

The authors examine impacts of immigration on parent-adolescent value similarity, consistency of parents' value messages, and the value transmission process. Thirty-four former Soviet immigrant families to Israel and 68 matched Israeli families participated. Group mean comparisons revealed generational effects for openness and conservation values: adolescents resembled one another more than their own parents. Immigration further increased adolescent-parent value distance. For self-transcendence and self-enhancement values, there were no effects. Correlations between parent and adolescent group means, across 11 values, suggest that immigration reduces parent-adolescent similarity in value priorities. Within-family analyses showed no immigration effects on parent-adolescent value similarity or on accuracy in perceiving parents' values, and greater acceptance of parental values in immigrant families. Value messages of immigrant parents were less consistent. Inconsistency undermined value transmission, differently in immigrant and veteran families. The authors discuss why group versus within-family analyses can yield contradictory results and why findings depend on the specific values studied.

VALUE SOCIALIZATION IN FAMILIES OF ISRAELI-BORN AND SOVIET-BORN ADOLESCENTS IN ISRAEL

ARIEL KNAFO

SHALOM H. SCHWARTZ

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Adapting to a new value environment is a challenge for immigrants (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Many modify their own values to conform more to those that prevail in their new home. Children tend to adopt the prevailing values more than their parents do (Feather, 1975; Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Milonas, 1996). Little is known, however, about the interpersonal processes through which this value change occurs. This article examines processes of value transmission in immigrant families. Of particular interest for this study is what happens to children in such families. They are likely to receive competing messages from their parents and from the environment (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Adolescents who emigrated from the former Soviet Union to Israel are studied, and value socialization in their families and in families of native-born Israeli adolescents are compared.

At school, immigrant adolescents feel pressure to adopt the culture of their new home country. At home, they may encounter a different orientation, brought from their country of origin. Their parents too confront unfamiliar cultural expectations. This may lead parents to question whether they know what is best for their children. Should they seek to transmit the values most important to themselves, or should they encourage values that may be more adaptive in the new society (Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997)?

This problematic situation may influence many aspects of the process of value transmission. It may affect the values that parents communicate to their children—their content,

AUTHORS' NOTE: This research was supported by grants from the National Science Foundation (Israel Academy of Sciences) and from the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) Center for Development in Education, and was facilitated by the Leon and Clara Sznajderman Chair of Psychology. The work of the first author was partly supported by a fellowship from the Martin and Vivian Levine Center for the Normal and Pathological Development of the Child and Adolescent. Correspondence should be addressed to Ariel Knafo or Shalom Schwartz, Department of Psychology, Faculty of Social Sciences, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 91905, Israel; e-mail: msarielk@mscc.huji.ac.il or msshach@mscc.huji.ac.il.

JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY, Vol. 32 No. 2, March 2001 213-228
© 2001 Western Washington University

consistency, and clarity. It may affect the values that children perceive from their parents and the extent to which children accept their parents' values. It may contribute to the extent of parent-child value conflict. Finally, it may affect the values of the children and, consequently, the degree of parent-child value similarity. Each of these issues is dealt with in this investigation.

Immigrant adolescents often feel conflict with their parents over values (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Both the parents' value confusion that may accompany immigration and the children's faster adaptation to the values in the new country may give rise to such conflict (e.g., Georgas et al, 1996; Portes, 1997). The empirical evidence for value conflict generally comes from adolescent self-reports. Most studies do not assess actual value conflict because they do not measure the values of parents and of their own children (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). Another limitation of many studies is the absence of a comparison group of native families (e.g., Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). Such studies cannot distinguish between conflict traceable to immigration and conflict due to ordinary age- and role-based differences between parents and their children.

The little empirical evidence available regarding differences in value transmission between immigrant and veteran¹ families is ambiguous. There is evidence that values of immigrant children are more similar to the values of their nonimmigrant peers than to those of their parents (e.g., Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). However, these results may confound generational effects (children resemble one another because children and adults value different things) with immigration effects (e.g., children adapt more quickly than parents to new environments). It is therefore crucial to compare the levels of parent-child value similarity in immigrant and veteran groups.

There is some evidence suggesting that immigration reduces parent-child value similarity. In studies of immigrants to Australia from the Ukraine (Feather, 1975) and of Vietnamese (but not Mexicans and Armenians) in California (Phinney et al., 2000), value similarity between the child and parent groups was weaker among immigrants than among veteran Australians or European Americans.

VALUE COMMUNICATION AND PERCEPTION

Immigrant parents may wish to communicate values to their children that resemble those in the new culture. On the other hand, if their own values differ from those prevailing in this culture, they must choose between two value systems. Most immigrants to Israel from the former Soviet Union want their children to integrate into the Israeli social and economic system (Ben-Rafael, Olshtain, & Geijst, 1996). Many, however, are anxious that their children maintain relations with their own immigrant group and retain some of their cultural uniqueness (Ben-Rafael et al., 1996). Consistent with this view, Roccas, Horenczyk, and Schwartz (in press) reported that among Soviet-born immigrant students, the most popular strategy of acculturation was integration. This bicultural strategy (LaFramboise et al., 1993) probably typified the immigrant adults we studied as well. They had all made the effort to learn Hebrew and had reached a level sufficient to complete a Hebrew questionnaire, if with help.

It appears likely that the immigrant parents we studied, like many other immigrant parents, may have mixed motivations regarding value socialization. They want to socialize their children to values both from their culture of origin and their new homeland. This complicates the process of value transmission for them.

