is a process that occurs very slowly for some groups and it appears that some of the values of the new society take a great number of generations before they become part of the groups' value systems.

In his 1976 study, Connor utilized the Incomplete Sentence Test to study the changing of values, if any, over



three generations of Japanese Americans: the Issei (first generation), the Nisei (second generation), and the Sansei (third generation). It was administered to 165 persons, including 70 Caucasian Americans as a control group. Connor found little change in values of the Japanese Americans, even with the Sansei. The basic core values such as deference (duty and obligation), automatic respect and obedience to parents and elders, hierarchial family system where father is the patriarch to be respected and feared, and dependence (strong family ties), generally tended to be retained in all of the first three generations of Japanese Americans, with only a slight progressive decline toward modern values that stress equality, self-assertiveness, and self-reliance.

Luetgart (1977) discussed the academic and psycho-social problems of ethnic college and university students, including second generation immigrants, due to different values in their original cultures. Luetgart spoke about the value conflicts that ethnic "commuter" university students experience -- that is, when each day they alternate between trying to meet the expectations of the mainstream culture and then also trying to meet the expectations of their own subculture. When one of these

students take on what the mainstream culture considers to be an "adult role," for example choosing one's own marriage partner, this often results in alienation from his or her own family and ethnic community.

Thus, it appears that second generation and very young first generation immigrants, no matter where they originated, constantly are in the midst of an inner struggle as to which values they should actually go ahead and internalize permanently. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey (1962, p. 530) stated this phenomenon in the following manner:

...few ethnic students, particularly those who are the children of immigrants to this country, seem able to reach a satisfactory resolution of the role conflicts inherent in being a 'marginal man'

In a study of Spanish immigrants in Holland, Pereda Olarte (1986) found that younger persons, especially second generation immigrants (that is, those born in Holland), did not feel the same ties to Spain as did their parents and wanted to be integrated into Dutch social and political life.

In general, research has shown changes in values as immigrants move through the generations in their new country, although the rate of these changes may vary among different immigrant groups.

Family Power Structure - Obedience and Respect for Authority

This section will focus on studies specifically pertaining to intergenerational conflicts regarding family power structure.

In a paper pertaining to social work with Asian Americans, Ho (1976) described some of the prominent cultural values of this particular immigrant population. Ho stated that filial piety is fundamental in Asian society, that is, an individual is expected to comply with familial and social authority, even if it means sacrificing one's own desires and ambitions. In a traditional Asian family, the role of the parent is to define the law and the duty of the child is to listen and obey. Ho made an assumption that this type of severe family structure has likely changed to a large extent in the second generation of Asian American families, but Ho was not aware of any strong evidence to show that this was indeed the case. In

other words, according to Ho, the change in any values does not appear to have affected this particular traditional interaction (duty of child to listen and obey) between parent and child in Asian American families.

Ho spoke of a second generation Korean high school student who had conflict with his parents due to his long hair. The student made one visit to a social worker and then did not return because he felt that he was satisfying his own self-concept at the expense of his parents. He still felt the traditional family value of "keep feelings to yourself, and especially do not talk about family problems or your feelings to anyone outside the family." The desires of the family as a whole, specifically the young man's parents in this instance, were held to be more important than the young man's own individual desires.

Warner and Srole (1949) quoted Maguire, who wrote of Ireland that "deference to parental authority is the characteristic of the country." Warner and Srole spoke of several first and second generation immigrant groups, including Italians, Jews, Greeks, Poles, Armenians, and Russians. They detailed the ways of a patriarchal type of family structure in all of these groups. Three or four

generations often lived in one house - Armenian children who married, for example, were expected to live on their father's property. Perpetuation of an extended family was the basis for this custom. Warner and Srole also stated that appropriating the children's earnings (even if the children were over 18) was a common practice among Polish, Russian, Greek, and Armenian parents. The children, Warner and Srole stated, resorted to "'holding out' as the only means of circumventing unyielding parents." That is, they would keep a small amount of their pay each time in order to save up to buy something they wanted.

Rosenthal and Feldman (1990) conducted two studies, one in the U.S. and one in Australia, of Chinese first and second generation adolescents, along with adolescents from the host cultures and from Hong Kong (i.e. adolescents living in Hong Kong). Family functioning questionnaires were administered to the subjects, generally in a classroom setting, and included the Family Environment Scale (FES), Decision-Making Questionnaire (DMQ), and other scales which specifically measured parenting style, parents' emphasis on conformity, parents' acceptance of diversity, and the extent to which parents monitored adolescents' after-school activities. Chinese immigrants of both generations

reported more structured, controlling family environments than did the nonimmigrant groups. Second generation Chinese-Americans perceived more family regulation of adolescents than did the first generation respondents. First generation Chinese-Australians reported a more organized family pattern than that of the second generation respondents. The study showed a somewhat rapid change in first generation families toward individualistic norms. However, there was no evidence of any change in family environment according to length of time spent in the host country.

In summary, although second and third generation immigrants often perceive conflict with their family regarding the power structure, they often find ways to compensate, for example, children "holding out" on some of their earnings. However, in some cases, such as in the study by Ho (1976), young people choose to defer to their parents' wishes.

#### Family Cohesion - Kinship and Interdependence

The research discussed in this section concerns immigrant family members' interdependence for both physical and psychological needs and how this interdependence often

becomes lessened or at least somewhat modified for second and third generation immigrants.

Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1988) found that expectations of young adults to live independently from parents before marriage varied according to level of ethnicity (as well as religiosity). They define ethnicity as "the intensity of ethnic associations within ethnic groups" (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1988, p. 527). Second and later generation immigrant young adults were found to have a lower expectation of independent living before marriage, the higher their "ethnic cohesion" (Goldscheider and Goldscheider, 1988, p. 526). Ethnic cohesion was seen by Goldscheider and Goldscheider to be based on three factors:

- (1) foreign language usage;
- (2) ethnic regional concentration;
- (3) exposure to ethnic-linked institutions.

The more these factors are in play, the higher the ethnic cohesion. Warner and Srole (1949) emphasized the ethnic language factor. They said that when, for instance, parents speak the ethnic language and the child replies in English, it represents a source of conflict and antagonism

between the parent and child, and thus is the beginning of a breaking away from the old traditions.

Goldscheider and Goldscheider link the degree of ethnic cohesion, as well as religiosity, to the degree of family cohesion (based primarily on traditional values). They studied 28,240 cases, mainly non-Hispanic white, Hispanic, and Asian American high school seniors, for variation in premarital residential independence and found that the closer the link to the ethnic community, the greater the likelihood of adhering to traditional values. This tended to be true even for the non-Hispanic whites, especially if they used a foreign language at home.

In a study of interaction patterns between Japanese-American parents (Issei, or first generation immigrants) and adult children (Nisei, or second generation) in Chicago, Osako (1976) obtained similar findings to Connor (1976), whose study with Japanese-Americans was described earlier. Specifically, Osako examined intergenerational living arrangements, interactions, and economic assistance (as related to dependence versus independence). The definition of dependence is important to note, according to Osako,



because it can often be culture bound. He defined dependence as "the state of being conditional upon a person(s) to maintain the ego's well-being" (p. 68). He also cited a study done by Bales that distinguished between "instrumental" and "expressive" dimensions of dependence. Instrumental dependence is when the behavior involved in a relationship is oriented toward task performance. Expressive dependence is when its major function is the management of emotion.

In his study, Osako measured expressive dependence by the frequency of contact and desired and actual living arrangements between the immigrants and their second generation adult children. Instrumental dependence was measured by the expectation and the actual receipt of financial and task-oriented help.

Osako found that a large percentage of both the Issei and Nisei generations desired to and in fact did live very close to each other, that is, in the same neighborhood or even closer. Both generations also had frequent (weekly or daily) contact with each other. There was not found to be any significant decrease in the desire for these living arrangements and interactions in the Nisei generation.

Osako found that not only did the Nisei feel even more strongly than the Issei about being entirely responsible for the care of an aged parent, but they also actually provided material aid to parents significantly more than the latter assisted the former. Osako also found, however, that the Issei had greater expressive dependence than instrumental dependence on their children because of the Issei parents' firm belief in instrumental independence. Osako concluded that the Nisei maintain a desire to be close and emotionally dependent because the Issei have modified the traditional expectation of instrumental dependence to expressive independence. This factor in the acculturation process of the Issei (the fact that they already somewhat changed a core value) has likely been a key element in the Nisei generation not modifying the value of expressive dependence to any significant extent.

In a paper describing the influence of ethnicity on social aspects of aging, Woehrer (1978) looked at the interdependence between generations of several American ethnic groups. She concentrated specifically on how the elderly are affected, both by changing family values of their children (second or third generation immigrants), and by the variations in family values across different

immigrant cultures. Woehrer stated that as neighborhoods change, or as people move to retirement homes, many of them find themselves surrounded by people quite different from themselves in cultural orientation, and thus in many basic family values. They very often lose the family cohesion that existed for them in their own culture and family.

Most important, however, for the purposes of our current study, were the changing values of the second and/or third generation immigrants. Woehrer cited a study done by Yanagisako, who contended that the occupational mobility of younger generations of Japanese-Americans leads to changes in intergenerational relationships. Woehrer also cited a study of Italian and Polish Americans, done by Fandetti and Gelfand in which they found that respondents earning over \$10,000.00 a year and those who had a high school education were more likely to favor independent living arrangements for the elderly than those with less income and education. Thus, those with more education and income were gradually favoring a lower level of family cohesion.

Warner and Srole (1949) wrote of single men (very few women emigrated singly at that time) who emigrated from

their native land, expecting to stay only temporarily. If they ended up settling and marrying (even to someone with the same cultural background, although Warner and Srole did not specify this factor specifically), their family structure would be quite different from the parental one, since these individuals had been on their own for a number of years, usually independent of their family (parental) controls. Warner and Srole (p. 108) wrote, "The family, starting within the American context, is not as strongly organized as the family that emigrated as a unit."

To summarize, it appears that although some immigrant groups, for instance the Japanese, usually seem to keep their families' kinship and interdependence strong even into the second and third generation levels, the research shows that for most other groups, there is a strong decline in these traits of family cohesion even early into the second generation.

#### Factors Affecting Acculturation and Effects of Acculturation on Familism

Many factors have been found to correlate with immigrants' rate of acculturation and their degree of

familism as they proceed through the generations. This section reviews the literature that has identified several of these factors.

Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo (1986), in their detailed study of the assessment of acculturation, identified a number of factors that have been shown to be related to the acculturation process and can therefore be used to develop various scales or measures of acculturation. Some of these factors included education, urbanization, media (for example, listening to radio and reading newspapers of the host culture), religion, language, and social relations (for example, intermarriage, work and play with members of host culture).

Szapocznik, Scopetta, and Kurtines (1978) described a psychosocial model of acculturation developed using a Hispanic immigrant community in Florida. Their research showed the model and two acculturation scales they developed to be generalizable to other immigrant communities. The model suggested that acculturation level correlates with length of time in the host culture (the more time, the higher the acculturation level), the younger a person is at time of immigration, the quicker he or she

will reach a high acculturation level, and that males acculturate more rapidly than females. Szapocznik, Scopetta, and Kurtines also maintained that there are two distinct dimensions of acculturation:

- (a) behavioral acculturation - the gradual adoption of the more overt and observable aspects of the host culture, for instance language, customs, habits, and life style.
- (b) value acculturation - less overt gradual adoption of host culture's basic value orientations.

Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987) investigated the effects of acculturation on "attitudinal familism" in 452 Hispanic immigrants in the United States, as compared to 227 white non-Hispanics. Attitudinal familism was measured mainly (but not entirely) with items taken from the Bardis Familism Scale (Bardis, 1959) and acculturation was measured with the Short Acculturation Scale (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987). [It should be noted that the Bardis Familism Scale and the Short Acculturation Scale (adapted

for Russians) were used in their entirety for the current author's study.]