A further complication may be a lack of cultural competence (Feather, 1975; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Roccas & Sagiv, 1998). That is, immigrants often lack accurate knowledge of the values that prevail in the new culture. Even if immigrants accurately perceive the values of the new culture, they may feel ambivalent and confused about these values. Immigrant parents may object to some values of the new culture; yet, they may believe that their children will integrate better into the society if they adopt these values. Immigrant parents may continue to behave according to values they hold dear; yet, they may encourage their children to endorse somewhat different values (Kuczynski et al., 1997). Taken together, the mixed socialization motives of immigrant parents, their lack of cultural knowledge, and their ambivalence and uncertainty are likely to produce inconsistency in the values they try to transmit to their children.

This inconsistency can take two forms. First, immigrant parents may convey different values at different times. Second, they may show inconsistency between words and deeds—telling their children that particular values are desirable (preaching), but exhibiting different values in their own behavior. Both forms of inconsistency introduce confusion into the process of value socialization. In keeping with this analysis, Mirsky and Prawer (1992) found that immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union reported receiving contradictory and confusing messages from their families. We therefore hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1a: Immigrant adolescents perceive their parents as being less consistent over time in the values they communicate than do children of veteran parents.

Hypothesis 1b: Immigrant adolescents perceive the values their parents preach to be less consistent with the values implicit in their parents' behavior than do children of veteran parents.

Research on value socialization reveals that parents generally want their children to hold values similar to their own. Parents' own values correlate highly with their socialization values (e.g., Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988). This is less likely to be so for immigrant parents. They more frequently confront differences between their own values and those prevailing in the culture. They may accept their children's adoption of some prevailing values as the price of integration and achievement in the new society. Consequently, immigrant parents may try to socialize their children to some values that differ from their own. Veteran parents are less likely to question whether their own values are appropriate for adjusting to society. They may therefore hesitate less to transmit their values to their children. This suggests a third hypothesis regarding consistency in value communication.

Hypothesis 1c: Parents' own personal values are less consistent with the values they want their children to hold (socialization values) among immigrant parents than among veteran parents.

ACHIEVING VALUE SIMILARITY

Grusec and Goodnow (1994) suggest that parent-child value similarity results from a two-step process of internalization. First, children must perceive the values their parents endorse. Second, children must accept these values as their own. Value transmission can succeed or fail at either step in this process. In the first step (perception), children may perceive their parents' values accurately or may misperceive them. In the second step (acceptance), children may choose to accept the values they perceive, but they may also reject them. If

children perceive their parents' values accurately and then accept rather than reject them, value similarity should be high.

Several studies demonstrate that parent-child value similarity is greater when children perceive their parents' values accurately (Cashmore & Goodnow, 1985; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999; Westholm, 1999; Whitbeck & Gecas, 1988). There is also evidence that the values children perceive their parents as holding are a mediating link between the parents' actual values and the children's own values (Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986; Okagaki & Bevis, 1999; Westholm, 1999).

Only one study has compared perception and acceptance of parental values in immigrant families with those in nonimmigrant families. Cashmore and Goodnow (1985) reported that immigrant children perceived their parents' values more accurately than nonimmigrant children. However, the immigrant children were less accepting of the values they perceived. We next discuss reasons why immigrant and nonimmigrant families may differ in the process of achieving value similarity. We consider, in turn, accuracy of children's value perception, acceptance of perceived parental values, and the level of value similarity achieved.

If, as hypothesized above, immigrant parents are less consistent in the values they communicate to their children, accuracy of perception should be less in immigrant families. Inconsistency in the value content parents convey at different times and in parents' words versus deeds may confuse children, making it difficult to accurately grasp parental values. In addition, greater value conflict between immigrant parents and their children may drive parents and children apart, reducing communication between them. This would decrease children's opportunities to perceive their parents' true values. We therefore hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2a: Immigrant adolescents perceive their parents' values less accurately than adolescents from veteran families do.

This hypothesis is contrary to Cashmore and Goodnow's (1985) finding that perception of parental values was more accurate in the immigrant group. A possible explanation of their finding is that conflict can help to clarify both sides' positions to one another (Cooper, 1988). Perhaps debates about parent-child value differences were more frequent in the immigrant families studied by Cashmore and Goodnow than in the Anglo-Australian families. Such debates might then make children more aware of their parent's true values. If this occurred in the families we studied, it could lead to the rejection of Hypothesis 2a.

Regarding acceptance of perceived parental values, we expect to replicate the lower acceptance in immigrant families reported by Cashmore and Goodnow (1985). Of course, disagreement with everyday issues is common in nonimmigrant families of adolescents too (Hill & Holmbeck, 1987). However, disagreement may be greater in immigrant families. For immigrant adolescents, an added element complicates the choice between parental values and those communicated by peers, media, school environment, and so on. For them, this is also a choice between the values of a society their family abandoned and a society in which they will make their future life. This should weaken acceptance of parental values.

Parental inconsistency may also increase rejection of parental values by immigrant adolescents. If parents preach one thing but do another, if they send different value messages at different times, what is the adolescent to accept? Such parents seem unsure of their own values. Thus, whatever values they communicate may seem less legitimate. We therefore hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2b: Immigrant adolescents accept the values they perceive from their parents less than adolescents from veteran families do.

As noted, both accuracy of perception and acceptance of parental values influence the level of parent-child value similarity achieved. We postulated that both accuracy of perception and acceptance are lower in immigrant than in veteran families. We therefore hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2c: Parent-child value similarity is lower in the families of immigrant adolescents than in veteran families.

Finally, on the basis of the reasoning about the contribution of parental value consistency to the processes of achieving value similarity, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 3: Parental value consistency enhances (a) accuracy of perception, (b) acceptance of perceived parental values, and (c) parent-child value similarity.

ON THE NATURE OF VALUES

Values are defined as desirable, abstract goals that apply across situations (e.g., freedom, social order, pleasure, obedience) (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Values serve as guiding principles in people's lives, as criteria they use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people and events. The crucial content aspect that distinguishes between values is the type of motivational goal they express (Schwartz, 1992). Evidence from diverse cultural, linguistic, religious, and racial groups in more than 60 countries supports the claim that people discriminate between 10 motivationally distinct types of values (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001, in press).

The total pattern of relations of conflict and compatibility among values yields a structure of four higher order values. These values form two orthogonal value dimensions we use here. The first dimension, *self-enhancement versus self-transcendence*, opposes power and achievement values to universalism and benevolence values. Both the former emphasize pursuit of self-interests, whereas both the latter involve concern for the welfare and interests of others. The second dimension, *openness to change versus conservation*, opposes self-direction and stimulation values to security, conformity, and tradition values. Both the former emphasize independent action, thought, and feeling, and readiness for new experience, whereas the latter emphasize self-restriction, order, and resistance to change. Openness and self-enhancement values focus on the individual, whereas conservation and self-transcendence values focus on the larger collectivity. Hedonism shares elements of openness and of self-enhancement. In the current samples, hedonism is part of the openness higher order value.

METHOD

PROCEDURE AND RESPONDENTS

Schools were sampled from regions of Israel to represent the different socioeconomic and educational levels in the country. Families of adolescents were recruited by phone, using

phone numbers obtained from student directories for the 11th or 12th grade at these schools. After obtaining agreement to participate in a study of values from the adolescent and at least one parent, a university student researcher visited the respondents' home and administered a battery of questionnaires. Data were gathered during 1999-2000 from 580 families. In 39% of the immigrant families who agreed to participate, parents could not respond in Hebrew, even with assistance. In both the remaining immigrant families and the veteran families, the response rate was 47%. Of these families, 34 included an adolescent who had been born in the former USSR and emigrated to Israel during the preceding 3 to 11 years ($M = 7.3$ years). We matched each immigrant family with two families of Israeli-born adolescents of the same gender and from the same school. This yielded samples of 68 veteran Israeli and 34 immigrant families. In both samples, the mean age of adolescents was 16.8 years and 54% of the adolescents were male.

In 51% of the families, only one parent participated (45% mothers, 6% fathers). Family structure was similar in both groups, but there was a somewhat higher proportion of immigrant (24%) in comparison with nonimmigrant (17%) single-parent families. We averaged the responses of both parents, when available, or used the data from the one parent who participated. Several studies show both high correspondence between children's perceptions of the values of their two parents and actual agreement between fathers and mothers regarding socialization values (e.g., Rohan & Zanna, 1996).

MEASURES

Values. A modification of a recently developed scale called the value Portraits Questionnaire (PQ) (Schwartz, Lehmann, & Roccas, 1999) was employed. Multimethod-multitrait analyses indicate that the PQ measures the same 10 values measured by the original value survey (Schwartz et al., 1999). It also yields similar internal and test-retest reliability for each of the 10 values and similar correlations with background, attitude, and behavioral variables. The PQ is suitable for people who have little or no formal schooling.

The PQ includes short verbal portraits of 40 people. Each portrait describes a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a single value. For example, "Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way" describes a person for whom self-direction values are important. "It is important to her to be rich. She wants to have a lot of money and expensive things" describes a person who cherishes power values.

To measure own values, respondents indicated "How much like you is this person?" for each portrait on a 6-point scale ranging from *very much like me* to *not like me at all*. Thus, respondents' own values were inferred from their self-reported similarity to people who are described in terms of particular values. Individual items intended to measure each type of value were averaged, after correcting for scale use, to obtain an importance score for each of the 10 values. To measure perceived parental values, adolescents indicated "How would your father/mother want you to respond to each item?" To measure socialization values, parents indicated "How would you want your son/daughter to respond to each item?"

Similarity structure analyses (Guttman, 1968) of the values of adolescents and their parents, in the full sample of 580 families, yielded structures very similar to the prototypical, circular structure of values described by Schwartz (1992). Here, however, two types of security values, individual and group, were distinct. We therefore computed value scores for adolescents and their parents on 11 types of values.

Overall parent-child value similarity was measured by correlating parents' 11 socialization value ratings with their own child's value ratings, within each parent-child dyad (cf. Rohan & Zanna, 1996). This measures correspondence of the overall value system.

Overall accuracy of perception was measured by correlating parents' 11 socialization value ratings with the values their child perceived them as wanting him or her to endorse, within the dyad.

Overall acceptance was measured by correlating the child's own values with the values the child perceived his or her parents as wanting him or her to endorse, within the dyad.

Consistency of parents' value messages over time. Adolescents used a 4-point scale to rate their agreement with the following statement: "My father/mother is consistent in his/her messages regarding the values important to him/her." We averaged scores across parents.

Consistency between values parents conveyed in preaching and behavior. Adolescents read a description of each of the 10 values. For each value, they used a 4-point importance scale to rate the degree to which they thought that value was important to their father or mother, first based on the way he or she behaves and then based on what he or she says. We computed the absolute difference between the two ratings for each value. We then averaged the absolute differences of the two parents. A factor analysis of the 10 combined scores yielded a first factor on which all 10 items loaded above 0.43. Factor scores based on this factor indexed "word-deed" consistency.