A factor analysis was performed and three factors accounted for 48.4% of the variance: (a) familial obligations (perceived obligation to provide material and emotional support to members of the extended family) accounted for 27.7% of the total variance; (b) perceived support from the family (perception of family members as reliable providers of help and support to solve problems) accounted for 10.9% of the variance; and (c) family as referents (relatives as behavioral and attitudinal referents) accounted for 9.8% of the total variance.

In order to test for a possible relationship between the familism dimensions and acculturation, a one-way (acculturation: low vs. high) multivariate analysis of variance was performed for the three familism factors. There was a significant overall contribution to the familism dimensions due to acculturation. It was found that the level of perceived support for the family remained high even for highly acculturated Hispanics. However, familial obligations and the perception of the family as referents (that is, as someone to go to for advice before

making a decision) seemed to decrease with the level of acculturation.

Generation level, place of birth, and place of growing up, had an effect on the Familial Obligations and Family as Referents factors - first generation Hispanics and those who were born or had spent their first 15 years of life in Latin America, obtained higher scores on these factors than second generation Hispanics and those who were born or grew up in the U.S. Perceived Support from the Family was not affected by generation level, place of birth, and place of growing up.

Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable found that the Familial Obligations and Family as Referents factors tended to decrease, however, with an increase in the level of acculturation. The researchers contended that their study supported the hypothesis that some familism values decrease in importance as acculturation level increases.

In the development and validation of a short acculturation scale for Hispanics, Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, and Perez-Stable (1987) identified a number of variables that positively correlated with scores on the



scale. Their respondents included 363 Hispanics and 228 non-Hispanic whites. The variables identified as having a positive correlation with acculturation scores were generation level, length of residence in the U.S., respondent's own evaluation of their level of acculturation, an acculturative index calculated by using numerical values of the preceding three variables, and discrimination between ethnic groups (Hispanic vs. non-Hispanic). Age of arrival in the U.S. was found to have a negative correlation with scores on the acculturation scale.

Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso (1980) developed an acculturation scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA) that could be administered in English, Spanish, or both languages. It was administered to 222 subjects, some of which were psychiatric inpatients and some normals. Acculturation levels were found to be affected by language familiarity, usage, and preference; ethnic identity and generation; reading, writing, and cultural exposure; and ethnic interaction.

Griffith and Villavicencio (1985) studied the relationship of acculturation and sociodemographic

characteristics to social supports in 259 adult Mexican Americans. More acculturated (English-speaking and later generation) ones reported larger support networks, more contact with network members, more reciprocal helping, and more often cited primary kin, friends, and neighbors as support providers than did less acculturated ones. The number of extended family named as support providers, however, was unrelated to acculturation.

In a validation study of the ARSMA (Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans), Montgomery and Orozco (1984) identified several variables that had a positive correlation with behavioral acculturation of 450 subjects (349 Mexican American according to surname and self-report and 101 Anglo American according to surname and self-report), freshmen students at a Texas university. These variables included language preference, ethnic identity, generation removed from Mexico, ethnicity of friends and associates, extent of direct contact with Mexico, ability to read and write in Spanish, age within each generation (i.e. older subjects in each generation were more acculturated than younger subjects), and socioeconomic status. The correlation they obtained between ARSMA, age, and generation suggested that

acculturation changes within each generation are relatively small, but that acculturation changes between generations are relatively large.

Validation of another acculturation measure for Mexican Americans was performed by Olmedo and Padilla (1978) on 26 adult Anglo Americans, 16 first generation Mexican Americans, and 26 third generation Mexican Americans in California. Acculturation scores correlated highly with ethnic group membership and generation level. Olmedo and Padilla also found that persons who scored lower in acculturation were more more likely to identify themselves as Mexican and Catholic (as opposed to Mexican American or Anglo, and Protestant or agnostic), live in nuclear households, and have lower educational and occupational levels.

Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough, and Escobar (1987) did a comprehensive study of acculturation on 1245 adult Mexican Americans living in Los Angeles. Acculturation scores with the scale they used discriminated between generation levels, and among first generation Mexican immigrants, it was positively correlated to number of years in the U.S. Their data also suggested that those first generation

persons who were younger and male, acculturated faster than those who were older and female. The sex difference, but not the age difference, could be explained by the tendency for males to have higher educational levels and a greater likelihood of being employed than females.

Garza and Gallego (1985) suggested that the acculturation process involves a highly complex interaction between environmental influences and personal choice. They claim that even if an individual is confronted with an overbearing set of cultural influences, he or she can choose to act in a manner that is incongruent with these demands.

Camilleri (1983) did a study of value changes in second generation (those who arrived before age 10) Maghrebian immigrants (ages 16-25) in France. Most had only a limited Arabic language ability and males, more than females, were often willing to be friends with or marry Europeans for the purpose of furthering their educational or occupational aspirations. However, strong family and physical ties remained to their country of origin and to its culture. Also, although most had only a limited use of

Arabic, almost all planned to pass on both the Arabic language as well as the culture to their own children.

Kassees (1972) studied the level of familistic attitudes among 137 subjects of Christian Arab heritage of Ramallah, Palestine, most living in Ramallah, but some living in the U.S. The Bardis Familism Scale (Bardis, 1959) was used to measure these familistic attitudes. Kassees found that generally, the Ramallah people were quite familistic. Religion was suggested to play a part in their high familistic attitudes - most belong to the Greek Orthodox church. Sex had no significant influence on the degree of familism, contrary to Bardis' (1959) finding that males tend to be more familistic than females. Also contrary to most previous research, Kassees found that age was positively related to familism; the older the person, the more familistic he or she tends to be. The respondents' education level had an inverse relationship with the degree of familism, that is, the higher the level of education, the lower the degree of familism and vice versa. Unexpectedly, Kassees discovered that the Ramallah people who continued to live in Ramallah were significantly less familistic than the ones who had migrated to and were living in the U.S., although in Ramallah, females were more

familistic than males, while in the U.S., the reverse was true. Although age was positively related to familism in both groups, in the U.S. it was much more apparent for the young people to be far less familistic than the older ones.

Although they did not look at immigrant/generational differences in degrees of familism, Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973) used the Bardis Familism Scale to assess familism in 183 urban and 317 rural subjects in Portugal. Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman found that rural residence was positively correlated with strong familism. Age-wise rural youth and the rural, older population proved to be the two groups that were the most highly-discrepant in their familistic attitudes. When extreme occupational categories were contrasted, there was a negative correlation with degree of familism. Education level was found to have a negative correlation with degree of familism as well, but moreso in the rural than urban setting.

Hanassab (1991) carried out a study of 77 young Iranian women in Los Angeles, to assess their attitudes toward sex roles and intimate relationships. Hanassab used a modified version of an acculturation scale designed by Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso (1980), part of The Sexual and

Premarital Attitude Inventory, and a short version of the Attitude toward Women Scale (AWS). It was found that the more acculturated the respondent, the more liberal were attitudes regarding sex roles and intimate relationships. Acculturation was positively correlated with the length of time the subject had been in the new country, and there was a significant negative correlation between age at immigration and acculturation level. Education level was shown to have no significant effect on the acculturation score.

In summary, it appears that as a whole, as immigrants proceed through the generations in the new country, the traditional values concerning strong familial obligation and interdependence, as well as general kinship or perceived feeling of family support, all tend to decrease to some degree. In addition, factors such as age, sex, educational level, and occupational category, often are associated with the degree to which traditional or familistic attitudes are adhered to. Acculturation level, as measured through either cultural awareness (ethnic loyalty) or socio-cultural indices (family structure), was also found to be associated with the same types of factors.

Characteristics of the Russian Immigrant Family Through  
the Generations

... 'family' was the most frequently chosen value, followed by interesting work, respect for others, conscience... (Shlapentokh, 1982, p. 406, from "survey carried out by Arutunian in Moldavia")

Our family relationships are closer here -- between mothers and their children, between older people and their families -- than yours are. I don't envy you your family life in America; you don't seem to watch over your young or take care of your old people with the care we do. (a 39 year old Soviet woman, quoted in Jackson, 1990, p. 114)

The writer was able to locate a small number of studies that dealt directly, in some form, with intergenerational family value changes in the Russian and other Slavic immigrant populations (Gerber, 1985; Mostwin, 1980; Bociurkiw, 1971; Szyrynski, 1971).

The most noteworthy study (and the only one the writer was able to find directly concerning the detailed family structure of Russian immigrants) of the above is that done by Gerber (1985). He did an extensive ethnographic study of a Russian-American community ("Russkoya Celo") in New York state (mostly Byelorussians of peasant origin) as a



participant observer. The community is centred around a Russian Orthodox church. In its early days the community was almost completely self-sufficient, that is, it had almost all of its own stores, banks, physicians, and other community services and amenities. When Gerber did his study, there were still three stores owned by members of the community. The community was surrounded by several other ethnic communities, including Croatian, Yugoslavian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Polish, Serbian, German, and smaller communities of Mexican, Italian and Irish peoples.

Gerber did not live in the community itself while doing his research, but he spent the majority of day and evening hours there doing odd jobs and visiting informally (he had a "primary contact," a resident of the community who made initial introductions). He spent a total of eight months in the community and became totally absorbed in it.

Gerber discussed, in one form or another, all of the family values of concern in the current study. He also made mention of the changes of values occurring from first generation immigrants to second generation immigrants.

Gerber found that first generation immigrant parents placed a heavy emphasis on helping their children achieve a

better living standard than what they themselves had experienced. He quotes one informant, Mr. N.:

I wanted to make something of myself  
and send my children to school so that  
they wouldn't have to live like I did.  
(p. 27)

However, Gerber also found that after sending their children, particularly boys, for a college education, the children then did not wish to return to the home community to run the parents' store or other business. In essence, even though the children were usually expected to return and take over the business upon their parents' death, they had become alienated from the community and often no longer regarded their parents' culture as their own.

In the Russian community he observed, Gerber discovered that titles to land, houses, and money were put in children's names during infancy and then held until they were adults, that is, until they were married. This was a form of "guarantee" to the parents that their children would indeed be set up financially to achieve well-paying professional careers. Parents taught their children to value property and self-sufficiency and also to equate property with status. As was found to be true for other immigrants such as the Asian Americans, the Russian

immigrants see the achievement of the individual as reflecting on the whole family. Gerber in fact discovered that property and money served as "tokens" or "gradients of success" (p. 32). Because of the great stress on the importance of property, damage to property was considered to be an "offense against the 'family' as well as 'those like us'" (other members of the Russian community) (p. 34), so was strictly disciplined when it did occur.

To the Russians, the concept of strong family cohesiveness is an extremely important one. In his study, Gerber saw this concept illustrated in various ways.

Traditionally, marriages within the Russian community were arranged by local matchmakers and the most desirable matches were those into which each partner brought a substantial sum of money and/or property. This particular Russian community was based around the church and during the actual wedding ceremony at the Russian Orthodox Church, conjugal roles were clearly defined -- a crown was held over the heads of the bride and bridegroom (by the best man and one other male attendant) to symbolically make them queen and king -- meanwhile the cantor chanted the order that "'the man is the sole head of the household and the

woman must follow'" (Gerber, 1985, p. 50). Descent in the Russian community is patrilineal, that is, a person takes the patronym through the male line and preferred residence is patrilocal -- married sons should live as near as possible to the house of the eldest member of the lineage.

Gerber noted that parents expected their sons and daughters to marry persons who were 'like us' or 'one of us' and whose parents were well-known to the family. The second and third generations would, however, often date outside of the community. Matched marriages also faded away as the second and succeeding generations became exposed to American values and customs. Patrilocal residence by the second and succeeding generations had also become the exception and neo-local (away from the parental community) residence had essentially become the rule. Many of the parents that Gerber spoke to in the community were dismayed by the moving away of their children:

I don't understand it...We loved our children and did everything for them. Yet, when they got married they moved away from us...

...We didn't have nice things because we saved for our children. Then they left us and are ashamed of us.

(p. 39)

Gerber found that interdependence fit in strongly with the patrilocal residence issue. Inheritance was the main method of acquiring property. The eldest son received the largest share, the second eldest the next largest, and the daughters inherit smaller shares. When one parent, or both parents, were still living when the property was transferred to the children (this happened when they reached the age of marriage), the children were then obligated to support the parent or parents. This often meant physically (as well as financially) caring for parents in their old age.

A traditional Russian family, according to Gerber, was expected to always present a "united front" (p. 35) to outsiders, even though intra-familial relationships were often plagued by jealousy, suspiciousness, hostility, and various other conflicts. When families did display publicly outright conflicts, they usually found comfort in other community kinships such as religious relationships (e.g. godparents) and the common language bond. However, with the second and third generations, a discontinuity often occurred when persons of these generations convert to other religions and use the English language in most or all aspects of their lives.

In the community that Gerber studied, relatives, kin members (both affinal [related by marriage] and honorific [related only on basis of honor]), and godparents were expected to help one another unconditionally. If this is not done, it is reason for ostracism and scorn toward the offender. Once again, if the need for help within a kin group caused conflict of any kind (disagreements, bitterness), this was not to be shown or talked about to the outside world - the problem could only be discussed within one's closest group. On the other hand, it was considered appropriate to boast about how one was helping a relative, for instance when one was taking care of a relative who was an invalid.

Filial piety and deference were given\$ in the Russian community Gerber observed. Juniors were expected to automatically respect seniors and to automatically obey and support them. Family members were always expected to side with one another in the case of disputes with outsiders.

The present author explored whether some of the changes in family values from the first to second (and third) generations of Russian immigrants that Gerber

observed in his ethnographic study, would indeed show up in the current study.

### Research Questions/Hypotheses

The preceding review of research done with various immigrant groups, family values, and acculturation levels, lead us to pose the following research questions:

(1) Will second and third generation Russian immigrants tend to possess more "modern values" in the area of familism than first generation Russian immigrants?

(2) Will first generation Russian immigrants tend to possess more "traditional values" in the area of familism than second and third generation Russian immigrants?

(3) Will second and third generation Russian immigrants be more acculturated than first generation Russian immigrants?

Thus, we proposed the following hypotheses:

(1) Second generation Russian immigrants will exhibit a lower sense of attitudinal familism than first generation Russian immigrants, and third generation Russian immigrants will exhibit a lower sense of attitudinal familism than

second generation immigrants, as indicated by lower scores on the Bardis Familism Scale for each respective group.

(2) Second generation Russian immigrants will exhibit a higher level of acculturation than first generation Russian immigrants, and third generation Russian immigrants will exhibit a higher level of acculturation than second generation Russian immigrants, as indicated by higher scores on the Short Acculturation Scale for each respective group.

(3) Demographic variables such as sex, age, religious affiliation, education level, Russian language ability, and social network, will be associated with family values and acculturation levels. While previous research indicates that patterns of acculturation and value change may vary for certain demographic factors, the lack of research on Russian immigrants requires that this be an exploratory analysis.



### Chapter III

#### METHODOLOGY

##### General Method

A contrasted group research design was used for this study. The goal was to identify the differences and/or similarities of acculturation level and family values between first, second, and third generation Russian immigrants. Since research to date in the area of family values and acculturation level of Russian immigrants is minimal, this study was considered to be "exploratory" in nature.

##### Subjects

The sample for this study was obtained by mailing questionnaires to 230 members of the Russian immigrant community, 19 years of age or older, within the Greater Vancouver and Lower Mainland areas, and extending into the Fraser Valley. Names of potential subjects were obtained by contacting directors of four local Russian organizations. These organizations have various combinations of orientations, including religious, social,

cultural, and political. I also obtained names of potential subjects by means of personal contacts and word of mouth. The lists of persons' names obtained from these contacts also included a variety of generation levels, as well as various religious, socio-cultural, and political orientations. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that the sample obtained was considered a "sample of convenience" because a random sample of all Russian immigrants in the Lower Mainland would not have been a feasible task to accomplish.

After the questionnaires were mailed, I received approximately fifteen telephone calls from potential subjects. Some had specific questions to ask about the questionnaire in order to assist them in completing it and yet others telephoned to tell me that they did not have any Russian background, for example a female who in the past was married to a Russian, and others who had, for instance, only Czechoslovakian, Yugoslavian, or Polish background. Some second and third generation persons said they had no memory of or contact with their Russian background and one young female said, "I'm not Russian, I'm Ukrainian." Once I assured these persons that the questionnaires had provision for these facts, they did indeed return completed

questionnaires. One male (middle-aged) recent Soviet immigrant said that he was unwilling to complete a questionnaire that asked for "personal information," yet said that he would have been willing to be interviewed (i.e. tell me things verbally, but not in written form). A female who had immigrated from China in the 1950's refused to complete the questionnaire because it came from "someone she didn't know." On the other hand, during the telephone conversation she told me her views regarding acculturation of immigrants.

Several of the persons who returned completed questionnaires also included extra comments regarding some of the questions, and some even included a personalized letter describing their background in more detail, stating their views on the research, or expressing interest in the results.

#### Sample Characteristics

A total of 71 persons completed and returned the questionnaires, representing a 31% response rate. There were 32% (23) male subjects and 68% (48) female subjects. Table 2 shows the distribution of male and female respondents by generation level. Although the total number

Table 2

Sample Breakdown by Sex and Generation Level

	Tot. ( <u>N</u> = 71)	1st gen. ( <u>n</u> = 22)	2nd gen. ( <u>n</u> = 30)	3rd gen. ( <u>n</u> = 18)	4th gen. ( <u>n</u> = 1)
Male	32% (23)	32% (7)	37% (11)	28% (5)	--
Female	68% (48)	68% (15)	63% (19)	72% (13)	100% (1)

of female subjects to male subjects is distinctly higher, the number of females to males stays proportionately higher in each of the first, second, and third generations. The lone fourth generation subject was not included in the analyses.

The sample included an unusually large number of subjects in each generation who had university or some other form of post-secondary education (see Table 3).

The subjects exhibited a wide variety of occupations, the highest numbers being in professions (other than education) (21%), industrial/business white collar (20%), education (15%), and students (14%). The occupational categories of the remaining 30% included civil servants, agriculture, manual work, homemakers (at home), self-employment, and one person was unemployed.

One subject had lived in a Russian/Slavic neighborhood in the past for more than 35 years, eighteen had lived in one from 10 to 35 years, and four from 1 to 9 years. Presently, a total of 16 subjects lived in a Russian/Slavic neighborhood and 14 of these were second generation persons.

Table 3

Education Levels by Generation (N = 70)

Generation Level	Elem. Only	High School Completed	Univ/College or other post-sec.
1st ( <u>n</u> = 22)	0	1	21
2nd ( <u>n</u> = 30)	2	5	23
3rd ( <u>n</u> = 18)	2	5	11

## Procedures

The questionnaire packet mailed to each prospective subject consisted of the following (see Appendices A to G):

- (1) Letter of Introduction
- (2) Special note in the Russian language
- (3) Participant Informed Consent Form
- (4) Questionnaire consisting of:
  - (a) Demographic Information (labeled as "General Information")
  - (b) Bardis Familism Scale (labeled as "Family Attitudes")
  - (c) Short Acculturation Scale (labeled as "Cultural Attitudes")
  - (d) Raffle ticket

The Letter of Introduction provided an introduction to the study and instructions for participants.

A note in Russian (along with an English translation) was attached to the Letter of Introduction, stating that participants were required to be able to read English and respond to the questionnaire on their own, without the aid of a translator. The note in Russian was written by the

current author, with the assistance of a Russian language instructor in the Department of Slavonic Studies at a major Canadian university. The specification to not allow translation of the questionnaire items for the subject was found to be necessary due to the problems involved in translating without changing the meanings of questions (Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973).

#### Design of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire mailed to potential subjects consisted of three sections. A copy of each section is included in the Appendices (D, E, and F). The three sections are described below:

##### (1) Demographic Information

The first section of the questionnaire was developed by the current investigator and included questions about generation level, ethnic origin, age, and other descriptive details. Other question topics included those which previous researchers, for instance Mostwin (1980), showed to be relevant to acculturation and family values of immigrants. Examples of such items include educational



level, ethnic language ability, and degree of religious affiliation.

(2) Bardis Familism Scale (Bardis, 1959)

This scale served as the measure of the participants' attitudes concerning familism, which incorporates both family power structure and family cohesion.

The Bardis Familism Scale was first developed by Bardis in 1959 (Bardis, 1959). It is a 5-point, 16-item Likert-style questionnaire that was designed to measure attitudes and values directed toward the family as a social entity. Questions relate to support for, and loyalty toward, members of both the nuclear (questions #1 to #10) and the extended family (questions #11 to 16). Respondents were instructed to indicate their level of agreement, from strongly disagree (coded 0) to strongly agree (coded 4), based on their philosophy of the family in general, not their own family. An overall familism score was obtained by adding the responses to each of the items, with no reverse-scoring required. Scores could range from 0 to 64 on the overall scale, 0 to 40 on the nuclear scale, and 0 to 24 on the extended scale, with higher scores indicating more familistic attitudes. For purposes of this study,

high familistic scores were interpreted as coinciding with high "traditional" family values.

The scale has been used by many researchers in various countries (Rao & Rao, 1979; Aldrich, Lipman, & Goldman, 1973; Kassees, 1972; Blair, 1972; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, Perez-Stable, 1987). The scale thus has the advantage of having been used cross-culturally in its English form and it has also been translated into Greek. A study in Greece was one of several studies by Bardis to test the validity and determine the reliability of the scale (Bardis, 1959). Bardis used a sample of thirty-seven male and female Gymnasium students in a community already known to be familistic, in southern Greece. After finding the reliability and internal consistency of the scale in that culture to be satisfactory, the mean familism score of the subjects was obtained. This mean was compared with that of a sample of thirty-seven male and female high school students from an industrial city in Michigan. The difference between these means was significant below the  $p = .01$  level. The mean of the same Greek group was also compared with that of thirty-seven Methodist students in a Michigan college and the difference was also significant below the  $p = .01$

level. A similar significance level was also found when the responses of thirty different Methodist students from the same Michigan college were compared with those of thirty Mennonite students attending a Midwestern Mennonite college. The scale has also been translated into various other languages (Schumm, 1990, p. 181).

Blair (1972) did a factor analysis of the scale and decided that it needed some revision in order to be a stronger indicator of familism. When it was first developed, the scale was not divided into the subscales of "nuclear familism" and "extended familism". Rao and Rao (1979) used factor analysis to evaluate the scale in India and found that out of the 16 items, 10 measure the nuclear family dimension and the remaining six measure the extended family dimension. Subsequent to this study, the scale has been divided into the two aforementioned subscales.

According to Schumm (1990), split-half reliability has been reported to range from  $r = .77$  to  $.84$  and one-month test-retest reliability is reported to be  $r = .90$ .

### (3) Revision of the Short Acculturation Scale

The present researcher used the Short Acculturation Scale developed by Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, and Perez-Stable, 1987. Alterations were made as necessary, in order to make the scale appropriate to use with Russian immigrants. Its main advantage was that it is short (12 items) and precise, and yet has validity and reliability coefficients that are comparable to those of other published scales. It was developed for Hispanics, but it was chosen for the current study because it is composed of adequately general items, such that only one word needed to be changed in each item. The present investigator simply substituted the word "Russian" for "Spanish" and the word "Russians" for "Latinos/Hispanics".

The scale measures acculturation on a socio-cultural level, based on three factors: (1) Language Use; (2) Media, and (3) Ethnic Social Relations. In the aforementioned authors' study with Hispanics, the scale correlated highly with several validation criteria ( $p < .001$ ), including respondents' generation ( $r = .65$ ); length of residence in the U.S. ( $r = .65$ ); age at arrival ( $r = -.69$ ); ethnic self-identification ( $r = .76$ ); and an

acculturation index ( $\underline{r} = .83$ ). The scale was also separately validated (by the same authors) for Mexican Americans and Central Americans and all correlations were comparable to the ones for Hispanics, also at  $p < .001$ .