Consistency between parents' own values and their socialization values. We correlated parents' 11 personal value ratings with their socialization value ratings.

RESULTS

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN VALUE PRIORITIES

Table 1 presents mean value importance ratings for the immigrant and veteran Israeli parent and adolescent groups. To reduce overload, only means for the four higher order values are presented.² Both groups of parents rated self-transcendence values most important for themselves, followed by conservation, openness, and self-enhancement values. Both groups of adolescents rated self-transcendence values most important, followed by openness, conservation, and self-enhancement. These are the typical orders of value priorities across nations for adults (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001, in press) and for adolescents (unpublished data).

A comparison of the priorities attributed to each value by parents revealed that immigrant parents valued conservation values more highly than veteran Israeli parents, $t(100df) = 1.99$, $p < .05$. Priorities for the other values did not differ. The personal values of Israeli-born and immigrant adolescents were even more similar; no differences were significant.

Comparing the socialization values of parents reveals differences between veterans and immigrants for three of the four values. Veteran parents wanted their children to emphasize openness values (self-direction, stimulation, hedonism) more than immigrant parents did ($t = 2.60$, $p < .05$). The latter wanted their children to give more priority to the motivationally opposed conservation values (conformity, security; $t = 3.24$, $p < .01$). In addition, immigrant parents did not give as much priority as veterans to self-transcendence values (benevolence, universalism) for their children ($t = 2.17$, $p < .05$). With regard to the socialization values that adolescents perceived from their parents, however, there were no significant differences between the immigrant and Israeli-born adolescent groups.

TABLE 1
Means and Standard Deviations of Value Ratings for
Immigrant and Veteran Israeli Parent and Adolescent Groups

	<i>Openness to Change</i>		<i>Self-Enhancement</i>		<i>Conservation</i>		<i>Self-Transcendence</i>	
	<i>Veteran</i>		<i>Veteran</i>		<i>Veteran</i>		<i>Veteran</i>	
	<i>Immigrant</i>	<i>Israeli</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>	<i>Israeli</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>	<i>Israeli</i>	<i>Immigrant</i>	<i>Israeli</i>
Adolescents' own values	4.26	4.38	3.57	3.50	3.84	3.98	4.51	4.38
	0.67	0.54	0.67	0.87	0.75	0.46	0.36	0.45
Parents' own values	3.47	3.64	3.30	3.02	4.50	4.32	4.57	4.69
	0.53	0.59	0.76	0.72	0.42	0.43	0.34	0.35
Parental socialization values	3.56	3.86	3.52	3.30	4.46	4.18	4.38	4.53
	0.59	0.51	0.79	0.61	0.42	0.40	0.29	0.33
Perceived parental socialization values	3.49	3.50	3.63	3.36	4.41	4.47	4.48	4.41
	0.60	0.51	0.61	0.72	0.40	0.39	0.40	0.35

PARENTS' VALUE CONSISTENCY

Immigrant parents were hypothesized to be less consistent than nonimmigrant parents in their value messages. Three types of consistency were examined: (a) consistency of parents' value messages over time, (b) consistency between the values parents preach and those they express in their behavior, and (c) consistency between parents' own values and their socialization values. Table 2 presents the relevant findings. Row 1 of the table shows that immigrant adolescents perceived their parents' value messages as less consistent over time than native adolescents did (1.71 vs. 2.28), $t(100df) = 3.86, p < .01$. Row 2 shows mean factor scores based on discrepancies between words and deeds. Here too, immigrant adolescents perceived their parents as less consistent than native adolescents did ($-.23$ vs. $.12, t = 1.65, p < .05$). These results confirmed Hypotheses 1a and 1b. Row 3 shows that correlations between parents' own values and their socialization values were high in both groups (.74 and .72). Contrary to Hypothesis 1c, immigrant and veteran parents did not differ.

AGGREGATE-LEVEL ANALYSES

On the basis of previous aggregate-level analyses of parent-child value similarity in native and immigrant groups, reviewed above, immigrant adolescents were expected to report values more similar to their peers than to their parents. Comparing the importance means in rows 1 and 2 of Table 1 reveals that this was the case for three of the four higher order values. The openness to change, conservation, and self-enhancement values of immigrant adolescents were much more similar to those of veteran Israeli adolescents (row 1) than to those of their own immigrant parents (row 2). However, this finding appears to be an effect of generation rather than of immigration. The native-born Israeli adolescent group was also more similar to their immigrant peer group than to their own veteran parents' group.

We reasoned above that immigrant parents might encourage their children to endorse values somewhat different from their own, to promote adaptation to the new society. It may therefore be more appropriate to assess relative similarity to parents' *socialization* values

TABLE 2
Means and Standard Deviations of Parental Consistency
Scores in Immigrant and Veteran Israeli Families

<i>Type of Parental Consistency</i>	<i>Immigrant Families</i> (n = 34)	<i>Veteran Israeli Families</i> (n = 68)
Value messages over time	1.71** 0.76	2.28 0.67
Between words and deeds	-0.23* 1.18	0.12 0.88
Between own and socialization values	0.74 0.26	0.72 0.30

* $p < .05$, one-tailed for difference between immigrant and veteran families. ** $p < .01$, one-tailed for difference between immigrant and veteran families.

versus to peers' values. This comparison reveals that the openness to change and conservation values of immigrant adolescents were also much more similar to those of veteran Israeli adolescents (row 1, Table 1) than to their own parents' socialization values (row 3). The parallel analyses for the native-born Israeli adolescents again suggest that this is an effect of generation rather than of immigration. For openness to change and conservation, the values of the native-born adolescent group were also more similar to those of their immigrant peers than to their parents' socialization values. For self-enhancement and self-transcendence values, both the immigrant and the native Israeli adolescent groups were fairly similar both to their peer and to their parent groups.