The Alpha coefficient for the 12 common items on the scale was .92. This served to measure the internal consistency reliability of the scale, that is, each item showed a high correlation with every other item in the scale.

#### Participant Incentive

As a possible motivator for completion and return of the questionnaire, a raffle ticket was included in the packet mailed to each potential subject. The raffle was for a restaurant gift certificate valued at thirty dollars (\$30.00). The majority of respondents did indeed enter their name in the raffle. To maintain confidentiality, respondents were instructed to place the completed raffle ticket in a separate sealed envelope which would then be separated from their questionnaires upon receipt.

### Analysis of Data

Possible differences between the generations on demographic variables were investigated using chi-square and one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA).

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated in order to explore the degree of relationship between familism and acculturation level, between these factors and various demographic variables, as well as intercorrelation levels of the demographic variables.

One-way ANOVA's were performed in order to analyze differences in levels of familism and/or acculturation between the three generations (in order to maintain simplicity, the lone fourth generation respondent was not included in the analyses of data). For the one-way ANOVA's found to be significant ( $p < .05$ ), a test of least significant difference (LSD) was carried out to determine which groups differed significantly from each other.

To investigate possible interactions, two-way ANOVA's were performed to determine whether the demographic variables were related to the family values, and to

determine whether acculturation and the demographic variables were related.

## Chapter IV

### RESULTS

Earlier in this paper, three hypotheses were proposed. Briefly, they stated that higher generation Russian immigrants would exhibit a lower sense of attitudinal familism and a higher level of acculturation than lower generation Russian immigrants. It was also hypothesized that several demographic variables were related to familism and acculturation levels. The hypotheses were tested statistically and the results of those analyses are presented in this chapter. The results of several post hoc exploratory analyses are also discussed. To begin, however, a detailed description of the sample is presented.

#### Demographic Description of Sample

The demographic information obtained in the first section of the questionnaire is summarized briefly here. This is necessary in order to provide the reader with descriptive knowledge of Russian immigrants in the Vancouver, B.C. area, even though this knowledge may only be directly applicable to those specific immigrants who completed the questionnaire. However, since the study is



exploratory in nature, this information has not been similarly obtained in any previous study.

Chi-square tests and a one-way ANOVA (age by generation) were performed to investigate possible significant differences between the generations for several demographic characteristics. The results of these tests are shown in Tables 4 and 5. There were no differences between the generations in sex, age, education levels, or whether a church/synagogue was attended regularly by subjects. It is apparent from the information provided in Table 6 that the mean ages between the different generation levels do not vary a great deal.

Twenty-three percent (16) of the respondents ( $N = 71$ ) checked off "Russian Orthodox" as their religion and 44% (31) checked off "no religion." Eight of the Russian Orthodox were first generation, seven were second generation, and one was third generation. Of the "no religion" persons, ten were first generation, thirteen were second generation, and seven were third generation. The remaining 33% consisted of various categories of religion, including Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Ukrainian Catholic, Jewish, Protestant,

Table 4

Chi-Square Tests

	Chi-Square	DF	Significance
<hr/>			
Distribution of subjects in each of 1st, 2nd, & 3rd generation levels			
<hr/>			
No.of subjects in each gen. level	3.20	2	.20
Sex	.42	2	.81
Education Level	7.16	4	.13
Whether Attend Church/Synagogue Regularly	1.68	2	.43
<hr/>			

Table 5

One-Way ANOVA for Age (N = 67)<sup>a</sup>

Source of Variation	DF	F ratio	F prob
Between Groups			
Generation Level	2	2.34	.10

<sup>a</sup>

Four persons chose not to provide their birthdates when completing their questionnaires.

Table 6

Mean Age by Generation (N = 67)<sup>a</sup>

Mean Age	
Generation Level	
<hr/>	
1st ( <u>n</u> = 22)	53.50
2nd ( <u>n</u> = 27)	48.81
3rd ( <u>n</u> = 18)	41.72
<hr/>	

<sup>a</sup>

Four subjects chose not to provide their birthdates when completing their questionnaires.

Doukhobor, Mennonite, Unitarian, Irish-Scottish Catholic, and one person wrote, "my own." Thirty-three percent (23) of the respondents ( $N = 70$ ) stated that they attended a church or synagogue regularly - of these, 9 were first generation, 8 were second generation, and 5 were third generation.

Fifty-one percent (36) of the respondents ( $N = 71$ ) were married, 21% (15) were single, 14% (10) were widowed, 8% (6) were divorced, 3% (2) were separated, and 3% (2) lived common-law.

Forty-one percent (29) of the subjects belonged to some type of Russian-Canadian organization. Twenty-four percent of this group stated that they belonged to a "religious only" organization and the other 76% stated that they belonged to various combinations of social and cultural organizations.

Of the first generation group (as well as the 4 persons who immigrated before age 10 and were thus considered second generation) [ $N = 26$ ], 46% (12) arrived in the 1970's, 23% (6) between 1945 and 1957 (post-World War II), 23% (6) in the 1980's, 4% (1) pre-World War I, 4% (1) in the 1960's, and none at all between World War I and

World War II. The high number of immigrants in the 1970's concurs with Jeletzky's (1983) description of the "wave" of immigrants, mostly of Jewish ethnic origin, who left the U.S.S.R. as a result of a change in Soviet policy which permitted them to do so. Jeletzky also stated that there were few immigrants between the two World Wars and the present sample had no participants at all who had arrived during that period.

Twenty-seven percent (7) of the twenty-six Russian immigrants came from Great Russia, 19% (5) from the Ukraine, 19% (5) from Moldavia, 4% (1) from Byelorussia, and 31% (8) from various other countries, including Denmark, Brazil, China, Germany, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

Five percent (1) of the first generation immigrants ( $N = 22$ ) had a "very good" knowledge of English on arrival, 13.5% (3) had a "good" knowledge, 13.5% (3) a "fairly good" knowledge, 41% (9) had a "poor" knowledge, and 27% (6) had "none" (no knowledge of English on arrival).

Reasons given by first generation immigrants for leaving their native country included various combinations of political, economical, and religious. Others came to

join spouses or other family members. One person wrote "freedom" and another wrote "adventure."

Many of the "old" immigrants (i.e. before the 1970's) received no help on arrival, but some of the "new" ones (1970's and onward) received help from the Canadian government, Manpower, relatives, and Russian-Canadian organizations. Jewish community centres and Jewish family agencies helped many of the recent Jewish immigrants.

The highest percentage of participants had parents of Russian origin (mother 45% and father 35%) and the highest percentage of remaining participants had either Ukrainian parents (mother 17% and father 24%) or "other" (mother 20% and father 25%). Table 7 provides a summary of the parents' ethnicity.

Table 8 provides details of subjects' feeling of ethnicity by generation level. The feeling of "Russian Canadian" was cited by the highest percentage of subjects (30%) and interestingly, each generation level had proportionately similar numbers to the other generation levels (32% of the 1st generation, 27% of the second generation, and 28% of the 3rd generation said they felt "Russian Canadian"). "Canadian" had the next highest

Table 7

Ethnicity of Subjects' Parents

	No.of respondents	
	(N = 71)	
	Mother	Father
Russian	45% (32)	35% (25)
Byelorussian	8% ( 6)	4% ( 3)
Ukrainian	17% (12)	24% (17)
Jewish	10% ( 7)	11% ( 8)
Other	20% (14)	25% (18)
(e.g.Dutch, French-Canadian, Metis, Latvian, French, Rumanian, English, Yugoslav, Russ/Afghan, Canadian)		



Table 8

Feeling of Ethnicity

	Total ( <u>N</u> = 71)	1st gen. ( <u>n</u> = 22)	2nd gen. ( <u>n</u> = 30)	3rd gen. ( <u>n</u> = 18)
Canadian	28%	5%	33%	50%
	(20)	(1)	(10)	(9)
Russian	10%	23%	7%	0%
	( 7)	(5)	( 2)	(0)
Russ.Can.	30%	32%	27%	28%
	(21)	(7)	( 8)	(5)
Jewish.Can.	10%	23%	7%	0%
	( 7)	(5)	( 2)	(0)
Ukr.Can.	6%	0%	10%	6%
	( 4)	(0)	( 3)	(1)
Other	17%	18%	17%	17%
	(12)	(4)	( 5)	(3)

(e.g. Canadian Ukrainian;  
 Polish; Canadian;  
 Canadian Russian;  
 Byelorussian;  
 Can/Ukr/Scot/Irish/Eng;  
 Russ.Jewish.Can; Russ.Eng;  
 None)

percentage of subjects, but as the table shows, the first generation had a much lower percentage (1%) than both the second generation (33%) and the third generation (50%).

Table 9 shows speaking level of the Russian language by generation. As would be expected, 86% of first generation immigrants marked "Very Good" as their speaking level. A rather intriguing finding, however, is that 43% of the second generation and 22% of the third generation marked "Fair."

#### One-Way Analyses of Variance (One-Way ANOVA'S)

In order to test the hypothesis that higher generation immigrants would score higher than lower generation immigrants on the familism scale, one-way analyses of variance were performed. These analyses assessed whether the three generation levels under consideration in this study differed from each other on the scores of the Bardis Familism Scale as a whole, the Nuclear Family Integration subscale of the Bardis Familism Scale, the Extended Family Integration subscale of the Bardis Familism Scale, as well as on the Short Acculturation Scale.

Table 9

Speaking Level of Russian Language

	Total ( <u>N</u> = 71)	1st gen. ( <u>n</u> = 22)	2nd gen. ( <u>n</u> = 30)	3rd gen. ( <u>n</u> = 18)
Very Good	35% (25)	86% (19)	13% ( 4)	11% ( 2)
Good	10% ( 7)	14% ( 3)	3% ( 1)	17% ( 3)
Fair	24% (17)	0% ( 0)	43% (13)	22% ( 4)
Poor	17% (12)	0% ( 0)	20% ( 6)	28% ( 5)
None	14% (10)	0% ( 0)	20% ( 6)	22% ( 4)

Bardis Familism Scale

All three subscales of the Bardis Familism Scale exhibited a wide range of scores within all three generation levels. Higher scores on the subscales correspond to greater levels of familism. Out of a maximum possible score of 64 on the Bardis Familism Scale as a whole, the scores of first generation subjects ranged from 21 to 42. Out of a maximum possible score of 40 on the Nuclear Integration subscale, first generation scores ranged from 11 to 35, and out of a maximum possible score of 24 on the Extended Integration subscale, first generation scores ranged from 3 to 16. Second generation scores ranged from 12 to 53 on the total Bardis Scale, 8 to 35 on the Nuclear subscale, and 2 to 20 on the Extended subscale. Third generation scores ranged from 9 to 48 on the total, 8 to 35 on the Nuclear, and 0 to 18 on the Extended subscales.

There were no significant differences exhibited in mean scores, however, between any of the three generations on the Bardis Familism Scale total scores [ $F(2, 67) = 1.16, p = .32$ ], although there was a trend noted for the first generation to have a slightly higher mean score on

all three subscales. The mean scores and standard deviations for the total, nuclear, and extended subscales of the Bardis are shown in Table 10.

A series of separate one-way ANOVA's were conducted on all subscales of the Bardis Scale by speaking level of Russian, language spoken at home, ethnicity of close friends, education completed, age, whether attend church/synagogue regularly, and length of time in Canada.

Results of the one-way ANOVA for the total Bardis Scale are shown in Table 11, the results for the nuclear subscale are shown in Table 12, and the results for the extended subscale are shown in Table 13. Scores on the Bardis Familism Scale seemed to be related to speaking level of the Russian language, language spoken at home, ethnicity of close friends, education completed, and age. A test of least significant differences (LSD) was performed in order to determine which specific groups differed significantly at the  $p = .05$  level from one another. At the .05 significance level, the scores of all three subscales of the Bardis Scale were significantly higher for those subjects that checked off "Very Good" as their

Table 10

Mean Scores & Standard Deviations for Bardis FamilismScale (N = 71)

	<u>Bardis Tot</u>		<u>Bardis Nuc</u>		<u>Bardis Ext</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
<u>Gen. Level</u>						
1st ( <u>n</u> = 22)	31.00	6.17	19.50	6.04	11.50	3.19
2nd ( <u>n</u> = 30)	27.33	9.93	16.73	6.58	10.60	4.41
3rd ( <u>n</u> = 18)	27.61	10.57	16.78	6.62	10.83	4.96
<u>Speaking Level</u>						
<u>of Russian</u>						
Very Good	32.20	7.85	20.00	6.76	12.20	3.43
( <u>n</u> = 25)						
Good ( <u>n</u> = 7)	27.29	6.97	16.86	5.67	10.43	1.90
Fair ( <u>n</u> = 17)	30.47	10.04	18.12	6.87	12.35	4.51
Poor ( <u>n</u> = 12)	20.42	6.61	13.08	3.15	7.33	4.38
None ( <u>n</u> = 10)	27.00	8.59	16.70	5.95	10.30	3.89
<u>Language Spoken</u>						
<u>at Home</u>						
Only Russian	34.20	8.64	21.90	8.33	12.30	3.71
( <u>n</u> = 10)						

More Russian than English ( <u>n</u> = 8)	31.50	7.52	20.25	6.16	11.25	2.05
Both Equally ( <u>n</u> = 6)	32.17	6.31	19.17	5.49	13.00	2.53
More English than Russian ( <u>n</u> = 18)	30.67	8.64	18.39	5.66	12.28	4.34
Only English ( <u>n</u> = 29)	23.79	8.48	14.59	5.22	9.21	4.40

Ethnicity ofClose Friends

All Russians ( <u>n</u> = 2)	30.00	4.24	20.00	8.49	10.00	4.24
More Russians than Cndns. ( <u>n</u> = 4)	29.25	8.62	19.00	11.31	10.25	3.20
About Half & Half ( <u>n</u> = 15)	35.33	7.64	21.87	5.84	13.47	2.83
More Cndns. than Russians ( <u>n</u> = 28)	28.32	8.64	17.11	5.53	11.21	4.09

All Cndns.	24.05	8.56	14.86	5.58	9.18	4.53
( <u>n</u> = 22)						

EducationCompleted

Elem.School	43.25	6.50	27.25	5.32	16.00	1.83
Only ( <u>n</u> = 4)						

High School	28.82	10.60	18.27	6.89	10.55	5.43
( <u>n</u> = 11)						

College, Univ, or other post-sec	27.48	8.06	16.79	5.89	10.70	3.81
( <u>n</u> = 56)						

Age

19 - 40	28.15	8.85	16.04	5.63	10.11	4.90
( <u>n</u> = 27)						

41 - 65	28.54	7.86	17.54	6.52	11.00	3.24
( <u>n</u> = 28)						

Over 65	34.54	9.99	21.62	6.92	12.92	3.64
( <u>n</u> = 13)						



Time in Canada

(N = 26)

2 - 10 yrs.	32.71	6.26	20.29	6.19	12.43	2.94
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(n = 7)

11 - 25 yrs.	29.75	7.59	19.00	7.39	10.75	3.44
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(n = 12)

26 - 66 yrs.	28.86	7.90	17.71	5.50	11.14	3.18
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(n = 7)

Attend Church/Syn. Regularly

Yes (n = 23)	29.74	7.46	17.65	5.06	12.09	3.75
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No (n = 47)	28.17	9.82	17.57	7.09	10.60	4.18
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Maximum Possible Scores

Bardis Tot (Total) = 64

Bardis Nuc (Nuclear) = 40

Bardis Ext (Extended) = 24

Table 11

One-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Familism Scale Scores (Total)<sup>a</sup>

Source of Variation	DF	F ratio	F prob
<u>Between Groups</u>			
Speaking Level of Russian	4	4.46	.00 **
Lang. Spoken @ Home	4	4.37	.00 **
(ques. #3 on Accul.Scale)			
Ethnicity of Close Friends	4	4.10	.01 **
(ques. #9 on Accul.Scale)			
Education Completed Categories	2	6.55	.00 **
Age Categories <sup>b</sup>	2	4.11	.02 *
Generation Level	2	1.16	.32
Whether Attend Church/ Syn. Regularly	1	.46	.50
Length of Time in Canada <sup>c</sup>	2	.55	.59
( <u>n</u> = 26)			

<sup>a</sup>  
N = 71

<sup>b</sup>  
Age Categories are 19 - 40, 41 - 65, & over 65

<sup>c</sup>

Includes only 1st gen. immigrants plus 4 participants  
who immigrated before age 10 (classified as 2nd gen. in  
this study.

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

Table 12

a

One-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Nuclear Familism Scores

Source of Variation	DF	F ratio	F prob
<u>Between Groups</u>			
Speaking Level of Russian	4	2.70	.04 *
Lang. Spoken @ Home	4	3.73	.01 **
(ques. #3 on Accul.Scale)			
Ethnicity of Close Friends	4	3.17	.02 *
(ques. #9 on Accul.Scale)			
Education Completed Categories	2	5.72	.01 **
b			
Age Categories	2	3.51	.04 *
Generation Level	2	1.38	.26
Whether Attend Church/ Syn. Regularly	1	.00	.96
c			
Length of Time in Canada	2	.26	.77
( <u>n</u> = 26)			

a  
N = 71

b  
Age Categories are 19 - 40, 41 - 65, & over 65

<sup>c</sup>

Includes only 1st gen. immigrants plus 4 participants  
who immigrated before age 10 (classified as 2nd gen. in  
this study.

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

Table 13

a

One-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Extended Familism Scores

Source of Variation	DF	F ratio	F prob
<u>Between Groups</u>			
Speaking Level of Russian	4	3.98	.01 **
Lang. Spoken @ Home	4	2.58	.05 *
(ques. #3 on Accul.Scale)			
Ethnicity of Close Friends	4	2.68	.04 *
(ques. #9 on Accul.Scale)			
Education Completed Categories	2	3.31	.04 *
b			
Age Categories	2	2.11	.13
Generation Level	2	.30	.74
Whether Attend Church/ Syn. Regularly	1	2.10	.15
c			
Length of Time in Canada	2	.60	.56
( <u>n</u> = 26)			

a  
N = 71

b  
Age Categories are 19 - 40, 41 - 65, & over 65

<sup>c</sup> Includes only 1st gen. immigrants plus 4 participants  
who immigrated before age 10 (classified as 2nd gen. in  
this study.

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

speaking level of Russian than for those that checked off "Poor." Those that checked off "Fair" also scored significantly higher than those that checked off "Poor".

Scores on the total Bardis Scale were significantly lower for those subjects who spoke "Only English" at home than for those who spoke any one of "Only Russian," "More Russian than English," "Both Equally," or "More English than Russian." On the nuclear Bardis Scale, scores were significantly lower for those subjects who spoke "Only English" than for those who spoke any one of "Only Russian," "More Russian than English," or "More English than Russian." On the extended Bardis Scale, scores were significantly lower for those subjects that spoke "Only English" than for those that spoke "Only Russian," "Both Equally," or "More English than Russian."

Scores on the total, as well as the nuclear Bardis Scale were significantly higher for those subjects who said their close friends were "About Half and Half" than for those that said their close friends were either "More Canadians than Russians" or "All Canadians." A significantly higher mean score was also shown on the extended Bardis Scale for those who said "About Half and



Half" than for those who said "All Canadians." There were no significant differences shown on any of the subscale mean scores between those subjects whose close friends were either "All Russians" or "More Russians than Canadians" and those whose close friends were "About Half and Half," "More Canadians than Russians," or "All Canadians."

The amount of education completed was shown to have a significant relationship to the Bardis Familism Scale scores. On all three subscales of the Bardis Scale, scores were significantly higher for subjects who completed only elementary school than for those who completed either high school only or college, university, or other post-secondary education.

Age difference also showed a relationship to scores obtained on the Bardis Scale. On the total Bardis Scale, those subjects over 65 years of age scored significantly higher than both those 19 to 40 years of age and those 41 to 65 years of age. On the nuclear subscale of the Bardis, those subjects over 65 scored significantly higher than those between 19 and 40 years of age, but not significantly higher than those between 41 and 65 years of age.

Length of time in Canada of first generation immigrants was shown to have no significant relationship to any of the Bardis Familism Scale scores. Whether or not subjects attended a church or synagogue regularly was also shown to have no significant relationship to the Bardis scores.

#### Short Acculturation Scale

Table 14 shows the one-way ANOVA results for the revised Short Acculturation Scale. As shown by the results, generation level, as well as other variables, did indeed have a significant relationship to Short Acculturation Scale scores. Table 15 shows the mean scores and standard deviations. Out of a maximum possible score of 60, scores ranged from 17 to 49 for the first generation, 30 to 60 for the second, and 39 to 60 for the third.

Second and third generation persons scored significantly higher than first generation persons on the Short Acculturation Scale. No significant difference in scores, however, was shown between the second and third generation.

Table 14

a

One-Way ANOVA's for Acculturation Scale Scores

Source of Variation	DF	F ratio	F prob
<u>Between Groups</u>			
Speaking Level of Russian	4	19.75	.00 ***
Education Completed Categories	2	1.50	.23
b			
Age Categories	2	14.10	.00 ***
Generation Level	2	25.00	.00 ***
Whether Attend Church/ Syn. Regularly	1	.20	.66
c			
Length of Time in Canada	2	5.53	.01 **
<u>(n = 26)</u>			

a  
N = 71

b  
Age Categories are 19 - 40, 41 - 65, & over 65

c  
Includes only 1st gen. immigrants plus 4 participants  
who immigrated before age 10 (classified as 2nd gen. in  
this study.

\*  $p < .05$   
 \*\*  $p < .01$   
 \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 15

Mean Scores & Standard Deviations for Short  
Acculturation Scale (N = 71)

	<u>Short Acculturation Scale</u>	
	<u>M</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
<u>Gen. Level</u>		
1st ( <u>n</u> = 22)	36.18	7.61
2nd ( <u>n</u> = 30)	48.37	7.47
3rd ( <u>n</u> = 18)	50.72	6.43
<u>Speaking Level</u>		
<u>of Russian</u>		
Very Good	36.76	7.74
( <u>n</u> = 25)		
Good ( <u>n</u> = 7)	43.57	5.68
Fair ( <u>n</u> = 17)	47.94	5.80
Poor ( <u>n</u> = 12)	52.92	6.47
None ( <u>n</u> = 10)	53.90	4.79
<u>Education</u>		
<u>Completed</u>		
Elem.School	39.00	6.48
Only ( <u>n</u> = 4)		

High School	48.36	9.55
( <u>n</u> = 11)		
College, Univ, or other post-sec	45.25	9.44
( <u>n</u> = 56)		

Age

19 - 40	51.19	7.10
( <u>n</u> = 27)		
41 - 65	41.21	8.03
( <u>n</u> = 28)		
Over 65	39.77	9.47
( <u>n</u> = 13)		

Time in Canada

( <u>N</u> = 26)		
2 - 10 yrs.	33.14	9.26
( <u>n</u> = 7)		
11 - 25 yrs.	36.58	6.42
( <u>n</u> = 12)		
26 - 66 yrs.	45.43	6.19
( <u>n</u> = 7)		

Attend Church/Syn. Regularly

Yes ( <u>n</u> = 23)	44.48	7.39
No ( <u>n</u> = 47)	45.55	10.43

Maximum Possible Score on Acculturation Scale = 60

Persons with a higher level of speaking ability of the Russian language generally scored lower on the Short Acculturation Scale than those who were at a lower level of speaking ability. Specifically, those persons who checked off "Very Good" scored significantly lower than those who checked off any one of "Good", "Fair", "Poor", or "None". As well, those who checked off "Very Good", "Good", or "Fair" scored significantly lower than those who checked off "Poor" or "None".