Did immigration status affect parent-child value similarity over and above the strong effect of generation? That is, did immigration increase the distance of adolescents' values from those of their parents? It was hypothesized (Hypothesis 2c) that immigrant adolescents exhibit lower parent-child value similarity than do native-born adolescents. If immigration alienates adolescents from their parents, the generation gap in values should be larger in the immigrant group. We focus on socialization values because those are the values that parents wish to transmit to their children. The interaction terms in four 2 (immigrant status) \times 2 (generation) ANOVAs with values as the dependent variables make a test of the planned comparisons possible.

For conservation values, the gap between adolescents' values and their parents' socialization values was greater among immigrants (.62) than among veteran Israelis (.20) ($t = 3.03$, $p < .01$). The adolescent-parent gaps were also larger among immigrants for the motivationally opposed openness to change values, but the differences were not significant. Considering the openness to change versus conservation dimension of values, the gap was greater in the immigrant group (1.33 vs. .73, $t = 2.09$, $p < .05$). As noted, the adolescent-parent gaps did not differ for self-enhancement and self-transcendence values.

We also tested the hypothesis of lower parent-child similarity in immigrant families by correlating the group means of the adolescent and of the parent groups across the 11 types of values. The correlation with parents' socialization values was significantly lower in the immigrant than in the veteran families (.65 vs. .82, $z = 1.78$, $p < .04$, one-tailed). In sum, various aggregate-level analyses support the hypothesis that immigration status increases the value distance between immigrant adolescents and their parents.

TABLE 3
Mean Within-Family Correlations Indicating Accuracy of Perception,
Acceptance, and Similarity of Values in Immigrant and Veteran
Israeli Families and Corresponding Standard Deviations

	<i>Groups</i>	
	<i>Immigrant Families</i>	<i>Veteran Israeli Families</i>
Accuracy of perception	0.51**	0.44**
	0.42	0.43
Acceptance of perceived values	0.54**	0.38**
	0.55	0.59
Similarity to parental values	0.49**	0.48**
	0.44	0.41

** $p < .01$, one-tailed.

DYADIC-LEVEL ANALYSES

As the dyadic within-family analyses match each adolescent with his or her own parents, they can test the hypotheses that immigrant adolescents (2a) perceive their parents' values less accurately than adolescents from veteran families do, (2b) accept these perceived values less, and that (2c) parent-child value similarity is therefore lower in immigrant families. The dyadic analyses can also test the hypotheses that parental value consistency enhances (3a) accuracy of perception, (3b) acceptance of perceived parental values, and (3c) parent-child value similarity.

To test Hypothesis 2, correlations within families were computed, across the 11 values, between parents' socialization values and the socialization values adolescents perceived (to measure accuracy of perception), between perceived socialization values and adolescents' own values (acceptance), and between adolescents' own values and both parents' socialization values and their own values (similarity). Table 3 reports the mean within-family correlations and their standard deviations for the immigrant and the veteran Israeli families. Computations of means and tests of differences were based on r to z transformations.

The correlations in the first two columns of Table 3 reveal moderate accuracy of perception in both groups. Contrary to the hypothesis, there was no difference in accuracy levels between immigrant and veteran families ($t = 1.06$, ns). Columns 3 and 4 reveal that acceptance of perceived values was somewhat higher in immigrant families, although not reliably so ($t = 1.66$, $p = .11$, two-tailed). Columns 5 and 6 show virtually identical levels of similarity between adolescents' values and their parents' socialization values ($t = .20$, ns). In sum, none of the hypotheses regarding poorer value transmission and achievement in immigrant families were supported. There was even a hint that immigrant adolescents accept the parental values they perceive more than native Israeli adolescents do.

We next tested Hypotheses 3a through 3c that parental value consistency enhances levels of accuracy, acceptance, and similarity of values. For this purpose, we correlated the within-family scores for accuracy, acceptance, and similarity with the parental consistency scores. The accuracy, acceptance, and similarity scores are themselves correlations, as is the consistency between parents' own and socialization values. We therefore performed the analyses on transformed r to z scores. The top panel of Table 4 presents the findings for the immigrant families, the bottom panel for the veteran families.

TABLE 4
Correlations Between Parents' Value Consistency and Adolescents'
Accuracy of Perception, Acceptance, and Similarity of Values
With Parents in Immigrant and Veteran Families

<i>Type of Parental Consistency</i>	<i>Accuracy of Perception</i>	<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>Similarity</i>
Immigrant families (<i>n</i> = 34)			
Value messages over time	.02	.06	.07
Between words and deeds	.23*	.28*	.36**
Between own and socialization values	.29*	-.01	.14
Veteran families (<i>n</i> = 68)			
Value messages over time	.20	.24*	.24*
Between words and deeds	-.01	.13	-.00
Between own and socialization values	.41**	.23*	.04

* $p < .05$, one-tailed, for veteran families; $< .10$, one-tailed, for immigrant families. ** $p < .01$, one-tailed, for veteran families; $< .05$, one-tailed, for immigrant families.