The level of education completed was not significant relative to the Short Acculturation Scale scores. However, as Table 15 shows, the group who completed only elementary school exhibited a lower mean score than either the high school or post-secondary group.

The youngest group of subjects (ages 19 to 40) scored significantly higher on the acculturation scale than both the 41 to 65 group and the over 65 group. There was no significant difference in mean scores shown between the 41 to 65 group and the over 65 group.

The group of immigrants who had been in Canada for the greatest length of time (over 25 years) scored significantly higher on the acculturation scale than both

the group who had been in Canada for 10 or less years, and the group who had been in Canada from 11 to 25 years.

Whether they attended a church or synagogue regularly, did not have significant relationship to the subjects' acculturation scale scores.

#### Two-Way Analyses of Variance (Two-Way ANOVA'S)

In order to investigate possible interaction effects between variables, two-way analyses of variance were performed. The Bardis Familism Scale score (Total, Nuclear, and Extended) was the dependent variable in one instance and the Acculturation Scale score was the dependent variable in the other instance. The independent variables were generation level and the following factors:

- (1) speaking level of Russian language
- (2) ethnicity of close friends (question #9 on acculturation scale)
- (3) language usually spoken at home (question #3 on acculturation scale)
- (4) sex



- (5) attend church regularly
- (6) importance of nuclear family needs  
versus individual needs (question #3 on Bardis  
Scale)
- (7) extended family members as referents  
(question #12 on Bardis Scale)
- (8) age
- (9) length of time in Canada (first generation  
subjects)
- (10) education completed

The two-way analyses of variance were carried out in order to ascertain if the two independent variables in each case had a significant effect on the dependent variable (Bardis score or acculturation score) either separately (main effects) or in combination with generation at particular levels. None of the combinations of independent variables showed any significant interaction effects on either the Bardis Familism Scale scores or the Short Acculturation Scale. The results of the two-way analyses of variance performed are shown in Tables 16 and 17.

Some of the main effects were shown to be significant on the two-way ANOVA'S. That is, different levels of single variables were shown to have an effect on the Bardis and the Acculturation Scale scores. These effects were detailed in the preceding section on one-way ANOVA's.

### Correlations

Pearson product moment correlation analysis was performed to determine the magnitude of the relationship between the acculturation scores and the scores of the three subscales of the Bardis Scale. As Table 18 shows, there were significant negative correlations between the acculturation scores and the Bardis scores, although they were not high correlations ( $\underline{r} = -.32$ ,  $\underline{r} = -.30$ ,  $p < .01$ , and  $\underline{r} = -.36$ ,  $p < .001$  respectively between Nuclear, Extended and total Bardis scores and acculturation scores).

Pearson product moment correlation analyses were performed to determine the magnitude of the relationship between the participants' scores on the Bardis/Acculturation scales and those demographic variables

Table 16

Two-Way ANOVA's for Bardis Familism Scale Scores (Total)

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Sig. of F</u>
<u>Main Effects</u>	3	1.15	.34
Generation Level	2	1.17	.32
Sex	1	1.18	.28
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			
Generation Level x Sex	2	.05	.95
<u>Main Effects</u>	6	3.43	.01 **
Generation Level	2	.39	.68
Speaking Lev.of Russ.	4	4.42	.00 **
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			
Gen.Level x Speaking Lev.of Russ.	5	1.48	.21
<u>Main Effects</u>	3	1.01	.39
Generation Level	2	1.30	.28
Whether Attend Church/Syn. Regularly	1	.16	.69
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			
Gen.Level x Whether Attend Church/Syn.Reg.	2	1.26	.30

<u>Main Effects</u>	6	3.32	.01 **
Generation Level	2	.94	.40
Lang.Spoken @ Home(ques.#3 on Accul. Scale)	4	4.26	.00 **

2-way Interactions

Gen.Lev. x Lang Spk. @ Home	6	1.56	.18
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<u>Main Effects</u>	6	2.92	.02 *
Generation Level	2	.22	.80
Ethnicity of Close Friends (ques. #9 on Accul. Scale)	4	3.68	.01 **

2-way Interactions

Gen.Lev. x Eth. of Close Friends	4	1.67	.17
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\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

Table 17

Two-Way ANOVA's for Acculturation Scale Scores

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Sig. of F</u>
<u>Main Effects</u>	3	16.31	.00 ***
Generation Level	2	24.24	.00 ***
Sex	1	.47	.49
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			
Generation Level x Sex	2	.24	.79
<u>Main Effects</u>	6	15.53	.00 ***
Generation Level	2	2.90	.06
Speaking Lev.of Russ.	4	6.02	.00 ***
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			a
Gen.Level x Speaking Lev.of Russ.	5	2.11	.08
<u>Main Effects</u>	3	18.28	.00 ***
Generation Level	2	27.10	.00 ***
Whether Attend Church/Syn. Regularly	1	.12	.73
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			
Gen.Level x Whether Attend Church/Syn.Reg.	2	1.38	.26

<u>Main Effects</u>	6	9.27	.00 ***
Generation Level	2	21.02	.00 ***
Importance of Nuc.Fam.VS Individ. Needs(ques.#3 on Bardis Scale)	4	1.56	.20
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			
Gen.Lev. x Importance of Nuc Fam VS Individ. Needs	6	.32	.92

<u>Main Effects</u>	6	11.02	.00 ***
Generation Level	2	21.84	.00 ***
Extended Family as Referents (ques. #12 on Bardis Scale)	4	1.96	.11
<u>2-way Interactions</u>			
Gen.Lev. x Ext.Fam.as Referents	7	2.03	.07

a

a  
Narrowly missed significance @ .05 level

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 18

Correlation Matrix of Bardis Scores with Accul. Scores

	Bardis (Nuclear)	Bardis (Extended)	Bardis (Total)
Accul.Score	-.32 *	-.30 *	-.36 **

\*  $p < .01$

\*\*  $p < .001$

measured at the interval level of measurement, including age at immigration, language spoken at home (question #3 on acculturation scale), length of time in Canada, and age (see Table 19). A significant positive correlation was found between length of time in Canada and acculturation score ( $r = .48$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Therefore, the longer a first generation immigrant has been in Canada, the higher their level of acculturation.

There were also significant positive correlations found between age and scores on all three subscales of the Bardis Familism Scale (Nuclear:  $r = .31$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Extended:  $r = .24$ ,  $p < .05$ ; Total:  $r = .33$ ,  $p < .01$ ). In other words, it appears that the older the participant, the higher their level of familism.

Significant negative correlations were shown between age and acculturation score ( $r = -.46$ ,  $p < .001$ ), as well as between age at immigration and acculturation score ( $r = -.70$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Thus, the younger the participant generally and the younger the age at which a first generation immigrant arrived in Canada, the higher they scored on the acculturation scale. Significant negative correlations were also obtained between language spoken at



Table 19

Correlation Matrix of Bardis & Acculturation Scale  
Scores with Demographic Variables

	Bardis (Nuclear)	Bardis (Extended)	Bardis (Total)	Accul.
Age @ Immig. ( <u>n</u> = 26)	.19	.26	.28	-.70 ***
Lang.Spoken @ Home ( <u>N</u> = 71)	-.41 ***	-.25	-.41 ***	---
Length of Time in Canada ( <u>n</u> = 26)	-.17	-.14	-.22	.48 **
Age ( <u>N</u> = 68)	.31 **	.24 *	.33 **	-.46 ***

\*  $p < .05$ \*\*  $p < .01$ \*\*\*  $p < .001$

home (question #3 on acculturation scale) and scores on the total and nuclear family aspects of the Bardis Familism Scale ( $\underline{r} = -.41$ ,  $\underline{p} < .001$  for both). That is, the more English that was spoken at home (as opposed to Russian), the lower the level of nuclear and total familism.

## Chapter V

### DISCUSSION

This study was carried out in order to learn about and compare family values and acculturation levels of first, second, and third generation Russian immigrants. In this chapter the results obtained in the study are discussed and compared to results obtained in previous immigrant studies. The limitations of the study are stated, along with suggestions for further research. Perhaps most important because of their applicability to real life, the counselling implications of the current study are outlined.

#### General Discussion of Hypotheses Tested

Three hypotheses were tested in this study. First, it was hypothesized that the higher the generation level, the lower the level of familism. The results, however, did not show any significant differences in scores on the Bardis Familism Scale between any of the three generation levels. Assuming that the Bardis Familism Scale is a valid measure of familism or "traditional values," the findings were

somewhat puzzling. As discussed earlier in this paper, several studies in the past have found traditional values to decrease as generation level increased (Aldwin & Greenberger, 1987; Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981; Luetgart, 1977; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990; Woehrer, 1978; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987; Griffith & Villavicencio, 1985; Mostwin, 1980; Gerber, 1985). There are likely to be a number of reasons for the puzzling results in the present study. One reason may be that the Bardis Familism Scale does not provide a valid measure of traditional values. On the other hand, it is also possible that the sample of Russian immigrants in the present study was simply "different" from immigrant samples in other studies and that familism simply does not tend to strongly decrease with higher generation levels in the sample used.

Our second major hypothesis was that the higher the generation level, the higher the level of acculturation. The Pearson product moment correlation analyses and the one-way ANOVA's performed both lent support to this hypothesis. Interestingly, however, second and third generation participants scored significantly higher on the acculturation scale than first generation participants, but

there was no significant difference in scores shown between the second and third generation. In other words, the second and third generation immigrants have a similar level of acculturation to each other, but higher than that of the first generation. Almost without exception, the literature review of previous research, which was detailed earlier, is consistent with the findings in the current study.

However, exceptions have indeed been discovered - for instance Connor (1976) and Osako (1976) found that even third generation Japanese Americans maintained many of the same traditions as first generation Japanese Americans, including strong family ties. Ho (1976) showed similar findings for second generation Korean Americans, and Camilleri (1983) for second generation Maghrebian immigrants in France. In other words, in some instances, second and third generation immigrants appear to have a much higher acculturation level than first generation immigrants, such as in the present study. However, it is not possible to predict the rate of acculturation of second and third generation immigrants in general, since as these other studies show, some groups maintain many of their traditional values for an undetermined number of generations.

Several significant demographic variables were identified in the current study. Some were found to have a relationship to the scores on all subscales of the Bardis Familism Scale, along with the Short Acculturation scores. However, others were found to have a relationship only on the Bardis Scale or only on the Acculturation Scale. Some variables appeared to be associated only with one or two of the subscales of the Bardis, rather than with all three.

#### Russian Speaking Ability

Scores on all three subscales of the Bardis Familism Scale scores were significantly higher for persons whose level of Russian speaking ability was "Very Good." Also, all three subscales of the Bardis Scale scores were significantly lower for persons who spoke "Only English" at home. Persons with higher levels of Russian speaking ability also scored significantly lower on the Short Acculturation Scale. These results coincide with findings by Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1988), Warner and Srole (1949), Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso (1980), and Montgomery and Orozco (1984). These researchers all found that persons who spoke their native language well had more traditional family values (higher familism level) and/or lower levels

of acculturation than those who did not. One of the reasons for this fact may be that those immigrants who speak their native language well may also have minimal contact with the majority culture, thus preventing them from acquiring that culture's customs and values.

### Education Level

The scores on all subscales of the Bardis Scale were significantly higher for those persons who had completed elementary school only, indicating that a lower education level is associated with a higher familism level.

Education level was similarly shown to have a significant relationship with family values in studies by Woehrer (1978), Olmedo and Padilla (1978), Kassees (1972), and Aldrich, Lipman, and Goldman (1973).

In the current study, education level was found to have no significant effect on acculturation level, but it was noted that the mean acculturation score was lower for the group that had completed elementary school only. The literature is mixed regarding the relationship of education level to acculturation level. Olmedo and Padilla (1978) found that persons with lower acculturation scores were indeed likely to have lower educational levels, but

Hanassab (1991) also found that education level did not have a significant effect on acculturation scores.

### Age

In the present sample, older persons were shown to have significantly higher scores on the familism scale, as indicated on the one-way analysis of variance of Bardis scores by age. This result supports findings by Aldwin and Greenberger (1987), Wakil, Siddique, and Wakil (1981), Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, and Perez-Stable (1987), Montgomery and Orozco (1984), and Kassees (1972). However, in studies done by Connor (1976), Osako (1976), Ho (1976), and Camilleri (1983), it was found that there seemed to be very little decline in familism in the younger generations, especially that connected with strong family ties (high levels of visitation and interdependence between family members) and deference (giving in to the wishes of other family members, especially parents, even at the expense of one's individual desires).

Younger participants, specifically the group between the ages of 19 and 40, had significantly higher acculturation scores in our study. Studies by Pereda Olarte (1984), Szapocznik, Scopetta, and Kurtines (1978),



Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough, and Escobar (1987), and Hanassab (1991), support this finding, but Montgomery and Orozco (1984) found that older persons were more acculturated than younger ones. This contradictory finding may be connected to the fact that the older persons have been in the host country for a longer period of time.

#### Length of Time in Canada

Length of time in the host country was a significant factor related to higher acculturation scores both in the current study and in studies by Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough, and Escobar (1987) and Hanassab (1991). The length of time in Canada, however, did not have a significant effect on familism scores in the present sample.

#### Regular Church/Synagogue Attendance

Regular church/synagogue attendance was not shown to have a significant effect on either the familism scores or the acculturation scores in the present study. This was somewhat puzzling since Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1988) and Kassees (1972) showed religiosity to play a major role in high familistic, traditional family values.

It is possible, however, that regular church/synagogue attendance is not synonymous with high religiosity. It is also worth noting that 44% of the present sample claimed to have "no religion."

In summary, various demographic factors have been shown to have variable relationships to familism and acculturation levels, both in the current study and in previous studies. The sample in the current study tended to parallel the familism/acculturation patterns of some immigrant groups, for example, the Polish (Mostwin, 1980), the Koreans (Ho, 1976), the Ukrainians (Bociurkiw, 1971), and the East Indians (Wakil et al, 1981), but also tended to show many differences in patterns of familism/acculturation from some other groups, for example the Japanese (Osako, 1976 and Connor, 1976). Thus, familism and acculturation patterns vary not only within immigrant groups, but also between immigrant groups.

#### Correlations Between Familism and Acculturation

The negative correlation obtained in the current study between acculturation scores and scores on all three subscales of the Bardis Familism Scale is generally in

accord with a large number of the studies previously detailed in this paper. That is, the higher the level of acculturation, the lower the level of familism, and the lower the level of acculturation, the higher the level of familism. However, the correlations obtained in the present study were modest ( $r = -.32, -.30, \& -.36$ ). The study which most closely relates to the present study is the one by Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987) which showed familism dimensions to be "strongly" associated with level of acculturation, unlike the modest association in our study. Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987), however, used a revised version of the Bardis scale which included items developed by Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Lisansky, and Chang in 1982 (Sabogal et al, 1987). They performed a factor analysis on their familism scale items and they ended up with three clear factors accounting for 48.4% of the variance on the scale. Of the three factors, they found that familial obligation and the perception of family as referents decreased as the level of acculturation increased. However, the perception of family support did not show a significant change with the level of acculturation. The fact that the current study used the

original (unrevised) version of the Bardis Scale which did include the family support items when the analysis was done, may account for the lower level of association with level of acculturation than in the study by Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987).

#### Limitations of the Study

For any study that is carried out, it is important to recognize its limitations. This section outlines some of the limitations that are important to note relative to the present study.

First, it is extremely difficult to study such a heterogeneous group of immigrants. The first generation immigrants arrived in Canada over an enormous span of years, so political and economic conditions at the time of arrival would surely play a role in the amount of variability of characteristics of these immigrants. The upcoming generations would thus also be affected due to the variations in the living conditions of their ancestors. For instance, the starving peasant who immigrated from a small Byelorussian village in the 1930's would likely produce some different values in the second generation than would the hockey player who immigrated from a large Russian

city in the 1990's. The first generation immigrants in the present sample came from a wide variety of republics in the U.S.S.R., as well as from other nations, e.g. China, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia. Thus, there may be relevant factors (for instance customs and religion of the nation they lived in) that the present study did not measure or control for.

Since this study required that subjects be proficient enough in English in order to complete the questionnaire on their own, some of the acculturation scores produced in the study may have been higher than they may have otherwise been. That is, if we had been able to include persons whose English prevented them from completing the questionnaire in the current study, the first generation acculturation scores may have turned out somewhat lower than they did. Additionally, the majority of the current sample had a high level of education and many were professionals. Since previous studies have shown that a higher level of education is associated with a higher level of acculturation, it is assumed that the acculturation scores obtained in the present study were higher than they might have been if there had been a higher proportion of subjects with lower education levels.

The acculturation scale was originally developed for Hispanic Americans, and although changes were minor (substitution of the word "Spanish" with "Russian" and the word "Latinos/Hispanics" with "Russians"), there has not been any independent validation data for this revised scale. In addition, the scale had two questions which related to radio and television. In the locations in the U.S. where the Hispanic version of the scale was used, the Hispanics have access to Spanish language radio and television. However, since most persons in the present sample do not generally have access to Russian language radio or television, these questions turned out to be somewhat superfluous and therefore may have skewed the acculturation scores to a higher level than they may have otherwise been.

It is also important to note that the acculturation scale used in the present study was based largely on language use, but as Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo (1986) point out, other available scales are based on other factors (for instance, social relations - for example, who they work and play with; daily practices - for example, personal dress and food habits). Since all of these factors are probably interrelated (Berry et al, 1986), the

acculturation scores in the present study may not represent a true picture of acculturation levels because the scale utilized did not take many other factors into account.

The present study was based on self-report, as is the case with many studies. That is, there was a reliance placed on subjects to be accurate as well as truthful in the answers they gave on the questionnaires. For example, if a person that said that their speaking level of Russian was "Good," it must be questioned as to whether an outside evaluator/experimenter would also place them in the same category of Russian speaking ability.

Unlike other studies, this study did not show a strong relationship between familism and generation level, nor between familism and level of acculturation. There are several possibilities as to why this may have occurred. It is possible that the Bardis may not have been a valid measure of familism. On the other hand, the sample may have been too heterogeneous in order to obtain an accurate comparison of differences in familism or acculturation between generations or between familism and acculturation in general. It must also be remembered that the present study had a highly educated sample which would, according

to previous studies, have a strong tendency to show a low level of familism and a high level of acculturation.

Because there were more female (68%) than male (32%) participants, the study may not be representative of both sexes. The fact that there were similar proportions of males and females within each generation raises the question as to whether women are more likely than men to respond to questionnaires. It also may be that women live longer than men, which could possibly produce a higher number of responses by women in the senior sector of the first generation.

Replication is an important factor in order to confirm the findings of the present study, as well as to support the reliability and validity of the familism and acculturation scales which were used. Since the study has been the first of its type to be carried out (that is, it has been solely an exploratory study) and because a random sample was not used, generalizability of the study is limited. It can be generalized with confidence only to persons like those who completed and returned the questionnaires in the current study.



### Suggestions For Further Research

This study only begins to address the issues of acculturation and family values through generations of Russian immigrants. It is an exploratory study which has opened up many doors to further research. On the basis of the data collected and knowledge of the study's limitations, several research directions are suggested:

(1) Conduct a similar study to the present one, but with a more homogeneous group of Russian immigrants, for example, (a) a group whose first generation immigrated within a narrower time period, e.g. post W.W. II or 1970's; (b) a group of immigrants from one specific Soviet republic, e.g. Byelorussia or Ukraine; (c) a group of immigrants whose parents immigrated to China and thus were raised largely in China, rather than a Soviet republic, before immigrating to Canada.

(2) Study in detail, the relationships of one or two specific demographic variables on familism and acculturation, e.g. knowledge of English on arrival, effects of Russian language knowledge (second and third generation immigrants), economic conditions at time of arrival, feeling of ethnicity, ethnic regional

concentration, exposure to ethnic-linked organizations, education level, income level.

(3) Use the revised familism scale used by Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987) on a more homogeneous group of Russian immigrants and do a factor analysis on the familism items such as those researchers did. This would provide more specific information about the various factors involved under the dimension of "familism," for example, "family as referents," "perceived support from family," and "familial obligations," and how these factors relate to level of acculturation (using the revised Short Acculturation Scale once again) for Russian immigrants. It would then be possible to conclude whether the results obtained by the above authors with Hispanic Americans could be replicated with a Russian immigrant sample in Canada.

(4) Study "personal choice" as a factor affecting acculturation and/or familism levels, as opposed to only environmental conditions and demographic variables. That is, look at ways of investigating how immigrants may "consciously choose" what levels of acculturation and/or familism they will reach. In other words, what "personal

choice" factors may play a part in being exceptions to the rule of particular environmental conditions or demographic factors. An obvious example of this would be an immigrant who has lived in Canada for 50 years, but who still speaks only his or her native language - this is an exception to the general finding that the longer an immigrant lives in the host country, the more likely they are to speak the language of the host country, i.e. be "more acculturated."

The types of studies described above would provide more specific data on whether certain variables are associated with levels of familism and/or acculturation and if so, to what degree. Once again, a more homogeneous group of immigrants than was used in the present study should be utilized.

### Counselling Implications

The most important piece of knowledge that a counsellor can obtain from this study is that he or she cannot make assumptions about a client's characteristics, feelings, or thoughts just because that client has Russian or other Slavic background. For example, some of the common stereotypical ideas about Russians are that: they

are all good ballet dancers and gymnasts, all Russian men are good hockey players, all Russian grandmothers wear a kerchief, all Russians are dictatorial and are to be feared, all Russian immigrants are Jewish, all Russians are happy to have emigrated from their homeland, all first generation Russian immigrants have very traditional family values, all third generation Russian immigrants no longer have contact with their heritage, and the list of various stereotypes goes on and on.

It is important for the counsellor to keep an open mind as to what their client may be dealing with. For instance, the client may be experiencing cultural conflict because they are a teenager who just immigrated to Canada with their parents. However, it may be that the parents are very open-minded to the new culture and that the client has come to see the counsellor for some other reason. Our study showed that some first generation immigrants have very low familism and high acculturation. On the other hand, some of the third generation immigrants have very high familism and low acculturation. Although these two findings are likely not to be representative of the majority of first or third generation Russian immigrants, the exceptions cannot be overlooked.

Hanassab (1991) pointed out that research carried out in the field of social sciences has failed to bring about a realistic understanding of American [and Canadian] ethnic groups. Hanassab stressed the importance of exploring the background and values of each individual client, rather than extrapolating images that the counsellor may have of a particular culture to every individual within that culture. For instance, we may assume that Russian immigrants come from a family-oriented culture in which strong family ties exist and are highly valued, but a counsellor must look at the individual's feelings regarding this issue, especially if the client is experiencing cultural conflict between his family and the host culture.

### Summary

This study found that for Russian immigrants, the level of familism did not significantly decrease from first generation to second generation or from second generation to third generation. This finding was contrary to studies done with other immigrant groups. It was found, however, that the level of familism increased with level of Russian speaking ability, Russian being spoken at home, having both Russian and Canadian close friends (half and half), lower

education level, and higher age. Length of time in Canada or regular attendance of a church or synagogue did not have any significant association with the level of familism.