There were four significant correlations in both sets of families, but the pattern of relationships was very different. In immigrant families, perceived consistency between the values parents expressed in their words and in their deeds reliably predicted accuracy, acceptance, and similarity. In addition, consistency between parents' own values and their socialization values predicted accuracy of perception. However, perceived consistency of parental value messages over time related to none of these variables. In contrast, in the veteran Israeli families, perceived consistency of parental value messages over time reliably predicted acceptance and similarity, but not accuracy. Perceived consistency between parental words and deeds had no reliable associations. Also, consistency between parents' own values and their socialization values reliably predicted accuracy and acceptance, but not similarity. These findings partly support the hypotheses that parental value consistency enhances value transmission, but the different patterns for immigrant and veteran families require explanation.

DISCUSSION

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN VALUES

A central question of this research is whether immigration affects parent-child value similarity. Comparisons of group value means led to the clear conclusion that immigrant adolescents are more similar to native-born adolescents than they are to their parents. Regarding socialization values, this held for two types of values we studied, conservation and openness to change, but not for the other two, self-enhancement and self-transcendence. A generation effect can largely account for this outcome. Like Phinney et al. (2000), we also found that the values of nonimmigrant adolescents were more similar to their immigrant peers' values than to their parents' values.

Moreover, the order of priority among the four values was the same for immigrant and veteran groups in each generation, but the order was different across generations. Regardless of immigrant status, parents valued conservation and self-transcendence values more than their children, and children valued openness to change and self-enhancement values more

than their parents. Thus, the two groups of parents were similar to each other, as were the two groups of adolescents, but parents and their adolescent children were quite different. This picture reflects the different needs, roles, and opportunities that characterize adult and adolescent positions in the life cycle.

Strong generation effects notwithstanding, there was evidence that immigration increases value distance between adolescents and their parents. On the openness-to-change-versus-conservation-value dimension, the value gap between adolescents and their parents was larger in immigrant than in veteran families. The effect for immigration was especially strong for conservation values. Moreover, the correlation of the group means of the adolescent and parent groups across the 11 basic values was significantly lower in the immigrant group than in the veteran Israeli group. These correlations indicate that the immigrant adolescent and parent groups share about 40% of the variance in their value priorities, whereas the veteran adolescent and parent groups share about 65%. Thus, the aggregate-level analyses support the claim that immigration increases value distance between generations.

The specific differences between the values of immigrant and veteran parents shed light on the nature of immigration effects. In their own values, immigrant parents emphasized conservation values more. With regard to socialization values, differences were more substantial. Veteran parents wanted their children to emphasize openness to change and self-transcendence values more than immigrant parents did. The latter wanted their children to emphasize conservation values more.

These differences suggest greater cautiousness on the part of immigrant parents. They wanted their children to follow established paths, to take fewer risks, and to avoid hedonistic temptations. This is consistent with research on changes in parenting after immigration (Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992). Immigrant parents were also less concerned to cultivate valuing the welfare of others. Perhaps the stress of adapting to a new country narrowed their field of social concern. Studies of helping behavior suggest that stress reduces attention to the needs of others (e.g., Gibbons & Wicklund, 1982). On the other hand, the immigrants may have brought their different values with them from the former Soviet Union. Data in Schwartz (1999) indicate that people in the former Soviet republics emphasize conservation values more and autonomy values less than Israelis do.

The set of group comparisons highlights the fact that parent-child value differences vary as a function of the domain of values. Effects of immigration emerged for conservation values and, to a lesser extent, for openness values, but not for the other value domains. Conservation and openness were also the values on which immigrant parents differed most from veteran parents. Whereas immigrant adolescents, as a group, had adopted the greater emphasis on openness than on conservation typical of Israeli society (Schwartz, 1999), their parents still valued conservation values more than openness values.

That immigration effects occurred on these particular values is probably not accidental. These values oppose openness to new ideas, experiences, actions, and feelings to preserving the status quo and maintaining the ideas, practices, and customs one knows. These are potentially conflictual value domains in all parent-child relations, as manifest in generational differences. The conflict is even greater for immigrants. They must choose between competing cultural systems. Immigrant parents may focus even more on conservation when threatened by the challenges of children who wish to try out or adopt the ways of the unfamiliar society. The self-transcendence and self-enhancement value domains, on which immigration did not increase parent-child differences, oppose concern for the welfare of others to concern for promoting one's own interests. These domains have less unique relevance to the context of immigration.

A critical inference from these findings is that results of studies that measure only one value domain may be specific to those values (e.g., Phinney, et al., 2000). Studies of other values may yield quite different results.

VALUE TRANSMISSION WITHIN FAMILIES

Results of the within-family, dyadic analyses were strikingly different from those of the group-level analyses. The correlations of adolescents' value priorities with their parents' socialization values indicated a virtually identical level of value similarity in immigrant and veteran families. Accuracy in perceiving parents' socialization values was also virtually the same in the two groups of families. Only acceptance of parental values exhibited a weak difference between immigrants and veteran Israelis. However, contrary to the hypothesis, acceptance was somewhat higher in immigrant than in veteran families (mean $r = .54$ vs. $.38$). We suggest two speculative explanations for the unexpectedly higher acceptance of parental values by immigrant adolescents: Immigrant adolescents may overestimate the real degree of their agreement because they project their own values onto their parents'. Such projection is not unreasonable in the context of immigration as adolescents serve as their parents' windows into the prevailing culture due to their acquired competencies. Furthermore, openly admitting to rejecting parents' values is normatively problematic for immigrant adolescents. They may feel obliged to show family loyalty.

One possibility is that openly admitting to rejecting parents' values is normatively more problematic in Russian speaking than in Israeli culture. When answering questions about family relations, immigrant adolescents may feel even more obligation to demonstrate family solidarity. As members of a minority group, they may sense a greater need to express family loyalty and cohesiveness because the sponsors of the research are out-group members.

The results suggesting higher acceptance in the immigrant group are opposite to those of Cashmore and Goodnow (1985). They reported less acceptance for immigrant children. Moreover, their immigrant children perceived their parents' values more accurately than nonimmigrants, whereas we found no difference in accuracy of perception. These different results alert us to the uniqueness of every immigrant group, reflecting its countries of origin and destination, and the historic situation. Aggregate-level studies of value similarity also point to the uniqueness of immigration contexts (e.g., Georgas et al., 1996, on country of destination; Phinney et al., 2000, on ethnic group membership).

RECONCILING FINDINGS FROM AGGREGATE AND DYADIC ANALYSES

Nauck (1997) noted recently that there seems to be a negative effect of immigration on parent-child value similarity at the aggregate level, but no difference in similarity in dyadic designs. From a statistical and conceptual point of view both measures are independent. But how can this difference occur? Immigration may produce value change in both parents and their children. Immigrant parents tend to change more slowly than their children, however (Portes, 1997). This creates aggregate-level differences between the mean values of the parent and child groups. Here, for example, immigrant children may have moved further from the conservation values of their country of origin and more toward openness values than their parents did. Thus, immigration increased the usual generation gap on both of these values.

Although children's values change more than their parents', both most likely change in the same directions. Such parallel processes mean that, for example, even after change occurs, relatively conservative parents generally continue to have relatively conservative

children and relatively liberal parents to have relatively liberal children. Thus, the degree of value congruence within families may not decrease.

VALUE CONSISTENCY

Given the difficulties immigrants face in their adopted country, we expected immigrant parents to exhibit less consistency in their value transmission than veteran parents do. The findings indicate that immigrant adolescents from the former USSR did indeed perceive their parents as less consistent in the value messages they communicate at different times and in the congruence between the values they preach and the values they convey through their actions. These two forms of inconsistency had quite different impacts on transmission in immigrant families. Inconsistency between word and deed significantly damaged accuracy of perception, acceptance, and similarity. Inconsistency across situations was unrelated to these aspects of value acquisition, however. Why these different impacts?

When their parents change value messages to fit the situation, immigrant adolescents may be relatively understanding. They may attribute this to their parents' lack of cultural knowledge, to unfamiliarity with what is best in the new situations they confront. Expecting such inconsistency, they may try to see past it to what is truly important to their parents. Hence, it does not disturb value transmission. Native-born adolescents have less reason to show understanding. Changing value messages from their parents may annoy and upset them, leading to reduced acceptance and similarity, as the data show.

Parents' word-deed inconsistency was especially problematic for immigrant adolescents. As they struggle to adapt, they need their parents to be honest and genuine in helping them to choose between different sets of values. It is hard for them to accede to their parents' desire that they retain some allegiance to the values of another culture, even when they see their parents as honest, well-intentioned socializers. If they suspect their parents of hypocrisy in the values they preach, immigrant adolescents are likely to take the easier route and reject their parents' values. In this study, such inconsistency substantially undermined value transmission.

In veteran Israeli families, parental word-deed inconsistency did not interfere with value transmission. This seems surprising. We do not interpret this finding because negative effects of inconsistency between words and deeds are present in the larger veteran Israeli sample from which the current sample was taken.

Consistency between parents' own values and the values they wish to transmit to their children was equally high in immigrant and veteran families. Although immigrant and veteran parents differed significantly in their socialization values, they apparently based their socialization values on their own values to a similar degree. Parental inconsistency between own and socialization values reduced accuracy of perception among both immigrant and native-born adolescents. It was probably a source of confusion. This type of inconsistency reduced acceptance and similarity among native-born adolescents but not among immigrants.

Native-born adolescents may feel that when their parents value one thing for themselves but another for their children, their parents are being unfair or showing a lack of moral backbone. This would then anger them, leading to lower accuracy and acceptance. The fact that it does not reduce similarity may reflect the strong impact on both parents and children of the prevailing values in their shared social milieu (Harris, 1995). Immigrants, on the other hand, may appreciate that their parents recognize that their own values are not necessarily appropriate guides for their children, so they would consider such inconsistency legitimate.

CONCLUSION

The limitations of this study are obvious: There is a need to reconfirm the findings of this study with larger samples. Also, we excluded immigrant parents who could not respond to a Hebrew questionnaire. Greater parent-child value differences might be expected in these families. In addition, information on same and different sex, parent-child dyads separately, is missing due to the small sample size.

Current results suggest that immigration increases the absolute gap in values between adolescents and parents in some domains but not in others. However, within-family congruence between the value priorities of adolescents and parents may be unaffected. Parental value consistency contributes to adolescents' accuracy in perceiving their parents' values and to their acceptance of these values. But the impacts of various types of consistency differ between immigrant and native-born families. This study points to the need for future research to consider effects on the process of value socialization in immigrant and veteran families of the content domain of values and of the specific context of immigration. It also highlights the fact that aggregate and dyadic level analyses of the same data may yield different conclusions.