Generation level did have a significant relationship to acculturation level. Second and third generation persons were shown to be significantly more acculturated than first generation persons. Interestingly, however, no significant difference showed up between the second and third generations. The level of acculturation decreased with level of Russian speaking ability and with age, but increased with length of time in Canada (first generation immigrants). There was a non-significant trend for those who completed only elementary school to have a lower acculturation score than those with higher education levels. Regular church or synagogue attendance did not appear to have any significant relationship to acculturation level.

A high negative correlation was found to exist between age at immigration and acculturation level, meaning that the lower the age at immigration, the higher the acculturation level. A significant, but much lower negative correlation was found between scores on the three

subscales of the Bardis Familism Scale and Short Acculturation Scale scores. That is, the lower the score on the Bardis Familism Scale, the higher the score on the Short Acculturation Scale.

It is difficult to make generalizations to the general Russian immigrant population in the Vancouver and Lower Mainland area since this study did not use a random sample. However, the sample results do suggest that the population is extremely varied in its characteristics. Although certain patterns do arise, great care must be taken in any attempts to generalize. It is safe to assume that changes in family values and acculturation levels do indeed occur as Russian immigrants pass through the generations in Canada, but we must pay close attention to many other factors before we make any conclusions.

This has been only the beginning of research "inside" the Russian immigrant family and how this family is faring in the host country. It is time now to open up further investigations. Immigrants of every generation level can only benefit if counsellors working with them learn about their culture.

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(RUSSIAN NOTE ATTACHED TO LETTER)

Внимание

Для того, чтобы заполнить  
эту анкету — нужно знать  
английский язык. Очень  
важно, чтобы вы сами  
заполнили эту анкету —  
без переводчика. Большое  
спасибо!

TRANSLATION: Attention

In order to complete the questionnaire, it is necessary to  
know the English language. It is very important that you  
fill out the questionnaire on your own, without a translator.  
Thank you very much!

APPENDIX D  
(DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION)

GENERAL INFORMATION

Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

1. What is your generation level?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1st generation (I immigrated)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 2nd generation (I am the child of immigrant[s])
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 3rd generation (my grandparent[s] immigrated)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ 4th generation (great grandparent[s] immigrated)
  - \_\_\_\_\_ other (please specify if you can)
- \_\_\_\_\_

2. Date of emigration from your native country?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ not applicable

3. Did you first immigrate to Canada?

- \_\_\_\_\_ yes
- \_\_\_\_\_ no
- \_\_\_\_\_ not applicable

If no, did you first immigrate to an English-speaking country?

- \_\_\_\_\_ yes
- \_\_\_\_\_ no

4. Date of arrival in Canada: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ not applicable

5. What was your primary place of residence in your native country before immigration? (check only one)

- \_\_\_\_\_ Great Russia (now known as Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Byelorussia (including parts that were temporarily under Polish rule)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Ukraine
- \_\_\_\_\_ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ not applicable

6. What was your primary reason for leaving your native country? (check only one)

- ☐ primarily political
- ☐ primarily economical
- ☐ primarily religious
- ☐ I came with my parents, their primary reason was political.
- ☐ I came with my parents, their primary reason was economical.
- ☐ I came with my parents, their primary reason was religious.
- ☐ other reason (please specify)

☐ not applicable

7. Who helped you at the time of arrival in Canada?  
(check all that apply)

- ☐ relatives in Canada
- ☐ friends in Canada
- ☐ Russian-Canadian organizations
- ☐ Canadian organizations
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ nobody helped me
- ☐ not applicable

8. What is your year of birth? \_\_\_\_\_

9. How much formal education have you completed?

- ☐ elementary school
- ☐ high school
- ☐ university/college
  - ☐ Bachelor degree
  - ☐ Masters degree
  - ☐ Ph.D.
  - ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ business or vocational school diploma
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

10. Where did you receive most of your education?  
(check only one)

- ☐ in Canada
  - ☐ in another country (please specify)
- \_\_\_\_\_



11. Your present occupation (if retired, what was your occupation [in Canada] prior to retirement?)

☐ government service (civil servant)  
☐ military  
☐ agriculture  
☐ professions (other than education)  
☐ education  
☐ student  
☐ industrial/business white-collar  
☐ manual  
☐ homemaker (at home)  
☐ unemployed  
☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

12. Did you change occupations upon arrival from your native country?

☐ yes  
☐ no  
☐ not applicable

13. Do you presently live in a neighborhood which is comprised primarily of Russian or other Slavic immigrants?

☐ yes  
☐ no

14. Have you, in the past, lived in a Canadian neighborhood which was comprised primarily of Russian or other Slavic immigrants?

☐ yes  
☐ no

If yes, for how long? \_\_\_\_\_

15. What was your knowledge of English upon arrival to Canada?

☐ none  
☐ poor  
☐ fairly good  
☐ good  
☐ very good  
☐ not applicable

16. In what language do you dream?

- ☐ Russian
- ☐ English
- ☐ both Russian & English
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ I do not dream in a language

17. In what language do you count?

- ☐ Russian
- ☐ English
- ☐ both
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

18. Are you a Canadian citizen?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

If no, the primary reason is: (check only one)

- ☐ not here 5 years
- ☐ do not have permanent resident visa
- ☐ plan to return to U.S.S.R.
- ☐ prefer other citizenship (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ I plan to apply for citizenship soon.

19. What is your religion?

- ☐ Russian Orthodox
- ☐ Greek Orthodox
- ☐ Ukrainian Orthodox
- ☐ Roman Catholic
- ☐ Ukrainian Catholic
- ☐ Jewish (please specify type) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Protestant (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Doukhobor
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ no religion

20. Do you presently attend a church or synagogue regularly?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

21. What is your marital status?

- ☐ single
- ☐ married
- ☐ common-law
- ☐ separated
- ☐ divorced
- ☐ widowed

22. What is (was) your natural (biological/birth) mother's ethnic origin?

- ☐ Russian
- ☐ Byelorussian
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Polish
- ☐ German
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

23. What is (was) your natural (biological) father's ethnic origin?

- ☐ Russian
- ☐ Byelorussian
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Polish
- ☐ German
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

24. What is your ethnic origin?

- ☐ Russian
- ☐ Byelorussian
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Polish
- ☐ German
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

25. Which of the following categories describes your feeling of ethnicity the best? (Check one only)

- ☐ Canadian
- ☐ Russian
- ☐ Russian Canadian
- ☐ Byelorussian
- ☐ Byelorussian Canadian
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ Ukrainian Canadian
- ☐ Jewish
- ☐ Jewish Canadian
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

26. What is the ethnic origin of your spouse?

- ☐ Russian
- ☐ Byelorussian
- ☐ Ukrainian
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

27. Do you belong to some form of Russian-Canadian organization?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

If yes, is it: (check one only)

- ☐ religious only
- ☐ social only
- ☐ religious & social
- ☐ political only
- ☐ political & social
- ☐ religious, political, & social
- ☐ cultural only
- ☐ cultural & social
- ☐ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ don't belong to any such organization

28. What is your speaking level of the Russian language?

- ☐ very good
- ☐ good
- ☐ fair
- ☐ poor
- ☐ none

29. What is your reading level of the Russian language?

- ☐ very good
- ☐ good
- ☐ fair
- ☐ poor
- ☐ none

30. What is your writing level of the Russian language?

- ☐ very good
- ☐ good
- ☐ fair
- ☐ poor
- ☐ none

APPENDIX E  
(BARDIS FAMILISM SCALE)

FAMILY ATTITUDES

Below is a list of issues concerning the family in general, not your own. Please read all statements very carefully and respond to all of them on the basis of your own true beliefs without consulting any other persons. Do this by reading each statement and then writing, in the space provided at its left, only one of the following numbers: 0,1,2,3,4. The meaning of each of these figures is:

- 0: Strongly disagree.
- 1: Disagree.
- 2: Undecided
- 3: Agree.
- 4: Strongly Agree

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Children below 18 should give almost all their earnings to their parents.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Children below 18 should almost always obey their older brothers and sisters.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. A person should always consider the needs of his family (parents and those of their children who are below 18, single, and unemployed) as a whole more important than his own.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. A person should always be expected to defend his family (parents, brothers, and sisters) against outsiders even at the expense of his own personal safety.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. The family (parents and their children below 18) should have the right to control the behavior of each of its members completely.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. A person should always avoid every action of which his family (parents and their children) disapproves.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. A person should always be completely loyal to his family (parents and single brothers and sisters).
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. The members of a family (parents and their single children below 18) should be expected to hold the same political, ethical, and religious beliefs.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. Children below 18 should always obey their parents.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger (below 18) brothers and sisters if necessary, and if they are single and unemployed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. A person should always support his uncles or aunts if they are in need.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. A person should consult close relatives (uncles, aunts, first cousins) concerning important decisions.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. At least one married child should be expected to live in the parental home.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. A person should always support his parents-in-law if they are in need.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. A person should always share his home with his uncles, aunts, or first cousins if they are in need.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. A person should always share his home with his parents-in-law if they are in need.

APPENDIX F  
(SHORT ACCULTURATION SCALE)  
CULTURAL ATTITUDES

/ 166

Below are a number of questions or statements regarding your cultural views and preferences. Please read each item and circle only one number (1,2,3,4, or 5) that best represents what is true for you.

1. In general, what language(s) do you read and speak?				
1 _____ Only Russian	2 _____ Russian better than English	3 _____ Both Equally	4 _____ English better than Russian	5 _____ Only English
2. What was the language(s) you used as a child?				
1 _____ Only Russian	2 _____ More Russian than English	3 _____ Both Equally	4 _____ More English than Russian	5 _____ Only English
3. What language(s) do you usually speak at home?				
1 _____ Only Russian	2 _____ More Russian than English	3 _____ Both Equally	4 _____ More English than Russian	5 _____ Only English
4. In which language(s) do you usually think?				
1 _____ Only Russian	2 _____ More Russian than English	3 _____ Both Equally	4 _____ More English than Russian	5 _____ Only English
5. What language(s) do you usually speak with your friends?				
1 _____ Only Russian	2 _____ More Russian than English	3 _____ Both Equally	4 _____ More English than Russian	5 _____ Only English
6. In what language(s) are the T.V. programs you usually watch?				
1 _____ Only Russian	2 _____ More Russian than English	3 _____ Both Equally	4 _____ More English than Russian	5 _____ Only English
7. In what language(s) are the radio programs you usually listen to?				
1 _____ Only Russian	2 _____ More Russian than English	3 _____ Both Equally	4 _____ More English than Russian	5 _____ Only English

8. In general, in what language(s) are the movies, T.V. and radio programs you prefer to watch and listen to?

1  
\_\_\_\_\_

Only  
Russian

2  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Russian  
than English

3  
\_\_\_\_\_

Both  
Equally

4  
\_\_\_\_\_

More English  
than Russian

5  
\_\_\_\_\_

Only  
English

9. Your close friends are:

1  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Russians

2  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Russians  
than Canadians

3  
\_\_\_\_\_

About half  
and half

4  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Canadians  
than Russians

5  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Canadians

10. You prefer going to social gatherings/parties at which the people are:

1  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Russians

2  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Russians  
than Canadians

3  
\_\_\_\_\_

About half  
and half

4  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Canadians  
than Russians

5  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Canadians

11. The persons you visit or who visit you are:

1  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Russians

2  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Russians  
than Canadians

3  
\_\_\_\_\_

About half  
and half

4  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Canadians  
than Russians

5  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Canadians

12. If you could choose your children's friends, you would want them to be:

1  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Russians

2  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Russians  
than Canadians

3  
\_\_\_\_\_

About half  
and half

4  
\_\_\_\_\_

More Canadians  
than Russians

5  
\_\_\_\_\_

All  
Canadians



## APPENDIX G

RAFFLE TICKET for \$30.00 gift certificate for  
THE PROW RESTAURANT located at CANADA PLACE

In order to be included in the drawing, please fill out this ticket, put it in the attached small envelope (seal it), and mail it along with the fully completed questionnaire and one signed consent form in the enclosed stamped self-addressed envelope, postmarked by \_\_\_\_\_.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_