NOTES

1. The term *veteran parents* is preferred over *native-born* as many of them immigrated to Israel in their childhood. Because the majority of Israeli Jews are foreign-born, middle-aged and older persons who immigrated in their youth are not considered immigrants.
2. Conservation combines conformity and security values only. Tradition values were excluded because their significance differs for veteran Israeli and for immigrant families.

REFERENCES

- Ben-Rafael, E., Olshtain, E., & Geijst, I. (1996). Identity and language: The social insertion of Soviet Jews in Israel. In N. Lewin-Epstein, J. Ro'i, & N. Ritterband (Eds.), *Russian Jews in three continents?* (pp. 364-388). London: Frank Cass.
- Cashmore, J. A., & Goodnow, J. J. (1985). Agreement between generations: A two-process approach. *Child Development, 56*, 493-501.
- Chiu, M. L., Feldman, S. S., & Rosenthal, D. A. (1992). The influence of immigration on parental behavior and adolescent distress in Chinese families residing in two Western nations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 2*, 205-239.
- Cooper, C. R. (1988). The role of conflict in adolescent-parent relationships. In M. R. Gunnar (Ed.), *Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology* (Vol. 21, pp. 191-187). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Feather, N. T. (1975). *Values in education and society*. New York: Free Press.
- Georgas, J., Berry, J., Shaw, A., Christakopoulou, S., & Milonas, K. (1996). Acculturation of Greek family values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 27*, 329-338.
- Gibbons, F. X., & Wicklund, R. A. (1982). Self-focused attention and helping behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 43*, 462-474.
- Grusec, J. E., & Goodnow, J. J. (1994). Impact of parental discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology, 30*, 4-19.
- Guttman, L. (1968). A general nonmetric technique for finding the smallest coordinate space for a configuration of points. *Psychometrics, 33*, 469-506.
- Harris, J. R. (1995). Where is the child's environment? A group socialization theory of development. *Psychological Review, 102*, 458-489.
- Hill, J. P., & Holmbeck, G. N. (1987). Disagreements about rules in families with seventh-grade girls and boys. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 16*, 221-246.

- Kohn, M. L., Slomczynski, K. M., & Schoenbach, C. (1986). Social stratification and the transmission of values in the family: A cross-national assessment. *Sociological Forum, 1*, 73-102.
- Kuczynski, L., Marshall, S., & Schell, K. (1997). Value socialization in a bidirectional context. In J. E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and the internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 23-50). New York: John Wiley.
- LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H.I.K., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114*, 395-412.
- Mirsky, J., & Praver, L. (1992). *To immigrate as an adolescent: Immigrant youth from the former Soviet Union in Israel*. Jerusalem: Elka & the Van Leer Institute.
- Nauck, B. (1997). Migration and intergenerational relations—Turkish families at home and abroad. In W. W. Isajiw (Ed.), *Multiculturalism in North-America and Europe: Comparative perspectives on interethnic relations and social incorporation* (pp. 435-465). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Okagaki, L., & Bevis, C. (1999). Transmission of religious values: Relations between parents' and daughters' beliefs. *Journal of Genetic Psychology, 160*(3), 303-318.
- Pettys, G. L., & Balgopal, P. R. (1998). Multigenerational conflicts and new immigrants: An Indo-American experience. *Families in Society, 79*, 410-422.
- Phinney, J. S., Ong, A., & Madden, T. (2000). Cultural values and intergenerational value discrepancies in immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Child Development, 71*, 528-539.
- Portes, A. (1997). Immigration theory for a new century: Some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review, 31*, 799-825.
- Roccas, S., Horenczyk, G., & Schwartz, S. H. (in press). Acculturation discrepancies and well-being: The moderating role of conformity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*.
- Roccas, S., & Sagiv, L. (1998). *How best measure societal values? Aggregating individual values vs. asking about the typical person*. Paper presented at the 14th congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Bellingham, WA.
- Rohan, M. J., & Zanna, M. P. (1996). Value transmission in families. In C. Seligman, J. M. Olson, & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *The psychology of values: The Ontario symposium* (Vol. 8, pp. 253-276). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York: Free Press.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1-64). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). Cultural value differences: Some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 48*, 23-47.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. (2001, in press). Value hierarchies across cultures: Taking a similarities perspective. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*.
- Schwartz, S. H., Lehmann, A., & Roccas, S. (1999). Multimethod probes of basic human values. In J. Adamopoulos & Y. Kashima (Eds.), *Social psychology and culture context: Essays in honor of Harry C. Triandis* (pp. 107-123). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Szapocznik, J., & Kurtines, W. (1993). Family psychology and cultural diversity. *American Psychologist, 48*, 400-407.
- Westholm, A. (1999). The perceptual pathway: Tracing the mechanisms of political value transfer across generations. *Political Psychology, 20*, 525-551.
- Whitbeck, L. B., & Gecas, V. (1988). Value attributions and value transmission between parents and children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 50*, 829-840.

Ariel Knafo is a doctoral student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. His research interests include family value transmission and value development and consequences in adolescence, in varied contexts such as culture, migration, different parenting styles, and different family configurations and social locations.

Shalom H. Schwartz is the Leon and Clara Sznajderman professor of psychology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He received his Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and subsequently taught in the sociology department of the University of Wisconsin—Madison. Since 1979, he has taught in Israel, where his research has concerned helping behavior, intergroup conflict, and basic human values. He coordinates an international project in more than 60 countries that is studying the antecedents and consequences of individual differences in value priorities and the relations of cultural dimensions of values to societal policies and characteristics.